

March 2016

## A Tale of “Ku” (Bitter) V.S. “Tian” (Sweet): Understanding China's “Yiku Sitian” Movement in the 1960s and 1970s from the Perspective of Cultural Discourse Analysis

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**A TALE OF “*KU*” (BITTER) V.S. “*TIAN*” (SWEET):  
UNDERSTANDING CHINA’S “*YIKU SITIAN*” MOVEMENT  
IN THE 1960S AND 1970S  
FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF CULTURAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

A Dissertation Presented

by

XINMEI GE

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

February 2016

Department of Communication

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As I begin to write the acknowledgements and think of my advisor, Professor Donal Carbaugh, I couldn't help the tears that keep rolling down my face, because I would never be able to accomplish this task without his guidance, encouragement, support, trust, and understanding to me over the many years in the past. He has set the best role model of a scholar for me with his outstanding theoretical and practical contributions to the ethnography of communication studies and with his gentleness, kindness, and humbleness. He is always there ready to address any of my questions, even when he is away for conferences or for vacations. He has the keenest insight to understand my research project and put forward suggestions that are right to the point albeit the language barrier. He cheered me up and cheered me on for any bit of the progress that I painstakingly made while attending to all the other obligations in life as a daughter, a wife, and a mother of three young children. Words cannot express enough all my gratitude and appreciation to him as a mentor, a scholar, a colleague, and a lifelong friend.

I want to thank the other members of my committee, Professor Benjamin Bailey and Professor Zhongwei Shen. I had worked as a teaching assistant for Professor Bailey before and was truly impressed by his excellent scholarship in his teaching and research areas in language, culture, and social identities. Professor Shen is a prominent Chinese scholar with research interests in mechanism of sound change, Chinese historical phonology, early history of Mandarin seen from ancient Altaic scripts, and Chinese dialectology. I am truly blessed by their superb expertise and warm, encouraging personalities.

I want to thank faculties, colleagues, and staffs, at the Department of Communication here. Professors Carolyn Anderson, Briankle Chang, Leda Cooks, Vernon Cronen, Jarice Hanson, Michael Morgan, Erica Sharrer; friends and colleagues David Boromisza-Habashi, John Chetro-Szivos, Elizabeth Fullon, Li Gu, Liliya Karimova, Sunny Lie, Keming Lin, Zixu Liu, Eric Morgan, Istaban De Rio, Lisa Rudnick, Max Saito, Michelle Scollo, Lin Shi, Ching Sung, Cindy Suopis, Rebecca Townsend; and staff members Debbie Madigan, Kathy Ready, Susan Dreyer, and April Tidlund have all showed their support and encouragement to me in their own ways throughout the past years.

I want to thank Sharon Domier, the East Asian Studies Librarian at UMass Du Bois library. She is the one maintaining subscriptions to databases in East Asian Studies. I have been frequently using Oriprobe Info Services which allows access to the online archive of the Chinese newspaper, *People's Daily*, where I got the majority of the data for my dissertation research. She always responded to my emails of inquiries regarding access to Oriprobe in a timely manner. The ILL (Interlibrary Loan) service here has also helped me tremendously by searching for and digitally delivering papers I requested very quickly. During the editing stage, Elisa Campbell from OIT went out of her way and helped me significantly by solving all the problems occurred after I applied the dissertation template to my draft and transforming it to its current beautiful appearance to meet all the requirements from Graduate School about style and format. To all of them goes my heartfelt appreciation.

I want to thank brothers and sisters from Amherst Chinese Christian Church and Chinese Bible Church of Greater Lowell. Brother Weimin Chen and Sister Zhaorong Liu,

Pastor James Chung and Mrs. Jean Chung, Brother Wingyu Ho and Sister Manying Wu, Brother Yuh-Fang Hsiao and Sister Shuchen Kuo, Brother Li-Kuang Huang and Sister Chifan Li, Brother Lu Ji and Sister Fang Liu, Brother Ruifeng Li and Sister Zhongzhen Li, Brother Bing Liang and Sister Ellen Yan, Pastor Gene Liu and Mrs. Jeanette Liu, Pastor Henry Lu and Mrs. Ling Lu, Sister Yenchun Mao, Brother Yi Sun and Sister Yifan Tu, “Grandpa” Charile Wang and “Grandma” May Wang, Brother Shijin Wang and Sister Guiyan Qu, Pastor Yuqing Wang and Mrs. Fengqiu Zhang, Brother Baoshan Xing and Sister Tingjuan Song, Brother Zhengrong Zhu and Sister Xiaowen Liu are just a few among all that I want to name and give thanks to. What’s more, Sisters Xiaoyan Li, Sally Teague, Meng Shiou Shieh, and Brother Lie Wang are my “off-campus dissertation committee members” to whom I emailed at the same time whenever I updated my advisor to report progress. I couldn’t forget how, during all the past years, my church brothers and sisters supported our family, which grew from two to three, to four, and then to five members, with persistent prayers, encouraging words, genuine love, and concrete helps. They cared particularly about my dissertation writing and reached out in various ways to help me – some devoted time to discuss and brainstorm with me about my research topic; some helped me proofreading chapters I finished; some offered childcare so I could work more on my dissertation; and some sent me emails regularly as a gentle token of reminders... and all of them lifted me up faithfully and consistently in their prayers. Through them I came to see what it means to be a family in Christ.

I want to thank my parents and my two sisters for their deep love, care and financial help to me far away from China. Xin Ge, my oldest sister, lives close to our elderly parents and has been taking good care of them without any complaints in all the

years; Sheng Ge, my older sister, who is an esteemed nutritionist in Shanghai and a professor at the Medical School associated with Shanghai Jiaotong University, who has access to all the major digital academic databases in China, helped me retrieve full texts for all the Chinese theses, dissertations, and journal articles that I need and emailed them to me with no delay. Without her I would not be able to have access to some of the most important references that I used in my dissertation. My family is dear to my heart and is one of the most important reasons that keep me focused on my goal in the past years.

I want to thank my husband, Guoshu Yuan, and our daughters, Christine, Isabelle, and Marina, for going through all the past years with me, praying for my dissertation before each meal, and helping me in their own ways. The kids have been counting the days this summer, and patiently waiting for the time that Mommy finishes her dissertation and can play with them again, and I couldn't wait to have more time with them, to read the Bible together, to sing together, to take a walk together, to laugh together, to enjoy their childhood together, as much as we can.

Many other friends, such as Vanessa Blais, have generously helped me by giving their time, thoughts and encouragement on my dissertation project. It is simply not possible for me to thank them all here. But I will cherish deep down in my heart all the hands they gave me that have brought me to the very end of this long journey, that have made a "mission impossible" possible. Any inadequacies of this dissertation are mine, which I hope can be improved in the future, when the learning process continues in life.



## ABSTRACT

A TALE OF “*KU*” (BITTER) V.S. “*TIAN*” (SWEET):  
UNDERSTANDING CHINA’S “*YIKU SITIAN*” MOVEMENT  
IN THE 1960S AND 1970S  
FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF CULTURAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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“*Yiku sitian*” is a political movement prevalent in P. R. China in the 1960s and 1970s. It means, literally, to “recall bitterness” and to “reflect on sweetness”. It identifies a particular type of social practice commonly enacted publicly and privately for people to recall how “bitter” life was in “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and how “sweet” life was in “*xin shehui*” (the new society). This study examines “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural and communicational practice. Its theory and methodology draw upon the ethnography of communication, cultural terms for talk, and cultural discourse analysis. The study is guided by the following two questions: How can we understand “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural and communicative practice? What cultural discourse is actively associated with this practice? Descriptive analyses discover the identification of “*yiku sitian*” as a communicative act, event, and style; as a cultural scene complete with its own sequential structure; as given shape through personal narratives; and as deep messages about the

expressive mode, degree of structuring, tone, and efficaciousness that are in use in this practice. Interpretive findings include eleven semantic dimensions that are active in the system of cultural meanings of “*jiu shehui*” vs. “*xin shehui*”; and two sets of cultural premises defining appropriate ways of being, relating, acting, feeling, and political positioning from both orthodox and alternative perspectives. The former view placed people into different categories of “*jieji*” (class) and related them with each other in “*jieji guanxi*” (class relationship) as either “*jieji dixiong*” (class brothers) or “*jieji diren*” (class enemies). “*Jieji jiaoyu*” (class education) was conducted to cultivate “*jieji ganqing*” (class feelings) of “*aizeng fenming*” (love and hate clearly demarcated). The latter view depicted Chinese people as actually forced into participating in various “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggles) and coping passively with their assigned ways of being, acting, relating, feeling and political positioning in the 1960s and 1970s. This study is concluded with examination of Lei Feng, a nationally famous “*yiku sitian*” role model in the 1960s and analysis of his “*yiku sitian baogao*” (*yiku sitian* public speech) as a demonstration of the strength of this communication practice.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION AND THEORETIC PERSPECTIVE

This dissertation attempts to understand a Chinese social movement and complex political situation, “*yiku sitian*” (literally translated as “to recall the bitterness and to reflect on the sweetness”), that was prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s, from the perspective of cultural discourse analysis.

#### 1.1 Introduction

To many Chinese people, especially those sixty years or older, “*yiku sitian*” is a very familiar term. In Chinese, “*yi*” means “to recall”, “*ku*” means “bitter” or “bitterness”<sup>1</sup>, “*si*” is a synonym to “*yi*” and means “to reflect on”, “*tian*” is the opposite of “*ku*” and means “sweet” or “sweetness.” Therefore, “*yiku sitian*” means “to recall the bitterness and to reflect on the sweetness”<sup>2</sup>. What get implied but omitted here in this term are two sets of opposite nouns, “*guoqu*” (the past) and “*xianzai*” (the present), or more precisely, “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and “*xin shehui*” (the new society),

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<sup>1</sup> For the translation of the term “*ku*”, Xin Huang, the author of the article, “In the shadow of *suku* (speaking-bitterness): Master scripts and women’s life stories”, pointed out that “bitterness” might not be the best choice used to translate the Chinese term “*ku*” here because “bitterness” has a different connotation from “*ku*” in the context of “*suku*”. The “*ku*” in “*suku*” is a vernacular of “*kunan*”, which means suffering, hardship, misery, grief, distress, and tribulation, which are not necessarily associated with negative evaluations, whereas “bitterness” has the negative connotation of resentment or cynicism, disappointment, and hopelessness, which may be misleading in the context of “*suku*” narratives. “*Suku*” is not exactly about an individual being “bitter” but simply means “to tell/speak about/pour out the hardships or sufferings”. What Huang said in her article applies to the term “*yiku*” here in this study as the “*ku*” means the same in both terms. Huang’s article was published in 2014 in *Frontiers of History in China*, volume 9, issue 4, pages 584-610.

<sup>2</sup> In her dissertation, “Wounds in time: The aesthetic afterlives of Cultural Revolution” (East Asian Languages and Cultures, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing, 2011, 3496325), Yiju Huang translated “*yiku sitian*” as “Remembering the bitterness of the past while savoring the sweetness of the present/future.” Dasa Pejchar Mortensen Translated it as “Recalling the bitterness of the past so as to appreciate the sweetness of the present” in his dissertation, *Cultural Revolution Narratives: Rethinking History through the Prism of the Post-Mao Literature* (Department of History, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing, 2011, 1500734).

described by the two adjectives, “*ku*” and “*tian*”, respectively. “*Jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” refer to two historical periods marked by the point of “liberation” of China from Chiang Kai-Shek and his “*Guomin Dang*” (the Nationalist Party) by Mao Zedong<sup>3</sup> and his “*Gongchan Dang*” (the Communist Party). Hence the terms “*guoqu*” (the past) and “*xianzai*” (the present). The two periods were generally marked by October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1949, when Mao’s Liberation Army occupied Beijing and Mao announced it as the capital city for People’s Republic of China<sup>4</sup>. As it has been used, “*ku*” is always associated with “*guoqu*” (the past) or “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and “*tian*” is always associated with “*xianzai*” (the present) or “*xin shehui*” (the new society). This sharp contrast was a concept that each and every Chinese person had been instilled with back in those political years from the time the new China was established (in 1949) to the end of the Cultural Revolution (in 1976).

Particularly, this term brings back memories of those political practices frequently staged in the 1960s and 1970s throughout China. That era was marked with great enthusiasm to the construction of socialist and communist cause; great emphasis and alert to class struggle; potential confusion and frustration over the failing economic policy and the devastating agricultural condition in the country, which led to severe famine from 1959 to 1961 and countless people’s death due to hunger; and the need to (re)assure

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<sup>3</sup> In this dissertation, well-known Chinese names, such as Mao Zedong and Chiang Kai-Shek, and those mentioned in data, will be presented following their original Chinese way of “family names plus given names”, with family names usually in one syllables and given names in one to two syllables. Other Chinese names, such as those of researchers or authors, will follow the western way of “given names plus family names”. In either case, Chinese names will not be italicized as other Chinese terms are. Neither would location/place names.

<sup>4</sup> China is a big country. Therefore different areas were “liberated” by the PLA in different years, some before Oct. 1<sup>st</sup>, 1949, such as Shangdong (its Dengzhou City was liberated in 1946 and, by the second half of 1948, only Jinan, Qingdao, Yantai were not liberated. The total province was liberated by Aug. 1949), and some after 1949, such as Tibet (in 1951).

Chinese people through “*yiku sitian*” that they were fortunate to live in “*xin shehui*” and they should strive hard to prevent any regression of it back into “*jiu shehui*” in any manner or degree.

Although numerous studies have been conducted by Chinese and non-Chinese scholars regarding the particular historical period from the 1950s to the 1970s, they were mostly done by scholars from the disciplines of history, political science, literature, anthropology, and sociology. Attention was mostly given to analysis of ideology, policy-making, political dynamics and historical significance of events and decisions that turned out to be problematic. “*Yiku sitian*” was mainly examined as a political mobilization method adopted by the Chinese Communist Party to raise people’s hatred toward “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and love toward “*xin shehui*” (the new society), to enhance their identification with the proletarian class, and to strengthen their support for the Communist Party and consolidate the Party’s ruling position<sup>5</sup>.

I believe an examination of the “*yiku sitian*” movement from a communication and cultural perspective would prove to be fruitful. First of all, “*yiku sitian*” is a rich communication practice that involved intense speaking accompanied with intense emotions; Second, “*yiku sitian*” is a “cultural concept that describes communication patterns of action and meaning that are deeply felt, commonly intelligible, and widely accessible” (Carbaugh 1988b, p. 40) to the majority of the Chinese people. There was a larger subsuming political context from which the meanings of “*yiku sitian*” practice were derived. Put it another way, “*yiku sitian*” as a historically popular communication

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<sup>5</sup> Qiya An, “*Yiku sitian*” *yundong zhong de zhengzhi dongyuan moshi yanjiu* (1963-1966) [Research on Political Mobilization Mode of “Contrasting the past bitterness with the present happiness” (1963-1966)], Master Thesis, Department of Political Science, East China Normal University, May 2010.

practice would only be meaningful within the dominating political/cultural discourse of “class struggle” in the 1960s and 1970s. Therefore, this study would conduct the research with the guidance of two particular theoretical frameworks developed by Donal Carbaugh under the larger programmatic context of Ethnography of Communication (EC) studies – Cultural Terms for Communicative Action (Carbaugh 1989; 2004; Carbaugh, Berry, & Nurmikari-Berry, 2006) and Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory (Carbaugh 1994; 1997 with Gibson and Milburn; 2005; 2007). That is, in this study I want to see how “*yiku sitian*” functions as a Chinese cultural term for communicative action and what kind of cultural discourse was at work permeating the whole “*yiku sitian*” movement (e.g., what kind of standards were used when assigning people to different identity groups; how were people from different identity groups supposed to relate with each other, interact with each other, and exhibit appropriate feelings toward each other; how should people position themselves politically).

There is a distinct feature that makes “*yiku sitian*” different from most of the other cultural communication practices studied by scholars so far. Other practices, such as the Israeli “gripping”<sup>6</sup>, the American “MMAs”<sup>7</sup>, or the Hungarian “hate speech” or their talks about “hate speech”<sup>8</sup>, are all communication phenomena occurring naturally and horizontally among the people who practiced them. But “*yiku sitian*” was a political

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<sup>6</sup> Studied by Tamar Katriel in her (1990) article, “Gripping” as a verbal ritual in some Israeli discourse: In D. Carbaugh (ed.), *Cultural communication and intercultural contact*, pp. 99-113. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum and Associates.

<sup>7</sup> Studied by Michelle Scollo in her (2007) dissertation, Mass media appropriations: Communication, culture, and everyday social life. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts Amherst.

<sup>8</sup> Studied by David Boromisza-Habashi in his (2008) dissertation, Hate speech as cultural practice, which was published by Penn State University Press in 2013.

movement more or less imposed vertically unto Chinese people or required of their participation.

Analyzing “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural and communicational practice would not only help non-Chinese readers who are interested in China to gain a visual understanding about the form and meanings of this historical practice, but also help Chinese readers to re-examine their own understanding about this historical practice from a new perspective. Therefore, this study hopes to contribute to both the practical and situational knowledge at the emic level about the forms and meanings of “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural communication practice as well as about “*yiku sitian*” as part of a larger cultural expressive system, and point to directions of future research that can help to generate knowledge at the etic level through comparison of the forms and meanings of “*yiku sitian*” with other similar cultural expressive systems in other places of the world.

## 1.2 Research Questions

“*Yiku sitian*” as a particular social movement exists nowadays only within the domain of some older people’s memories. But in the 1960s and 1970s, it was an experience familiar to everybody and enacted very frequently in people’s daily life. What seems unbelievably uncommon or even absurd things in people’s eyes nowadays were extremely common and normal during that historical period<sup>9</sup>. Throughout China, People participated in waves after waves of “*yiku sitian*” movement with great sincerity, piousness and strong feelings that are hard to imagine and match by today’s standards.

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<sup>9</sup> For example, an article reminiscent of the *yiku sitian* influence in the 1960s and 1970s quoted a popular piece of doggerel describing the whole process of a wedding scene: “结婚不谈情与爱，进门先批走资派，新郎新娘不吃糖，忆苦思甜尝苦菜” (*jiehun bu tan qing yu ai, jinmen xian pi zouzipai, xinlang xinniang bu chi tang, yiku sitian chang kucai* / At the wedding there was no mentioning about feeling or love; upon entering the door the first thing is to denounce the Capitalist-on-rovers; The Bride and the Groom do not eat candy; instead, they taste the bitter meal.) See *Tao Gao* (2011), “*Yiku sitian*,” *Dang’an Tiandi (Archives World)*, Issue 3. Retrieved from China Academic Journal at <http://www.cnki.net>

This dissertation aims to achieve an informed understanding about this historical Chinese movement by looking at it through the ethnography of communication theoretic program in general and cultural terms for talk and cultural discourse analysis theory in particular. The following research questions will be guiding this study, with the two general research questions (GRQs) pointing to the direction of exploring particular features, forms, and meanings specified by the specific research questions in regards to “*yiku sitian*”:

GRQs:

How can we understand “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural and communicative practice? What cultural discourse is actively associated with this communicative practice?

RQ1: How specifically do the term “*yiku sitian*” and other related terms identify communicative actions on the act, event, and style levels?

RQ2: What literal messages about communication are conveyed by these cultural terms?

RQ3: What rules and norms are at work governing the “*yiku sitian*” communication practice?

RQ4: What semantic system can be identified by the “*yiku sitian*” practice? What semantic dimensions are revealed in this system?

RQ5: What cultural premises are at work in the “*yiku sitian*” cultural discourse?

Overall, GRQs will guide us to explore the means and meanings of this cultural communication phenomenon of “*yiku sitian*” when practiced by Chinese people in localized and situated way through specific terms, symbols, and symbolic forms. We’ll be able to find out what constituted the “*ku*” (bitter) and “*tian*” (sweet) stuff that people “*yi*” (recalled) and “*si*” (reflected on) in their enactment of this practice and the significance attached to them by Chinese people in that historical period. We will see how “*yiku sitian*” was conducted, perceived, and evaluated by Chinese people. We will see the local shapes and forms this communication practice took. We will also see “*yiku*

*sitian*” practice as being part of a larger symbolic system that eventually led to the extremely chaotic state in China during the Cultural Revolution period from 1966 to 1976.

While the data-based Chapters from 4 to 7 works as a whole to answer the GRQs posed above, Chapter 4 addresses RQ1 particularly. Guided with Carbaugh’s Cultural Terms for Talk theoretic framework and through analysis to specific instances, Chapter 4 identifies terms and structures that point to the enactment of “*yiku sitian*” practice as a communication act, event, or style. Three types of communicational scenes and two sequential structures of “*yiku sitian*” communicational events are also delineated and presented. Chapter 5 answers RQ2 and RQ 3 by continuing the analysis of “*yiku sitian*” as a communication practice. Still guided by Carbaugh’s Cultural Terms for Talk theoretic framework, it seeks to decipher literal meanings regarding communication conveyed by salient cultural terms and symbols in “*yiku sitian*” practice. It also examines “personal narrative” as the message form for “*yiku sitian*” practice. Norms and Rules at work within this practice are also identified.

Chapter 6 addresses RQ4 by analyzing “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural practice. Focusing on two salient cultural terms and symbols of “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and “*xin shehui*” (the new society” as well as terms associated with them, this chapter reviews the semantic system spinned around the key terms and arrives at ten semantic dimensions that can be used to further understand the meanings of “*yiku sitian*” cultural practice. Cultural propositions are formulated along the way.

Chapter 7 answers RQ5 by continually looking at “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural practice. Focusing on another salient cultural term of “*jieji*” (class) and other terms and phrases clustered with it, this chapter deciphers the hubs of meanings of identity, action,

relationship, emotion, and political dwelling as enacted by these terms in “*yiku sitian*” practice as well as in the larger political communication practice in China in the 1960s and 1970s. Again, cultural propositions are formulated and, based on them, cultural premises are extracted and summarized, revealing the system of beliefs and values that were prevalent in that historical period that has made “*yiku sitian*” practice possible and meaningful.

Besides the four data-based chapters introduced above, there are four other chapters that make up this dissertation: Chapter 1 is an introduction to this research project; Chapter 2 discusses the methodology adopted for data collection, data presentation, and data analysis; Chapter 3 provides brief historical overview and social-cultural context for “*yiku sitian*” movement. Then after the four data-based chapters, Chapter 8 applies the findings arrived at in Chapters 4 to 7 to look at the personal narratives of, and reports about, a nationally famous “*yiku sitian*” role model named Lei Feng; Chapter 9 wraps up the whole research by summarizing the findings arrived at through the previous analysis, discussing the findings, exploring the theoretical and practical implications of this research, and identifying certain limitations of this study while suggesting some possible directions for future research.

### **1.3 Literature Review**

This section will be divided into two parts: reviewing of literature that uses EC approach and reviewing of literature that addresses the topic of “*yiku sitian*” movement.

#### **1.3.1 Chinese Communication Studies Using EC Theories**

As stated previously, this study is designed within the ethnography of communication (EC) programmatic context. Fifty years have passed since Dell Hymes initiated this field and numerous researches have been conducted in the west utilizing this



new approach<sup>10</sup>. Dell Hymes' SPEAKING mnemonic descriptive theory (1967; 1972), Gerry Philipsen's speech code theory (1992; 1997; 2005 with Coutu and Covarrubias) and cultural communication theory (1987; 2002), and Donal Carbaugh's cultural terms for talk theoretic framework (1989; 2004; 2006 with Berry and Nurmikari-Berry) and cultural discourse theory (1988; 1997 with Gibson and Milburn; 2005; 2007; 2013 with Cerulli) have substantially solidified this field, making it a competitive and effective approach when addressing issues regarding culture and communication.

Before 1980s, in the west, not many studies that were done applying the EC approach are regarding Chinese culture and communicational practices; whereas in the east, although Hymes' name and some general concepts regarding the EC approach founded by him are well-known in China, especially among scholars in the fields of linguistics, sociolinguistics, and foreign language teaching, very few of the further development of the EC approach along the line of cultural communication theories have been introduced, resulting in very few scholars and students of communication studies in mainland China aware of this approach and virtually none of them have applied it in their researches.

From the 1980s on, with the adoption of economic reform and opening-door policy by the Chinese government, more and more Chinese students came abroad to study theories and methodologies in the domain of social sciences, and more and more scholars showed interest in issues regarding Chinese culture and communication. As a result, EC program has been introduced to Chinese communication students and scholars and this approach has been applied to studies regarding Chinese cultural communication

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<sup>10</sup> C.f. Philipsen & Carbaugh (1986) and Carbaugh (1995, 2005) for reviews of researches using the EC approach.

phenomena. What's more, thanks to the pioneering effort of some EC scholars, such as Donal Carbaugh, and some Chinese scholars, such as Yanrong Chang<sup>11</sup>, the latest development of the EC program has also been introduced into China, through academic lectures, journal articles and conference presentations, since 1999. The following section will review relevant history and literature of application of EC approach to the study of Chinese cultural communication practices as well as its introduction into mainland China.

### **1.3.1.1 US-based EC studies of Chinese Culture and Communication**

Key-word search from UMI ProQuest Digital Dissertation Database and Communication and Mass Media Complete database indicates that, overall, the number of studies examining Chinese cultural communicational practices using EC approach in general and cultural discourse analysis theory in particular is still limited. Very few dissertations can be found but increasing numbers of journal articles seem to be the trend.

There are about twenty-six dissertations utilizing the EC approach as established by Dell Hymes and carried on to the communication field by Gerry Philipsen and about twelve dissertations utilizing the cultural discourse analysis theory developed by Donal Carbaugh within the EC field, but very few of them are authored by Chinese students or are regarding Chinese communication practices. And none of the few (among those that are) uses Carbaugh's cultural discourse analysis theory. The following five dissertations are the only ones that have applied, more or less, the EC approach to study issues related with Chinese communication phenomena:

The latest dissertation written by a Chinese student regarding a Chinese communication practice is "Creating continuity in social transformation: An ethnographic

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<sup>11</sup> Dr. Chang received her Ph.D. in Communication Studies in 2002 from the University of Iowa. Her dissertation, an ethnographic study of Chinese courtroom interactions, is a research using the EC approach. She teaches now at the University of Texas – Pan American.

study of migrant workers' spring festival family reunion rituals in China" by *Meng Li* from the University of Iowa in 2014. Directed by Kristine L. Munoz, it offers an ethnographic account of "the world's largest annual human migration": the family reunion ritual practiced by hundreds of millions of Chinese rural-to-urban migrant workers, who work in cities and travel back to the countryside during the lunar New Year (the Spring Festival) to reunite with family members.

Evelyn Yueh-Ning Ho's (2004) dissertation (titled "'French fries have too much *huo qi*': An ethnographic study of the discourse of traditional Chinese medicine") was directed by Kristine Fitch. Coming from an EC background, it presented a discursive construction of traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) that highlights the ways in which communication constructs understandings of health and TCM health practice as culturally situated.

Yanrong Chang's (2002) dissertation (titled "Culture and communication: An ethnographic study of Chinese criminal courtroom communication") was also directed by Kristine Fitch and was an ethnographic study of Chinese culture and communication through a close analysis of Chinese criminal courtroom discourse.

Fengru Li's (1996) dissertation (titled "The cultural meanings and social functions of 'face' in Sino-United States business negotiations") was directed by Gerry Philipsen and applied analytical frameworks developed from anthropologist Keith Basso's field work on American Indians (1979, 1990) and Gerry Philipsen's ethnographic studies on cultural communication (1992) to explore the Chinese use of "*mian-zi*" (face) in international business negotiations with Americans.

Clarissa Dong's (1994) dissertation (titled "Infancy in the People's Republic of China: Caretaking practices and personality development among the Shanghai dialect speakers") applied Hymes' (1968) model of the ethnography of speaking only as an addition to four major theoretical frameworks<sup>12</sup> that guide her research of documenting and interpreting the course of the infant's becoming a socially intelligent person in an urban and a rural population in Shanghai in the People's Republic of China.

The last ten years have seen more Chinese communication researches guided with the EC approach published on various journals in the US or presented as conference papers. Unfortunately very few of them apply theoretic frameworks developed by Philipsen or Carbaugh (though their works are cited in those researches). A key-word search of "Chinese" (in "Abstract") and "Hymes" (in "All Text") within the database of "Communication and Mass Media Complete" yield twenty-one results, which was narrowed down to six results with an added search term of "ethnography of communication" (in "All Text"); A search of "Chinese" (in "Abstract") and "Philipsen" (in "All Text") yield thirteen results; and a search of "Chinese" (in "Abstract") and "Carbaugh" (in "All Text") yield twenty-three results.

A review over all these works indicates that Yanrong Chang, a US-based Chinese communication scholar whose dissertation was directed by Kristine Fitch at the University of Iowa and who teaches now at the University of Texas-Pan American, has been actively using the EC approach to do researches regarding Chinese cultural communication practices to find out meanings and value systems associated with those

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<sup>12</sup> Vygotsky's (1962, 1978) theory of speech in the 'Social formation of the mind'; Bowlby's (1969) theory of attachment for the development of the bond; Weisner's (1984) theory of the 'ecocultural niche' in personality formation; and Bourdieu's (1984) theory of the 'social habitus' to account for the transformation of life-style into individual psychological processes.

practices. After finishing her dissertation on Chinese criminal courtroom communication practices in 2002, *Chang* presented a paper from her dissertation research titled “Can you answer the question? – an ethnographic study of questioning as a culturally-situated persuasive genre of talk” at the International Communication Association (ICA) annual convention in 2003. This paper was published in the following year in the journal of *Discourse and Society* with a slightly modified title of “Courtroom questioning as a culturally situated persuasive genre of talk”<sup>13</sup>. A more comprehensive article based on her dissertation was published in 2012 in the journal of *Chinese Media Research* with a title of “Is that fair? A cultural analysis of Chinese criminal courtroom communication”<sup>14</sup>. Besides studying Chinese criminal courtroom communication, *Chang* has done research regarding various interesting topics. Some significant examples are:

- (1) An examination of how misunderstanding between a native English speaker (an American professor who was contracted to teach English in a northern Chinese university for two semesters) and a Chinese administrative staff in that university occurred when native messages were conveyed in nonnative forms via email<sup>15</sup>. Through the analysis *Chang* concludes that misunderstanding occurred when distinct speech codes of self mentioning (“I”/“We”) were used signifying different meanings to the American professor and the Chinese administrative staff, which led to the mis-assigning of responsibilities and a hurtful breakdown of interpersonal relationship between the two.

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<sup>13</sup> *Discourse and Society*, November 2004, Vol.15 Issue 6, p705-722, 18p.

<sup>14</sup> *China Media Research*, Vol 8, Issue 1, p95-105, 11p.

<sup>15</sup> See Yanrong Chang’s conference paper, Native message in nonnative form: Self mention as distinct speech codes in English language use in Intercultural Communication, Intercultural Communication Association, 2011 Annual Meeting, p1-27, 27p.

- (2) An examination of alcohol drinking as culturally situated communicative practices in China. Through describing group- or communal-based drinking patterns using Hymes' (1972) SPEAKING framework, Chang shows that alcohol drinking allows Chinese participants to fulfill their relational and practical needs through ritualistic drinking sequences – “*jingjiu*” (respectfully offering drinks) and “*quanjiu*” (persuasively offering drinks) – at meal gatherings. The cultural significance of alcohol drinking, especially its communicative functions for Chinese participants, were interpreted<sup>16</sup>;
- (3) A discussion of three forms of communication that are used to cultivate moral values in high school students in China: ritualistic communication practices, storytelling, and heart talk, which reveals a Chinese folk theory of social influence that is captured by a native term, “*gan hua*” (literally, changing through the touching of heart)<sup>17</sup>;
- (4) A review of studies about one core symbol – face – in two cultures (US. Vs. Chinese) and the revelation of two cultural models of interpersonal communication embedded in the face concept<sup>18</sup> -- the individual-based, self-oriented, and rational American face enacted through an “information game” model of social interaction vs. the relation-based, other-oriented, and emotional Chinese face performed via a “relationship game” model of interpersonal communication;
- (5) An exploration of how the identities of overseas Chinese are discursively constructed by domestic Chinese (i.e., Chinese who live and work in China, without any

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<sup>16</sup> See Yanrong Chang's conference paper, Let me respectfully offer you a drink: A Chinese ritual of social relationships, National Communication Association, 2009 Annual Convention, p1-29, 29.

<sup>17</sup> See Yanrong Chang's conference paper, A Chinese folk theory of social influence: Cultivating moral values in high schools in contemporary China, International Communication Association, 2009 Annual Meeting, p1-37, 37p.

<sup>18</sup> See Yanrong Chang's (2008) conference paper, Cultural Models of Interpersonal Communication in the US and China, International Communication Association, 2008 Annual Meeting.

overseas experiences)<sup>19</sup>. Three ways overseas Chinese are talked about are examined: the nationalistic discourse, social discourse, and relational discourse, which are greatly shaped by Chinese people's political and cultural ideologies, social interactions, and personal relationships respectively;

(6) An examination of joking as a cultural practice as it is occurring between and among Chinese people with the goal of exploring how Chinese people construct and negotiate relational meanings through joking patterns<sup>20</sup>;

(7) An investigation of the Chinese cultural premises for heroes and villains through a close analysis of the newspaper discourse of people and events during the anti-SARS campaign that has affected China tremendously in the first half of 2003<sup>21</sup>;

Besides these aforementioned rigorous and consistent ethnographic researches contributed by Yanrong Chang, interested readers can also check out Todd Sandel's (2002) article, "Kinship Address: Socializing Young Children in *Taiwan*"<sup>22</sup>; Prue Holmes (2005) article, "Ethnic Chinese Students' Communication with Cultural others in a New Zealand University"<sup>23</sup>; Haibin Dong's (2007) conference paper, "An island overseas: An Ethnography of one Chinese speech community formed in the University family housing environment"<sup>24</sup>; and Brenda L. Berkelaar, Lorraine G. Kisselburgh, and Patrice M.

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<sup>19</sup> See Yanrong Chang's (2006) conference paper, Discursive construction of identities: Discourses of overseas Chinese, International Communication Association, 2006 Annual Meeting.

<sup>20</sup> See Yanrong Chang's (2005) conference paper, Joking, relationships, and culture: Building intimacy through talk, International Communication Association, 2005 Annual Meeting.

<sup>21</sup> See Yanrong Chang's (2004) conference paper, Are you a hero? Newspaper Discourse, Identity, and Culture, International Communication Association, 2004 Annual Meeting.

<sup>22</sup> *Western Journal of Communication*, Summer 2002, Vol. 66 Issue 3, 257-280.

<sup>23</sup> *Communication Education*, October 2005, Vol. 54 Issue 4, p289-311, 23p.

<sup>24</sup> National Communication Association, 2007.

Buzzanell's (2009) conference paper, "Discourses, Imagination, and Material Realities: Children in the United States and China Talk about Work"<sup>25</sup>.

Some earlier studies of Chinese culture and communication using the EC approach are:

- (1) A book by Linda Young (1994) titled *Crosstalk and Culture in Sino-American Communication*, which aims to clarify the communicational misunderstandings between Chinese and Americans by examining their different ideals and strategies of talk via formal analysis of taped interchanges and in-depth interviews;
- (2) A journal article by Victoria Chen (1990) titled "Mien Tze at the Chinese Dinner Table: A Study of the Interactional Accomplishment of Face", which is a study of face, or "mien tze"<sup>26</sup> as it is called in Chinese, at a Chinese dinner table and how it is interactionally managed, enacted, negotiated, and accomplished between the host and the guest to maintain a harmonious relationship;
- (3) A journal article by Sulamith Heins Potter (1988) titled "The Cultural Construction of Emotion in Rural Chinese Social Life", which examines notions of emotion, personhood, and social life in rural China and illustrates how emotion, personhood, communicative behavior and social structure can be linked.

### **1.3.1.2 Dell Hymes and the Introduction of EC Approach into Mainland China**

In this section I will be reviewing briefly the intellectual history of the introduction of EC approach into the academia of mainland China as reflected in Chinese research literature. In general, during the past five decades, Chinese scholars were mostly exposed to theories and methods in ethnography of speaking/communication as Hymes

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<sup>25</sup> International Communication Association, 2009 Annual Meeting.

<sup>26</sup> In mainland Chinese pinyin system, it is "mian zi", meaning "face".



initiated and established, especially his conceptualization about communicative competency. Also, review of literature indicates that more people got to know Hymes' ethnography of communication program through Saville-Troike's (1982) book, *The Ethnography of Communication: An Introduction*. It was not until Donal Carbaugh's visit to Fudan university in China in 1999 and the publication of three journal articles in Chinese by Yanrong Chang and Qi Cai at the beginning of the twenty-first century that some significant contributions to the EC field by communication scholars such as Philipsen and Carbaugh in the last thirty years began to be introduced to communication students and scholars in mainland China. So far, although Philipsen and Carbaugh's works can be seen cited in some communication studies conducted by domestic Chinese researchers<sup>27</sup>, there have been virtually none studies utilizing theories or frameworks developed by them to analyze culturally situated communicative practices. Following are some detailed discussions about this historical development.

Scholars in mainland China are not unfamiliar with the name of Dell Hymes and his achievement in establishing the ethnography of speaking approach to study language. In general, from 1980s on, Hymes' name appeared very frequently in articles about sociolinguistics<sup>28</sup>, language teaching<sup>29</sup>, code-switching<sup>30</sup>, communicative competence<sup>31</sup>,

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<sup>27</sup> For example, Na Yang's (2014) dissertation, "A cultural discourse study of women's rights: Analyzing and assessing properties, strategies, and principles of Chinese political family planning discourse", directed by Shi-xu at Zhejiang University; and Xiuling Lin's (2004) book, *Xiandai wenxue de nuxing shenyong* (*Female characters in contemporary literature*), published by Liren book store.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, Yuwen Wu's (1983) article, "A brief discussion about the usage of the English term 'please' from a sociolinguistic perspective", published in *Modern Foreign Languages*, Vol. 1.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, Risheng Zhang's (1980) article, "Language study and language teaching: Speculations on its past and future", published in *Modern Foreign Languages*, Vol. 4; and Wenzhong Hu's (1982) article, "Cultural differences and foreign language teaching", published in *Foreign Language Teaching and Research*, Vol. 4.

discourse analysis<sup>32</sup>; or articles introducing development of linguistic or sociolinguistic studies in European countries or the United States<sup>33</sup>. From 2000 on<sup>34</sup>, numerous theses and dissertations apply, or refer to, his SPEAKING grid<sup>35</sup>, communicative competence<sup>36</sup>, and other related theories or concepts regarding language, communication and culture<sup>37</sup>,

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<sup>30</sup> See, for example, Dexing Wang's (1987) article, "A survey of code-switching", published in *Foreign Language Teaching and Research*, Vol. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Wenzhong Hu's (1982) article, "The First probe regarding communicative approach in teaching", published in *Journal of Foreign Languages*, Vol. 5, mentioned Hymes' (1971) article, "On communicative competence", and retrieved Hymes' earliest proposition of this theory back to his paper in Research Planning Conference on Language Development Among Disadvantaged Children, held on June 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, Zhaoxiong He's (1983) article, "A comprehensive discussion about discourse analysis", published in *Journal of Foreign Languages*, Vol. 4; and Xueping Li's (1988) article, "A brief review of studies on grammar and teaching methodology in the United States since Chomsky", published in *Foreign Languages Research*, Vol. 1.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Qiuzhong Liao's (1982) article, "Comments on Geoffrey Sampson's (1980) book *Schools of linguistics*", published in *Contemporary Linguistics*, Vol. 3; and Yucun Qi's (1989) article, "Some Important Features in the Current Development of Modern Linguistics", published in *Journal of Foreign Languages*, Vol 5.

<sup>34</sup> The collection of theses and dissertations at CNKI started from the year of 1999 so it's not sure whether there were previous studies citing Hymes.

<sup>35</sup> Examples of studies applying Hymes' SPEAKING grid can be found in: Luodan Zhang's (2004) thesis, "A Pragmatic Study on English Euphemisms", Jilin University; Yan Tian's (2004) thesis, "A Contrastive Study of Compliments between English and Chinese Speakers in Literary Works", Changchun Institute of Technology; Yanfang Li's (2005) thesis, "The Use of Compliments in a Chinese Family Setting with Reference to 'I Love My Home'", Beijing Language University; Hui Jin's (2005) thesis, "Linguistic and Socio-Psychological Study of 'TiaoKan' in Contemporary Beijing Dialect", Beijing Language University; etc.

<sup>36</sup> Examples of studies applying Hymes' "communicative competence" concept can be found in: Chunhong Wu's (2002) thesis, "A Research of the Application of the Communicative Approach to the College English Teaching in China", Nanjing Normal University; Jianping Li's (2002) thesis, "The Teaching of Culture in the English Language Education", Southwestern Normal University; Yan Dong's (2004) thesis, "Evaluation and Research of Chinese College Students' Communicative Competence in English", Jilin University; Yan Liu's (2004) thesis, "On Improving Students' Communicative Competence in Class", Northwestern Normal University.

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, Jiaai Liu's (2001) thesis, "A Contrastive Study of Greetings in English and Chinese", Qufu Normal University; Ping Hu's (2001) thesis, "Gender Differences in Compliment Behavior", Tianjin Normal University; Xiao Hu's (2002) thesis, "A Contrastive Study of Apologies in English and Chinese", Southwest Normal University; Min Pan's (2004) thesis, "A Comparison of Refusal Strategies between Chinese and English Speech Act: An Empirical Study", Nanjing Normal University; Xiufang Sun's (2005) thesis, "Pragmatic Failure and Cultural Introduction", Anhui University; Xiaoli Wang's (2005) thesis, "Research on the Role of Cultural Context in Verbal Humor Understanding", Northwestern Industrial

that he suggested when initiating the EC approach. For example, an “All Text” search of “Dell Hymes” at www.cnki.net produced 24 results between 1979 and 1989, 29 results between 1990 and 1999, 947 results (including 24 dissertations and 615 theses) between 2000 and 2009, and 827 results (including 27 dissertations and 267 theses) between 2010 and 2015.

Although there have been many studies in mainland China about the influence of culture on language (mainly in the area of English teaching, learning, using, and interpreting) and comparison of English language usage versus Chinese language usage from sociolinguistic perspective, especially by applying Hymes’ concepts and theories, almost none of them are studies about people’s communicational interactions happening *in specific situations* and none of them are carried out really in the sense of “ethnography” of communication. The most common method in collecting data is through questionnaire survey instead of intense field works via participant observation and interview<sup>38</sup>. What’s more, virtually nothing about the extended development of EC studies during the past 20 years contributed by communication scholars such as Gerry Philipsen and Donal Carbaugh were introduced to Chinese scholars and students until the very end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

In Oct. 1999, Donal Carbaugh was invited to visit *Fudan* University in Shanghai, China. During his visit there, he gave a series of three lectures titled, respectively,

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University; Yun Jiang’s (2006) thesis, “Diaphonic Repetition in Telephone Conversation: A Contrastive Study between Chinese and American Students”, Zhejiang Univeristy; etc.

<sup>38</sup> Several exceptions are ethnographic researches completed by Chinese scholars trained in the United States in the 1980s. For example, Shumin Huang’s (1989) book, *The spiral road: Change in a Chinese village through the eyes of a communist Party leader* and Yunxiang Yan’s (2006) book, *Changes of private life: Love, family and intimate relationship in a Chinese village 1949-1999*. Shanghai: Shanghai bookstore publisher.

“Popular Language, Television and American Culture,” “Language, Listening and Native American Culture,” and “Language and Intercultural Communication”, all introduced and used the EC approach as both a theory and a methodology, all closely based on his keen research interests regarding how people’s communicational practices are culturally patterned and coded<sup>39</sup>, and all well-received by scholars and students attending the lectures. In the following decades, Donal Carbaugh continued his visits and academic exchanges with Chinese scholars interested in the study of relationship between language, communication and culture through conferences held in different parts of China. In December of 2009, Donal Carbaugh gave a plenary address at Wuhan University’s Conference on Intercultural Communication, Media Ethics, and Journalism. In 2010 and 2012, he spoke at the Shanghai Normal University’s conferences on Intercultural Communication through coordinated efforts with Xiaodong Dai at that university<sup>40</sup>.

The first journal article published in mainland China that introduced the history and development of EC study as it has been within the field of communication studies in the United States was written by two Chinese communication scholars, Qi Cai and Yanrong Chang, and published in *Journalism and Communication* in 2002. This article gives a comprehensive introduction about the initiation of this approach by Dell Hymes

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<sup>39</sup> See, for example, Carbaugh (1988a) and (1999).

<sup>40</sup> Publications resulting from those collaborations include: Cultural discourses on television and telling stories differently. In L. Liu (ed), *The Intercultural Turn in Journalism and Communication* (pp. 108-115). Wuhan: Wuhan University Press, China, 2011 (in Chinese). Cultures in conversation: Cultural discourses of dialogue in global, cross-cultural perspective. In X. Dai and S. Kulich (eds.), *Intercultural adaptation (1): Theoretical explorations and empirical studies* (pp. 115-133). Shanghai, China: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press, 2012. Competence in interaction: Cultural discourse analysis. In X. Dai & G. M. Chen (ed.), *Intercultural Communication Competence: Conceptualizations and its Developments in Cultural Contexts and Interactions* (pp. 69-81). Newcastle on Tyne, United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014 (with Sunny Lie). In his 2012 article with Judith Martin and Thomas Nakayama, The history and development of the study of intercultural communication, which is included in J. Jackson (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Intercultural Communication* (pp. 17-36), Routledge, Carbaugh also stated briefly research development in the area of intercultural communication by scholars in Chinese universities in Harbin, Wuhan, and Beijing (c.f. p. 18 of Martin, Nakayama, and Carbaugh’s article).

in the 1960s and 1970s and the development of it into cultural communication studies by Gerry Philipsen in the 1980s.

In the same year in 2002, *Yanrong Chang and Qi Cai* conducted an interview with Kristine Fitch and published it in Chinese in *Journal of International Communication*.<sup>41</sup> The topic of this interview is the development and contributions of EC studies and, especially, the possibility for Chinese communication scholars to apply this method in studying Chinese native culture and communication.

Fitch provided very informative answers to questions posed by the authors and said that if Chinese communication scholars and students were to set out to do EC researches, they need to come to see that what the world really needs to know about China is the daily life of the ordinary Chinese people and things that are taken for granted by them. This corresponds with the angle and purpose of the design of this current research project.

In 2005, Chang and Cai published a follow-up article titled “Ethnographic methodology and communication studies.” This article is mainly to compare EC approach as a qualitative research methodology with the traditional, quantitative, positivism approach in terms of their different epistemology and methodology.

All the three articles by Chang and Cai are valuable to help communication researchers in China to get to know the EC approach, as Hymes initiated it; and the development of it into cultural communication theories, as Philipsen and Carbaugh expanded it. The past few years have seen more effort from communication scholars in mainland China in their systematic introduction and summary about the origin and

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<sup>41</sup> The Chinese title for this journal is *Guoji Xinwen jie* (国际新闻界).

development of ethnography of communication as an independent and promising research program that would benefit various areas of communication studies in China.

The following are several examples of dissertation and journal articles in this category:

Gang Zhu's (2013) dissertation, "An oral art form of communication: An ethnography of folkloristic Study of *Shibaoshan* Song-Fair", "seeks to apply methods from folklore and neighboring disciplines into the case of Song-Fair, and to construct a mode of ethnographic descriptions to interpret folkloristic meanings carried in this typical cultural space. In short, from the perspective of communication, this dissertation theorizes the Shibaoshan Song-Fair as a speech event, gives attention to the process of local people's linguistic exchanges in its situated contexts, and tries to illustrate its cultural and social functions in the light of 'ethnography of communication'" (Abstract, p. ix). What stands out about this dissertation is the author's excellent exposition about the origin and development of ethnography of speaking as Hymes established, the elements of the SPEAKING mnemonic, and social units of analysis involved in it. Zhu's research is one of the first practical applications of Hymes' descriptive theory.

Xiaoling Han and Zhonghua Chen's (2012) article, "Dell Hymes and his Ethnography of Speaking Theory"<sup>42</sup>, is one of the latest that provided a comprehensive review of Hymes' epoch-marking contribution with the establishment of the Ethnography of Speaking theory as well as the important concept of "speech economy" and its three components: speech event, the eight aspects of a speech event (the SPEAKING mnemonic), and the seven functions in speech events.

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<sup>42</sup> Published in *Journal of Yantai University* (Philosophy and Social Science Edition), Vol. 25, No. 2, April, 2012 to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the publication of Hymes' seminal article on the new theory of Ethnography of Speaking, with original title in Chinese as "Dell Hymes 及其交谈民族志理论" (Dell Hymes *jiqi jiaotan minzuzhi lilun*).

Xiao Li's (2009) article, "A Methodology Study in the area of Journalistic Communication: On the Approach of Ethnography"<sup>43</sup>, traced the origin of this method back to Malinowski, then to the establishment of ethnography of communication by Dell Hymes, and then to its substantial development in communication field by Gerry Philipsen. Li discussed the promise of this method to the field of journalistic communication as well as some critiques that scholars have about it.

Jinghua Yuan's (2008) article, "Preliminary Observations about the Research Framework and Development of Ethnography of Communication"<sup>44</sup>, provides a comprehensive overview about the origin and history of ethnography of communication studies as Hymes proposed, especially the SPEAKING mnemonic and key concepts involved in it. Gerry Philipsen was mentioned in this article of his contribution to the "speech community" concept with its four characteristics and his specification of the six aspects that are shared by members of the same speech community<sup>45</sup>. Donal Carbaugh was mentioned briefly of his comments about identification and the shared meanings regarding public performance in a community<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Published in *Mass Culture and Art (Theory)* (Film, TV, and Media section) (大众文艺 [理论], 影视与传媒专栏), Vol 4, 2009, with original title in Chinese as "Xinwen chuanboxue fangfalun yanjiu: Lun 'Minzuzhi' fangfalun" (新闻传播学方法论: 论“民族志”方法论).

<sup>44</sup> Published in *Journal of Zhejiang Communication College* (浙江传媒学院学报), Vol. 6, 2008, with original title in Chinese as "Shilun chuanbo renzhongxue de yanjiu kangjia yu fazhan qushi" (试论传播人种学的研究框架与发展趋势).

<sup>45</sup> See Gerry Philipsen, "An Ethnographic Approach to Communication Studies". In *Rethinking Communication: Paradigm Exemplars*. Edited by Brenda Dervin, Lawrence Grossberg, Barbara O. Keefe, and Ellen Wartella, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989, pp 258-269.

<sup>46</sup> The author quoted from both Gerry Philipsen (1989) and G Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*, New York Ballantine, 1972, p. 77, when mentioning Donal Carbaugh's viewpoints.

Kuo Hai's (2006) article, "The New Research Field of International Media Studies Using Ethnography of Communication Method"<sup>47</sup>, is based on his analysis to 87 studies that are found within two databases – ProQuest Academic Research Library (ARL) and EBSCO host – for the period between 1990 and July, 2005. Although the author's understanding about the term "communication" is obviously deeply influenced by *chuanmei*<sup>48</sup>, one of its many Chinese translations, which puts more emphasis on "media" (as meant by "mei" in Chinese) than the interaction between any two parties that communicate, his summary about the nationalities of authors that contributed to the 87 researches, the geographical locations of the research subject,; the time that these researches are published, the types of media that are involved, the subjects that are studied, the journals that publish these studies, as well as the implications of his findings, are all very helpful references for future Chinese students and scholars who are interested in similar studies.

Overall it seems that Chinese communication scholars and students in general are still not familiar with the latest theoretical development to the EC program, especially those contributed by Donal Carbaugh, which has been proved to be a powerful tool in helping to address intercultural communication misunderstandings or promote mutual understanding between people from different cultural backgrounds. Hence the importance of this current study!

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<sup>47</sup> Published in *Journal of Xidian University (Social Science Edition)* (西安电子科技大学学报, 社会科学版), Vol 16, No. 1, with original title in Chinese as "Guoji chuanbo renzhongxue yanjiu de xin shiye" (国际传播人种学研究的新视野).

<sup>48</sup> In Chinese characters: 传媒



### 1.3.2 Literature Addressing “*Yiku Sitian*” Topic

“*Yiku sitian*” as a socialist educational movement was launched in China in early 1960s and reached its climax in 1969. It remained a constant part of Chinese people’s political life in the first half of the 1970s and then gradually faded away in the late 1970s after the drastic change of political climate in 1976<sup>49</sup>. If we call the 1960s and 1970s “an era of enactment”, as numerous political acts and practices were launched wave after wave, with *yiku sitian* being one of the most significant; then the 1980s and 1990s can be called “an era of reflections”, as numerous documentary writings and fictions reflecting life in the 1960s and 1970s mushroomed throughout the country and were referred to as “scar literature”; and the 2000s and 2010s can be called “an era of theorizations”, as many students and scholars (mostly in the fields of history, sociology, and political science) engaged in the examination of political decisions, policies and movements in the 1960s and 1970s to look for historical truth behind facts and to provide better explanations about the way things were done in that historical period. In the following section I will be reviewing studies that treated “*yiku sitian*” as a research subject or commented on “*yiku sitian*” practices when examining that part of the Communist history of China.

A key word search of “*yiku sitian*” on “*Chaoxing Faxian*” (SuperStar Discovery), an online literature database in connection with 1,348 libraries in China at [www.chaoxing.com](http://www.chaoxing.com), yields, inexhaustively, 2 digital books, 15 hard copy books from 1963 to 1965 and 2000 to 2004, 342 journal articles from 1963 to 2014, 26,428 book chapters from 1962 to 2014, 13 dissertations and theses, 631 newspaper reports from

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<sup>49</sup> The infamous “Gang of Four”, which was composed of Jiang Qing (Mao’s wife), Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan, and which was accused of directly causing the ten-year turmoil during the Cultural Revolution, was arrested in Oct. 1976.

1963 to 2015, 1,021 internet blogs, etc. Generally speaking, the majority of these books, book chapters, journal articles, newspaper reports, and internet blogs are descriptive and anecdotal in nature, telling “*yiku sitian*” stories either from the orthodox perspective (about how life in “*jiu shehui*” is “*ku*”/bitter and how life in “*xin shehui*” is “*tian*”/sweet) or from the alternative perspective (about how people have to endure listening to the same story again and again, how some “*pin xia zhong nong*” (poor and lower middle peasants) “*yi cuo ku*”/recall the wrong type of bitterness and “*si cuo tian*” /reflect on the wrong type of sweetness, as talked about in Chapter 4). Here I will review some dissertation and thesis analyzing “*yiku sitian*” movement.

While many dissertations and theses mentioned just in pass the “*yiku sitian*” movement in their studies about other issues, such as Yunbo Sun’s thesis titled “1964: the Social Class and the Class Struggle Narration on ‘*People’s Literature*’”<sup>50</sup>, and Yexu Dong’s thesis titled “A Study about the ‘Denouncing Lin<sup>51</sup> and Denouncing Kong<sup>52</sup> Movement’ in Qufu during ‘Cultural Revolution’”<sup>53</sup>, there is one particular thesis and one dissertation that devote full attention to “*yiku sitian*” movement in their studies.

Qiya An’s thesis is titled “Research on political mobilization mode of ‘Contrasting the past bitterness with the present happiness (1963-1966)’”<sup>54</sup>. An graduated

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<sup>50</sup> “1964: 《人民文学》的阶级与阶级斗争叙事”, 孙运波, Jilin University, 2006-04

<sup>51</sup> Here “Lin” refers to “Lin Biao”, the then Vice Premier of the People’s Republic of China. After his alleged plan of assassinating Mao Zedong failed, he and his wife and son fled China on a plane but died of the plane crash in a place in Mongolia bordering China on September 13<sup>th</sup>, 1971. A campaign of denouncing him nationally was launched afterwards

<sup>52</sup> “Kong” refers to “Kong Qiu” or Confucius. The “Denouncing Lin and Denouncing Kong Movement” was approved by Mao and launched on January 18<sup>th</sup>, 1974. The actual target is Zhou Enlai, the Premier of China.

<sup>53</sup> “文革”时期曲阜‘批林批孔’运动研究”, 董业勤, Qufu Normal University, 2010-04

<sup>54</sup> The title translation is provided by the author, Qiya An, herself.

from the Department of Political Science in East China Normal University in 2010 so the thesis is an exploration of the development of contemporary Chinese politics. The author translates “*yiku sitian*” as “contrasting the past bitterness with the present happiness” and defines it as “a successful practice” during which CPC “compares the old society with the present one”, “makes use of the legitimate resources of the old society and legitimate resources of the new China”, applies “a variety of mobilization means” in order to “raise people’s hatred for the former society, enhance their identification with the new proletarian class, strengthen their support for the Communist Party and consolidate the Party’s ruling position” (Abstract, p. ii). Because of the nature of the author’s major, she treats “*yiku sitian*” as a form of political mobilization and focuses on the fundamental elements, characteristics, and effect of mobilization. The time period that she chose to analyze is 1963 to 1966, which is regarded by her as the “peak” time of “*yiku sitian*” movement. But in fact, as we can see from Chapter 2, the number of reports occurred annually in “*Renmin Ribao*” (*People’s Daily*) is significantly higher between 1968 and 1975 than between 1963 to 1966. The background information provided in this thesis about the initiation of “*yiku sitian*” movement is helpful.

According to Qiya An, the occurrence of “*yiku sitian*” movement in China in the early 1960s is not accidental but a decision made by the Chinese Communist Party in response to the severe and changing domestic and international environment. The “Great Leap Forward” and the following three-year natural disasters trapped CPC into a quagmire. Events happened in U.S.S.R. as well as eastern European countries at the end of 1950s and beginning of 1960s that questioned and threatened the existence of socialism put CPC on alert to its own future. In order to shift attention of Chinese people,

cover up the serious policy error of “Great Leap Forward”, and strengthen Chinese people’s trust to their government, CPC launched “*yiku sitian*” movement as a means to demonstrate the legitimacy, reasonability, and superiority of the new government compared with the old government.

Yangcheng Li’s dissertation is titled “Study on ‘*yikusitian* method’ after the founding of P.R.C. 1949”<sup>55</sup>. Li graduated from the Department of Thought and Political Education in *Nanjing* University of Science and Technology in 2012. His review and analysis of the historical background, initiation, development, achievements and shortcomings of the “*yiku sitian*” movement is thorough and comprehensive. Although the focus of his study, as stated in the dissertation title, is the “*yikusitian* method” after the founding of P.R.C. in 1949, he actually goes back and digs out the root of “*yiku sitian*” movement from before the birth of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921.

According to Li, Karl Marx’s theory of indoctrination has played a significant role in China’s revolutionary history. The theory of indoctrination can be traced back to some earlier works of Marx and Engels, such as Marx’s “Introduction to ‘Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right’” in 1843, “Declaration of the Establishment of International Workingmen’s Association” in 1864, and Engels’ “Socialism: Utopian and Scientific” in 1880, in which they emphasized the importance of indoctrinating scientific theories (i.e., the Communist theories) among the working class. Lenin is believed to be the one making the greatest contribution to the theory of indoctrination. According to Li, Lenin elaborated systematically in his classical work, “What is to be done?” (written in 1901 and published in 1902) the thoughts and principles of indoctrination in the following five

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<sup>55</sup> The title translation is provided by the author, Yangcheng Li, himself.

areas: the necessity, content, subject, object, and method of indoctrination. Li believes that the germination, development, and maturation of “*yiku sitian*” method in Chinese revolutionary history reflect exactly the five areas of indoctrination theory. Specifically, during the formation stage of “*yiku sitian*” method, the object of thought and political education were commonly workers and peasants who did not have much education. It would be very hard for them to figure out the root of the sufferings of the class that they belong to simply based on their own rational knowledge. Therefore, it was necessary for pioneering intellectuals to go to the working mass to demonstrate to them with irrefutable evidence and everyday language the evilness of the old system and explain to them the basic principles of socialist revolution through methods and formats like “*jihui*” (assemblies), “*kongsu*” (denouncement), “*suku*” (pouring out the bitterness), “*zhanlan*” (exhibition), and “*wenyi*” (entertainment). In this way they indoctrinated profound arguments into the minds of the mass in simple language so as to increase their knowledge about socialism, raise their understanding about the old system from perceptual awareness to theoretical height, and plant the proletariat revolutionary thoughts deeply into people’s hearts so it can be well-received by the majority of the mass. Li believes that the “*yiku sitian*” method serves exactly this purpose and has functioned well most of the time in modern Chinese history, though there were also various problems occurred when carrying out this thought-education method, especially in the 60s and 70s, when the larger political atmosphere was abnormal due to the exaggeration of the necessity to prioritize “*jieji douzheng*” over economic construction nationally on a constant basis.

Li continues his examination of “*yiku sitian*” method beyond 1978 and up to the twenty-first century, as he sees the spirit of this method still applicable and still applied in the contemporary era, though the name and the carrier could be different. For example, the “*shuangsi* (double thinking) educational activities” advocated by Jiang Zemin, former Chinese President, when inspecting work in Guangdong Province in February 2000 encourages people to “Think about the origin that leads to today’s wealth and think about how to make more progress after getting rich”. It shares the same spirit with “*yiku sitian*” as it requires comparison of the past poverty with the present sufficiency and points to an even better future.

Li lists some new carriers of “*yiku sitian*” method in his study: “*hongge*” (red songs), “*hongse luyou*” (red travelling), “*hongse jingdian wenxue*” (red classical literature), “*hongse yingshi*” (red movies), “*hongse zhanlan*” (red exhibition), etc. In China the color of “*hongse*” (red) is commonly used to represent revolutionary theme. So everything listed above has certain connections with the past communist revolution. For example, “*hongge*” (red songs) refers to those well-known and well-loved songs sung in the 1930s during the second domestic revolution period in China; and “*hongse luyou*” (red travelling) refers to visits paid to particular places that are significantly meaningful in the revolutionary era. Li believes that the various “*hongse*” (red) activities can serve as “vivid teaching materials” that pass the fine traditions and precious spirit of the Party to the younger generation.

Li also suggests two crucial lessons to be learned from the past failure of “*yiku sitian*” movement: (1) It is crucial to adhere to the “*shishi qiushi*” (seeking truth from facts) principle of thought and political education and avoid formalism and fraudulent

practice; (2) It is crucial to discard the erroneous claim of “*yi jieji douzheng wei gang*” (organizing every work centered around class struggle) and replace it with the belief of “*yi jingji jianshe wei zhongxin*” (organizing every work centered around economic construction) so that all efforts can be directed toward serving the socialist construction.

Although Qiya An’s thesis and Yangcheng Li’s dissertation are both meaningful studies regarding “*yiku sitian*” movement and both have produced useful knowledge about this historical event, their examination of this focal phenomenon is politically based and oriented, with An’s thesis aims to decipher fundamental elements contributing to the success or failure of a political mobilization event and Li’s dissertation aims to identify the most effective thought and political education method for contemporary China. No attempt is made to treat “*yiku sitian*” as a communicational or cultural practice, to identify its discursive shape, or to sort out the belief and value system at work behind this historical happening. This dissertation research is conducted to address exactly these concerns and issues.

#### **1.4 Theoretical Perspective**

Theoretically speaking, this study is designed within the ethnography of communication (EC) program founded by anthropologist and linguist Dell Hymes in the 1960s and the cultural communication theory developed by communication scholar Gerry Philipsen in the 1980s which officially introduced the EC program into Communication studies.

##### **1.4.1 The Initiation of the EC Program: Hymes’ Descriptive Theory**

This study is designed within the Ethnography of Communication program, which is an approach to the study of human communication with its own philosophy, theory, and methodology (for a concise review of the EC program, see Carbaugh 2009. Also see

Carbaugh 1995 and Philipsen & Coutu, 2005). Traditionally speaking, linguists had only paid attention to analysis of the grammatical structure of language as a referential code while neglecting the social meanings of language in use and its rich diversity; on the other hand, anthropologists mainly paid attention to analysis of social and cultural structure of human life while neglecting how the social and cultural life of human beings has been shaped by their habitual ways of using languages. Noticing this gap left unattended to by both sides, linguist and anthropologist Dell Hymes called, in the 1960s and 1970s, via a series of papers, for the establishment of a new field that is “ethnographic in basis, and communicative in scope” (Hymes, 1964b, p. 9), aiming to develop “models, or theories, of the interaction of language and social life” (Hymes, 1972, p. 41).

Hymes firstly named this approach “Ethnography of speaking” (1962) and soon expanded it as “Ethnography of communication” (1964), implying that the study of communication would be broader than the study of speaking (see Hymes 1962 and 1964b; also see Leeds-Hurwitz, 1984, p. 10).

Among Hymes’ pioneering contributions to the EC field, two of his formulations are directly relevant — the proposed assumptive foundation regarding spoken language; and the construction toward a descriptive theory.

Hymes (1962) suggests three cornerstones for the assumptive foundation. First, the speaking of a community, like its linguistic code(s), can be described in terms of rule and system. Second, the functions of speech vary cross-culturally. Third, the speech activity of a community is the primary focus of inquiry in studies of speech behavior.



This assumptive foundation has been proved to be critically important as all future development of the EC field takes this as the starting point.

The descriptive theory suggested by Hymes firstly in his 1962 essay and then refined in his 1972 essay has provided for the analysis of individual communities “by specifying technical concepts required for such analysis, and by characterizing the forms that analysis should take” (Hymes, 1972, p. 53). The constructs he proposed for the descriptive theory includes mainly two parts: the social units of analysis and the components of speech.

Among the social units of analysis, *speech community* is the largest descriptive unit. It is defined as “a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety” (Hymes, 1972, p. 54). Within a speech community one can readily detect many situations associated with (or marked by the absence of) speech, such as ceremonies, fights, hunts, meals, etc. Hymes (1972) terms it as *speech situation*.

The next unit of analysis is *speech event*, which Hymes (1972) restricts to “activities, or aspects of activities, that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech” (p. 56). Closely related with this is *speech act*, which is the minimal unit of analysis.

Considered together with the concept of speech event and speech situation, an event may consist of a single speech act, but will often comprise several. A speech act may be the whole of a speech event and of a speech situation (e.g. a rite consisting of a single prayer). A more common relationship between the three concepts is a difference in magnitude, as is manifested in the following example: a party (speech situation), a

conversation during the party (speech event), and a joke within the conversation (speech act). Hymes (1972) notes that it is of speech events and speech acts that one writes formal rules for their occurrence and characteristics (p. 56).

Other two units of analysis are *speech styles* and *ways of speaking*. According to Hymes (1972), it's not enough for a researcher to approach style simply as a matter of statistical frequency of elements already given in linguistic description, or as deviation from some norm given by such description. One should also pay attention to the factor of "qualitative judgments of appropriateness" and describe style "in terms of selections that apply globally to a discourse, as in the case of honorific usage in Japanese" (p. 57). *Ways of speaking* is to be used as the most general and primitive term. The idea is that "the communicative behavior within a community is analyzable in terms of determinate ways of speaking" and "the communicative competence of persons comprises in part a knowledge of determinate ways of speaking" (p. 58).

Hymes (1972) proposes the following components, summarized with the mnemonic device of the word SPEAKING, to be considered when studying speeches: **S**ituation (setting, scene), **P**articipants (speaker, sender, addressor, hearer, receiver, audience, addressee), **E**nds (goals, outcomes), **A**cts (message form, message content, act sequence), **K**ey (tone, manner), **I**nstrumentalities (channels, modes of use), **N**orms (of interaction and interpretation), and **G**enres.

As the founder of this new program, Hymes has made fundamentally significant contributions in terms of proposing a comparative study of communication, providing the assumptive foundation, formulating the descriptive framework for empirical analysis, suggesting the theoretical issues to be addressed, and calling for empirical work. He

points to the right direction for other scholars in related discipline, who are also interested in the dynamic relationship between modes of situated social interaction, whether it is conducted in speech or through other means, and the cultural meanings that give shape to it, to continually build on, explore, and expand the width and depth of this program and to refine the tools to be used in data collection and analysis.

#### **1.4.2 The Introduction of the EC Approach into Communication Field: Philipsen's Cultural Communication Theory**

Leeds-Hurwitz (1984) pointed out that although Hymes did imply in several places of his essays (1962, 1964b, 1964d, 1964e, 1967b) that the study of communication would be broader than the study of speaking, most of the times he used the two terms, “ethnography of speaking” and “ethnography of communication,” interchangeably to refer to this fledgling program, and he basically focused his efforts on theoretic constructs and case applications solely at the level of speaking, regardless of what he recommended others to do. Sherzer pointed out this problem sharply in his 1977 appraisal essay of the “ethnography of speaking”:

“While both terms have been used for the field I am discussing here, I think it is fair to say that there is as yet no real ethnography of communication, in that almost all research has focused almost exclusively on language and speech” (p. 51).

This limitation started to change since Gerry Philipsen's work. In fact, Philipsen is the first person that introduced this new program into the communication field in the mid-70s with a series of researches on the speech habits of “Teamsterville,” a working-class neighborhood in Chicago, USA (Philipsen, 1975, 1976a, 1986, 1992). Philipsen's most significant contribution to this program is the expansion of the EC approach with the development of cultural communication theory (abbreviated as CC in the following text) firstly in a conference paper titled “The prospect for cultural communication” in

1980, then refined through series of publications (1987, 1989a, 1989b, 1992, 1998, 2002, 2005 with Coutu and 2005 with Coutu and Covarrubias).

Philipsen (2002) reviews and summarizes this CC theory in three parts: First, CC refers to communicative conduct that performs cultural function, also called “communal function” in Philipsen (1987), which is the creation and affirmation of “a sense of shared identity which nonetheless preserves individual dignity, freedom, and creativity” (Philipsen, 1987, p. 249). Second, communication is a performative resource in doing the cultural work of communities and individual – here “communication” is identified as “a means for linking individuals into communities of shared identity” (Philipsen, 1989b, p. 79). Third, cultural function is performed, communicatively, in distinctive ways across different communal conversations. Philipsen (1989a) summarizes this point into an “axiom of particularity,” which is also a fundamental axiom that the whole EC approach is built upon. As Philipsen put it, the “axiom of particularity” defines that “the efficacious resources for creating shared meaning and motivating coordinated action vary across social groups” (Philipsen, 1989a, p. 258). Three generic cultural forms of communication are suggested by the CC theory: ritual, myth, and social drama. Ritual provides a structuring to communicative sequences to the effect that the sequence, when conducted correctly, celebrates a sacred object. Myth provides communally potent narrative resources that an individual can use to “dignify and give coherence to” life (p. 252). The third form, the social drama, drawn from the work of Victor Turner (1980), is a processual form in four phases through which cultural rules or codes are violated, negotiated, revised, or reasserted.

Inclusive to the CC theory is a theory of speech code that Philipsen developed and presented (mainly) in his 1992 book, *Speaking Culturally: Explorations in social communication* and his 1997 essay, "A theory of speech code." The concept "speech codes" helps elaborate the basic premises that communication is fundamentally a socio-cultural practice and partly constitutive of socio-cultural life. Following Hymes, Philipsen (1992) puts the basic idea regarding speech this way: "Speaking is inextricably speaking culturally...[It] is a radically cultural medium of human communication" (p. 136). As Carbaugh (1995, p. 283) reviews, Philipsen's suggestion of attending to speech codes "helps ethnographers of communication identify a correlation between culture and speaking, such that (1) a distinctive culture carries with it (minimally) a distinctive speech code; (2) a distinctive speech code implicates models for personhood, society, and strategic action; (3) the cultural significance of communication depends partly upon interpretations of these spoken implications (of personhood, society, and strategic action); and (4) such 'codes are inextricably woven into speaking' (Philipsen, 1992, p. 136)."

#### **1.4.3 Continued Development of the EC Program: Carbaugh's Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory**

EC program continued to develop lively in the 1990s with more communication scholars, such as Charles Braithwaite, Donal Carbaugh, Patricia Covarrubias, Kristin Fitch, Brad Hall, Tamar Katriel, George Ray, etc. contributed, both theoretically and empirically, to the expansion and substantiation of it by developing communication theory of culture and society (see Carbaugh 1988b, 1988c, 1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1994, 1996a; Covarrubias, 2002; Hall, 1988-1989; Philipsen 1992; etc.), and interpretive theory on cultural structures in communication (see Braithwaite 1990; Carbaugh 1988a, 1989, 1994; Fitch 1991; Katriel and Philipsen, 1981; Philipsen 1992; Ray, 1987; Wieder and

Pratt 1990; etc.)<sup>56</sup> with Carbaugh's (1989) Cultural Terms for Talk framework (later on expanded to be "cultural terms for pragmatic action" and then "cultural terms for communicative action") and his cultural discourse analysis theory (1988a, 1997 with Gibson and Milburn, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2013 with Cerulli, etc.) among those that have significantly contributed to the EC program. For a comprehensive review of the development of the cultural discourse theory and explication of its current practice today, see Michelle Scollo's (2011) article, "Cultural approaches to discourse analysis: A theoretical and methodological conversation with special focus on Donal Carbaugh's Cultural Discourse Theory"<sup>57</sup>. As mentioned previously, these two theories advanced by Carbaugh will serve as the guiding concepts/theories for this study and will be discussed in more detail later.

#### **1.4.4 Assumptions Guiding the Research**

This proposed study is first of all based on the assumption that *Chinese people's "yiku sitian" practices are fundamentally communicational and cultural*. On the one hand, "yiku sitian" involved communication practices that were initiated and promoted by the Chinese Communist Party. People were encouraged (and sometimes required) to engage in intensively emotive and denigrating speaking against the enemy class, be it "dizhu" (landlords), "funong" (rich peasants), or evil "fandongpai" (reactionaries). The physical form of this communication practice was characterized by its unique degree of structuring, mode of action, tone, and efficaciousness, with both literal and metaphorical messages being expressed in this process (see later chapter for detailed analysis regarding

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<sup>56</sup> Cf. Carbaugh 1995 for a review of the recent development added to the ethnography of communication approach.

<sup>57</sup> *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 6, 1-32.

this point). On the other hand, “*yiku sitian*” involved culturally shaped communication practices. They were designed and carried out according to what the Chinese Communist Party believed as important, truthful, and valuable. For example, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, failure of domestic economic policy (marked by the so-called “Three Banners” – the General Guideline<sup>58</sup>, the Great Leap Forward movement<sup>59</sup>, and the People’s Commune<sup>60</sup>) resulted in severe famine throughout China<sup>61</sup>. Yet leaders who dared to voice criticism about the Three Banners were denounced as “rightists.” At the same time, the friendly and brotherly relationship between the Communist Parties of China and the United Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) was gradually replaced with disagreement and hostility and eventually, termination of all the aids and support that China received from the Soviet. Also, by 1962, China faced increasing threats in its border area – the escalation of Vietnam War by the United States; the Sino-Indian military confrontation; and *Chiang Kai-Shek*’s conspiracy of raiding China with the help from the United States. Combined all together, these factors convinced *Mao* and some other national leaders that China was facing challenges and threats of “peaceful evolution” from both the U.S.S. R. (for the danger of “revisionism”) and from the United States (for the danger of “capitalization”). This presumption about endangered social reality prompted *Mao* to conclude that “*jieji diren*” (class enemies) had not ceased their attempt in causing destruction to the socialist construction. Therefore, “*jieji douzheng*” (class

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<sup>58</sup> *Zong Luxian* (总路线)

<sup>59</sup> *Da Yuejin* (大跃进)

<sup>60</sup> *Renmin Gongshe* (人民公社)

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Fang Liu’s book review article titled “The Heavey Tombstone”. The book *Tombstone* is written by Jisheng Yang and is a documentary writing of the great famine in China in the 1960s. “沉重的墓碑 – 读杨继绳《墓碑》（中国60年代大饥荒纪实）” <https://sites.google.com/site/dajihuanglishi/shuping/cz>

struggle) should still be prioritized as a top political need to be mentioned “every year, every month, and every day.”<sup>62</sup> Based on this perception about China’s reality, Mao concluded that it was very necessary to launch a “*shehui zhuyi jiaoyu yundong*” (socialist education movement) to make sure that “*jieji diren*” (class enemies) would have no chance to corrupt the socialist cause. “*Yiku sitian*” was the major way to conduct this “socialist education movement”. People were mobilized to engage in very emotional disclosure about how bitter and miserable life in “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) was and how happy and sweet life in “*xin shehui*” (the new society) was. This was also expected to help Chinese people to achieve understanding about the disastrous situation the country had been facing, especially for that three years from 1959 to 1961. Again, the following chapters will help us to see how, as a cultural term, the mode of action, degree of structuring, tone, and efficaciousness of the “*yiku sitian*” practice were shaped by the cultural beliefs and values of Mao and the Communist Party, and what cultural messages were conveyed when people engaged in the “*yiku sitian*” practice.

This proposed study also shares the assumptions that Carbaugh (1994)<sup>63</sup> specified for the conceptualization of communication and culture. According to Carbaugh (1994), “*Communication is the primary social process*” “*through which social life is created, maintained, and transformed*” (p.23). China is traditionally a Confucius country emphasizing orders, hierarchy, moderation, and courteous manners. But with the introduction of the new belief system of Communism into China from 1917<sup>64</sup> and with

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<sup>62</sup> “阶级斗争要年年讲，月月讲，天天讲”

<sup>63</sup> And previously Carbaugh (1990).

<sup>64</sup> Dazhao Li (李大钊) was credited as the first person introducing Marxism and Communism into China. See the following reference from *Baidu*, China’s online encyclopedia compilation retrieved at the address <http://zhidao.baidu.com/question/15342367.html>



the practice of it by the members of the Chinese Communist Party since its establishment in 1921, many new and more radical and violent forms of communication appeared, such as “*geming*” (revolution), “*jiefang*” (liberation), and “*douzhen*” (struggle). Through the new forms of communication, Chinese people began to see their social life being transformed with new roles, new identities, new social relations, and new institutions being established and new ways of doing things being introduced.

According to Carbaugh (1994), “*Communication involves structures and processes of meaning-making*”; “*communication constitutes meanings that are in, of, and about, the world*” and “*persons act as if they share a common meaning*” (ibid.). Indeed, the communication practice of “*yiku sitian*” can be regarded as such a kind of “malleable structure and process of meaning-making” (ibid.) as it can be done in different settings and address to various concerns. People create and confirm meanings that are common to them all through this communication practice.

According to Carbaugh (1994), “*Communication is situated action, involving particular forms and multiple functions*” (ibid.). “*Yiku sitian*” as such a form of communication is “situated in contexts”, “occurring in physical spaces”, “between particular (classes) of persons”, “about identifiable topics”, “enacted through particular forms, identifiable devices, acts and act sequences”, and “accomplishing multiple functions” by “uniting” people from similar class background and “dividing” people that are different in their class background.

According to Carbaugh (1994), “*Culture is a system of symbols, symbolic forms, and meanings*” (ibid.). The new cultural system taking shape in the first half of the 19th century in China definitely has its own unique symbols, symbolic forms and their

meanings, which are expressed through various communication practices such as “*yiku sitian*”.

According to Carbaugh (1994), “*Culture systems have integrative and transformative potentials*” (p. 24). In Chinese communist history, the new revolutionary cultural system is created out of the previous feudal cultural system and through “new forms of action and meaning” that are “created efficaciously”. “Systems of symbols and meanings” were invoked to “show how parts fit together into a whole – how “the Party” has “saved” “the People” out of *jiu shehui* (the old society) and into *xin shehui* (the new society) and formed them into a “*shehui zhuyi da jiating*” (socialist big family).

According to Carbaugh (1994), “*Culture system is mutually intelligible, commonly accessible, and deeply felt*” (ibid.). “Particular systems of symbols and meanings”, such as those about “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”, are something that the majority of Chinese people all understood, made use of in their “*yiku sitian*” practice, and showed strong emotions for in that process.

According to Carbaugh (1994), “*Culture is historically grounded... as highly particular meanings being projected from a very particular past*” (p. 25). Mao Zedong and his comrades embraced Communism and established a socialist China after years of fighting with Chiang Kai-Shek and his Nationalist Party and armies. Although the Communist theories put forward by Marx and Engels and extended by Lenin had been more or less localized by Mao and his comrades based on China’s specific situation, they are still deeply rooted in the historical meaning system of Communism.

### **1.4.5 Central Theoretical Frameworks Guiding the Study**

Two theoretical frameworks contributed by Donal Carbaugh to the ethnography of communication program are central to this study: Cultural Terms for Talk and Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory.

#### **1.4.5.1 Cultural Terms for Talk**

In his 1962 ground breaking essay, Hymes suggested that one good way of getting at speech events is through the indigenous terms that name them (p. 110). Following this call, Donal Carbaugh developed an analytic framework of Cultural Terms for Talk in his 1989 essay, “Fifty terms for talk,” as a result of a comparative study of fifty indigenous terms across 17 cultures and societies based on published ethnographic accounts of native conceptions about speaking. The initial scope of the framework is to identify “the words and the meanings that people from various cultural fields use to conceive of and evaluate speech” (Carbaugh, 1989, p. 94). Later on it was expanded to be “Cultural Terms for Communicative Action”, inclusive of the nonlinguistic aspect of certain communicative practices that are so identified by such terms. This framework is designed to provide guidance in collecting and analyzing data in two closely related modes, the descriptive mode and the interpretive mode. The descriptive mode calls an ethnographer’s attention to the identification of specific cultural terms that the native people use and the enactments that the terms refer to; and the interpretive mode helps the researcher to discover/unveil the deep meanings and unspoken premises of beliefs and values that are commonly shared among, though usually unaware of by, the natives.

As Philipsen and Coutu (2005) pointed out, Carbaugh’s (1989) Cultural Terms for Communicative Action framework is a cross-cultural framework. It “provides a mechanism for understanding and categorizing not only previously researched terms for

talk, but also presently undiscovered terms for talk” (p. 373). During the past 15 years, researches applying this framework by different scholars in the EC field have been mushrooming, demonstrating the strength and feasibility of it. At least 14 studies<sup>65</sup> utilizing the Cultural Terms for Communicative Action/pragmatic action theoretic framework have been published, examining 123 cultural terms used by natives across various speech communities or social contexts. At least another 7 on-going research projects are being carried out using this analytical framework (cf. Carbaugh 2004).

Following is a step-by-step description of how the framework can be utilized in ethnographic researches.

After being in the field for some time and observing the natives interacting with each other in various social and cultural contexts, the researcher comes to notice certain words, phrases, or expressions that are used by the natives, which carry some specific meanings that are associated with some specific communicational practices, be it a way of talking or a way of doing something<sup>66</sup>. These words, phrases, or expressions constitute the so-called “cultural terms” in this framework. After an appropriate cultural term has been identified, the framework helps the researcher to determine on which levels the cultural term is operating – is it a term that identifies communicative acts (communicative practices that can be performed by an individual); communicative events (practices that require co-production, and/or sequences of acts); or communicative styles (features that both characterize and span both acts and events). There is also a fourth

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<sup>65</sup> Baxter (1993); Baxter and Goldsmith (1990); Bloch (2003); Carbaugh (1999); Fitch (1998); Garrett (1993); Goldsmith and Baxter (1996); Hall and Noguchi (1995); Hall and Valde (1995); Katriel (2004); Philipsen (1992); Scollo Sawyer (2004); Wilkins (2005; 2007).

<sup>66</sup> Note that such cultural terms draws attention to qualities of some interactive practices in a society. Therefore they are intended to be applied to a class of practice, not to a population of people, as Carbaugh emphasized in his new book, *Cultures in Conversation*, published in 2005, on page xxvii.

functional level that is more peripherally related but still important in many cases – the “social uses in context” – to address the question of “why that now?” in relation to the chosen cultural term (c.f. Carbaugh 2004). Specifically, researchers may consider the social uses of the cultural term in categories, such as, to identify and render kinds of actions, to instruct, to evaluate, to account (justify, explain), to apologize, to complement, to bond, etc.

Once communicative practices are categorized and described in a systematic and organized way, the next step is to move to the interpretive mode. Here the framework helps the researcher to answer the question of “What are the [native] speakers telling each other as they use these terms?” (Carbaugh 1989, p. 104). The framework provides a guideline for examining messages and meanings that are codified in indigenous terms. In general, three types of messages are conveyed by such terms: literal messages about communication practice itself; metaphorical messages about personhood; and metaphorical messages about sociality. The first message is conveyed more directly whereas the second and the third messages may be conveyed more indirectly.

The literal messages about communication practice itself include *modes of action*, ranging from direct to indirect; *degree of structuring*, ranging from restricted to elaborate or formal to informal; *tone*, ranging from slightly felt to deeply felt, and *efficaciousness of the practice*, ranging from valued/significant to not valued/insignificant.

The metaphorical messages about sociality provide indirect comments on the *(in)appropriateness* of the social roles and identities that are played out or enacted by the participants; their *relations* among each other, and the *institutions* in which they find themselves and through which they speak.

The metaphorical messages about personhood can be interpreted as *conceptualizations* of persons or *cultural premises* for being a person. What is implied here is that there is an intimate link between Cultural Terms for Communicative Action (the ways speech is identified and used by natives) and models of personhood (the type of personhood that is enacted) (Carbaugh 1989, p. 111).

The framework suggested the following four dimensions of personhood that a researcher may want to pay attention to: the *loci of motives* (e.g., relational vs. intentional); the *bases of sociation* (e.g., organically enmeshed vs. contractually interdependent); the *styles of personhood* (e.g., impersonal and positional vs. intimate and personal); and the *overall types of personhood* (e.g. a sociocentric organic model vs. an egocentric contractual model).

When people label their speech, they invoke conceptions about personhood. It's the ethnographers' job to listen for these messages and to see how the natives use them to construct their senses of communicative acts, events, and styles. It is to be noted that any EC study approached from the native people's use of specific Cultural Terms for Communicative Action / pragmatic action should not be an exploration of purely the ideational domains of words about speech outside their actional contexts but their meanings and functions with reference to specific sociocultural scenes (Carbaugh 1989, p. 96).

#### **1.4.5.2 Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory**

The CDA theory has been suggested, applied, and refined in quite a few places of Carbaugh's work, such as his (1988a) book, *Talking Americans*; his (1996a) book, *Situating Selves*; his (1996b) book chapter on environmental communication; and his

(1997) book chapter extracting this theoretic view on communication and culture co-authored with Gibson and Milburn.

In Carbaugh, Gibson, and Milburn (1997), a full view about this theory, including its historical roots, three guiding assumptions, two basic axioms, and three basic concepts, is presented.

Carbaugh, Gibson, and Milburn (1997) traces the historical foundation of the CDA theory as related with some “diverse and important predecessors” such as Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, Benjamin Lee Whorf, Kenneth Burke, Clifford Geertz, David Schneider, Donald Cushman as well as Dell Hymes and Gerry Philipsen.

The three guiding assumptions about communication that Carbaugh, Gibson and Milburn (1997) summarized are these: When communication occurs, it exhibits, or instantiates, no randomness, but some kind of systemic patterns; Systemic patterns of communication implicate social organization (e.g., the structuring of interaction, social relations, institutions) and cultural meaning systems (e.g., beliefs and values about persons, social action, nature); Communication is thus partly constitutive of sociocultural life (p. 3).

The two basic axioms are “axiom of particularity” (firstly mentioned in Philipsen, 1989a) and “axiom of actuality.” The axiom of particularity claims that wherever there is communication, and wherever there are technologies of communication, these are conceived, valued, and used in locally distinctive ways (p. 3, see also Philipsen, 1989a, pp. 258-260 and Philipsen, 1992, pp. 10-13); the axiom of actuality claims that there is already existent in any context, community, or nation, a system of communication

practices. People organize their social lives through actual communicative customs that are already coherent and appropriate in their place.

The three basic concepts of the cultural discourse analysis theory are: *scene*, *communication practice*, and *cultural discourse*. The construct, communicative scene, refers to both the specific place where communicative practice occurs, and the general “cultural landscape” being presumed in that place which gives shape to people’s communicational practice and its meaning. The concept of place draws attention to communication on *a specific occasion*, as a situated performance in which particular people are participating, and suggests focusing on the ongoing social practices among those particular people. This draws one’s view to the momentary context of utterance (or image use, or sound). The concept of cultural landscape draws attention to a *system of expressive meaning* that is immanent in communicative occasions, and through them, implicates basic beliefs and values about people, relations, action, nature, and feeling.

The construct, communicative practice, draws attention to a pattern of *situated, message endowed action* that is used in a scene(s). Any communication practice plays into communicative scenes, and further implicates a part of the cultural landscape when it is in use. In other words, a communication practice is a pattern of use (and meaning) in identifiable contexts, and requires descriptions of those very uses (and meanings) in those specific contexts in order to understand it. Also, communication practices implicate deeper premises, rules, or meanings about persons, actions, feelings, and nature, with these being creatively activated in the use of the communication practice. In this sense, communication practices are richly radiating as they both shape particular scenes and places, and as they also implicate meanings about living that go beyond those very scenes



and places. To generate knowledge of a communication practice, then, is to describe a particular situated pattern in use, but it is doing so while being deliberately cognizant of a larger expressive system(s) of which it is a part – including premises about being, acting, relating, feeling, and dwelling.

The construct, cultural discourse, is a part of the symbolic culturescape that is significant and important to participants, and is thus “rich” with participant meaning. Because a cultural discourse is deeply particular, and coheres various practices upon occasions, it requires heavy emphasis upon interpretive inquiry. These interpretations are formulated on the basis of a set of communication practices, which together comprise a cultural discourse. Cultural discourses are, in other words, immanent in communication practices, composed of specific communication practices, and draw attention to a system of symbols, premises, rules, or norms, and meanings that radiate within those practices. Any one cultural discourse might imply a system of specific communication practices that converges topically (e.g., discourses of religion, science, education), or functionally (e.g., discourses of identity, action). In this sense, cultural discourses identify rich radiant of meaning within particular discursive practices, and are immanent in, and implicated by the particular communication practices of those places. To generate knowledge of a cultural discourse, then, is to describe actual communication practices and subsequently to interpret systems of symbols, rules, premises, and meanings that radiate through those practices.

Analyses of communicative scenes then tack back and forth between particular occasioned uses and the “culturescape(s)” of which it is a part. The focus on communication practices anchors studies in actual moments of utterance (image, or

sound), with a focus on cultural discourses providing the rich and deep web(s) of meanings (e.g. Geertz, 1973) being implicated through those very practices.

Carbaugh (2007) suggested two general research questions that cultural discourse analysis attempt to answer: How is communication shaped as a cultural practice? What system of symbolic meanings or what cultural commentary is imminent in practices of communication? These two general research questions are based upon two assumptions: (1) Communication both presumes and constitutes social realities; (2) As people communicate, they engage in a meta-cultural commentary and say things, explicitly and implicitly, about who they are, how they are related to each other, how they feel, what they are doing, and how they are situated in the nature of things (p. 168).

Carbaugh (2013, with Cerulli) is another mile stone essay to the Cultural Discourse Analysis theory in that cultural communication practice is visualized as creating a discursive map containing five discursive hubs (identity, action, feeling, relating, and dwelling) with semantic meanings radiating from explicit discursive hub of concern. What this means is that cultural communication practice commonly makes explicit the following meanings more than others: "...who we are (about identity), what we are doing (regarding action), how we feel about things (our emotion), how we are linked to others (in relations), and the nature of things (by dwelling there)" (Carbaugh, 2010, with Cerulli, p. 9). This will help us to understand "the more taken-for-granted, implicit meanings brought along in participants' discourses" (ibid.), and, further more, gain a more complete understanding about the *meta-cultural commentary* composed of both "the explicit meanings about a discursive hub" and "the implicit meanings attached to it" (Carbaugh & Cerulli 2013, p. 10). For example, "as people talk about identity

explicitly, they also maybe saying something more implicitly about their actions (what they are doing as someone like that), their dwelling (where they are), their emotions (how they feel about things), and their social relations (who they are with or against)” (ibid.). These explicit and implicit meanings can be visualized as “radiating from communication practice”. “The more culturally rich or dense is the communication practice, the brighter and wider is the semantic radiation.” “Being able to understand and interpret the meta-cultural commentary in communication practice helps cultural analysts penetrate the surface of meanings, to the deeper significance and importance of the matters at hand” (ibid.).

So all in all, the main thesis of this focal theoretic concern can be stated as this: in any particular social and cultural context, people’s communicational practices, as explicitly identified by local key symbols and terms, or local forms of expression, reveal implicitly norms that regulate the focal interaction, and cultural premises, i.e., beliefs and values that people hold. In this sense, people’s communicational practices can be understood as shaped by a code that is cultural in terms of its nature and communicational in terms of its activity domain. It can also be understood as implicating a cultural discourse, which refer to a system of symbols, cultural terms, forms, norms, premises, and meanings that radiate within those practices. So to conduct a cultural discourse analysis is to interpret indigenous meanings from the native’s point of view by examining the key symbols, cultural terms, and forms of expression that are used by the natives in identifying culturally specific and distinctive ways of speaking and forms of communicative action; rules and norms about them; beliefs and values associated with

them; and the cultural codes that give shape to the culturally patterned communicational practices in the first place.

### **1. 5 Summary**

In this chapter I have provided an overview about the communication phenomenon to be studied – a Chinese cultural communication practice called “*yiku sitian*”, which is significant in the political history of People’s Republic of China in the 1960s and 1970s. Research questions are specified to guide this research. Relevant and selective literature is reviewed from two perspectives: those that apply theories and concepts from the Ethnography of Communication theoretic program in studying Chinese communication practices and those that address “*yiku sitian*” phenomenon as a social movement and complex political situation. Overview of the initiation of the EC program, its introduction into the communication field, and its continuous development is provided with major theoretical contributions by Dell Hymes, Gerry Philipsen and Donal Carbaugh discussed to lay the foundation for the research. Two central theoretical frameworks by Donal Carbaugh (Cultural Terms for Communicative Action and Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory) are discussed specifically to provide principles that will guide data collection and analysis, which will be presented as “Methodology” in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHODOLOGY FOR DATA COLLECTION AND DATA ANALYSIS

In this chapter I will discuss data collection and data analysis methods. Specifically, in the first section I will list the sources of data used for this study. In the second section I will discuss how data have been collected from those sources. In the third section I will describe the ways of presenting data in the dissertation. In the fourth section I will provide the procedures for the analyses of the data, each according to theories and theoretical frameworks introduced in Chapter 1.

#### 2.1 Sources of Data

It is common knowledge among Chinese people that, to the same event, there could be two or more different versions of accounts that usually fall into the following two categories, the official version vs. the grass-root version. It is the same with the “*yiku sitian*” political movement active in the 1960s and 1970s in China. There can be found an “orthodox” type and an “alternative” type of “*yiku sitian*” discourses. The “orthodox” “*yiku sitian*” accounts refer to those accounts of “*yiku sitian*” practices reported on major national and official mediums with the theme of this kind of reports focusing solely on the positive effects of “*yiku sitian*” practices and the purpose of publishing this kind of reports to cultivate people’s “*hen*” (hatred) to “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and “*ai*” (love) to “*xin shehui*” (the new society), which are divided by October 1949, so as to strengthen the “socialist construction cause” of China. The “alternative” “*yiku sitian*” accounts refer to those accounts of “*yiku sitian*” practices occurred much later in time, mainly from the late 1980s on, in the format of books, journal articles, and online blogs, with the themes of this kind of reports focusing mainly on the negative effects of “*yiku*

*sitian*” practices and the purpose of publishing this kind of anecdotes as mocking the ridiculousness of the political environment and practices in the 1960s and 1970s.

Therefore, there are two major sources where one can find data for such a study as designed in this dissertation.

Therefore, the first and primary source from which the data for this dissertation is collected is *Renmin Ribao* (*People’s Daily*) online archive<sup>1</sup>. Since “*yiku sitian*” was a historically grounded political and communicational practice with its own unique form and meanings, it is not possible any more to collect any live enactment of it (in its original sense) from contemporary life. But newspaper archives, documents, books, magazines, movies, and, nowadays, internet, provide corpus of reports and comments about this practice enacted historically and frequently throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Therefore, this study utilizes written texts as the major source of data and collects them from news reports retrieved from China’s most important, official, and national newspaper, *Renmin Ribao* (*People’s Daily*) online archive accessed through subscription by the library of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. This archive has complete collection of *Renmin Ribao* from May, 1946 to present. Data that contain all the other key cultural terms analyzed in chapters 4, 6 and 7, such as “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and “*xin shehui*” (the new society), “*jieji*” (class) and all the terms derived from it, such as “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle), “*jieji xiongdi*” (class brothers), “*jieji ganqing*” (class feelings), and “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness), are also retrieved from this orthodox source.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.oriprobe.com.silk.library.umass.edu/peoplesdaily.html>

The secondary source of data is internet posts, such as blog entries or special reports written in the recent years about either the authors themselves' or other people's negative "*yiku sitian*" experiences in the past. There are three reasons that allow this to happen: (1) the more or less relaxed political atmosphere in China since it re-opened its door to the outside world in 1978 and adopted a policy of reform and opening-up, which loosened the governmental censoring and control of people's public speech bit by bit and allowed Chinese people more freedom in expressing themselves in general; (2) the Chinese Communist Party's self-examination and criticism of problematic policies and practices in the decades prior to the end of the infamous Cultural Revolution, which resulted in the passing of a historically significant document on June 27<sup>th</sup>, 1981, which was titled "Resolutions to certain historical issues of the Party since the founding of P. R. China"<sup>2</sup>. The rights and wrongs of some important historical events, such as "Great Leap Forward" and "Cultural Revolution", and historical figures, such as Mao Zedong, were corrected and re-evaluated, making it possible for Chinese people to recall and comment on their own experiences in those past decades; (3) the fast development of world wide web technology in the world and its speedy spread in China since the year 2000, allowing Chinese people outlet to share their life and their views on life in a virtual world. Many Chinese people, especially those living in cities, have blog accounts on internet and post their thoughts and views there to share with the public. Not only more individual persons are using internet since 2000, more public entities, such as libraries, journals, and newspapers have made various types of data digitalized and available on internet, making it much easier to search for and obtain books and articles with "*yiku sitian*" themes. Some

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<sup>2</sup> In Chinese, "*Guanyu jianguo yilai dang de ruogan lishi wenti de jueyi*" (关于建国以来党的若干历史问题的决议)

of the data instances and segments that are analyzed in chapters 5 and 8 come from “alternative” sources.

Three things need to be noted here regarding the data and their sources. Firstly, the nature and status of *People’s Daily*. As stated earlier, the majority of the data for this dissertation research come from *Renmin Ribao*. As the number one official newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party, it is reprinted in local provinces in China with about three hundred million daily circulation and is also published worldwide with a circulation of thirteen to fourteen million. In addition to its main mandarin edition and editions of other minority languages in China, such as Tibetan, Uyghur, Kazakh, Zhuang, and Mongolian, it also has editions in English, Japanese, French, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, and Korean, etc. Similar to *Pravda*’s relationship with the Soviet Union, *Renmin Ribao* provides direct information on the policies and viewpoints of the government and is called “*jiguan bao*” (organ newspaper), indicating its core status among all Chinese newspapers. It is also called “*dang de houshe*” (the throat and tongue of the Party), meaning that it functions as the “mouth piece” or the “voice organ” for the Chinese Communist Party. Because of this unique feature, very strict guidelines have been used throughout all the past years by the editing board of *Renmin Ribao* to set the criterion for selection of material and to determine that “out of the rich and boundless universe and the complex and versatile social life, what can be reported and what cannot be, and out of those reportables, how to report and how much to report on” (Wang, *Renmin Ribao*, 2003062609<sup>3</sup>). It is deemed extremely essential for *Renmin Ribao* to lead the direction of public opinions.

Specifically, *Renmin Ribao* is taken as the battle ground of the ideological and cultural

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<sup>3</sup> See section “2.3 Format for Data Presentation” in this chapter for the way *Renmin Ribao* reports are presented.



wars for the Chinese Communist Party, and a significant carrier for publicizing, educating, and mobilizing the People. Therefore, it is expected “to actively and accurately advocate views and policies of the Party at all times, to convey the voices of the Party, to help the People to master views and policies of the Party so that they are transformed into the People’s own conscious actions, and to encourage the People to strive for their own interest” (ibid.). With this guideline in mind, one needs to be aware of the nature of “*yiku sitian*” data obtained from *Renmin Ribao* and know that those reports have been more or less tailored to and tainted by the taste of the Chinese Communist Party and are a good reflection of the “Party line” instead of pure and objective description of Chinese people’s independent thoughts and choices of actions. For example, reports in *Renmin Ribao* sing high praises for Mao Zedong and his Chinese Communist Party and describe Mao Zedong as the “*da jiuxing*” (great savior) of Chinese people, but they denounce and denigrate Chiang Kai-Shek and his Chinese Nationalist Party and describe Chiang as the number one “*hanjian*” (traitor to Chinese) and “*maiguo zei*” (thief that sells the country; traitor)<sup>4</sup>; they emphasize absolute loyalty and love to “Chairman Mao” and the “*xin shehui*” (new society) under Mao’s leadership, and claim “Chairman Mao’s books” should be treated as “the supreme instruction” for everything<sup>5</sup>; they emphasize absolute hatred to Chiang Kai Shek and the “*jiu shehui*” (old society) under Chiang’s leadership, and claim that “*jiu shehui*” forced humans to turn into “*gui*”

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<sup>4</sup> See the the special commentary, “*Zhongguo renmin bixu zhengqu zuihou wufenzhong de shengli*” (Chinese people must fight for the victory of the last five minutes), published on the September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1949, issue of *Renmin Ribao*.

<sup>5</sup> See the editorial commentary, “*Zai douzheng zhong huoxue huoyong Mao Zedong xixiang*” (Creatively study and apply Mao Zedong thoughts in struggle), published on the July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1966, issue of *Renmin Ribao*.

(ghosts) whereas “*xin shehui*” transformed “*gui*” (ghosts) back into humans<sup>6</sup>; they warn Chinese people the danger of revisionism and of the existence of “*yixiaocuo*” (a small bunch) of “*zouzipai*” (capitalist roaders) who attempted to force Chinese people to “*chi erbian ku, shou ercha zui*” (eat bitterness for the second time and endure hardships for the second time)<sup>7</sup>. Therefore they state that “*jieji douzheng*” need to be “*niannian jiang, yueyue jiang, tiantian jiang*” (talked about every year, every month, and every day)<sup>8</sup>. We can see that, instead of being an objective medium reporting on news happening throughout China, *Renmin Ribao* defines what is right and good and what is wrong and bad for Chinese people to abide by in their daily life and regulates people’s ways of thinking, speaking, acting, relating and feeling. This doesn’t mean that data from *Renmin Ribao* are not valid. They can be regarded as valid when one understands the significant role Chinese Communist Party plays in the political and social life of Chinese people, especially in the first thirty years of P. R. China, when “*jieji*” (class) and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) remained the dominating themes of people’s life. When people had no choice but to live their life as they were required to, that way of living became their reality. And it is this dissertation’s task to portray people’s life as it was lived in China in the 1960s and 1970s.

The second thing to be noted is the nature of *Renmin Ribao* reports that I use as primary data for this dissertation. – After reading these *Renmin Ribao* reports, some

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<sup>6</sup> See Su Kun’s report, “*Bixu cong sixiang shang wadiao ziben zhuyi genzi*” (One must remove the ideological root of bourgeoisie), published on the October 14<sup>th</sup>, 1957, issue of *Renmin Ribao*.

<sup>7</sup> See Gu Atao’s report, “*Pin xia zhongnong juebu yunxu zou ziben zhuyi huitoulu*” (Poor and lower middle peasants would definitely refuse to walk backward on a bourgeoisie road), published on the April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1967, issue of *Renmin Ribao*.

<sup>8</sup> See Ren Qun’s report, “*Renzhen xuexi Mao zhuxi guanyu dang de xueshuo*” (Carefully study Chairman Mao’s teachings about the Party), published on the July 24<sup>th</sup>, 1970, issue of *Renmin Ribao*.

curious readers might wonder, “Are they true?” “Were Chinese people really like that in the past decades?” This is an issue regarding “truth” and “false” and is a fundamental and philosophical issue. Different schools of thoughts define “truth” in different ways. For example, in his article titled “What is truth?”<sup>9</sup>, Paul Pardi, an adjunct philosophy professor at Seattle Pacific University, defines “truth” as “a statement about the way the world actually is” and looks at three main views of “truth”: The coherence theory describes truth in terms of interconnected belief. A belief is true if it is consistent with other beliefs we have; the correspondence theory describes truth in terms of a relation concepts or propositions have to the actual world; and the postmodernism lays out a view of truth in terms of individual perspectives and community agreement. I prefer the second, correspondence theory of “truth”, which, as Pardi explains, believes that “there is a world external to our beliefs that is somehow accessible to the human mind” and that “there are a set of ‘truth-bearing’ representations (or propositions) about the world that align to or *correspond* with reality or states of affairs in the world. A state of affairs is a particular way the world or reality is. When a proposition aligns to the world, the proposition is said to be true.”<sup>10</sup> In this dissertation, whenever I use terms like “true”, “truth”, “truthful” and “fact” (which is commonly used synonymously with *truth*, as distinct from opinions, falsehoods, or matters of taste) to describe something, my usage aligns with the correspondence theory, which believes in the existence of objective reality or states of affairs in the world and determines whether a concept or proposition is true based on the relation it has to the actual world. Specifically, regarding Chinese people’s

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<sup>9</sup> This article is published at the website of <http://www.philosophynews.com/post/2015/01/29/What-is-Truth.aspx> on January, 29th, 2015.

<sup>10</sup> All quotes can be seen at <http://www.philosophynews.com/post/2015/01/29/What-is-Truth.aspx>.

“*yiku sitian*” practices in the 1960s and 1970s, indeed, many issues were questioned and challenged later on in terms of their authenticity or truthfulness. For example, is “*qiongren*” (poor people)’s life in “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) really that “*ku*” (bitter)? Are “*furen*” (rich people), such as “*dizhu*” (landlords) and “*zibenjia*” (capitalists) really that cruel and merciless? Is “*xin shehui*” (the new society) really like “*tiantang*” (heaven) and “*tian*” (sweet)? Some more specific questions can be posed about specific persons whose life or reputation had been significantly altered by the nationally overwhelming “*yiku sitian*” movement. For example, in this dissertation we will be looking at some well-known persons, such as Liu Wencai and Leng Yuejing, Zhou Chunfu and Gao Yubao (all in Chapter 4), and Lei Feng (in Chapter 8), and their involvement in and experiences of “*yiku sitian*” movement. Many questions have been asked in the 1980s and 1990s about the authenticity of their life stories shared on various “*yiku sitian*” gatherings as reported in the 1960s and 1970s on major national and local newspapers, such as *Renmin Ribao*. Hence I use the terms of “orthodox account” and “alternative account” to distinguish different versions of life stories attributed to same persons mentioned above, as well as different portraits of Chinese people’s “*yiku sitian*” practices in general.

The third thing to be noted is that those *Renmin Ribao* reports are not objective descriptions or enactments of “*yiku sitian*” acts or events but are reports or accounts about “*yiku sitian*” enactments. I treat them as a unique kind of data, an ethnographic reconstruction, as Richard Bauman did concerning the 17<sup>th</sup> century Quakers’ communication practices. In his book, *Let your words be few: Symbolism of speaking and silence among seventeenth-century Quakers*, Bauman conducted a historical and

ethnographic analysis of “the formative period of Quakerism, from the early 1650s to 1689, in which the key symbols of speaking and silence gave shape to a unified system of belief, action, and meaning” (Bauman 1983, p. 153), seeking “to elucidate the interrelationships among language, culture, and society at their source, in the culturally patterned use of language as an element and instrument of social life” (Bauman 1983, p. 5). This dissertation follows the same path. Through examination of *Renmin Ribao* reports that have recorded, to a large extent, Chinese people’s “*yiku sitian*” practices in the 1960s and 1970s, I demonstrate that “*yiku sitian*” can be studied as a cultural term for communicative action and there is a specific cultural discourse at work within that discursive web spun around this focal practice.

## 2.2 Data Collection

For “orthodox” “*yiku sitian*” accounts, I did advanced key-word search (see Table 1, Table 2, and Table 3 in the following pages) in the online archive of “*People’s Daily*” and set the search period from January 1, 1960 to December 31, 1979<sup>11</sup>. Totally 2540 reports containing the term “*yiku sitian*” are found during this nineteen-year frame. The usage of this term increases consistently from 1961 to 1967, with the peak of the usage occurred between 1968 and 1975 (1969 is the year with the most reports containing the term “*yiku sitian*”), all numbering in several hundreds, then decreased sharply from 1976 to 1979, dropping from 92 reports to 4 reports annually. I then searched for the frequency of some other key terms used with or without the term “*yiku sitian*”. Among these key terms, “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and “*xin shehui*” (the new society) are analyzed in

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<sup>11</sup> From 1980s on, and up to the present, the term “*yiku sitian*” can still be seen used from time to time. But it is mainly used referentially, pointing to the historical practice popular in the 1960s and 1970s. So I set 1960 and 1979 as the two ends of my search frame.

Chapter 6; the term “*jieji*” (class) and all the rest of the terms derived from it are analyzed in Chapter 7. The frequencies of the usage of these terms are recorded in the following three tables<sup>12</sup>. Here I list only the number of reports containing both the focal cultural terms and the term “*yiku sitian*” from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1961 to December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1979. But the resulting pattern of the usage frequency is more or less the same for the two kinds of searches, all sharing the same pattern as described previously for the term “*yiku sitian*”. That is, the usage of these key terms start increasing from 1961 to 1967, then the peak usage of these terms occurred somewhere between the years 1968 to 1975, as shaded areas shown on the three tables. Then they start decreasing significantly from 1976 to 1979.

Table 1: Usage Frequency Calculation (1)

Years	<i>Yiku Sitian</i>	<i>Jiu Shehui</i>	<i>Xin Shehui</i>	<i>Jieji</i>
Total-1	2,540	9,301	2,675	39,119
Total-2	2,540	1,058	297	2,208
1979	4	2	0	1
1978	15	4	1	8
1977	50	18	2	36
1976	92	24	3	87
1975	173	76	21	146
1974	168	78	14	422
1973	154	70	24	130
1972	155	51	15	124
1971	208	75	15	170
1970	360	147	43	321
1969	457	187	49	406
1968	395	178	54	170
1967	74	29	8	58
1966	65	39	13	48
1965	53	26	8	102
1964	83	38	16	71
1963	28	16	9	23
1962	1	1	1	0
1961	5	1	1	3

<sup>12</sup> In all of them, “Total-1” refers to the number of reports containing the focal cultural terms but with or without the term “*yiku sitian*”, “Total-2” refers to the number of reports containing both the focal cultural terms and the term “*yiku sitian*”. Therefore, “Total-1” is usually significantly greater than “Total-2”.

Table 2: Usage Frequency Calculation (2)

Years	<i>Jieji Chengfen</i>	<i>Jiating Chushen</i>	<i>Jieji Guanxi</i>	<i>Jieji Xiongdi</i>	<i>Jieji Diren</i>
Total-1	46	521	541	1,884	11,251
Total-2	1	63	10	39	924
1979	0	0	0	0	0
1978	0	1	0	0	1
1977	0	0	1	1	15
1976	0	0	1	0	27
1975	0	1	0	1	64
1974	0	2	0	2	50
1973	0	5	1	0	33
1972	0	5	0	3	51
1971	0	4	0	2	76
1970	0	6	0	4	155
1969	0	19	3	10	183
1968	1	6	2	7	212
1967	0	3	0	0	19
1966	0	5	0	2	10
1965	0	1	1	1	8
1964	0	4	1	6	12
1963	0	1	0	0	2
1962	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0

Table 3: Usage Frequency Calculation (3)

Years	<i>Jieji Douzheng</i>	<i>Jieji Ganqing</i>	<i>Aizeng Fenming</i>	<i>Jieji Juewu</i>	<i>Jieji Lichang</i>
Total-1	24,045	2,785	459	2,461	768
Total-2	1,639	288	34	424	42
1979	0	0	0	0	0
1978	1	2	0	3	0
1977	21	5	1	10	0
1976	75	3	0	2	0
1975	103	13	1	6	0
1974	112	9	4	12	0
1973	89	9	2	11	1
1972	88	10	1	25	2
1971	132	17	1	24	5
1970	261	32	3	53	4
1969	323	38	2	88	6
1968	288	79	10	101	10
1967	38	24	1	18	1
1966	33	22	2	25	3
1965	45	14	2	24	3
1964	37	9	3	29	3
1963	14	1	1	12	4
1962	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	1	0	1	0

When reviewing the 2540 reports containing the term “*yiku sitian*” during this nineteen-year frame, I selected those instances that were typical enactments of “*yiku sitian*” practice and saved them. Specifically, typical instances of “*yiku sitian*” enactments contain, more or less, those components found in Hymes’ SPEAKING mnemonic device, such as setting, scenes, participants, act sequence, etc. I either save a portion of a report or a complete report, depending on the length of the instance. For example, if the whole report is about one particular instance, or if the whole report contains several instances, I save the whole report as a segment; but if the rest of the report has little to do with the selected instance, I just save the segment of the report containing that instance. All are saved digitally in my computer. They provide the data analyzed in Chapter 4 for the identification of the enactment of “*yiku sitian*” communication practices on the act, event, and style level and some of the data in Chapter 5 for the literal messages regarding communication as conveyed by the cultural terms of “*yiku sitian*” and other related terms. Seven segments are selected out of all the saved segments as data to be analyzed in Chapters 4 and 5. They are presented

For “alternative” “*yiku sitian*” accounts, I also conducted key-word search on Google the internet search engine (see Table 4 on the next page for a display of the search results) and saved articles that disclose the negative effect of “*yiku sitian*” practices. I also searched for and saved different versions of accounts regarding the same historical figures of Liu Wencai (who died in 1948, a year before the establishment of the People’s Republic of China, but still became a nationally infamous “big landlord” allegedly “exploiting” and “oppressing” “the working people” with harsh means of collecting grain rents and cruel and inhumane “water prison” and “torturing chamber” to



punish those who couldn't turn in the rent or pay back the debt on time) and the woman named Leng Yueying (who, in her numerous public “*yiku sitian*” talks, claimed to have suffered severe persecution by Liu Wencai and was the only survivor of Liu’s “water prison” ). All are saved digitally in my computer too. They provide the data analyzed in Chapter 5 regarding the message form of “*yiku sitian*” as a “personal narrative” and most of the data analyzed in the same chapter for literal messages regarding communication.

Table 4: Google.com Search Results

	<i>Yiku Sitian</i>	Liu Wencai	Leng Yueying
Total Number of Results (Searched in Chinese)	523,000	296,000	12,800
Total Number of Results (Searched in English)	8,930	77,000	N/A

Data for Chapter 8 on *Lei Feng*, the “*yiku sitian*” role model of China, comes from both the online archive of *People’s Daily* and internet search results. Because of Lei Feng’s popularity in China and the length of time (half a century) since he gained his fame and died prematurely in 1962, the amount of data available is overwhelming. I selected several most representative pieces of data regarding Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian baogao*” (*yiku sitian* public speeches) for analysis from a book written by Lei Feng’s close comrade, Qiao Anshan, in remembrance of Lei Feng’s life and deeds, and the earliest reports on Lei Feng’s memorable short life in *People’s Daily* online archive.

### 2.3 Format of Data Presentation

Dictated by the different needs of each data-based chapter, some of the shorter pieces of data, especially those containing one or two instances of “*yiku sitian*” enactments or terms related with it, are called “instances;” and some longer pieces of data, especially those containing two or more instances, are called “segments”. Both instances and segments are numbered sequentially according to the chapter in which they

are presented and the order of their presentation within that chapter. For example, “Instance 4.2” refers to the second instance cited in chapter 4, and “Segment 8.4” refers to the fourth segment cited in chapter 8. What’s more, the seven data segments that are analyzed in Chapter 4 are also compiled into Appendixes (in both original Chinese and English translation of my own) and included at the end of the dissertation. Most of them are very long and contain multiple instances of “*yiku sitian*” terms and enactments. By including them as Appendixes, readers can refer to them and gain a broader understanding about the context of each instance or segment selected for specific analysis in each chapter. For in-chapter presentation, each segment or instance is presented first in the original Chinese language and then in English translation (by myself). For those included in the Appendixes, they are firstly presented in Appendix A, all in Chinese, and then in Appendix B, all in English translation<sup>13</sup>. For data collected from the *People’s Daily* archive, a 10-digit number is used to label each piece of data in the format of *yyyymmddpp*, with “pp” stands for “pages” of the newspaper. For example, “data segment 1963020701” lets us know that it is a segment taken from a news report that was carried on the first page of an issue of the *People’s Daily* newspaper that was published on Feb. 7th, 1963. All the English translation of data instances or segments are numbered. And in Chapter 4, during analysis, lines that are quoted from the translations are identified in the following format of, for example, “S3L6-13”, which means “lines 6 to 13” in Segment #3 in Appendix B.

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<sup>13</sup> Whenever applicable, I leave cultural terms in Chinese *pin-yin* (which reflects the way those terms are pronounced in the original language) and provide translation of their meanings in parenthesis right after them.

## 2.4 Data Analysis

This dissertation is conducted under the Ethnography of Communication programmatic context in general and Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory in particular. So data will be submitted to a number of descriptive and interpretive analytical techniques within this framework. The purpose of conducting descriptive analysis is to identify salient cultural terms, symbols, forms, norms, rules, and cultural propositions that have been used by Chinese people to describe the shape and nature, the qualities and dimensions, of the “*yiku sitian*” practice under study. The purpose of conducting interpretive analysis is to unveil the cultural meanings embedded in this practice by formulating cultural propositions and cultural premises that define (un)acceptable and (in)appropriate ways of being, relating, acting, feeling, and dwelling politically in China.

The referential theoretic orientation/frameworks against which analysis is conducted are Hymes’ (1972) ethnography of speaking descriptive theory (the SPEAKING mnemonic), Carbaugh’s (1989) Cultural Terms for Talk theoretic framework, and Carbaugh’s Cultural Discourse Analysis theory (1997 with Gibson & Milburn, 2007, & 2013 with Cerulli).

Analysis for this study contains four phases guided by the above theoretic frameworks and the proposed research questions respectively. The first phase is the application of Hymes’ SPEAKING mnemonic device to each piece of data. That is, each data is examined via the *Situation, Participants, Ends, Acts, Key, Instrumentalities, Norms*, and *Genre* components, whatever applicable. The focus of this phase of analysis is on *Scenes, Acts* (message form and content), and *Norms*, to prepare for the next phase of analysis.

The second phase of analysis is mainly a descriptive one. Based on analysis during the first phase, and following the descriptive part of Carbaugh's (1989) Cultural Terms for Talk theoretic framework, besides the term "*yiku sitian*" itself, I will identify other salient cultural terms and "semantic structures" that point to the enactment of communicative acts, events, and styles in Chinese people's "*yiku sitian*" practices. This phase is guided, respectively, with

RQ1: How specifically do the term "*yiku sitian*" and other related terms identify communicative actions on the act, event, and style levels?

RQ2: What literal messages about communication are conveyed by these cultural terms?

RQ3: What rules and norms are at work governing the "*yiku sitian*" communication practice?

A set of semantic elements constituting some semantic structures that identify various communication acts of "*yiku sitian*" practice is discovered and further analyzed in three categories according to the nature of the action terms used in them. Salient communication scenes are identified from "*yiku sitian*" communication events enacted by a series of terms clustered around the focal term "*jiaoyu*" (education), and two sequential structures are delineated and summarized when "*yiku sitian*" is enacted as a communication event. Analysis of data also reveals that there is a particular communication style of "*huiyi*" (to recall from memory) and "*duibi*" (to put together and compare) that are used by native Chinese people when they engaged in "*yiku sitian*" practices.

Analysis of data indicates that "personal narratives" are frequently and actively used in "*yiku sitian*" communication events, which have fulfilled many functions Langellier (1989) summarized in her article after reviewing five theoretical positions

regarding personal narratives by various scholars. Analysis is also done to uncover the literal messages about communication (its *mode*, *degree of structuring*, *tone*, and *efficaciousness*) as conveyed by the term “*yiku sitian*” and other related cultural terms in this practice. Norms and rules regarding who should speak, how they should gesture and posture, what should be said, and how a “*yiku sitian*” practice should be said and done, etc., are formulated based on analysis. This phase of analysis and the findings are presented in Chapters Four and Five respectively.

The third phase of analysis is mainly an interpretive one. Guided by Carbaugh’s Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory, I analyze the cultural messages that are active in Chinese people’s “*yiku sitian*” communication practices. It is guided with *RQ4: What semantic system can be identified by the “yiku sitian” practice? What semantic dimensions are revealed in this system?* and *RQ5: What cultural premises are at work in the “yiku sitian” cultural discourse?* Analysis of data reveals that a semantic system composed of key cultural terms of “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and “*xin shehui*” (the new society) as well as series of terms used to define and describe the nature and feature of these two societies can be found in “*yiku sitian*” discourses. And ten semantic dimensions are identified within this semantic system. Various cultural propositions are formulated during analysis to specific instances.

Analysis of data also points to another key cultural term, “*jieji*” (class), and series of terms derived from it, such as “*jieji xiongdi*” (class brothers), “*jieji diren*” (class enemies), “*jieji guanxi*” (class relationship), “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle), “*jieji ganqing*” (class feelings), “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) and “*jieji lichang*” (class standpoint). Following Carbaugh’s exposition about the five hubs of cultural meaning –

identity, relationship, action, feeling, dwelling – as explained in his Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory, I organize analysis of data in the order of the five hubs. What’s more, guided by the concept of “discursive web” as Carbaugh and Cerulli discussed in their 2013 article, I list in parenthesis and right after the formulated cultural propositions the explicit and implicit hubs of meaning activated by particular discourses, both when analyzing “*jiu shehui*” (the old society), “*xin shehui*” (the new society), and related terms, and when analyzing “*jiejī*” (class) and related terms. Finally, based on the previous analysis, cultural premises implied by Chinese people’s “*yiku sitian*” communication practices as well as the larger political discourses used throughout China in the 1960s and 1970s are formulated, both from the “orthodox” perspective and from the “alternative” perspective. This phase of analysis and the findings are presented in Chapters Six and Seven respectively.

Carbaugh and Hasting’s (1992) *BASE* model predicts that a cyclical investigative process is necessary for conducting ethnography of communication studies. Studies conducted for this dissertation has proved the validity of this prediction. Throughout the research, there have been back and forth examinations and reviews of the prefieldwork orientation, fieldwork data collection and postfieldwork data analysis, as well as modification of analytical tools and findings. A summary of findings, application of some of the findings to the analysis of a nationally famous military role model named Lei Feng, and discussions about the significance of this study, its limitation, implication, and suggestions to future researches are presented in Chapter 8.

## **2.5 Summary**

In this chapter I have discussed several methodological issues such as what sources do I use to collect data, how do I collect the data, how do I present various data in the dissertation, how do I proceed with analysis of data, and what major findings I have made through the research. In the following chapter I will provide some brief historical and background overview about the origin and evolution of this “*yiku sitian*” political movement.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF “YIKU SITIAN” MOVEMENT

In this chapter I will briefly review the historical and socio-cultural context of the “*yiku sitian*” practice. I will firstly look at some salient features of Chinese society before 1919; then I will retrieve the formation of the two terms, “*jieji*” (class) and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle), in history, both internationally and domestically. The main body of this chapter will be devoted to a review of the socio-cultural context of “*yiku sitian*” movement.

#### 3.1 Chinese Society Before 1919

China has traditionally been an agricultural country. Although Communism has been actively sought, fought for, and proclaimed in China in the past almost one hundred years, it is not something locally produced. Chinese people living by the turn of the twentieth century had never heard of it before, neither could they imagine that half a century later, “Communism” became a common household term, an ideology that everybody is expected to endorse, and a practice that has significantly changed the fate of both the country and its people.

Things were quite different before Communism was introduced into China from the West, especially in terms of the social morale regarding poverty and wealth, how to become rich, and the relationship between peasants and landlords. Traditionally speaking, Chinese people advocate industry and thrift. It is regarded as a virtue for one to accumulate wealth through hardworking and calculated spending. It is despicable for one to be poor because of laziness. It is possible for a poor household to gain wealth and buying land through working for others as hired hands first; it is also common for a rich



household to decline financially. It could all happen within three generations, according to Wangling Gao and Yang Liu's study, "*Chongwen tugai: Duochong shijiao xia de tudi gaige yundong*" (Revisiting Land Reform: Land Reform Movement examined under multiple perspectives) <sup>1</sup>.

Gao and Liu also point out that, prior to the twentieth century, the so-called "major contradiction" of feudal society is not that between "*dizhu*" (landlord) and "*nongmin*" (peasants). What's more, there were not many "*dizhu*" (landlord) in China, especially in northern China. Even the poorest peasant could still have two to three *mu* (about 0.3 to 0.5 acre) land. Peasants who had no land at all were not more than 2% <sup>2</sup>. In fact, in people's minds, there were no such concepts as "*jieji*" (class), "*jieji douzheng*" (class struggle), "*boxue*" (exploitation), and "*yapo*" (oppression). Other scholars, such as Yuhua Guo, Shumin Huang, Philip Huang, Kuisong Yang, Lifeng Li, Elizabeth Perry, have all suggested similar findings from different perspectives through their research about rural Chinese people's life and relationship with each other before, during, and after the Land Reform movement in China from late 1940s to early 1950s.

Maurice Meisner commented on modern Chinese history in the following way in his book, *Mao's China and after: A history of the People's Republic* (1990, third edition): "The history of revolution in modern China begins in the mid-nineteenth century with a Christian peasant rebellion that failed, and climaxes, although it is by no means the revolutionary conclusion, with a Marxist-led peasant revolution that succeeded in mid-twentieth century." (p. 3). Meisner pointed out that, "Significantly, the ideologies of both

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<sup>1</sup> The English version of this article was published in *ÉTUDES RURALES*, Issue 7, in Aug., 2007 and the Chinese version of it was published in "*Ershiyi shiji*" in Feb. 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Wangling Gao and Yang Liu (2009),

the *Taiping* Rebellion of 1850-1865<sup>3</sup> and the Communist revolution, nearly a century later, were drawn not from the millennial Chinese tradition, but from modern Western intellectual sources” (ibid.). According to Meisner, Western imperialism played a central role in shaping the history of modern China. Specifically, Imperialism undermined the old Confucian order and provided, as a by-product, new ideas and ideologies which turned the modern Chinese revolutionary movement against the traditions and institutions of the past. Hence the May Fourth movement in 1919, which advocated a complete rejection of traditions and old cultural systems represented by Confucianism and an embrace of Western ideas and ideologies. Quite a few intellectual leaders of the May Fourth movement, such as Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, and Mao Zedong emerged later as the founders and early leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. And Li Dazhao was said to be the first person who introduced Marxism into China<sup>4</sup>, changing the future look and substance of China forever.

### **3.2 Brief Historical Review of “*Jieji*” and “*Jieji Douzheng*”**

Among all the theories and concepts that the Chinese adopted from Marxism, *jieji* (class) and *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) are two of the most important ones, dominating Chinese political discourse for more than sixty years. It is necessary to take a brief look into the origin and development of “*jieji*” (class) and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) in their historical trajectory in modern China.

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<sup>3</sup> It is also known as the “Boxer Rebellion”, which was a Chinese secret organization called the “Society of the Righteous and Harmonious Fists” that led an uprising in northern China against the spread of Western and Japanese influence there in the middle of the nineteenth century. The rebels, referred to by Westerners as Boxers because they performed physical exercises they believed would make them able to withstand bullets, killed foreigners and Chinese Christians and destroyed foreign property. See <http://www.history.com/topics/boxer-rebellion> for more information.

<sup>4</sup> See “Who is the first person introducing Marxism in China?” <http://zhidao.baidu.com/question/15342367.html>

In ancient China, the traditional meaning of “*jieji* (class)” is “social ranking” or “social status.” In the west, the term “class” is etymologically derived from the Latin “*classis*”, which was used by census takers to categorize citizens by wealth, in order to determine military service obligations. In the late 18th century, the term “class” began to replace classifications such as estates, rank, and orders as the primary means of organizing society into hierarchical divisions. This corresponded to a general decrease in significance ascribed to hereditary characteristics, and increase in the significance of wealth and income as indicators of position in the social hierarchy

The notion of “class”, as it is used by Marxists, differs radically from the notion of “class” as used in bourgeois social theory. According to modern capitalist thinking, “class” is an abstract universal defined by the common attributes of its members (i.e., all who make less than \$20,000 a year constitute a “lower” class); categories and conceptions that have an existence prior to and independent of the people who make up the “class”.

For Marx, however, the notion of “class” includes the development of collective consciousness in a “class” – arising from the material basis of having in common relations to the labor process and the means of production<sup>5</sup>.

For Marx, “classes” are defined and structured by the relations concerning (i) work and labor and (ii) ownership or possession of property and the means of production. These economic factors more fully govern social relationships in capitalism than they did in earlier societies. While earlier societies contained various strata or groupings which

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<sup>5</sup> <https://www.marxists.org/glossary/terms/c/1.htm>

might be considered “classes”, these may have been strata or elites that were not based solely on economic factors – e.g. priesthood, knights, or military elite.<sup>6</sup>

The most classical Marxist definition on “class” is by Lenin in his 1919 essay, “A Great Beginning” – “Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated by law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and, consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy.”<sup>7</sup>

Historically speaking, the theory of “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) was put forward by European historians and economists before Karl Marx. Georgi Plekhanov (1856-1918) wrote about the initial phases of the theory of “class struggle” in his introduction to the second Russian edition of the Manifesto in Selected Philosophical Works, Volume 2 (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976), pp 427-73. According to him, earlier before Marx, Saint-Simon and many learned representatives of the French bourgeoisie already saw class struggle “as the mainspring of the historical development of modern peoples.” Other scholars such as J. N. A. Thierry, F. P. G. Guizot, and F. A. M. Mignet all believed that the theory of class struggle is the key to understand the modern history of European revolution. The difference between these earlier French scholars and Karl Marx in regards to the theory of class struggle, according to Plekhanov,

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<sup>6</sup> <http://uregina.ca/~gingrich/s28f99.htm>

<sup>7</sup> *Collected Works*, Volume 29, pp. 408-34, Progress Publishers, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1919/jun/19.htm>

is that the former talked about the class struggle between the uprising bourgeoisie and the restraining feudal aristocrats and clergies, with bourgeoisie as a revolutionary force; the latter talked about the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, with proletariat as the revolutionary force.

Marx himself mentioned in a letter in 1852 about contributions that he made toward the theory of “class struggle”: (1) the existence of “*jieji*” (class) is only associated with certain historical period of production development; (2) “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) will certainly lead to “*wuchan jieji zhuanzheng*” (proletariat class dictatorship); (3) this dictatorship itself is merely a transition before the eradication of “class” and the entrance into a “classless” society. Therefore, the core of Marx’s “class struggle” theory is to eradicate “class” and “class struggle” through “class struggle”, especially through proletariat “class” dictatorship<sup>8</sup>.

Marxism was adopted and adapted by various followers in different countries in the following centuries with USSR, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, becoming the first socialist state under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924). Lenin placed emphasis on the importance of education that strengthened people’s class consciousness. In one of his 1917 lectures on the 1905 Revolution, he said, “The real education of the masses can never be separated from their independent political, and especially revolutionary, struggle. Only struggle educates the exploited class. Only struggle discloses to it the magnitude of its own power, widens its horizon, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, and forges its will.” Lenin coined the expression of “aggravation of

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<sup>8</sup> See Shiju Chen’s article, “The doctrine of ‘*jieji douzheng*’ (class struggle) is the essence of Marxism and Leninism: Notes on re-reading *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and other books”, published in *People’s Daily* on November 6<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

class struggle” in 1919 to refer to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Joseph Stalin (1922-1952) put forward the theory of “class struggle under socialism” in 1933 and supplied a theoretical base for the claim that ongoing repression of political opponents is necessary. Stalin believed that residual bourgeois elements would persist within the country and that, with support from Western powers, they would try to infiltrate the party. Stalin argued in 1933 that the further the country would move forward in constructing socialism, the more acute forms of struggle will be used by the doomed remnants of exploiter classes in their last desperate efforts - and therefore, political repression was necessary to prevent them from succeeding in their presumed goal of destroying the Soviet Union. Stalin believed that the class enemy could even worm its way into the party claiming to lead a socialist state. He evaluated his associates of the day based on whether they acted on that belief or the belief that a party could have no enemies inside it. Tolerance inside the Party to those who disagreed with the official Party line was called by Stalin “rotten liberalism”. He believed such tolerance would make the Party weak and eventually lead to its destruction. As a result, he argued that purges were sometimes necessary<sup>9</sup>.

Mao Zedong and his colleagues in the Chinese Communist Party had been deeply influenced by their Russian forerunners. Not only have they adopted Lenin’s and Stalin’s theories on “*jieji*” (class) and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) as well as other theories attributed originally to Marx and Engels, such as social evolution and socialist revolution, some historical events that happened in Russia also got repeated in China after 1949, such as the great famine across the country, the attempt to catch up with the United

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<sup>9</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aggravation\\_of\\_class\\_struggle\\_under\\_socialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aggravation_of_class_struggle_under_socialism)

States, the Great Britain, and France with great leap forward, and severe purge inside the Party for the purpose of purification due to the same mindset behind these happenings.

Mao Zedong wrote an article in 1925, “Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society”<sup>10</sup>, to answer the most serious questions, “Who are our enemies?” and, “Who are our friends?” facing Chinese revolution at that time. Mao categorized Chinese society into five major classes: the landlord and the comprador; the middle (or national) bourgeoisie; the petty bourgeoisie; the semi-proletariat; and the proletariat. The first category, the landlord and the comprador, according to Mao, colluded with foreign imperial power and was the most hostile enemies of the Chinese Communist Revolution. The second category, the middle bourgeoisie, represented the capitalist relations of production in China. It was also called national bourgeoisie as it was under the oppression of foreign capital and the warlords in China. It supported the revolutionary movement against imperialism and the warlords. However, as *Mao* argued, this class had an ambiguous attitude towards the revolution that had involved the militant Chinese proletariat and international proletariat. The third category, the petty bourgeoisie, was composed of the owner-peasants, the master handicraftsmen, lower-level intellectuals, such as students, primary and secondary school teachers, lower government functionaries, office clerks, small lawyers, and small traders. According to *Mao*, it belonged to the lower-middle class, vulnerable to the uncertainty of economy dominated by foreign capital and the warlords in China, and surviving on the edge of sinking into the proletariat class. The fourth category, the semi-proletariat class, contained the overwhelming majority of the semi-owner peasants, the poor peasants, the small

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<sup>10</sup> This article can be viewed at <https://www.marxists.org/chinese/maozedong/marxist.org-chinese-mao-19251201.htm>.

handicraft men, the shop assistants, and the peddlers. In the countryside, the semi-owner peasants and poor peasants constituted a very large part of the rural masses. Mao regarded the last category as the most important – the proletariat class. Although, at that time, there were only two million industrial workers in China, which was economically backward, Mao recognized that the industrial proletariat represented China's new productive forces. Mao considered them as the most progressive class in modern China and the leading force in the revolution.<sup>11</sup>

Through this kind of class analysis, Mao Zedong laid out a preliminary explanation about the basic thought regarding what was called later China's new democratic revolution stage (1919-1949): the proletariat is to join with all the semi-proletariat (mostly poor peasants) and petty bourgeoisie (mostly middle peasants), the total combined numbers of which constitute the majority of the country's population, and to win over the left wing of middle class (national bourgeoisie) so as to overthrow imperialism, warlords, bureaucrats, landlords, and comprador class, and establish a coalition government of all revolutionary classes. This is both necessary and possible for that particular historical stage.

This need to join force with bourgeoisie class, middle or petty, to form a coalition front and fight for the same goal was minimized and eventually eliminated around 1949 when the Chinese Communist Party defeated the Chinese National Party and became the ruling power in China. Although, following teachings from Marxism, it was still necessary to allow the coexistence (and sometimes a greater percentage) of private and

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<sup>11</sup> Guoxin Xing, "Living with the Revolutionary Legacy: Communication, Culture, and Workers' Radicalism in Post-Mao China", doctoral dissertation, University of Regina, Canada. Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertation Database.



capitalist ownership of property alongside the public and collective ownership to promote the development of economy and create conditions for transitioning to socialism, Mao Zedong and his colleagues were constantly on guard against the possible counter-attacks from bourgeoisie class and their alleged revisionist effort of infiltrating into the Communist Party to make it change color, according to the experience of their “revolutionary big brother”, USSR. The first few years since the establishment of the new China in 1949 already witnessed waves after waves of campaigns and movements, such as “Campaign to Suppress Counterrevolutionaries”<sup>12</sup>, “the Three-Anti Campaign”<sup>13</sup>, and “the Five-Anti Campaign”<sup>14</sup>, etc., launched to battle capitalists who allegedly tried to dismantle the socialist construction in all kinds of ways. Many people were wrongly accused and executed in those campaigns.

In 1962, Mao Zedong warned of “never forgetting class struggle.” At that time, although the socialist transformation – the establishment of a socialist system through the transformation of the ownership of means of production – had eliminated the system of exploitation and weakened the landlords and bourgeoisie, Mao argued that individual members of the overthrown classes and the “new” classes rising within socialist society

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<sup>12</sup> This is the first political campaign launched by the People's Republic of China designed to eradicate opposition elements, especially former Kuomintang (KMT) functionaries accused of trying to undermine the new Communist government. It began on March 1950 when the Chinese Communist central committee issued the *Directive on elimination of bandits and establishment of revolutionary new order* continued until August 1952. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Campaign\\_to\\_Suppress\\_Counterrevolutionaries](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Campaign_to_Suppress_Counterrevolutionaries).

<sup>13</sup> The Three-anti Campaign was launched in Manchuria at the end of 1951. It was aimed at members within the Communist Party of China, former Kuomintang members and bureaucratic officials who were not party members. The “three-anti”’s imposed were corruption, waste, and bureaucracy. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Three-anti\\_and\\_Five-anti\\_Campaigns](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Three-anti_and_Five-anti_Campaigns).

<sup>14</sup> The Five-anti campaign was launched in January 1952 and lasted for three years. It was designed to target the capitalist class. The Communist party set a very vague guideline of who could be charged, and it became an all out war against the bourgeoisie in China. The “five-anti”’s imposed were bribery, theft of state property, tax evasion, cheating on government contracts, and stealing state economic information. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Three-anti\\_and\\_Five-anti\\_Campaigns](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Three-anti_and_Five-anti_Campaigns).

itself, all of them hostile to socialism, would attempt to restore capitalism in China.

While the changing of the ownership system had removed the economic basis on which these exploiter classes were defined, Mao insisted the remnants from the former society remained and bourgeoisie as a class could be born anew. So there could still be classes, class contradictions, and class struggle in socialist society. By 1967, Mao developed the “theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of proletariat.” He had worried about the potential abandonment or reversal of socialist revolution in China which would lead to the restoration of capitalism. He had kept exploring a theory of class struggle to ensure the continuation of socialist revolution, maintain and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. He finally waged the Cultural Revolution as a means for consolidating socialist revolution and preventing the restoration of capitalism in China. Mao insisted on relying on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary masses. He mobilized them to counter what he called the “new bourgeoisie elements” and “capitalist roaders” who grew from the new middle class intellectuals and the ranks of Party and government officials and management of enterprises.

When pre-Marxian historians and economists talked about class struggle as the struggle between bourgeoisie and feudal aristocrats and clergies, and when Marx and Engels talked about class struggle as the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, their arguments of class struggle were still based on economic terms. It was still rooted within the physical domain. But when Lenin, Stalin, and Mao talked about class struggle, although they still framed their arguments as between proletariat and bourgeoisie, their arguments became more and more rooted in the ideological domain, as their definition of “bourgeoisie class” was no longer identical with how Marx defined it. In fact, neither

USSR nor P. R. China was fully a bourgeoisie state from the very beginning and the little bourgeoisie element there was had been quickly eliminated from the national economic makeup soon after the establishment of a proletariat state<sup>15</sup>. Bourgeoisie as a class didn't exist anymore in real life. But guided with the "theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of proletariat," new class enemies were defined with standards based on people's income and economic status. The categories included landlord, rich peasant, capitalist, upper-middle peasant, lower-middle peasant, poor peasant, and hired hands. The first three, landlords, rich peasants, and capitalists, because of their rich living condition, were classified as "class enemies" and suffered from not only property confiscation but indescribable degree of torturing mentally and physically. Those who used to work for the previous government or military army, or those who had family members living abroad, or those who were critical to the current social situation, who were advocates of democracy, freedom, and human rights, were deemed "anti-Party elements" or "counterrevolutionaries." Their fate was the most unfortunate. Tossed through the waves of political movements, they could be suppressed and killed easily in those years. So instead of defining class position in economic terms, *Mao* defined classes ideologically and politically on the basis of people's political behavior. The post-Marx class struggle was more a thought-battle than a real battle waged in USSR and China, with a more detrimental consequences to social morale and individual fate. The Socialist Thought Education movement conducted in China in the 1950s and 1960s, especially the "yiku sitian" movement, which was deemed to be the most effective method of

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<sup>15</sup> Social transformation was completed in USSR by 1930 and in China by 1956, which is a milestone indicating the absolute percentage of socialist public ownership in national economy.

conducting Socialist Thought Education, was exactly such an ideological battle waged toward imagined class enemies.

### **3.3 The Trajectory of “*Suku*” and “*Yiku Sitian*” Movements**

Yangcheng Li’s dissertation, “Study on ‘*yikusitian* method’ after the founding of P.R.C. 1949” provides a thorough review of the history of “*yiku sitian*” movement from the very beginning incipient stage, to its development, maturation, and, later on, widely application in political China. He uses the concept of “*yiku sitian*” in a broader sense. Instead of focusing on the “*yiku sitian*” movement that was launched in China in early 1960s and faded toward the end of the 1970s, he treats “*yiku sitian*” as a thought-political educational method and believes that the spirit of this educational method has been the same throughout the Chinese Communist Party’s history. That is why he traced its root back to the 1920s when the newly established Chinese Communist Party worked among the poor to enlighten them and educate them with a new way of understanding their relationship with the rich. He also surveyed the era after China reopened its door to the world since 1980s to look for new representations of, and new possibilities to use, this old educational method. While I personally don’t think that this concept of “*yiku sitian*” should be made so inclusive and active, especially for the past thirty years, and should be reserved to mainly refer to a special kind of activities Chinese people were involved in during the 1960s and 1970s, it is true that the “*yiku sitian*” movement popular in the 1960s and 1970s has its precursor of “*suku*” (pouring out the bitterness) movement back in late 1940s during land reform carried out in some newly “liberated” areas in the north and northeast part of China. Li’s review can be helpful for us to see how the Chinese Communist Party had successfully managed to indoctrinate and empower the poor with

Marxism, especially the concepts of “*jieji*” (class) and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle), so that the poor would not be afraid of the rich anymore and the land that belonged to the rich could be redistributed.

Li divided the initiation, development, formation, and widely application of the “*suku*”-“*yiku sitian*” movements into the following six historical periods: (1) the incipient stage of 1919 to 1927 when the “May 4th Movement” rang up the curtain of China’s new democratic revolution; (2) the developing stage of 1927 to 1945 when China was under the invasion of Japanese army; (3) the formation stage of 1945 to 1949 when *Chiang Kai-Shek*’s Nationalist Party and army waged a civil war against Mao Zedong’s Communist Party and army; (4) the widely application stage of 1949 to 1956 after the establishment of P. R. China and during the transition of it from a new democratic society to a socialist society; (5) the ten-year exploration stage of 1956 to 1966 when China went through series of important events and when “*jieji*” (class) and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) became more and more dominant as the only standard measuring people’s background and loyalty; (6) the erroneous stage of 1966-1976 during the Cultural Revolution years when “*yiku sitian*” was ritualized. Let us look at each stage briefly in the following section.

### **3.3.1 The Incipient Stage of 1919 to 1927**

At the beginning of the twentieth century, China had become a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society because of foreign invasion. Although the 1911 revolution overthrew the decaying Qing dynasty and government, it was not able to transform China into a different society. The Russian revolution in 1917 brought Marxism into Chinese people’s attention. And the May Fourth movement in 1919 marked the beginning of China’s new democratic revolution. Very soon, the Chinese Communist Party was established in 1921

and very quickly it became “an unprecedented leading force of Chinese people”<sup>16</sup>. What’s more, the Chinese Communist Party and the Nationalist Party led by Dr. *Sun Yat-Sen* (1866-1925) had their first united front between the two parties in 1924 and started their joint effort of fighting against various imperial forces and warlords in the country. In this stage, “*yiku*” took the form of “*kongsu*” (denouncement). Through visiting the poor, the Party enlightened the working mass to get to know the source of their misery, to indoctrinate the basic Marxist principles, to break the traditional feudal view that one should resign oneself to adversity, so that the mass know how to “*kongsu*” (denounce) the evilness of the “*boxue jieji*” (exploiting class). “*Sitian*” took the form of “*chongjing*” (looking-forwardness) to the future good society. Specifically, the Party opened up schools and literary classes for illiterate workers and peasants and conducted “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education) to students of Whampoa Military Academy during the First United Front between *Guomindang* and Communist party, 1923-1927. It also founded various newspapers and magazines to disclose and denounce the evilness of the “*boxue jieji*” (exploiting class) and enlighten the “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) of the mass. Some organizations and associations were also established among workers in cities, peasants in countryside, and students at Whampoa Military Academy to provide institutional security and mass foundation for the “*kongsu*” (denouncement) movement and to wake up people’s “*jieji yishi*” (class consciousness). Some recreational forms such as dramas and songs were produced to depict the cruel oppression and exploitation of landlords to peasants, helping them to know why they ended up being poor. *Mao Zedong*’s 1926 article, “Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society”, set the tone of class

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<sup>16</sup> “Resolutions for Certain Historical Issues of the Party since the Establishment of the P.R.C.”, quoted from *Yangcheng Li*’s dissertation, “Study on ‘*yikusitian* method’ after the founding of P.R.C. 1949”, p. 45.

analysis for the “*kongsu*” movement at this stage. It also set the standard of class analysis for the future “*suku*” (pouring out the bitterness) and “*yiku sitian*” movements.

### **3.3.2 The Developing Stage of 1927 to 1945**

The first united front between the Communist Party and the Nationalist Party failed in 1927 when Chiang Kai-Shek, successor to Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, breached the agreement and began to persecute Communist Party members on a large scale. The Communist Party revised its general goal to be anti-the Nationalist Party and gradually formed a strategy of “using the rural areas to encircle the cities and seizing the power with armed forces”. Red Army of workers and peasants were formed and rural revolutionary bases of operations were established. The Japanese invasion to China on Sept. 18<sup>th</sup>, 1931 shifted the major contradiction of China from the domestic crisis between the two Parties to a national crisis between the two countries. The outbreak of Sino-Japanese war on July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1937 forced the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party to join force again to resist the Japanese invasion and save the country. By the time Japan was defeated in 1945, the Chinese Communist Party had gain significant momentum and was much more experienced, developed, and well-prepared in leading the revolution.

At this stage, according to Yangcheng Li, “*yiku sitian*” evolved along two lines: the working people’s “*yiku sitian*” centered on “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle); and the whole nation’s “*yiku sitian*” centered on the national contradiction between Japan and China. “*Kongsu*” (denouncement) was still the major format and a primitive comparison between “*ku*” (bitterness) and “*tian*” (sweetness) began to emerge. The first type of “*yiku sitian*” was mainly done at rural revolutionary bases of operations where the Nationalist

Party's control was weaker and at "Central Red Region"<sup>17</sup>, which was the head-quarter of the Communist Party. It started with ideological enlightenment as precursor. Through mobilizing the masses to conduct comparison of "bitterness" and "sweetness" of the two kinds of life in "Central Red Region" and in "White Region" under the Nationalist control, the Communists were able to cultivate among people love toward the democratic government led by the Communist Party and hatred toward the dictator government led by the Nationalist Party. "*Da tuhao, fen tiandi*" (attacking the local tyrants and dividing their land) is a famous slogan summarizing the goal and method of the "*jieji douzheng*" (class struggle) conducted then. "*Yiku sitian*" conducted along this line significantly expanded the positive influence of Chinese Communist Party among the people.

The second type of "*yiku sitian*" in this stage occurred after Japan invaded China, causing "national hatred" among all Chinese people and making it the primary contradiction of the time. Various methods of "*yiku sitian*" were applied by the Communist Party to arouse enthusiasm from the armies and the people to fight against the Japanese invasion. Using telegraphs, posters, dramas, and songs, as well as comparison of "bitterness" and "sweetness" of the two kinds of life in "Liberated Region" and in "Japanese-Enemies-Occupied Region", the Communist Party was able to disintegrate both the Japanese armies and the Nationalist forces and build up the faith and confidence of people in the areas occupied by the Japanese army to resist Japan's colonizing attempt.

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<sup>17</sup> The original term is "*zhongyang suqu*" and the literal translation is "central Soviet region", referring to the area under the control of the Chinese Communist Party.



### 3.3.3 The Formation Stage of 1945 to 1949

After Japan was defeated, the “*jieji maodun*” (class contradiction) between the Chinese Communist Party and the Nationalist Party replaced the “*minzu maodun*” (national contradiction) between Japan and China and became the major contradiction. *Chiang Kai-Shek* and his Nationalist force started civil war against *Mao Zedong* and his Communist Party but was eventually driven out of the mainland of China and into the tiny island of *Taiwan*. *Mao* announced the establishment of the People’s Republic of China on Oct. 1<sup>st</sup>, 1949.

In this stage, both the intension and extension of “*yiku sitian*” was greatly enriched, contributing to the primitive formation of this practice. The most representative feature of it is the systematic application of “*suku*” (pouring out the bitterness), “*huiyi*” (recalling from memory), and “*duibi*” (putting two things together to compare) by the Chinese Communist Party in organizing the masses to “*wa kugen*” (dig out the bitter root) and “*zhao tianyuan*” (seek the origine of the sweetness). It can be viewed as a rehearsal to the “*yiku sitian*” movement that was conducted throughout China in the 1960s and 1970s. The land policy of the Communist Party changed from “reduction of rent and interest” during the anti-Japanese war to “confiscating land of the landlords”. Land Reform was forcefully carried out in liberated regions.

Because of the aforementioned common and traditional view held among peasants on relationship between poor and rich and that between fate and life, people were reluctant to participant in the Land Reform. “*Suku*” (pouring out the bitterness) as an effective method was created then. Through conducting “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education) via “*suku*”, the Party instilled proletariat’s “*jieji yishi*” (class consciousness) into the mind of peasants to arouse their “*chouhen*” (hatred) toward “*dizhu*” (landlords) and their

“*yongqi*” (courage) to “*fanshen*” (turn over one’s body)<sup>18</sup>, helping them get to see quickly who represented their desire and fundamental interest and become willingly supportive to the Communist Party. “*Suku*” is usually conducted at a big assembly, with “*kuzhu*” (the bitter persons, i.e., those who spoke at the assembly) being carefully selected and most of them being middle-aged or seniors or women, and slogans shouted throughout the event. All these features were employed in the “*yiku sitian*” practices in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Party also launched a new “rectification of army” movement and called on the army to carry out “*suku sancha*” (pouring out the bitterness and checking on three things<sup>19</sup>) based on positive experience of No. 3 Column in Eastern *Liao* Military District of Northeastern democratic allied forces for educating captives from the Nationalist army and for raising the “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) of officers and soldiers of the army. After “bitterness” was “poured out”, the “root” of the “bitterness” were dug out. Comparisons were made to help soldiers come to see where their “*ku*” (bitterness) came from, whom they should “*baochou*” (revenge) against, what are “*jieji boxue*” (class exploitation) and “*jieji yapo*” (class oppression). All the evilness of “*dizhu eba*” (despotic landlords) were attributed to the regime composed of big landlords and big bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-Shek, the leader of the Nationalist Party. Soldiers were convinced that it would not be possible to “*baochou xuechi*” (revenge for a past insult) without overthrowing Chiang Kai-Shek.

Some problems also occurred in the “*suku*” movement, especially in countryside, with the “left-leaning” tendency began to emerge. In some villages, when no one

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<sup>18</sup> “*Fanshen*” is a commonly used term vividly depicting the process of “*laodong renmin*” (the working people) gaining power and freedom from the “*yapo*” (oppression) and “*boxue*” (exploitation) by “*dizhu*” (landlords), “*zibenjia*” (capitalists), and “*diguozhuyi*” (imperialism) forces.

<sup>19</sup> The three things are: “*jieji*” (class), “*gongzuo*” (work), and “*douzhi*” (fighting spirit).

qualified to be “*dizhu*” (landlords) according to the standard set by the Communist Party, “*funong*” (rich peasants) would be “upgraded” to be “*dizhu*” and “*zhongnong*” (middle peasants) be “*funong*” (rich peasants). “*Jieji huafen*” (class classification) became a very subjective experience. And those who were classified as “*dizhu*” (landlords) and “*funong*” (rich peasants) were inhumanly humiliated and tortured, even put to death, and sometimes even their whole families were killed and all their belongings confiscated. Violence and bloodshed became common theme of the “*suku*” movement. Although the Central Communist Party Committee corrected some extreme cases after becoming aware of the chaotic situation, the same problem was repeated during the second round of Land Reform in 1950s and in “*yiku sitian*” movement in the 1960s and 1970s when “*jieji*” became the absolute standard and every aspect of social life was “classified”.

### **3.3.4 The Widely Application Stage of 1949 to 1956**

People’s Republic of China was established in Oct. 1<sup>st</sup>, 1949. The eight years from 1949 to 1956 served as a transitional period for the country. Tibet was finally liberated, Korean War ended and US supported South Korean army was defeated by the Chinese-North Korean Joint Army. Socialist transformation in the area of agriculture, handicraft, and capitalistic business were completed (a.k.a. rushed), making China a socialist country instead of a new democratic one. “*Yiku sitian*” as an effective ideological and political education method was widely used in this stage.

Land Reform was conducted firstly in the late 1940s and then in the 1950s in newly liberated areas. “*Yiku sitian*” of this stage is a continuation of the “*suku wagen*” (pouring out the bitterness and digging out the root) movement in the previous stage. It continued to break away the traditional views peasants had about countryside and villages, changed their spiritual outlooks, and replaced their previous memory about the

benevolence of landlords, predestination of fate, and clan consciousness into understandings of the cruel exploitation from the landlord class. The peasant class was transformed into a body having strong class consciousness and revolutionary consciousness. “*Suku*” during the Land Reform enlightened the peasants’ “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) and their understanding about the old and new societies. It also magnified the Chinese Communist Party as “*da jiuxing*” (great savior) of the people.

Similar to the “*yiku sitian*” activities against the Japanese invasion, “*yiku sitian*” conducted regarding the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea also caused “national hatred” toward the US. Through conducting “*kongsu*” and “*suku*” “*jiaoyu*” (education) among people, disclosing historical facts of US imperialism’s oppression to Chinese people, and their plundering of China’s wealth, the Communist Party was able to stir up Chinese people’s patriotic zeal and their “*chouhen*” (hatred) toward the US imperialists and strengthen their determination of protecting their homes and defending their country. The most representative case is the “*kongsu*” (denouncement) movement against the US imperialists by students from sixty-four universities and high schools in *Nanjing City* at the end of 1950, which was soon spread to other parts of the country. Exhibitions of pictures, charts, and material objects were also used as visual tools in various places to show the “*ku*” (bitterness) of “*jiu shehui*” and the “*tian*” (sweetness) of “*xin shehui*” and the different experiences of peasants before and after “*fanshen*” (turning over one’s body). Similar problems of excessive violence and public humiliation of “*dizhu*” (landlords) and their family members mentioned in the previous stage still persisted in some areas, creating more hostile and confrontational feelings between the peasant class and the landlord class.

### 3.3.5 The Ten-Year Exploration Stage of 1956 to 1966

The ten years from 1956 to 1966 witnessed series of mistakes made by the Chinese Communist Party in terms of policies and guidelines and became quite turbulent as a result. In 1957, during the Party's rectification campaign, the anti-rightist struggle was seriously exaggerated; in 1958, the "Great Leap Forward" and the "People's Commune" in countryside were launched hastily, leading to the serious spread of "left-leaning" problems marked by "high performance goals"<sup>20</sup>, "arbitrary orders"<sup>21</sup>, "boasting wind (i.e., tendency towards boasting and exaggeration)"<sup>22</sup>, and "communization wind"<sup>23</sup>, (which is characterized by extreme equalitarianism and the indiscriminate, unpaid-for transference of resources from one collective to another or from one level of ownership to another). In 1959, a campaign of struggling against "right-leaning" was launched erroneously within the whole Party. National economy suffered severe setback between 1959 to 1961, causing great harm to the country and the people. A "Four Clean" campaign (which was also called "*shehui zhuyi jiaoyu yundong*" (socialist education movement) was carried out from 1962. Many local cadres were wronged and attacked. Many of them were even denigrated and targeted as "authorities within the Party that walk on a capitalistic road". What's more, incorrect and overdone criticisms also dominated the ideological sphere. Fortunately these mistakes and errors had not completely taken over the country's situation. A correct economic policy of "adjustment" was followed by the majority of the people in China since the winter time of 1960. And

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<sup>20</sup> The original term is "*gao zhibiao*" (高指标).

<sup>21</sup> The original term is "*xia zhihui*" (瞎指挥).

<sup>22</sup> The original term is "*fukua feng*" (浮夸风).

<sup>23</sup> The original term is "*gongchan feng*" (共产风).

the socialist economy in China began to show signs of recovery gradually. “*Yiku sitian*” practice was also deeply influenced by the political atmosphere in China and adopted the guide line of “Taking the class struggle as the key link”<sup>24</sup>, creating problems that got worse and worse gradually.

During “Great Leap Forward” movement, the Party continued using “*yiku sitian*” as an ideological education tool. The superiority of socialism and the comparison between “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” were emphasized repetitively to make people identify with the values of the “Great Leap Forward” and actively participate in it.

Following the “*suku sancha*” (pouring out the bitterness and checking on three things) campaign conducted in the Army in the 1940s, a similar one called “*liangyi sancha*” (two recalls and three examinations activity) was launched in the Army as an important method of doing “*yiku sitian*”. “*Liangyi*” means to “*yi jieji ku*” (recall class bitterness) and “*yi minzu ku*” (recall national bitterness) and “*sancha*” means to “*cha lichang*” (examine standpoint), “*cha douzhi*” (examine fighting spirit), and “*cha gongzuo*” (examine work). It was initiated in Lanzhou Military District located in northwestern China. Because of the positive turnout, the General Political Department decided to promote it within the whole Army in 1961 to raise the “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) of the officers and soldiers and educate them so that they can positively understand the Party’s guidelines and policies rather than taking them negatively. Through “*yiku sitian jiaoyu*” (*yiku sitian* education), soldiers came to understand “*jieji chouhen*” (class hatred) and learned to stand firmly at the “*jieji lichang*” (class standpoint) and to use proletarian perspective to examine things.

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<sup>24</sup> The original saying is “*yi jieji douzheng wei gang*” (以阶级斗争为纲).

The “Four Clean” campaign refers to the “*shehui zhuyi jiaoyu yundong*” (socialist education movement) conducted in some rural areas and certain cities in the early 1960s in China. It is a political campaign aiming to combat and prevent revisionism, capitalistic restoration, and peaceful evolution. It followed the three-year-natural disasters caused by the “Great Leap Forward” movement and preceded the ten-year Cultural Revolution. Therefore, it constituted a crucial part of Chinese contemporary history. “Four Clean” refers to “*qing zhengzhi*” (clean politics), “*qing jingji*” (clean economy), “*qing zuzhi*” (clean organization), and “*qing sixiang*” (clean thoughts). It is a large scale “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) campaign launched after the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1962 decided that “*jieji douzheng yao niannian jiang, yueyue jiang*” (class struggle needs to be talked about every year and every month) and “*yiku sitian*” is continually adopted as an effective tool to raise the masses’ “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) and encourage them to passionately participate. Being the practical consequence of *Mao Zedong*’s theory of “*jieji douzheng kuoda hua*” (magnification of class struggle), the “*yiku sitian*” method used in the “Four Clean” campaign was also affected. The enemies’ situation was exaggerated. It was commonly believed that serious “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) existed in countryside and city locals. So did the feudal restoration attempt by “*dizhu*” (landlords), “*funong*” (rich peasants), “*fandong pai*” (reactionaries), and “*youpai*” (the rightists), and the furious attack from the newly born capitalists. What’s more, it was even believed that about one third of the power of the city locals belonged to the enemies. As a result, many cases of intensified “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle), such as hitting,

binding, protracted kneeling, and hanging up, occurred at “*yiku sitian*” assemblies, eventually leading up to the turbulent and merciless “Cultural Revolution”.

At this stage “*yiku sitian*” was also frequently conducted targeting the younger generation who were born in “*xin shehui*” or at least grew up in “*xin shehui*” and had no personal experience or memories about the “*ku*” (bitterness) of “*jiu shehui*” and no understanding about the difference between these two societies. These young people usually had vague “*jieji guannian*” (class conceptions) and weak “*jieji lichang*” (class standpoint). They were prone to be influenced and corroded by bourgeoisie thoughts and were easily shaken in “stormy weather”. In July, 1964, Mao Zedong officially put forward the idea of training young people to become “proletariat revolutionary successors” as he believed that this is an extremely important issue directly tied into the life and death of the Chinese Communist Party and the country. “*Yiku sitian*” through recalling family history, village history and factory history was the most frequently used method to achieve this purpose of ideological education.

In this stage, “*yiku sitian*” movement served both some positive and negative functions. Positively, by emphasizing the power of will and by comparing people’s life experiences in “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”, people were convinced that the various difficulties China faced were temporary. They would be overcome and things would be better. Many “*yiku sitian*” role models were honored throughout China, with Lei Feng being the most famous one (Chapter 8 will discuss Lei Feng and his “*yiku sitian baogao*” /*yiku sitian* public speeches). This had also positively helped building up the social morale. Negatively, “*yiku sitian*” movement at this stage put over exaggerated what human will and subjective initiative can achieve while completely neglected the restrain



of natural law. Although it is good for people to desire the change from “*ku*” (bitterness) to “*tian*” (sweetness) and from good to better, it was not practical for China to declare that it could catch up with the United States or the Great Britain or any other advanced country in the world in literally fifteen or thirty years’ time. “Great Leap Forward” and the severe famine throughout the whole country afterward is the direct punishment from Nature to such boastful claims and blindly views. Another negative aspect is that in this stage “*yiku sitian*” was also used to cover up mistakes that the Chinese Communist Party made. When people in the whole country suffered severe famine due to movements of “Great Leap Forward”, “Three Banners”, and “People’s Commune”, “*yiku sitian*” was used to shift people’s attention from the current “*ku*” (bitterness) to the “*ku*” in “*jiu shehui*”. By keeping people in the state of extreme gratefulness toward the Communist Party, people forgot, to some extent, the natural, as well as man-made, disasters threatening China and would not try to dig into and correct the problem from its root cause.

### **3.3.6 The Erroneous Stage of 1966-1976**

The years between 1966 and 1976 witnessed the darkest decade in the past century. Out of his belief that the Central Party Committee had all turned revisionist, Mao Zedong sought to launch another round of revolution, this time from the bottom up with young students being the fighters to attack the Central Party Committee, the so-called “Headquarters of Capitalism”. Hence the “Cultural Revolution.” It is now defined as “an internal turmoil that was erroneously launched, taken advantage by ‘anti-revolutionary bloc’, bringing serious disasters to the Party, the country, and people in various

nationalities”<sup>25</sup>. Three crucial events marked this era. The first is persecution of Liu Shaoqi, Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee from 1954 to 1959 and President of the People’s Republic of China, China’s head of state, from 1959 to 1968, during which he implemented policies of economic reconstruction in China. Initially groomed to be the successor to Chairman Mao Zedong, Liu antagonized Mao in the late 1960s during the Cultural Revolution and was criticized, then purged, by Mao. Liu disappeared from public life in 1968 and was labeled the “Commander of China’s bourgeoisie headquarters”, “China’s foremost ‘capitalist-roader’”, “Chinese Khrushchev”, and “a criminal traitor, enemy agent and scab in the service of the imperialists, modern revisionists and the Nationalist Party reactionaries”. He died of disease from severely harsh treatment on November 12, 1969<sup>26</sup>.

The second crucial event is Lin Biao’s death of plane crash. Lin, the then Vice Chairman of the Communist Party of China, and the appointed successor within the Party to Chairman Mao after Liu Shaoqi was purged, was well-known for promoting zealous personality cult to Mao in the 1960s. It was him that called on the whole Army to “creatively read Chairman Mao’s books and apply<sup>27</sup>,” which was then spread to the whole country. He compiled the “little red book” of selected Mao’s words and had it published by the publisher of People’s Liberation Army. He was also responsible for directing the “Learn from Comrade Lei Feng” campaign. He lost trust and favor from Mao on the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Chinese

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<sup>25</sup> “Resolutions for Certain Historical Issues of the Party Since the Establishment of the P.R.C” approved unanimously on June 27<sup>th</sup>, 1981 at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

<sup>26</sup> See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liu\\_Shaoqi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liu_Shaoqi) for more information.

<sup>27</sup> The original phrase is “*huoxue huoyong*” (活学活用).

Communist Party, also known as the Lushan Conference, in 1970 and planned the alleged “571 Project” which aimed to assassinate Mao. After Mao became aware of his scheme, he and his wife and son attempted to escape to Mongolia but the plane crashed in the early morning of September 13<sup>th</sup>, 1971, in a place in Mongolia bordering China. His reputation was completely swept away because of this defection and a national campaign of denouncing him was launched afterwards<sup>28</sup>.

The third crucial event was regarding the “Gang of Four”, which was a political faction composed of four Chinese Communist Party officials. They came to prominence during the Cultural Revolution and were later charged with a series of treasonous crimes. The gang’s leading figure was Mao Zedong’s last wife Jiang Qing. The other members were Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Hongwen. The “Gang of Four” controlled the power organs of the Communist Party of China through the latter stages of the Cultural Revolution, although it remains unclear which major decisions were made *by* Mao Zedong and carried out by the Gang, and which were the result of the Gang of Four’s own planning. They allegedly promoted “an extremely left-leaning line” during the Cultural Revolution, claiming the superior status of politics and encouraging students and workers to disrespect authorities and to “kick away the Party Committee and make revolution”. The Gang of Four, together with disgraced general Lin Biao, were labeled the two major “counter-revolutionary forces” of the “Cultural Revolution” and officially blamed by the Chinese government for the worst excesses of the societal chaos that ensued during the ten years of turmoil. Their downfall on October 6, 1976, a mere month

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<sup>28</sup> See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lin\\_Biao](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lin_Biao) for more information.

after Mao's death, brought about major celebrations on the streets of Beijing and marked the end of a turbulent political era in China<sup>29</sup>.

At this stage, “*yiku sitian*” was used to fulfill the need of political line and political struggle, against which any different viewpoint is checked. Propaganda in the ideological sphere was tightly controlled. Other than the eight “*yang ban xi*” (model operas), no other art forms and performances were allowed. These model operas are also called “revolutionary modern operas” and are planned and engineered during the Cultural Revolution by Jiang Qing, the wife of Chairman Mao Zedong. They were considered revolutionary and modern in terms of thematic and musical features when compared with traditional operas. Many of them were adapted to film. Instead of the “emperors, kings, generals, chancellors, maidens, and beauties” (*diwang jiangxiang yahuan xiaojie*) of the traditional Beijing opera, which was banned as “feudalistic and bourgeois,” they told stories from China's recent revolutionary struggles against foreign and class enemies. They glorified the People's Liberation Army and the bravery of the common people, and showed Mao Zedong and his thought as playing the central role in the victory of socialism in China.<sup>30</sup> One special feature of these model operas is that they all contain “*yiku sitian*” scenes in which family and national “*ku*” (bitterness) and “*chou*” (hatred) in “*jiu shehui*” were narrated or poured out, and then the “*tian*” (sweetness) of “*xin shehui*” were praised and loyalty to Chairman *Mao* and the Communist Party was pledged, topped with admonition of “do not “*wangben*” (forget about one's origin).

“*Yiku sitian*” was also ritualized in this stage and developed a fixed structure. A common “*yiku sitian dahui*” (*yiku sitian* assembly) contains the following routines: “*chi*

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<sup>29</sup> See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gang\\_of\\_Four](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gang_of_Four) for more information.

<sup>30</sup> See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutionary\\_opera](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutionary_opera) for more information.

*yiku fan*” (eating *yiku* meal), “*chang yiku ge*” (singing *yiku* songs), “*yan yiku xi*” (putting on *yiku* dramas) or “*kan yiku xi*” (watching *yiku* dramas), “*ting yiku baogao*” (listening to *yiku* public speeches), and “*kaizhan pipan douzheng*” (holding denouncement and struggles).

“*Yiku sitian*” during the Cultural Revolution era severely stigmatized “*heilei fenzi*” (black elements, i.e., people who were classified as having bad family background). They became the targets for all denouncements and struggles. Their family members were also implicated, stigmatized, or even tortured.

“*Yiku sitian*” in this stage brought damage to reasonable social value system and faith system, making the whole society irrational. The concept of “*qiong*” (poverty) and “*fu*” (wealthiness) were radicalized. “*Qiong*” (poverty) was associated with “*geming*” (revolution) and “*fu*” (wealthiness) associated with “revisionism”. Contempt and despise toward gratification of material interest became dominating throughout the country. As a result, wearing old and patch-over-patch clothes or eating meals made with chaff became common practices. Chinese people lived in a very confusing state in which the concepts of truth and false and good and bad are completely distorted.

### **3.4 Summary**

In this chapter we have reviewed the historical and socio-cultural context of “*yiku sitian*” practices. We have come to see that a salient feature of Chinese society before 1919 is that, traditionally, Chinese people have a set of understandings different from the Communist beliefs and values about poverty and wealth, how to become rich, and the relationship between peasants and landlords. Introduction of Communism into China brought about a completely different new set of beliefs and value systems centered around “*jieji*” (class) and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle). A lineal review of the socio-

cultural context of “*yiku sitian*” movement from 1919 to 1976 shows that “*yiku sitian*” has played both positive roles and negative roles in the history of the Chinese Communist Party with its overall tendency being more and more ritualized and formalized toward the end of the 1970s, contributing to a chaotic decade of “Cultural Revolution”. In the following four chapters, we will use data to analyze specifically how we can interpret this political movement of “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural communication practice. Chapter 4 will examine “*yiku sitian*” as a communicational practice and see how it points to the enactment of communicative acts, events, and styles in situated usages.

## CHAPTER 4

### “YIKU SITIAN” AS COMMUNICATIONAL PRACTICE

In this data-based chapter we will begin the examination of “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural term that identifies particular types of communicational practices with significant cultural meanings. Specifically, following Carbaugh’s (1989) cultural terms for talk theoretic framework, I will see how “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural term points to communication enactments at the levels of act, event, and style. Some of the findings include a set of semantic structures that identify “*yiku sitian*” acts in three categories; two sequential structures of acts for “*yiku sitian*” events; and two salient cultural terms that identify *yiku sitian* practice at the level of style.

Hymes (1972) defines “speech community” as “a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation for the speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety” (p. 54). For this dissertation research, the speech community is composed of the entire nation of China in that historical period as “*yiku sitian*” is a political movement carried out all over the country, making it a shared norm among the Chinese. “*Yiku sitian*” is a unique variety of patterned ways of speaking within this speech community with its boundary defined by a system of political beliefs and values.

Philipsen and Coudu (2005) defines the “means of speaking” of a speech community as “encompassing media and modes of communication, local varieties of languages, dialects, styles of speaking, communicative habits, organizing conventions, genres of communication, metacommunicative terms, gesture systems, standards, and beliefs pertaining to communication, and so on” (p. 357). This requires ethnographers of

communication to pay attention to all the resources for communicative conduct “in order to describe local speech habits” (ibid.).

#### 4.1 “*Yiku Sitian*” Enacted as Communication Act

Carbaugh (1989) defines communication act as “individual performance of communication” (p. 98). As so, it does not require cooperation but can be accomplished by individual persons. It is the basic unit of a communication practice and can be both verbal and non-verbal. “*Yiku sitian*” is such a term that, when used in situated contexts, points to communication act that can be accomplished by one person, either verbally or nonverbally. When a person is enacting a “*yiku sitian*” act verbally, he shares with other(s) in words about the “bitterness” of “*jiu shehui*” and the “sweetness” of “*xin shehui*” that he or his family members has experienced; when a person is enacting a *yiku sitian* act nonverbally, he “recalls the bitterness of “*jiu shehui*” and reflect on the sweetness of “*xin shehui*” in his mind. There are usually triggers, such as thoughts, words, or physical objects, that can enact both types of “*yiku sitian*” acts.

It is to be noted that the term “*yiku sitian*” has variations. When someone is enacting a “*yiku sitian*” act, he can be said simply as doing “*yiku*” (recalling the bitterness) (S2L201), or “*suku*” (pouring out the bitterness) (S1L162, 183, and 196), or “*sitian*” (reflecting on the sweetness) (S2L202), or, in a more cloquial way, “*su jiu shehui de ku, xiang xin shehui de tian*” (pouring out the bitterness of “*jiu shehui*”, thinking about the sweetness of “*xin shehui*”) (S1L198-199). All these terms point to communicative act of *yiku sitian* that can be performed individually.

The following instance is an example of both verbal and nonverbal enactment of “*yiku sitian*” act. It is taken from Segment #5 (see Appendix B for reference) from a report dated Aug. 21<sup>st</sup>, 1966 (see Appendix B for reference). Responding to the



“haozhao” (call) from “*Dang zongzhi weiyuanhui*” (the Party’s general branch committee), “*Gongchan Dangyuan*” (the CCP members), “*pinnong*” (poor peasants) and “*xia zhongnong*” (lower-middle peasants)<sup>1</sup> at Liangtong production brigade, Wuming County, Zhuang autonomous region, Guangxi province, had a “*Yiku Sitian Ri* (Day of recalling the bitterness and reflecting on the sweetness)” and conducted various “*yiku sitian*” activities on June 30<sup>th</sup> to celebrate the birthday of the Chinese Communist Party on the following day, July 1<sup>st</sup>.

#### **Instance 4.1:**

That morning, Huang Xuguang, the chairperson of *Pinnong XiaZhongnong Xiehui* (the Association for Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants) of the second production team, cooked a pot of pumpkin and finished it by noon. He didn’t make a fire to cook food at dinner time. His neighbors asked him why and he said, “Five generations in my family *da changgong* (worked as long-term hired hands). Often times they didn’t have food to eat. I think it is good for me to not eat tonight and to sit down and *xiangxiang guoqu* (think about the past).” He even searched out “*sijian bao* (the four pieces of treasures)” that he used for *wa yecai* (digging up wild plants) in *jiu shehui*: a rusty hoe, a tattered straw-rope, a ragged bamboo basket, and a worn-out sack. He *yiku* (recalled the bitterness) while touching them. (S5L34- 41)

In this scene, Huang replied to his neighbor’s inquiry of why he didn’t cook and eat dinner by telling them the experience the older generations in his family had in “*jiu shehui*” – they “worked as long-term hired hands”, and “often times they didn’t have food to eat”, which is an indication of them being exploited and oppressed by their landlord. He chose to skip dinner that night to “sit down and *xiangxiang guoqu* (think about the past).” To assist himself in this process, he searched out the “four pieces of

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<sup>1</sup> “Poor peasants” and “lower-middle peasants” refer to the class origin of one’s family and are the best class ranking in that political era.

treasures” that he used for digging up wild plants in “*jiu shehui*”: “a rusty hoe, a tattered straw-rope, a ragged bamboo basket, and a worn-out sack”. The report says, “He *yiku* (recalled the bitterness) while touching them.” Huang replied to his neighbors’ inquiry with the performance of a verbal “*yiku sitian*” act of sharing about the “bitterness” his family experienced in “*jiu shehui*”, and then he himself continued the performance mentally and nonverbally. In other words, his verbal “*yiku sitian*” act can be said as triggered by his neighbors’ inquiry, and his nonverbal “*yiku sitian*” act can be said as triggered by the special theme set for the day by the Party general branch of the brigade, his conversation with his neighbors, and the seeing and touching of the “four pieces of treasures” that he had used in “*jiu shehui*”.

It is to be noted that, besides terms such as “*yiku*”, “*suku*”, “*sitian*”, and “*yiku sitian*” that directly point to communication act of “*yiku sitian*”, examination of data reveals that there are a set of semantic elements that form semantic structures, pointing to various “*yiku sitian*” acts that are active in each identifiable context, usually without using terms like “*yiku*”, “*suku*”, “*sitian*”, or “*yiku sitian*”. Altogether seven elements can be listed and stated in the following way:

**“*Semantic Structures*” as the Enactment of “*Yiku Sitian*” Act:**

- (1) a subject term (name or pronoun) identifying the performer(s) of the focal “*yiku sitian*” act(s);
- (2) an action term along the line of “*yi*” (recalling) or “*si*” (reflecting on), or “*shuo*” (talk), or “*jiang*” (speak), etc. by the person conducting the communication act of “*yiku sitian*”;
- (3) a noun term or phrase summarizing the content pointed to by the action term;

- (4) detailed description of the content, usually in several sentences or a paragraph;
- (5) a feeling term defining the nature of the content (“bitter” or “sweet”);
- (6) a time term indicating when this content took place;
- (7) a feeling term defining the emotion of (1), the act performer.<sup>2</sup>

Not all seven elements will be seen in each of the semantic structures when identifying acts of “*yiku sitian*”, but at least elements (2) and (3) or (2) and (4) need to be there for it to qualify as enactment of a “*yiku sitian*” act performance. Without (3) or (4), (2) by itself can be used in unlimited context and is not necessarily associated with “*yiku sitian*” act. Whenever we observe this semantic structure in a text, we can say that a “*yiku sitian*” act has been performed, in which case element (4) comes before all the other elements; or a “*yiku sitian*” act is being performed, in which case element (4) comes after all the other elements.

One special example of this semantic structure is in Segment #3 (see Appendix B for reference) from a report dated July 12<sup>th</sup>, 1964. We learned from the beginning of this report that Chang Yuchun and his wife loved their son Chang Lin very much. Although Chang Lin was already twenty years old, they still pampered him greatly in all possible ways to make sure he was well fed and warmly clothed. Mom ate any food that Chang Lin disliked, and Dad wore any clothes and shoes that Chang Lin worn out. What’s more, although they had experienced significant “bitterness” in “*jiu shehui*”, and they were frequently upset by their son’s extremely pickiness in daily life, they refrained from sharing their bitter past with Chang Lin for fear that it would make him “heartbroken” or

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<sup>2</sup> Not every semantic structure of communication act of “*yiku sitian*” contains this 7<sup>th</sup> element.

“disappointed”. The following instance records a scene that happened one evening after Chang Lin complained about food again.

**Instance 4.2:**

One evening, Mom made a pot of steaming hot *wowotou*<sup>3</sup>. When Chang Lin came back home from work and saw that it was *wowotou*, he pouted and said, “Rotten *wowotou* again!” This single utterance from him *gouqi le* (evoked) *tongchu de huiyi* (painful memory) in Dad: It was the spring time of 1944. It had been two days that the pot and bowls had not been touched<sup>4</sup> and his mother had had dropsy all over her body... If, as an aged person, she could have a *wowotou* every day, she would surely live several more years longer... Chang Yuchun’s eyes were moisturized. (S3L14-20)

In this scene, Chang Lin’s complaint about “*wowotou*” “*gouqi le* (evoked) *tongchu de huiyi* (painful memory)” in Chang Yuchun. I say this is a special example of semantic structure because, in this instance, elements (2) and (3) are overlapped in the same term, “*huiyi*” (memory). In Chinese “*huiyi*” can be both a verb and a noun. As a verb it means “to retrieve in thought, to recall”. As a noun, it means “memory”. Here in this instance “*huiyi*” is grammatically a noun. But semantically it functions both as a noun and as a verb. One can say that it means *Chang Yuchun* “recalled the painful memory” upon hearing *Chang Lin*’s complaint about “*wowotou*”. So here “*huiyi*” can be both the first and the second element of the semantic structure – both an action term meaning “recalled” and a noun term meaning “memory”; “*tongchu de*” is the fourth element – a feeling term meaning “painful” defining the nature of the “memory” content; “It was the spring time of 1944” is the fifth element – a time term indicating when the content took place; and the following recount about how *Chang Yuchun*’s mother suffered from

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<sup>3</sup> *Wowotou* is the name of a kind of steamed bread shaped as a tiny steep dome, usually made of corn meal.

<sup>4</sup> Meaning that there had been no food to be cooked.

starvation and lived a shorter life as a result is the fourth element in this semantic structure – a detailed description of the content. With the identification of this semantic structure here, we can say that in this scene Chang Yuchun performed a silent communication act of “*yiku*” in his mind by recalling the painful memory he had of “*jiu shehui*”.

Another example is in Segment #1, taken from a report dated July 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963. After old worker Lan Binpeng did “*yiku sitian*” and shared his “bitter” life experience in “*jiu shehui*” with all the other workers, the report said, “*tidao* (mentioning) these heartbroken events, he could hardly contain his *jidong de ganqing* (greatly agitated emotion) and said with *fenhen* (indignation): ‘*Jiushehui* is a *yanwang dian* (Palace of Hell)...’” (S1L152). If we apply the semantic structure to this example, we can mark it in the following way:

**Instance 4.4:**

...Now, one can still easily see the scars from the club wound on Lan Binpeng’s back, the scars from axe wound on his legs, the scars from small pieces of coal that got stuck under the skin of his face, and traces of damp toxins on his buttocks...(4)  
*Tidao* (mentioning) (1) these *heartbroken* (5) *events* (3), *he* (1) could hardly contain his *jidong de ganqing* (greatly agitated emotion) (7) and said with *fenhen* (indignation) (7): “*Jiushehui* (6) is a *yanwang dian* (Palace of Hell)...” (S1L148-152)

And with this we can say that in this scene, “he” (Lan Binpeng) has just performed a strongly emotional and verbal communication act of “*yiku*”. Note that there is more content of “these heartbroken events” in the original report/Segment than it is presented here (the fourth element at the beginning of this quote).

Depending on the nature of the action terms in the semantic structures, we can organize them into three categories as in the following:

- Semantic structures that identify mentally based internal thoughts as “*yiku sitian*” acts;
- Semantic structures that identify verbally based narrations as “*yiku sitian*” acts;
- Semantic structures that identify emotionally based charges as “*yiku sitian*” acts.

The action terms in the first category are usually derivative terms from “*yi*” (recall) and “*xiang*” (think); in the second category they usually have “*jiang*” (talk about), “*shuo*” (speak of), “*ti*” (mention), and “*tan*” (talk about) in them; and in the third category they usually have “*su*” (pour out) in them. We will look at each category with specific examples in the following.

#### **4.1.1 Semantic Structures Identifying Mentally Based Acts of “*Yiku Sitian*”**

Examination of data segments shows that the following semantic structures (among others) identify mentally based internal thoughts as acts of “*yiku sitian*” that people do individually, alone or in a group setting. To say that they are mentally based is to emphasize the main site – one’s mind – where they get enacted. One can dwell within that “thoughtful” domain to “recall” silently “the bitterness of *jiu shehui*” or to “reflect” silently “the sweetness of *xin shehui*”, as shown from Instances 4.5 to 4.7; one can also express these “recalls” and “reflects” verbally to share with other people, as shown from Instances 4.8 to 4.10. Note that it is the context that tells us whether these acts are voiced and shared with other people or they remain thoughts in one’s own mind. For example, the term “*huiyi*,” which means “to recall” as a verb and “memory” as a noun, can refer to both a mental action and a verbal action. In Instance 4.2 it obviously identifies a mental

action but in Instances 4.9 and 4.10 it identifies a verbal action. It is the same with the term “*xiang*” (to think) as it can identify both a silent mental act, such as “*lianxiangqi*” (to think of one thing because of another, to relate to) in Instance 4.5 and “*xiangqi*” (to draw from memory, to recall) in Instance 4.7, and a mental act that is voiced and shared, such as “*huixiang*” (to think back and recollect) in Instance 5-8. Following are five instances of semantic structures identifying mentally based acts of “*yiku sitian*”. The action term is listed specifically to highlight the mentally based feature of this type of communication act.

**Instance 4.5:** “*lianxiangqi*” (to think of one thing because of another, to relate to)

Dad (1) couldn't help *lianxiangqi* (relating to) (2) his own life as an apprentice (3) more than thirty years ago: (6) learning skills for three years without making any penny; eating soured rice and rotten veggies; suffering beatings and receiving abuses. (4) (S3L26-29)

This instance is also from Segment #3 and is after *Chang Lin* brought back home his first month salary. “Dad” (Chang Yuchun) performed a silent communication act of “*yiku*” in this scene, “*lianxiang qi*” (relating to) the bitterness of his own life as an apprentice in “*jiu shehui*”.

**Instance 4.6:** “*yongshang xintou*” (to gush to one’s heart, to flood one’s mind)

“*jide*” (remembered)

Upon mentioning searching for coal cinder, those already faded *wangshi* (past memories) (6) (3) suddenly *yongshang xintou* (flooded his mind) (2). He (1) vaguely *jide* (remembered) (2), one early morning of a severe winter, without any food in stomach, he went with his four-year-older brother to search for coal cinder. It was snowing heavily. The cold was so unbearable that he stopped at the door of a nearby rich relative’s house to try to escape the cold. But that relative shouted to him. “*Ye haizi* (feral kid), don’t defile our doorsteps. (4)” (S3L157-162)

This instance is also taken from Segment #3. Li Decai, Chang Lin's master at work, came to visit them one Sunday. Chang Lin's parents opened up and started to share with Chang Lin about their bitter life in "*jiu shehui*". Their recounts started to wake up Chang Lin's memory to his childhood life. Hence is this communication act of "*yiku*" performed by Chang Lin in his mind. Note that there are two action terms used in this semantic structure, both marked with (2).

**Instance 4.7:** "*xiangqi*" (to think of, to recall from memory)

While they were eating, Liang Qijun, the brigade leader, and Li Caiqin, the director of Women's Representative Conference (1), both *zhibuzhu de kuqilai* (couldn't help crying) (7) when *xiangqi* (thinking of) (2) life experience (3) in *jiu shehui* (6) (S5L89-92)

This instance is also from Segment #5. As mentioned before, commune members at Liangtong production brigade in Wuming County, Zhuang autonomous region, Guangxi province conducted various "*yiku sitian*" activities on June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1966 as a special way to celebrate July 1<sup>st</sup>, the birthday of the Chinese Communist Party. The decision to do so came from a "*yiku*" and "*chi kucan*" (eating bitter meal) gathering that was held among "*zongzhi weiyuan* (members of the general branch) and *pinnong xiazhongnong xiehui weiyuan* (members of the Association for Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants) of the brigade" in May that year. This instance depicts a scene from that gathering in which "Liang Qijun, the brigade leader, and Li Caiqin, the director of Women's Representative Conference" performed communication acts of "*yiku sitian*" mentally when "*xiangqi* (recalling from memory) life experience in *jiu shehui*".



**Instance 4.8:** “*huixiang*” (to think back, to recollect)

“*shuo*” (to say)

The senior store clerks (1) *manfu xinsuan* (were full of sadness) when they *huixiang* (thought back, or recollected) (2) *situations of being apprentices* (3). They *shuo* (said) (2), to be an apprentice in *jiu shehui* (6) is *ku shang jia ku* (bitterness on top of bitterness) (5). One had to shave one’s head bald to start working there; no visit to home for three years; got up earlier than others and went to bed later than others. From morning to night time, one had to cook, buy groceries, babysit, deliver orders, run errands, as well as empty the chamber pot for the boss and wash the soiled cloth diapers for babies, leaving no time for one to learn skills... (4). (S2L65-72)

This instance is taken from Segment #2, which is taken from a report dated Sept. 25<sup>th</sup>, 1963. According to the report, in May that year, “during the beginning stage of *kaizhan* (unfolding, conducting) *shehui zhuyi jiaoyu yundong* (socialist education movement)” (S2L15-17), because many “young apprentices all grew up in *xin shehui* and *bu liaojie* (do not know) the *kunan* (bitterness and hardship) of *laodong renmin* (the working people) in *jiu shehui*” (S2L12-14), “*Dang Zhibu* (the Party branch) of Tilanqiao Fabrics Central Store in Shanghai organized senior store clerks to “*huiyi*” (recall) “*shangdian shi*” (the store history) and to “*jinxing*” (conduct) “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education) to workers (S2L1-3) through the format of “discussion gatherings” and “colloquium”. This instance occurred in one of the gatherings when senior store clerks shared about their “bitter” life as apprentices in “*jiu shehui*”. Note that there are two action terms, “*huixiang* (thought back, recollected)” and “*shuo* (said)” in this semantic structure, indicating that the communication acts of “*yiku*” enacted by the senior store clerks are at first conducted mentally and then shared verbally.

**Instance 4.9:** “*huiyi*” (to recall); “*tandao*” (to talk about)

... (4). After senior store clerks (1) *huiyi le* (recalled) (2) *guoqu* (the past) (3) (5), they continued naturally to *tandao* (talk about) (2) the various changes (3) since *jiefang yihou* (after the Liberation) (6). ... (4) (S2L106-107)

This instance is also from Segment #2 and depicts a transitional scene. After senior store clerks have shared about their “bitter” life in “*jiu shehui*”, they began to talk about changes they have experienced in “*xin shehui*”. Element (4) of the semantic structure is marked at the beginning and end of this instance to stand for the “contents” that are not physically listed here but are in the text (see Appendix B for reference). So this semantic structure lets us know that some communication acts of “*yiku*” (by various individual senior store clerks) have been completed and communication acts of “*sitian*” are being conducted now in this scene.

**Instance 4.10:** “*huiyi*” (to recall)

Assistant squad leader Deng Yurong and several other girls (1) also *huiyi le* (recalled) (2) their own *kunan* (bitter and difficult) (5) *jiashi* (family history) (3). (S6L40-41)

This instance is taken from Segment #6, which is from a report dated June 9<sup>th</sup>, 1968. According to this report, fifteen young women responded to Chairman Mao’s call that “*zhishi qingnian*” (intellectual youths) should “*shangshan xiexiang*” (go up to mountainous areas and down to countryside)” to “receive re-education” from “*pin xia zhong nong*” (poor and lower middle peasants) and relocated themselves to a barren countryside village in Linchang brigade, Wanli Commune, Jin County, Liaoning Province. To celebrate their one-year anniversary of settling down in this countryside, they decided to invite “poor and lower middle peasants” to have a “*yiku sitian*” meeting

to commemorate this day. This instance is from their “*yiku sitian*” meeting and happened after they listened to “Grandma Lin” and “Auntie Xu”, both “poor lower middle peasants”, to share about their “bitter” life in “*jiu shehui*”. Although the report didn’t provide the content of the “*kunan jiashi*” (bitter and difficult family history) shared by Deng Yurong and several other girls, we know that they have enacted communication acts of “*yiku*” at this point of the scene.

#### 4.1.2 Semantic Structures Identifying Verbally Based Acts of “*Yiku Sitian*”

Examination of data segments shows that the following nine semantic structures (among others) identify verbally based acts of “*yiku sitian*” that people do individually. To say that they are verbally based is to emphasize the fact that they are verbally performed acts of “*yiku sitian*”. The action terms in these semantic structure are words that clustered around the verbal action of “speaking” such as “*jiang*” (to talk about), “*shu*” (to narrate), “*shuo* (to speak of), “*ti*” (to mention), and “*tan*” (to comment). Again, although some of the following terms and sayings are used in a context that involves more than one person, they should still be regarded as acts performed individually.

In the following, Instances 4.11 and 4.12 both have the verbal action term “*shu*” (to narrate) in it. “*shu*” is usually paired with another verb to make the meaning versatile and clear. Here “*jiangshu*” in Instance 4.11 means “to talk about and narrate” and “*zhuishu*” in Instance 4.12 means “to narrate things that happened before, to recollect”.

##### **Instance 4.11:** “*jiangshu*” (to talk about)

Next, sobbing heavily (7), Grandma Lin (1) *jiangshu le* (talked about) (2) her tragic (5) experience (3) in *jiu shehui* (6). When she was very young, she already went to *taofan* (beg for food). Once, she got to the door of a big *dizhu* (landlord). Not only wouldn’t the hateful *dizhu* (landlor) give her one single grain of rice, he even released a fierce dog to

bite people. While speaking, Grandma Lin rolled up the bottom of her pants and showed the scars on her legs to the girls (4). (S6L26-30)

This instance is also from Segment #6 (see the introductory information about this Segment under Instance 4.10). Grandma Lin conducted a communication act of “*yiku*” by “*jiangshu*” (talking about) her tragic experience in “*jiu shehui*”.

**Instance 4.12:** “*zhuishu*” (to narrate things that happened before, to recollect)

Hu Bin (1), a senior store clerk who has been promoted to be the vice manager of the central store, *zhuishu* (recollected) (2) his own experience (3), “When I was a store clerk at Hengyuanxiang<sup>5</sup>, one day, a wounded *Guomin Dang* (National Party) soldier came and chose a premium quality silk quilt cover and wanted to leave without payment. I was very anxious and, summoning up my courage and putting up a smiling face, tried to collect the payment from him. Astonishingly, this wounded soldier rolled his eyes and cursed, ‘You want *laozi* (referring to oneself, showing contempt for the spoken to) to pay for the money?!’ He tried to leave. I followed him to the door and he slapped me on the face without saying anything more. Yet afterwards the boss blamed me for getting into trouble and asked me to pay for the quilt cover instead. That equaled almost half a month of my wages and I could only swallow the *kushui* (bitter water) into my belly...” (4). (S2L92-102)

This instance is also from Segment #2 (see the introductory info. about this Segment under Instance 4.8). Hu Bin, a senior store clerk who has been promoted to be the vice manager of the central store now, conducted a communication act of “*yiku*” – “*zhuishu*” (recollecting) his own experience in “*jiu shehui*”.

The following instances, from 4.13 to 4.15, all have verbal action terms that contain “*ti*” (to mention), “*tan*” (to comment on), and “*shuo*” (to speak of). Besides these

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<sup>5</sup> The name of a fabric store that later became very famous in China.

instances, we have already seen “*tidao*” (to mention) in Instance 4.4 and “*tandao*” (to talk about) in Instance 4.9 in the previous section.

**Instance 4.13:** “*shuodao*” (to speak of)

Hu Bin (1) *relei yingkuang* (Hu Bin's eyes brimmed with warm tears) (7) when *shuodao* (speaking of) (2) himself *shou yapo* (suffering oppression) (3) from *riben guizi* (Japanese devils)<sup>6</sup> and *fandong pai* (reactionaries), and some listeners couldn't help their tears either. (S2L102-105)

This instance is right after Instance 4.12 in Segment #2 and the semantic structure here is actually referring to the same communication act of “*yiku*” that is identified by the semantic structure in Instance 4.12. The specific content of “himself *shou yapo* (suffering oppression)” is already given previously. Here the report summarizes the nature of his “experience” as “*shou yapo* (suffering oppression)”. The semantic structure in this instance also contains a 6<sup>th</sup> element, “*relei yingkuang*” (eyes brimming with warm tears), describing Hu Bin's emotional state when he conducted this *yiku* act.

**Instance 4.14:** “*tanqi*” (to start talking about)

Dad's *ganqing* (emotion) became even more *jidong* (agitated and moved) when Mom *Tiqi* (mentioned) *Chang Lin*'s childhood. He (1) couldn't help any more but *tanqi le* (started talking about) (2) one incident that he had not told people in the past many years (3): When Chang Lin was one or two years old, he was so starved that even his breathing became thin as a thread. For several times, Mom became desperate with tears and nasal mucus<sup>7</sup> and said to Dad, 'We are not able to keep him alive! Let's place him on the road. Maybe a kindhearted person would pick him up and bring him home, which is better than starved to death at home.' But Dad said, “He is our *qin gurou* (one's own flesh and

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<sup>6</sup> This is a war time insulting term for Japanese army by Chinese people.

<sup>7</sup> The original Chinese says “*yiba biti yiba lei*”, which means, literally, “a handful of nasal mucus and a handful of tears.”

blood). Even if he died he should die by our side..." (4) Dad and Mom choked with sobs.

Tears wet the corner of their clothes again and again. (S3L168-177)

This instance is also from Segment #3 and mentioned right after Instance 4.6 in the report. Chang Lin's Mom had shared something about his childhood experience a while ago, and her sharing prompted Chang Lin's Dad to "*tanqi*" (start talking about) this incident that he had not told people before. We can say that the semantic structure in this instance identifies a communication act of "*yiku*" conducted by Chang Lin's Dad.

**Instance 4.15:** "*changtan*" (to comment openly, freely, and excitedly on)

They (1) also *changtan le* (commented openly, freely, and excitedly on) (2) *wuwei buzhi de guanhuai* (the care that covers every possible area) to their life that they received from *Dang* (the Party) and *Zhengfu* (the government) (3) *jiefang yihou* (after the Liberation) (6): security over careers; labor insurance when getting sick; and pension after one gets old and retired (4). (S2L123-126)

This instance is also from Segment #2 (see the introductory info. about this Segment under Instance 4.8) and is after Instance 4.9 in the report. As we mentioned before, Instance 4.9 marked a transition of topic. By then the senior store clerks had shared a lot of their "*ku*" (bitter) experiences in "*jiu shehui*" and began sharing their "*tian*" (sweet) experiences in "*xin shehui*" And this Instance 4.15 depicts verbal communication acts of "*sitian*" that are conducted by the senior store clerks one after another.

The following Instances 4.16 to 4.17 both contain the verbal action term "*jiang*" (to talk about). They both involve the recalling of certain types of "history"- "*jiashi*" (family history) in Instance 4.16 and "*dianshi*" (store history) in Instance 4.17. Similar phrases of "*jiang cunchi*" (talking about village history) and a general phrase, "*jiang*

*kushi*” (talking about bitter history)<sup>8</sup>, can be found in Segment #5, lines 44 and 16, respectively.

**Instance 4.16:** “*jiangqi*” (to start talking about)

This event deeply hurt his Mom’s heart. Holding Mai Xiande’s hand, Mom (1) sat down with him at the head of the bed and *jiangqi le* (started talking about) (2) *kunan* (bitter and miserable) (5) *jiashi* (family history) (3) of how *zuzubeibei* (generations after generations they were *lingru* (bullied and insulted), *boxue* (exploited) and *yapo* (oppressed) by *jiejii diren* (class enemies) (4): ... (S4L38-41)

This instance is from Segment #4, which is from a report dated March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Mai Xiande was a People’s Liberation Army marine soldier and a combat hero because of his courageous fighting spirit demonstrated in a battle against two Taiwan warships that attempted to sneak some “special agents” into mainland China on Aug. 5<sup>th</sup>, 1965<sup>9</sup>. This report seeks to identify factors that contributed to the making of Mai Xiande as a combat hero. So it reviewed Mai Xiande’s life story from early on, when he was a child. This instance happened when he was seven years old. Little Mai Xiande had virtually no experience or memory of the “bitterness” of “*jiu shehui*”, therefore, he was not impressed by the “sweetness” of “*xin shehui*”. Mom did this “*yiku sitian*” act to teach him about their family’s past.

**Instance 4.17:** “*jiang dianshi*” (to talk about the store history)

On the basis of listening to senior store clerks (1) to *jiang dianshi* (talk about the store history) (2) and *yiku sitian* (recall the bitterness and reflect on the sweetness) (2), the Party branch then *yindao* (guided) everybody to *wa kugen* (dig out the bitter root) and

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<sup>8</sup> It was a popular practice in the 1960s for people everywhere to write “*si shi*” (four histories), which are “*jiashi*” (family history), “*cunshi*” (village history), “*sheshi*” (commune history), “*gongchangshi*” (factory history), as teaching materials for “*yiku sitian*”.

<sup>9</sup> See <http://baike.baidu.com/view/129261.htm> for more information about Mai Xiande.

*zhao tianyuan* (search for the sweet origin) *youqian rushen* (from surface level to bottom level). (S2L140-143)

This instance is also from Segment #2. Here in this instance, the semantic structure is used to refer to the communication act of “*yiku sitian*” that had been enacted by senior store clerks before this instance. And the term “*yiku sitian*” is used here to say that “*jiang dianshi*” (talking about the store history) is a type of “*yiku sitian*” too.

#### **4.1.3 Semantic Structures Identifying Emotionally Based Charges as “*Yiku Sitian*” Acts**

Besides the semantic structures presented in the above, there are still some others in the data that I call “emotionally based charges” that identify verbal “*yiku sitian*” acts.

What makes them different from those in the second category of verbally based narrations as “*yiku sitian*” acts is that they themselves are emotionally loaded and carry a strong sense of accusation to the “class enemies” in “*jiu shehui*” that have caused their life so miserable. All the action terms in the following semantic structures contain the word “*su*” which means “to pour thoughts out of one’s mind and mouth verbally, forcefully, and emotionally”.

#### **Instance 4.18: “*kongsu*” (to denounce by pouring out)**

An assembly was held at the lochus to *kongsu* (denounce) *Mei-Chiang’s* (American and Chiang Kai-Shek’s) crimes. One after another, soldiers from different areas of China (1) *fenu de* (indignantly) (5) *kongsu* (denounced) (2) the *leilei xuezhai* (numerous debts of blood) owed by American Imperialism, Japanese invasion army, the Chiang bandit troops, the fishing despot, and landlords (3). (S4L139-142)

This instance is also from Segment #4 (see the introductory info. under Instance 4.16).

By the time of this instance, young Mai Xiande had grown up, joined the army, and attended a naval academy in Zhujiangkou, Guangdong province. As indicated by the



semantic structure here, we can say that soldiers conducted communication act of “*yiku*” in this scene, “*kongsu*” (denouncing) Mei-Chiang’s (American and Chiang Kai-Shek’s) crimes.

**Instance 4.19:** “*kusu*” (to pour out in crying)

Auntie Xu (1), a *pinnong* (poor peasant) who came from the second brigade to join the *yiku hui* (yiku meeting), also *kusu le* (poured out in crying) (2) her *tongku* (painful) (3) *jingli* (experience) (4) in the past (6): at the age of nine, her family was so poor that her father had to endure the pain and reluctantly sold her away to be a child bride. Soon after that, her first younger sister was also sold to other people, and her second younger sister got sick and died because there was no money for her to be treated... (7) (S6L30-36)

This instance is from Segment #6 (see the introductory information about this Segment under Instance 4.10). After Grandma Lin shared her “bitter” experience in “*jiu shehui*”, Auntie Xu, also a poor peasant, “*kusu le* (poured out in crying) her *tongku* (painful) *jingli* (experience) in the past”, enacting a communication act of “*suku*” in this scene.

**Instance 4.20:** “*qingsu*” (to pour out completely)

Li Decai (1) *qingsu* (poured out completely) (2) the *xinsuan de* (spicy and sour, sad) (5) *wangshi* (past memories) (7) (3) to Chang Yuchun first, which led to Chang Yuchun’s *tongchu de* (painful) *huiyi* (recollections): became an apprentice at the age of twelve, learned shoe-making, hair-dressing, and porcelain-making... (S3L98-101)

This instance is also from Segment #3. In order to figure out the reason why it was so hard to do “*yiku sitian jiaoyu*” (*yiku sitian* education) to his apprentice Chang Lin, Li Decai visited Chang Lin’s parents at their home and found out that their way of loving Chang Lin had actually “pampered” him too much and prevented him from knowing the truth about *jiu shehui*. Li Decai “*qingsu* (poured out completely) the *xinsuan de* (spicy

and sour, sad) *wangshi* (past memories)” with Chang Lin’s parents, enacting a communication act of “*yiku*” in this scene.

**Instance 4.21:** “*sushuo*” (to speak by pouring out)

Senior store clerks (1) *fennude* (indignantly) (7) *sushuo* (spoke by pouring out) the various facts (3) in those years (7) of their suffering *canku boxue yapo* (cruel exploitation and oppression) from *laoban* (the boss) (4)... (S2L24-26)

This instance is also from Segment #2 (see introductory information under Instance 4.8).

The semantic structure here identifies emotional communication acts of “*yiku*” enacted by senior store clerks. Note that there was also more content that was “*sushuo*” (spoken by pouring out) than it is presented here in this quote. There are more semantic structures containing the action term of “*sushuo*” in it in Segment #3, lines 40, 60, and 210.

#### **4.2 “*Yiku Stian*” Enacted as Communication Event**

Carbaugh (1989) defines a communication event as “a type of speech performance that requires two or more speakers” (p. 99). In the entry of “Ethnography of Communication” for the 2009 edition of *International Encyclopedia of Communication*, he further defines a communication event as “understood to be, from the point of view of participants, an integral, patterned part of social life” that “typically involve a sequential structuring of acts”, “can be understood by formulating norms and rules about them”, and “involve culturally bounded aspects of social life which have a beginning and ending” (pp. 1593-1594).

In the previous section of this chapter we have analyzed how the term “*yiku sitian*” and a semantic structure active in various “*yiku sitian*” reports identify communication conducts on the act level. In this section we will be examining some key cultural terms clustered around “*yiku sitian jiaoyu*” (*jiaoyu* means, roughly, “education”)

that identify “*yiku sitian*” practice on the event level, as a type of prominent communication event that is situated, co-enacted, sequentialized, culturally bounded, and governed by rules and norms.

Analysis of data reveals that such kind of events are commonly labeled as a particular type of “*jiaoyu*” (education), such as “*yiku sitian jiaoyu*” (*yiku sitian* education, “*yiku jiaoyu*”, “*suku jiaoyu*” (pouring-out-bitterness education), “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education), or “*shehui zhuyi jiaoyu*” (socialist education). Sometimes it is simply the term “*jiaoyu*” itself being used without specifying what type of “education” it is. Although the most common English translation of “*jiaoyu*” is “education”, it actually means more than the English term “education”. It means “to guide or persuade toward preset goals through reasoning things out.” There is no exact translation of this term in English, so I will still use “education” as the closest equivalent term. The sense of “*jiaoyu*” is implied in the term “*yiku sitian*” too when it is used without “*jiaoyu*”. Regardless of the terms used before “*jiaoyu*”, they all refer more or less to the same type of events during which people “*yiku*” (recall the bitterness of the past) and “*sitian*” (reflect on the sweetness of the present) to help those who had no personal experience of life in “*jiu shehui*” to be able to gain understanding about it, or those who had forgotten how life was like in “*jiu shehui*” to refresh their memories , to raise their “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness), and to cultivate hatred toward “*jiu shehui*” and love toward “*xin shehui*”.

This communication event of “*yiku sitian*” can also be identified with the types of history that was recalled by people. For example, there are “*dianshi*” (store history), “*jiashi*” (family history), “*cunshi*” (village history), “*changshi*” (factory history), even “*jieshi*” (street history). And an event that is intended to “*jiaoyu*” participants with the

type of history being recalled can be labeled as so. For example, “*dianshi jiaoyu*”, “*jiashi*” *jiaoyu*, and “*cunshi*” *jiaoyu*<sup>10</sup>.

Another term we see used to identify the communication event of “*yiku sitian*” is “*kai yiku sitian hui*” (holding *yiku sitian* meeting, in Segment #6, line 9), as the purpose of holding such a meeting is to “educate” those who are present. Also, the participants interact with each other to make the meeting going smoothly, achieving its goal, and conclude successfully.

Among the aforementioned terms, “*shehui zhuyi jiaoyu*” (socialist education) is an umbrella term subsuming all the other kind of “*jiaoyu*” (education) activities. Indeed, when “*yiku sitian*” movement was officially launched in 1963, it was envisioned as an effective strategy to achieve the goal of the “*shehui zhuyi jiaoyu yundong*” (socialist education movement), which is to make sure that China stays away from any revision (of socialism) or restoration (of capitalism) attempt and remains a socialist country.

The communication enactments identified by each of these aforementioned terms constitute communication events of “*yiku sitian*” because each of them is situated in specific scenes, is co-enacted by participants, has sequentialized acts, is culturally bounded with beginnings and endings, and governed by rules and norms. In the following we will examine some of the components that are crucial to our understanding about communication events of “*yiku sitian*”: settings, scenes, act sequence, rules and norms. Hymes’ SPEAKING mnemonic descriptive theory is used in the identification of these components and analysis to them.

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<sup>10</sup> Note that I put “*jiaoyu*” inside the quotation mark for “*dianshi jiaoyu*” but outside the quotation mark for “*jiashi*” *jiaoyu* and “*cunshi*” *jiaoyu* as we can see the term “*dianshi jiaoyu*” used in data segment #2 but only “*jiashi*” and “*cunshi*” used in data segments #3, #4, #5, & #6. Still, one can add “*jiaoyu*” to “*jiashi*” and “*cunshi*” as the purpose of people sharing that particular type of history is educational.

Altogether nine communication events of “*yiku sitian*” are identified from the first seven data segments in Appendix A and B, as listed in Table 5.

Table 5: Nine Communication Events of “*Yiku Sitian*”

Event	Cultural Terms	Description	Segment	Year
#1	“ <i>jieji jiaoyu</i> ” (class education) (L117)	Young workers’ transformation by “ <i>jieji jiaoyu</i> ” at <i>Baiyunshi</i> workshop	#1	1963.7.30
#2	“ <i>jieji jiaoyu</i> ” (L117)	Liu Huaming’s “ <i>wangben huitou</i> ” (repentance from forgetting his original root) through “ <i>jieji jiaoyu</i> ”	#1	1963.7.30
#3	“ <i>shehui zhuyi jiaoyu</i> ” (socialist education) (L16) “ <i>jieji jiaoyu</i> ” (L3, L144, L168, L226), “ <i>jiaoyu</i> ” (L171) “ <i>dianshi jiaoyu</i> ” (store history education) (L199)	Store clerks receiving “ <i>dianshi jiaoyu</i> ” and raising “ <i>jieji juewu</i> ” (class consciousness) through “ <i>yiku sitian</i> ”	#2	1963.9.25
#4	“ <i>jiaoyu</i> ” (title, L64, L184, L188), “ <i>jieji jiaoyu</i> ” (L84, L89, L131) “ <i>suku jiaoyu</i> ” (pouring-out-bitterness) (L87) “ <i>jiashi</i> ” <i>jiaoyu</i> (family history education) (L35, 39, 55)	Chang Lin’s transformation by “ <i>suku jiaoyu</i> ”	#3	1964.7.12
#5	“ <i>jieji jiaoyu</i> ” (L67, L77) “ <i>jiashi</i> ” <i>jiaoyu</i> (L39, 57)	Mom doing “ <i>jiashi</i> ” <i>jiaoyu</i> with little Mai Xiande	#4	1966.3.19
#6	“ <i>yiku jiaoyu</i> ” (L76) “ <i>xingshi jiaoyu</i> ” (situation education) (L168)	The making of a battle hero, Mai Xiande, through “ <i>yiku jiaoyu</i> ”	#4	1966.3.19
#7	“ <i>jieji jiaoyu</i> ” (L5-6) “ <i>jiaoyu</i> ” (L17) “ <i>cunshi</i> ” <i>jiaoyu</i> (village history education) (L44)	Commune members celebrating CCP’s birthday by doing “ <i>jieji jiaoyu</i> ” with “ <i>Yiku Sitian Day</i> ” activities	#5	1966.8.21
#8	“ <i>kai yiku sitian hui</i> ” (hold <i>yiku sitian</i> meeting) (L9) “ <i>jiashi</i> ” <i>jiaoyu</i> (family history education) (L41)	“ <i>Xiixiang zhiqing</i> ” (down-to-the-countryside intellectual youths) celebrating their one-year anniversary of “settling-down-in-the-mountainous-area” by “ <i>kai yiku sitian hui</i> ” (holding <i>yiku sitian</i> meeting) with “ <i>pin xia zhong nong</i> ” (poor and lower middle peasants)	#6	1968.6.9
#9	“ <i>yiku sitian jiaoyu</i> ” (L10)	“ <i>Pinnong</i> ” (poor peasant) “Uncle Zhao” conducting “ <i>yiku sitian jiaoyu</i> ” with “ <i>zhiqing</i> ” (intellectual youths) to help them cultivate “ <i>wei geming chiku de jingshen</i> ” (spirit of eating bitterness for revolution)	#7	1970.3.14

#### 4.2.1 Settings and Scenes

According to Hymes (1972), setting and scene are two aspects that can be “linked as components of act situation” (p. 60). A question we can ask regarding them is, “What are the setting and scene of the communication practice?” (Carbaugh, 2009, EC entry for IEC, p. 1595). According to Hymes (1972), “Setting refers to the time and place of a speech act and, in general, to the physical circumstances” of it (p. 60) whereas “scene...designates the ‘psychological setting,’ or the cultural definition of an occasion as a type of scene” (ibid.). Therefore, “scene” is distinct from “setting”.

For the *yiku sitian* practice, we can see from numerous data in general and the nine chosen segments in particular that the “setting” of it can be very flexible. It can occur at any time of a day (such as the “lunch time” in S3L148, or “early in the morning” in S6-line 1), of a week (such as “one Sunday” in S4L149), of a month (such as “June 30<sup>th</sup>” in S5L1), of a year (such as “In the beginning of 1961” in S1L71), when its occurrence is deemed necessary and significance. It can also occur anywhere, from home (such as in S4L47-65) to work place (such as in S3L63-84); from informal gathering (such as in S3L148) to formal meetings (such as in S2L15-22); from industrial sites (such as “Baiyunshi workshop of the Steel Works at Shijingshan Steel and Iron Company” in S1L1-2 and “Beijing Broadcasting Equipment Company” in S3L2), to business world (such as “Tilanqiao Fabrics Central Store” in S2L1), to the army (such as “*renmin jiefangjun*” / the People’s Liberation Army in S4L29), and to villages and countryside (such as “Liangtong production brigade” in S5-title); and throughout the whole China (such as “Shanghai” in eastern China in S2L1, “Beijing” in northern China in S3L2,

“Humen fort” in Guangdong province in southern China in S4L149, and “Zhuang autonomous region, Guangxi Province” in southwestern China in S5-title).

As “psychological setting”, scene carries “the participants’ sense of what is going on” when a practice is active (Carbaugh, 2009, p. 1595). Hymes (1972) stated that “Speech acts frequently are used to define scenes, and also frequently judged as appropriate or inappropriate in relation to scenes<sup>11</sup>” (p. 60). Hymes also said “a speech event may consist of a single speech act, but will often comprise several” (p. 56). Therefore, we can also say that a communication event may consist of a single scene, but may often comprise several scenes. For example, a speech event that functions as a social drama in Victor Turner’s sense is a communication event that comprises multiple scenes over time and locations<sup>12</sup>.

This is the same regarding communication events of “*yiku sitian*”. Analysis of the nine events reveals that they all contain three types of scenes:

- (1) Scenes of Problems:  
Attire, attitude, thought, viewpoint, and action, etc., of focal person(s) in a particular context that is deemed inappropriate and needs to be corrected;
- (2) Scenes of Education Efforts:  
Root cause for the observed problems identified and “*yiku sitian*” enacted as the effective way to address the problems;
- (3) Scenes of Transformation:  
The focal person(s) responded positively (and emotionally) to the “*yiku sitian*” effort with both immediate impact such as “crying” and “remorse” and long term changes such as “increased class consciousness” and “improved work performance”.

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<sup>11</sup> The appropriateness of acts in relation to scenes is a problem that occurred repeatedly during specific enactments of the *yiku sitian* practice and will be analyzed later.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, David Boromisza-Habashi’s analysis of “the Hegedus-Affair”, a communication event, as social drama in his dissertation titled “Hate Speech as Cultural Practice” (University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 2008).

A parallel or progressive relationship can be seen among acts within the same type of scenes, but a progressive relationship is usually exhibited among the three types of scenes. By “parallel” I mean acts happened within the same type of scenes share similar features with each other. For example, although sometimes only one scene (which is constituted by a major act) is reported for the particular type it belongs to, usually multiple scenes (each of which contains a major act that are similar to each other by nature) are identifiable that are parallel to each other for that particular type in that particular event of “*yiku sitian*” (usually in the type of problematic scenes where several similar problematic acts are identified by the report and associated with the focal character). By “progressive” I mean that acts happened in previous type of scenes evolve into or serve as reasons for acts happening in the following type of scenes. For example, we can say that acts happened in scenes that are identified as problematic, such as inappropriate ways of dressing, presenting, and expressing oneself, in situated settings, such as a work place, made it necessary for interventional and educational effort, such as an act of “*yiku sitian*”, to take place; and a successful educational effort of “*yiku sitian*” will result in transformed (i.e., appropriate) ways of dressing, presenting, and expressing oneself. For example, in Event #1, “young workers’ transformation by ‘*jieji jiaoyu*’ (class education) at Baiyunshi workshop”, multiple problematic scenes containing problematic acts are reported, such as young workers’ poor working attitude and carelessness toward the many protection gear given to them, and their mocking tone of voice when senior workers tried to correct them... These acts and scenes are parallel to each other as they serve the same function in the report – to demonstrate how inappropriate these young workers’ thoughts, words, and behaviors are and how desperate it is for the Party branch



to take actions to address those problems. Hence is the progressive relationship between the problematic type of scenes and educational type of scenes, which, when well-received, lead to the result of the transformational type of scenes.

In the following I will use charts to summarize and display important scenes identified for each particular type after analyzing each particular event. Specifically, in each chart, I will categorize scenes into the three types and, whenever applicable, indicate relationships (parallel or progressive) among those scenes. This way it will allow us to have a direct view about each event and know what acts/scenes are regarded as problematic, what “*yiku sitian*” educational efforts are enacted to address those inappropriate acts/scenes, and what positive changes are brought about by “*yiku sitian*” enactments. Questions are posed after each chart to guide further contemplation about each event and to assist in the formulation of cultural premises in later chapters.

Table 6: Young Workers’ Transformation by “*Jieji Jiaoyu*” (Class Education)

Event	Scenes of Problems	Scenes of Education Effort	Scenes of Transformation
#1	<u>Parallel Scenes:</u> Poor working conditions (S1L9-11, 27-31) Poor working attitude (S1L31-36, 93-99) Ungrateful heart (S1L37-41) Unteachable ears (S1L41-49, 131-135) Low level of <i>juewu</i> (consciousness) (S1L49-51) Estranged worker-cadre relationships (S1L51-59) Low production efficiency (S1L59-62)	<u>Progressive Scenes:</u> Changed leadership (S1L71-87) Identification of the “fundamental reason” that has contributed to the existing problems (S1L108-128) 1 <sup>st</sup> senior worker doing <i>yiku sitian</i> (S1L135-156) 2 <sup>nd</sup> senior worker doing <i>yiku sitian</i> (S1L163-182)	Immediate impact: (S1L159-162, 182-185) Long term changes: (S1L3-14)

Carbaugh, Gibson and Milburn (1997) defines “communicative scene” as a construct that “brings into view both the specific place where communicative practice occurs, and the

general ‘cultural landscape’ being presumed in that place, such that the practice of the people takes the shape, and meaning, that it does” (p. 6). It allows a combination of “a turtle’s eye view” of the local, concrete, occasioned social context and “a bird’s eye view” that scans through “a system of expressive meanings implicated by the “cultural landscape” (ibid.).

Event #1 is taken from Segment #1 in a report dated July 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963. It depicts an event of transformation that young workers at Baiyunshi workshop went through after the Party branch launched “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education) to address various problems observed among them. We can ask the following questions regarding the scenes identified above for Event #1:

1. Why would certain acts be considered as problematic within certain scenes? What aspects can we learn about this “system of expressive meanings” implicated by the “cultural landscape” of those scenes?
2. Why it is seemingly important that the re-elected five members of the Party branch committee are “all *xuetong gongren* (workers with proletariat family background) or *lao gongren* (senior workers) with *pinnong chushen* (poor peasant family background)”? What does this tell us about this “system of expressive meanings” implicated by the “cultural landscape” of this scene?
3. What does the whole analogy of “*huanglian* (bitter herbs)” vs. “*tangdou* (candy ball)” mean? What must be assumed in this scene of identification of the “fundamental reason” for the committee members to reach the conclusion that it is necessary to conduct “*jieji jiaoyu*” among the workers?
4. What can we learn about *jiu shehui* from the two *yiku sitian* sharing?
5. What can we learn about the “system of expressive meaning” from the workers’ reactions to the two *yiku sitian* sharing?

All these questions (including those in the following regarding each event) and answers to them will eventually lead to the formulation of cultural premises that are at work across these focal communication events.

Table 7: Liu Huaming’s Transformation by “Jieji Jiaoyu” (Class Education)

Event	Scenes of Problems	Scenes of Education Effort	Scenes of Transformation
#2	<p>“Wangben” (forget about the original root) (S1L186-195)</p> <p><u>Parallel Scenes:</u></p> <p>Inappropriate dressing code (S1L191-192)</p> <p>Inappropriate working manner (S1L192-193)</p> <p>Inappropriate conduct (S1L193-195)</p>	<p><u>Progressive Scenes:</u></p> <p>Liu’s initial reaction (S1L196-198)</p> <p>Liu started to change (S1L198-200)</p> <p><i>Dang zhibu</i> (Party branch) reaching out to Liu (S1L202-203)</p> <p><i>Dang zhibu</i> got Liu’s sister to help with <i>yiku sitian</i> (S1L203-206)</p> <p>Daddy helped him to <i>yiku sitian</i> (S1L209-212)</p>	<p>Immediate impact (S1L212-216)</p> <p>Long term changes: <u>Parallel Scenes:</u></p> <p>The change of himself (S1L217-218)</p> <p>The change of his buddies (S1L218-226)</p> <p>The change of everybody (S1L226-231)</p>

Event #2 is taken from the same Segment and same report that Event #1 is taken from.

While Event #1 is general, depicting the transformation of all the workers through “*yiku sitian*” activities; Event #2 is particular, presenting the transformation of an individual worker named Liu Huaming through “*yiku sitian*” efforts by the “Party branch”.

Questions we can ask about scenes identified in Event #2 are:

1. According to the report, the problem with Liu Huaming, a young mixer at Baiyunshi workshop, is his “*wangben*” (forget about the original root). What does this mean? What can we learn about this “system of expressive meanings” based on this?
2. What must be assumed for the “*yiku sitian*” practice by Liu’s sister and father to make sense? What can we learn about “*jiu shehui*” from their perspective?
3. How to make sense of the changes that Liu Huaming and his buddies and coworkers exhibited by the end?

Table 8: Store Clerks Receiving “*Dianshi Jiaoyu*” (Store History Education)

Event	Scenes of Problems	Scenes of Education Effort	Scenes of Transformation
#3	<p>Some workers gradually “<i>danwang</i>” “<i>guoqu de kurizi</i>” (forgot the bitter life of the past) (S2L9-12)</p> <p>“Young apprentices” “<i>buliaojie</i>” the “<i>kunan</i>” “<i>in jiu shehui</i>” (not knowing the bitterness and hardship of the old society) (S2L12-14)</p>	<p><u>Parallel Scenes of <i>yiku</i>:</u></p> <p>On harsh store regulations (S2L26-34)</p> <p>On inhumane workload (S2L33-45)</p> <p>On lack of job security (S2L45-52)</p> <p>On sharp income contrast between store clerks and their boss (S2L52-64)</p> <p>On the hardship of apprentice life (S2L65-83)</p> <p>On humiliation from <i>diguo zhuyi fenzi</i> (imperialists), <i>fandong guanliao</i> (reactionary bureaucrats), <i>junjing</i> (army and police), <i>dipi liumang</i> (local ruffians, gangsters) and “<i>kuotaitai</i> (wealthy madams)” (S2L84-102)</p> <p><u>Parallel Scenes of <i>sitian</i>:</u></p> <p>On the new nature of the stores and clerks’ relationship with them (S2L108-118)</p> <p>On the new clerk-customer relationship (S2L118-123)</p> <p>On the new job security and welfare (S2L123-137)</p> <p>“<i>Wa kugen, zhao tianyuan</i>” (to dig out the bitter root and search for the sweet origin) (S2L140-166)</p>	<p><u>Parallel Scenes:</u></p> <p>Changed lifestyle preference (S2L168-171, 191-192, 182-185)</p> <p>Changed class consciousness and working attitude (S2L171-182, 185-191, 196-198)</p> <p>Changed desire to improve one’s skill (S2L192-196)</p>

Event #3 is taken from Segment #2, which is from a report dated Sept. 25<sup>th</sup>, 1963. For this event, we can ask the following questions to guide our analysis:

1. Why is it potentially problematic for store clerks to “*danwang*” “*guoqu de kurizi*” (forgot the bitter life of the past) (S2L11-12) or for “young apprentices” to “*buliaojie*” the “*kunan*” “*in jiu shehui*” (not knowing the bitterness and hardship of the old society) (S2L12-14)?
2. What can we learn about “*jiu shuihui*” and “*xin shehui*” based on store clerks’ “*yiku sitian*”?
3. What ways of living are preferred based on the scenes of transformation for these store clerks?

Table 9: Chang Lin’s Transformation by “*Suku Jiaoyu*”

Event	Scenes of Problems	Scenes of Education Effort	Scenes of Transformation
#4	<p><u>Progressive Scenes:</u></p> <p>Wrong way of loving and caring from parents (S3L4-13, 14-24, 24-32, 33-37, 98-110)</p> <p>Extreme <i>tiaoti</i> (pickiness) in daily life (S3L6-9, 11, 14-15)</p> <p>Knowing nothing about their “<i>beican de jiashi</i>” (tragic and miserable family history) (S3L37-40)</p> <p>“Losing <i>gongren jieji de bense</i>” (the original color or inherent qualities of the working class) (S3L41-43)</p> <p>“Indulging himself in food, fun and comfort” (S3L43)</p> <p>“Paying no attention to production and skill” (S3L44-45)</p>	<p><u>Progressive Scenes:</u></p> <p>Repeated failure of initial <i>yiku sitian</i> effort by Li Decai to Chang Lin (S3L57-66, 66-74)</p> <p>Searching for the root cause (S3L75-92)</p> <p>Li Decai’s visit to Chang Lin’s parents at their home (S3L93-128)</p> <p>Changed mindset of Chang Lin’s father (S3L129-141)</p> <p>Li Decai’s visit on a Sunday with successful <i>yiku sitian</i> result</p> <p>Father’s <i>yiku</i> of his own apprentice experience and grandfather’s death in <i>jiu shehui</i> (S3L142-151)</p> <p>Mother’s <i>yiku</i> of Chang Lin’s childhood (S3L152-156)</p> <p>Chang Lin’s own recall of childhood experience of searching for coal cinders (S3L157-162)</p> <p>Father’s sharing of almost losing Chang Lin in <i>jiu shehui</i> (S3L168-176)</p>	<p>Immediate impact (S3L181-186)</p> <p>Long term changes:</p> <p><u>Parallel Scenes:</u></p> <p>Li Decai and Chang Lin studying Mao Zedong’s book together (S3L194-197)</p> <p>Chang Lin, Li Decai and two other apprentices re-visiting the location where Chang Lin used to search for coal cinders in <i>jiu shehui</i> (S3L198-206)</p> <p>Chang Lin’s work performance improvement (S3L207-213)</p>

Event #4 is taken from Segment #3, which is from a report dated July 12<sup>th</sup>, 1964. Table 9 regarding it is on the previous page. Questions we can ask about Event #4 to assist the analysis are:

1. Why the way Chang Lin’s parents loved him was regarded as problematic in the report? What are the right ways suggested by Li Decai?
2. What’s wrong with Chang Lin’s way of doing things? What standard is being used in measuring his behaviors?
3. What can we learn about “*jiu shehui*” from the various “*yiku sitian*” sharing?
4. How can we make sense of Chang Lin’s reaction to the “*yiku sitian*” sharing and his changes afterwards?

Table 10: Mom Giving Mai Xiande “*Jiashi*” *Jiaoyu* (Family History Education)

Event	Scenes of Problems	Scenes of Education Effort	Scenes of Transformation
#5	<p>Not knowing the <i>kunan</i> (bitterness and suffering) and <i>jianxin</i> (hardships and difficulties) of <i>jiu shehui</i> (S4L32-34, 36-37)</p> <p>Not studying hard (S4L34-35)</p> <p>Getting angry when Mom didn’t buy him paper and pencils on time (S4L35-36)</p>	<p>Mom sharing “<i>kunan jiashi</i>” (bitter and miserable family history) with him (S4L38-53)</p>	<p>Immediate impact (S4L55-56)</p> <p>Long term changes: <u>Parallel Scenes:</u> the kindling of <i>chouhen jieji diren</i> (hating class enemies) sowed deeply in his little heart (S4L57-59)</p> <p>Started to study hard (S4L59)</p> <p>Started to help Mom with some work (S4L60)</p> <p>Admiring “<i>geming xianlie</i>” (revolutionary martyrs) (S4L61-63)</p> <p>Learning about the origin and development of <i>jieji</i> (class) (S4L63-64)</p>

Event #5 is taken from Segment #4, which is from a report dated Mar. 19<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

Questions we can ask about the scenes identified in Event #5:

1. Why is it problematic for young Mai Xiande to not know the “*kunan* (bitterness and suffering) and *jianxin* (hardships and difficulties) of *jiu shehui*” (S4L32-34, 36-37), not study hard (S4L34-35), and get angry when Mom didn’t buy him paper and pencils on time (S4L35-36)?
2. What kind of expectation did his Mom have about him that we can discern from her feeling and her *yiku sitian* sharing with him? What can we learn about “*jiu shehui*” based on her recalling of it?
3. What can we learn about this “system of expressive meanings” based on Mai Xiande’s reactions, both immediate and long term, to Mom’s “*yiku sitian*” sharing?

Table 11: The Making of a Battle Hero through “*Yiku Jiaoyu*”

Event	Scenes of Problems	Scenes of Education Effort	Scenes of Transformation
#6	<p>“Having no personal experience of <i>jieji boxue</i> (class exploitation) and <i>yapo</i> (oppression)” (S4L91-92)</p> <p>“<i>jieji</i> (class) and <i>jieji douzheng</i> (class struggle) used to be abstract in his mind” (S4L94-95)</p> <p>“Childhood Mai Xiande only knew his own family’s <i>chou</i> (hatred)” (S4L95-96)</p> <p>“As a <i>geming zhanshi</i> (revolutionary soldier), his <i>xinxiong</i> (breadth of mind) was not broad enough, and his <i>geming lixiang</i> (revolutionary ideal) was not high enough” (S4L122-138)</p>	<p><u>Progressive Scenes:</u> Learning about <i>laodong renmin</i>’s <i>kunan jiashi</i> (the working people’s bitter and difficult family history) in his hometown area (S4L65-77)</p> <p>Learning about the sharp contrast between 1943 (before the Liberation) and 1963 (after the Liberation), two disastrous years with drought but drastically different result (S4L77-86)</p> <p>First learning about Mao Zedong’s book, <i>Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society</i> (S4L87-97)</p> <p>An assembly for <i>kongsu</i> (denouncing) <i>Mei-Chiang</i>’s (American and Chiang Kai-Shek’s) crimes (S4L139-142)</p> <p>Visiting Humen fort to pay homage to the anti-imperialism history of Chinese people (S4L149-155)</p> <p>Intensive reading of Chairman Mao’s works on <i>jieji</i> (class) and <i>jieji douzheng</i> (class struggle) (S4L156-161)</p>	<p><u>Progressive Scenes:</u> Significantly <i>tigao</i> ( raised) <i>jieji juewu</i> (class consciousness) (S4L90-92)</p> <p>Able to recognize <i>di</i> (enemy) and <i>wo</i> (me), <i>hao</i> (good) and <i>huai</i> (bad), and understand <i>ai</i> (love) and <i>zeng</i> (hate) (S4L92-94)</p> <p>The concept of <i>jieji</i> (class) and <i>jieji douzheng</i> (class struggle) became concrete, alive and practical to him now (S4L94-95)</p> <p>Fusing his own family’s <i>chou</i> (hatred) with the <i>kunan</i> (bitterness and sufferings) of <i>jieji xiongdi</i> (class brothers) of his home town (S4L95-97)</p> <p>Always ready to fight the enemies and protect his kin (S4L97-108)</p> <p>Requesting to join the army (S4L109-116)</p> <p>Attending naval academy (S4L117-122)</p> <p>Broadened understanding of <i>jieji chou</i> (class hatred) (S4L142-148)</p> <p>Broadened view of world revolution (S4L161-170)</p> <p>Mai Xiande’s resolution (S4L170-178)</p>

Event #6 is taken from the same Segment and same report that #5 is taken from so it is a continuation of young Mai Xiande’s story on how he grew up to be a battle hero.

Questions we can ask of scenes identified in this event are:

1. What standards of measurement can we discern from the “cultural landscape” of the problematic scenes about Mai Xiande?
2. What can we learn about “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” based on the various “*yiku sitian*” sharings that Mai Xiande had listened to or exhibitions he had visited? What can we know about the “system of expressive meanings” at work in the “cultural landscape” of the scenes of education effort?
3. What are some elements of the “system of expressive meanings” that we can identify based on the scenes of transformation for Mai Xiande?

Table 12: Commune Members Doing “*Jieji Jiaoyu*” (Class Education)

Event	Scenes of Problems	Scenes of Education Effort	Scenes of Transformation
#7	<p>“Some <i>nianqingren</i> (young men) do not know how the <i>ku rizi</i> (bitter life) in <i>jiu shehui</i> was lived.” (S5L94-95)</p> <p>“Some <i>nongmin</i> (peasants), after <i>fanshen</i> (turning over one’s body), gradually became indifferent toward <i>guoqu de ku rizi</i> (the bitter life in the past)” (S5L95-97)</p> <p>“<i>Xianzai</i> (now), <i>yi xiao cuo</i> (a handful of) <i>fandang</i> (anti-the Party) and <i>fan shehui zhuyi de</i> (anti-Socialism) <i>huaidan</i> (bad eggs, bad guys) wanted us to <i>zou huitoulu</i> (walk the road of retrogression).” (S5L59-61)</p> <p>“...<i>fan</i> Mao Zedong <i>Sixiang</i> (anti-Mao Zedong Thoughts)” (S5L63-64)</p>	<p><u>Prelude:</u> Key leaders of the brigade <i>chi kucan</i> (ate bitter meals) together to prepare themselves (S5L 86-101)</p> <p><u>“Yiku sitian Day” Activities:</u> Household decoration in <i>yiku sitian</i> theme (S5L8-13)</p> <p>Power supply for all brigade shut off and traditional ways of lighting was used to re-live the hardship of <i>jiu shehui</i> (S5L23-25)</p> <p>At dinner time, every household “<i>chi kucan</i>” (ate bitter meals), “<i>jiang kushi</i>” (talked about the bitter history) and compared <i>xin shehui</i> with <i>jiu shehui</i> to <i>jiaoyu</i> (educate) their youth. (S5L14-22)</p> <p><u>Parallel dinner scenes:</u> <i>Pinnong</i> (poor peasant) Huang Rongben’s household – eating the bitter meal without any light (S5L25-33)</p> <p><i>Pinnong</i> (poor peasant) Huang Xuguang skipped dinner to concentrate on <i>yiku</i>(S5L34-42)</p> <p>Commune members of <i>Tanzhou</i> production team gathered together to eat bitter meals and listen to their <i>cunshi</i> (village history). (S5L43-60)</p>	<p>“couldn’t help crying” (S5L92)</p> <p>“The more I eat, the more I <i>juede</i> (feel) the <i>tian</i> (sweetness) of today’s life.” (S5L94)</p> <p>“If we do not eat it we would not know what kind of a life our parents had in <i>jiu shehui</i> and we could <i>wangben</i> (forget about one’s origin)” (S5L32-33)</p> <p>“tears welling up in his eyes” (S5L45)</p> <p>“<i>Yi tiqi guoqu de shi</i> (Whenever the past things are mentioned), my tears run down unstoppably” (S5L55-56)</p> <p>“I truly <i>hentou le</i> (hate to the utmost degree) them.” (S5L62)</p> <p>“We <i>pinxia zhongnong</i> (the poor and lower-middle peasants) will <i>pin dao di</i> (fight to the very end)...” S5L62-63)</p> <p>“In the end, they raised their arms and shouted loudly, ‘Long live Chairman Mao! Long live the Chinese Communist Party!’” (S5L65-66)</p>



Event #7 is taken from Segment #5, which is from a report dated Aug. 21, 1966. Table 12 regarding it is in the following page. Starting from Event #7, we see the trend of denouncing “Chinese Khruhshchev” for his alleged attempt to revise the socialist cause or to restore capitalism in China. Questions we can ask in regards to the scenes identified in this event are:

1. What must be assumed for us to see from the participants’ point of view and consider the above identified scenes as problematic?
2. How do we make sense of the various “*yiku sitian*” scenes identified above? Why would people do what they do?
3. What aspect of the “system of expressive meanings” is conveyed by people’s strong reaction scenes to various “*yiku sitian*” activities?

Event #8 is taken from Segment #6, which is from a report dated June 9<sup>th</sup>, 1968 on the experience of “intellectual youths” who “went up to the mountain areas and down to the country side” to receive “re-education” from peasants. Liu Shaoqi, the former Chinese President, would soon be removed from office completely (Oct. 31, 1968) but had been denounced severely throughout China on various newspapers as “Chinese Khruhshchev”. We see from table 13 in the following page that none of the problems identified in this event are regarding individual persons any more but all point to Liu’s alleged “crimes” of revisionism and restoration attempt of capitalism. Questions we can ask about scenes identified in this event are:

1. What must be assumed for us to see things from participants’ perspective about the problems identified in these scenes?
2. How do we make sense of this “*yiku sitian*” scene?
3. In what terms shall we understand the strong emotional responses people demonstrated toward this “*yiku sitian*” experience?

Table 13: “Zhiqing” (Intellectual Youth) “Kai Yiku Sitian Hui” (Holding Yiku Sitian Meeting)

Event	Scenes of Problems	Scenes of Education Effort	Scenes of Transformation
#8	<p><u>Parallel Scenes:</u></p> <p>“Chinese Khruhshchev” advocating “<i>fangeming xiuzheng zhuyi luxian</i> (reactionary revisionist line) (S6L9-10)</p> <p>“<i>yi xiao cuo</i> (a small bunch of) <i>zouzipai</i> (capitalist roaders)” committed “<i>taotian zuixing</i> (monstrous crimes)” of attempting to “<i>fubi ziben zhuyi</i>” (restore capitalism) (S6L11-12)</p> <p>“Chinese Khruhshchev <i>hushuo</i> (talking nonsense) of ‘<i>boxue you gong</i>’ (exploitation being meritorious)” (S6L19-20)</p> <p>“Chinese Khruhshchev” “trying to get us to <i>zou huitou lu</i> (take the road of retrogression) and <i>chi erbian ku</i> (eat bitterness for the second time)” (S6L20-21)</p> <p>“Chinese Khruhshchev” advocating “various <i>miulun</i> (misconceptions)” on “<i>fubi</i> (restoring) <i>ziben zhuyi</i> (capitalism).” (S6L42-43)</p> <p>“Chinese Khruhshchev wanting us to <i>zou</i> (take) <i>ziben zhuyi de heilu</i> (the capitalist black road).” (S6L44)</p> <p>“<i>shehui zhuyi de jiangshan</i> (the socialist rivers and mountains, the socialist territories or state power)” might “<i>bianse</i> (change color)” (S6L49-50)</p>	<p><i>Kai yiku sitian hui</i> (hold <i>yiku sitian</i> meeting) (S6L9, 1-51)</p> <p><i>Chi</i> “<i>yiku fan</i>” (eat “<i>yiku</i> meal”) (S6L15, 13-19, 37-40)</p> <p>Grandma Lin denouncing the “Chinese Khruhshchev” (S6L19-22)</p> <p>Grandma Lin’s <i>yiku sitian</i> (S6L26-31)</p> <p>Auntie Xu’s <i>yiku sitian</i> (S6L310-36)</p> <p>“Assistant squad leader Deng Yurong and several other young women also <i>huiyi le</i> (recalled) their own <i>kunan jiashi</i> (bitter and difficult family history)” (S6L40-41)</p>	<p>“tears running down her cheeks” (S6L16-17)</p> <p>Shouting slogans (S6L22-25)</p> <p>“sobbing heavily” (S6L26)</p> <p>“pour out in crying” (S6L33)</p> <p>“...hearts were grabbed by each voicing of <i>xuelei</i> (blood and tears)” (S6L37)</p> <p>“tears in their eyes” (S6L38)</p> <p>“inflamed with anger” (S6L42)</p> <p>Resolutions (S6L45-51)</p>

Table 14: “Uncle Zhao” Conducting “*Yiku Sitian Jiaoyu*” (Education) with “*Zhiqing*” (Intellectual Youths)

Event	Scenes of Problems	Scenes of Education Effort	Scenes of Transformation
#9	<p>“Coming to remote countryside from prosperous city and eating millet and sorghum instead of rice and refined flour is a <i>guan</i> (check point, i.e., challenge) they need to pass in daily life.” (S7L1-2)</p> <p>“If they were not helped to pass this <i>shenghuo guan</i> (life challenge), it would still be a question whether they can truly <i>zhagen</i> (take root) in <i>nongcun</i> (rural village) for their whole life.” (S7L6-8)</p>	<p>Uncle Zhao gave <i>yiku sitian jiaoyu</i> (education) to the youths with his own <i>jiashi</i> (family history). (S7L10-15)</p>	<p>Immediate impact (S7L15-24)</p> <p>Long term changes (S7L24-28)</p>

Event #9 is taken from Segment #7, which is from a report dated Mar. 14<sup>th</sup>, 1970. Liu Shaoqi had been tortured to death on Nov. 12<sup>th</sup>, 1969 and was still the target of all denouncement with his own name being used directly. Questions we can ask about the scenes identified in this event are:

1. What does the scene of problem identified in this event tell us about the ideal type of persons and their ideal type of actions?
2. What can we learn about “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” based on Uncle Zhao’s “*yiku sitian*”?
3. In what terms can we make sense of those “intellectual youth’s” reaction and changes to Uncle Zhao’s “*yiku sitian*” with them?

#### 4.2.2 Act Sequence

Hymes (1972) uses the mnemonic letter **A** to stand for “act sequence” of a speech act or event. It refers to the “sequential structure” (p. 66) of a practice. Also included in it are two crucial and highly interdependent concepts of “message content” (what is said)

and “message form” (how something is said). According to Carbaugh (2009), a communication practice is a part of social interaction. Therefore, a communication event always has a beginning and an ending and could be a part of a higher sequence that provided context and meaning systems for the focal event. This component of “act sequence” enables us to “take a careful look at the sequential organization of the practice, its message content, and form” (p. 1595). In the following we will examine communication events of “*yiku sitian*” in terms of its “sequential structure.” Its “message content” and “message form” will be examined in the following chapter when analyzing cultural messages of “*yiku sitian*” practices.

#### 4.2.2.1 The Outline of the Sequential Structure of “*Yiku Sitian*” Events

Examination across data indicates that most of the “*yiku sitian*” instances contain a sequential structure of acts. And there are some variations in terms of the particular steps/acts included in the sequential structure according to the different purposes served by particular “*yiku sitian*” practices. There are generally two types of “*yiku sitian*” practices that are roughly marked by the year 1966 with the launching of the Cultural Revolution and the politicization of every aspect of people’s life. The first type are those that are enacted to “*jiaoyu*” (educate) **particular individuals** who are deemed problematic in terms of their thoughts, preferences, behaviors, and working attitude either due to lack of experience and understanding about the “*ku*” (bitterness) of “*jiu shehui*” or due to “*wangben*” (forget about one’s own root) after living in “*xin shehui*” for quite a while. The second type are those that are enacted to “*jiaoyu*” (educate) **general public** about the contrast between “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” to alert people about the danger of regression from “*xin shehui*” to “*jiu shehui*” or the restoration of “*ziben zhuyi*” (capitalism) in China. A similarity across these two types of “*yiku sitian*” practices is that

they both acknowledge the existence of “*jieji*” (class) and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) as a premise for participants’ choice of actions in life. But they are different from each other in terms of the urgency that is associated with both types of “*yiku sitian*” practices to carry out this “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle). The first type has a **general view** about the “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) condition and simply emphasizes the need to “educate” young people and “train” them into “qualified successors” of the “revolutionary cause”; the second type has a **particular view** about the “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) situation and target specific person or group of people, such as Liu Shaoqi, the so-called “Chinese Khrushchev”, or “a bunch of capitalist roaders”, as “*jieji diren*” (class enemies) who attempted to “*fubi*” (restore) “*ziben zhuyi*” (capitalism) in China, and, therefore, should be “*henpi*” (denounced severely) and completely defeated and removed. So in the first type of “*yiku sitian*” practice, the particular individuals’ behaviors and manners constitute the problems to be corrected; and in the second type of “*yiku sitian*” practice, it is the ideological crimes committed by “a small bunch of capitalist roaders” that constitute the problems to be attacked. Another difference is that the second type of “*yiku sitian*” practice is much more ritualized than the first type. People engage in “*yiku sitian*” activities not as need based but because it is required and assigned. According to Philipsen (1987), “ritual is a communication form in which there is a structured sequence of symbolic acts, the correct performance of which constitutes homage to a sacred object” (p. 251). Note that the “sequential structure” of “*yiku sitian*” as a ritual overlaps to some extent but not completely identical with the “sequential structure” for the second type of “*yiku sitian*” practices. In general, a ritualized “*yiku sitian*” event could begin with the act of “*chang yiku ge*” (sing *yiku* songs), then proceed

to “*ting yiku baogao*” (listen to *yiku* reports), then people will “*chi yiku fan*” (eat *yiku* meals), or sometimes “*kan yiku xi*” (watch *yiku* drama) or “*yan yiku xi*” (put on *yiku* drama). Then people will shout slogans to show their emotions and express their determination to fight with any evil forces that attempted to practice capitalism in China. I use Sequential Structure A and B to summarize the two types of “*yiku sitian*” practices:

**Sequential Structure A:**

- (1) Problematic acts detected and need to be corrected;
- (2) Initial “*yiku sitian*” act enacted;
- (3) Act of acceptance/rejection toward the initial “*yiku sitian*” act;
- (4) More “*yiku sitian*” act enacted to address the problem;
- (5) Act of acceptance/rejection toward the more “*yiku sitian*” act;
- (6) Repeated rejection leads to the act of figuring out the fundamental root of the problem;
- (7) Revised “*yiku sitian*” act enacted to address the problem again;
- (8) Act of acceptance toward the “*yiku sitian*” act and changes at two levels:
  - (8a) Act of immediate emotional impact or remorse;
  - (8b) Long term effect of significant behavioral and performance change.

The above outline is pretty comprehensive. Sometimes not every step is needed and enacted. A simpler version might have only steps (1) to (3) with act of acceptance occurring and then jump to step (8).

**Sequential Structure B:**

- (1) Ideologically problematic acts targeted;

- (2) Multiple acts of “*yiku sitian*” sharing enacted in a gathering;
- (3) Ritualized “*yiku sitian*” acts;
- (4) Act of endorsement toward the above “*yiku sitian*” acts;
- (4a) Act of immediate emotional impact;
- (4b) Act of making resolutions.

It is to be noted that a significant difference existed between sequential structures A and B in terms of the final steps regarding the changes and consequences. In sequential structure A, the chain of acts brought about immediate emotional impact and long term behavioral and performance changes in the person(s) acting problematically in step (1) of the whole “*yiku sitian*” event; but in sequential structure B, besides creating immediate emotional impact on the participants listening to the “*yiku sitian*” sharings, the chain of acts leads to the act of making resolutions, which might not be easy to measure in the long run. In the following we will look at “*yiku sitian*” events depicted in Segment #3 and Segment #6 respectively as examples of these two sequential structures of acts.

#### **4.2.2.2 Sequential Structure A in Segment #3:**

The *yiku sitian* story reported in Segment #3 is a clear demonstration of the first sequential structure of acts commonly identifiable in “*yiku sitian*” practices, especially those in the years between 1960 to 1966. Acts are underlined in each of the following quotes.

##### **Step (1): Chang Lin’s Problematic Acts**

According to the report, Chang Lin is the younger son of Chang Yuchun and is twenty-three years old. He was one of the apprentices of his Master, Li Decai at Beijing Broadcasting Equipment Company. The first problematic acts of Chang Lin identified in

the report was his “extreme *tiaoti* (pickiness)” about food and clothes at home. For example,

When there is food that Chang Lin *xian bu haochi* (complains about its taste), Mom would eat it instead; when there are clothes, shoes, and socks that he has worn out and *xian bu haokan* (complains about their looks), Dad would wear them quietly. Having spent half of their life *chikang yancai* (eating chaff and swallowing wild herbs, i.e., surviving on very poor-quality food) *jiefangqian* (before the Liberation), Chang Yuchun couple were frequently upset by their son’s extreme *tiaoti* (pickiness) in daily life. Yet they are unwilling to mention the past *jiannan de suiyue* (hard time) with their son for fear that it would make him “*nanshou*” (heartbroken) and “*saoxing*” (disappointed) (S3L6-13).

And we also see his problematic acts at work stated in the following quote:

This *gongren jieji de zidi* (younger generation of the workers’ class) gradually lost *gongren jieji de bense* (original color or inherent qualities of the working class). Indulging himself in food, fun and comfort but paying no attention to production and skill, he didn’t even know how to interpret production diagram paper after working as a puncher in the company for two years (S3L40-44).

### **Step (2): Initial “*Yiku Sitian*” Act by Li Decai**

Li Decai is a level-six puncher in the factory, a Communist Party member, and *Wu-Hao zhigong* (Five-Good worker). He wanted to “train persons like Chang Lin to become hard bones<sup>13</sup> with revolutionary spirit” (S3L50-52). In order to achieve this goal, he believed that,

They ought to know about the *jieji ku* (class bitterness) and *xuelei chou* (blood and tears hatred) of *jiu shehui*. The more, the concrete, and the deeper they know it, the more it is

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<sup>13</sup> This is a common way of saying in China, meaning that someone has determination to complete a difficult task, such as the Socialist Construction.



possible to arouse their conscious revolutionary spirit, and the more it can inspire their strong revolutionary will (S3L50-54).

Therefore,

he *sushuo* (narrated emotionally) again and again to Chang Lin about his *jiashi* (family history) and *shenshi* (life experience) during work breaks or at rest days (S3L54-56).

One day,

After the bell signaling the end of work has rung quite a while ago, he was still sitting next to the machine, holding Chang Lin's hand and said, "Chang Lin, when I was your age, I worked as an apprentice in a private factory. What a life of an apprentice it was like! Every day I had to do baby-sitting and set up fire... One day, I was asked to bring a cup of tea to the store owner. Accidentally, my great thumb touched the edge of the cup. And the store owner immediately slapped me straight on the head, snarling, 'Is your paw<sup>14</sup> clean?' Blood streamed down from the corner of my mouth, and stars appeared in front of my eyes..." (S3L57-63).

### **Step (3): Chang Lin's Act of Rejection toward Li Decai's "Yiku Sitian" Act**

However, Chang Lin hesitated to believe what Li Decai shared with him:

"Master, are you exaggerating the fact in order to *jiaoyu* (educate) me? My father used to be an apprentice too but I've never heard of this kind of stuff from him." Chang Lin was disinclined to believe (S3L64-66).

### **Step (4): Li Decai's Enactment of More "Yiku Sitian" Act**

A few days later, Li Decai tried to share with Chang Lin again in another opportunity:

At noon time, before the bell for work rang, Li Decai was sitting with Chang Lin again in the workshop. He unbuttoned his shirt, and showed his scar-laden neck and chest. "When I was an apprentice, I had to work from four in the morning till mid-night, exhausted and hungry, sleeping on wet and dirty shakedown on the floor year round. Later on I got

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<sup>14</sup> To call someone's hand as a "paw" is insulting, and is meant to indicate how inhumane the store owner (an exploiter) treated his hired workers (the exploited) in "*jiu shehui*".

plague and almost died of it at the verge of *jiefang* (liberation). If not the *jiefang* (liberation), even one hundred Li Decai would have already been buried” (S3L66-71).

### **Step (5): Chang Lin’s Act of Rejection toward Li Decai’s More “*Yiku Sitian*” Act**

Still, Chang Lin was skeptical about what Li Decai shared with him:

“Master, you are so *daomei* (unfortunate) and had such an evil store manager. How come my father’s experience was not like yours?” (S3L71-73).

And, according to the report,

...many more similar talks all failed (S3L73-74).

### **Step (6): Li Decai’s Act of Searching for the Root of Chang Lin’s Problems**

Li Decai was very puzzled by Chang Lin’s reactions to each of his “*yiku sitian*” effort, as it’s drastically different from that of other people whom he had worked with.

For example,

Cui Shuangyu of the workshop, whose nickname was “Master *Cui*”, used to look down upon everybody. Isn’t he changed after Li Decai did *yiku sitian* with him? Isn’t Lang Zhenya in mold room, who used to be unsettled to the work of mold maintenance, determined to work his whole life as a mold keeper after Li Decai’s *suku jiaoyu* (pouring-out-the-bitterness education)? (S3L78-82)

Li Decai wondered why it is so hard to open Chang Lin’s heart. He reported this condition to the Party branch. Jin Taixiu, the secretary of the *zhibu* (branch), supported his practice of “*zhuajin jinxin jieji jiaoyu*” (seizing all opportunities to conduct class education) to “*nianqingren*” (young people). At the same time, he suggested to find out more about Chang Lin and why he always couldn’t “*jieshou jiaoyu*” (accept education) (S3L83-86).

Li Decai decided to visit Chang Lin’s parents at home. This visit helped him to see that, although Chang Lin’s parents loved him very much, their way of loving him was

inappropriate. They pampered Chang Lin too much (see S3L5-9) and didn't want Chang Lin to know the specific hardship and sufferings they had experienced in “*jiu shehui*” for fear that it would make him “*nanshou*” (heart-broken) (see S3L9-37).

Li Decai pointed out the danger of the way Chang Lin's parents loved him:

“No, Elder Brother Chang<sup>15</sup>, in *jiu shehui*, *dizhu* (landlords) and *zibenjia* (capitalists) sucked on our blood and peeled our skins<sup>16</sup>. But our child does not know who tortured his father and mother so badly that they almost lost their human shape. We spent our whole life *xinxin kuku di* (painstakingly) *peiyang* (cultivating), yet we *peiyang chu* (cultivated as a result) a *hutu chong* (fool worm), who couldn't tell *di* (enemy) and *wo* (me, or friend, or comrade), and *ruan gutou* (soft-bone, coward). What's more, If one eats *huanglian* first and then eats *tang* (sugar), one feels that *tang* (sugar) is extremely *tian* (sweet); but if one is used to eating *tang* (sugar) ever since he is little, even *mi* (honey) would not taste so *tian* (sweet) to him! Young men like *Chang Lin* truly grew up soaked in a *tanggang* (sugar water vat). Yet they have no idea what kind of life we the older generation had had, and they would not cherish the happiness of today. How can we expect this kind of persons to carry on the flag of Socialism?” (S3L112-123)

Li Decai also told Chang Lin's parents how Chang Lin would not work well in the company and how he indulged himself in playing. Finally he said,

“Not knowing about *jieji ku* (class bitterness) and *xuelei chou* (blood and tears hatred) would lead to the loss of the *guangrong chuantong* (glorious traditions) of us *gongren jieji* (the workers' class)!” (S3L125-127)

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<sup>15</sup> To call someone who is not related with oneself in blood “elder brother” is to show respect to him.

<sup>16</sup> The original saying in Chinese is “*xi women de xue, bo women de pi*”, a figurative way of describing the cruelty of “*dizhu*” (landlords) and “*zibenjia*” (capitalists) in their treatment to their hired “*nongmin*” (peasants) or “*gongren*” (workers).

Chang Lin's father was completely convinced by Li Decai's sharing and reasoning. He was also shocked to learn that Chang Lin "*bu xuehao*" (didn't striving to be good) (S3L138), realizing that his previous way of loving Chang Lin had in fact harmed him.

### **Step (7): The Chang Family's Acts of "*Yiku Sitian*"**

Thanks to Li Decai's constant visit and sharing, Chang Lin's parents changed their minds and were ready to let Chang Lin know about the bitterness of *jiu shehui*. One Sunday, when Li Decai came to visit again, Chang Lin's father broke the ice and enacted the first "*yiku sitian*" act. He said,

"Here comes your master! In *jiu shehui*, a master would never visit his apprentice's home. When I was in Chang Lin's age, I was an apprentice in a barbershop. One rainy day, I fell down when going to empty the chamber pot<sup>17</sup> for *boss*. A piece of enamel fell off the pot and I was beaten so hard that I fainted and fell to the ground. Now take a look at our older generation. Chang Lin's great grandfather worked for *dizhu* (the landlord) as a hired hand for his entire life. At the end, his legs got broken due to beating. Without legs, he couldn't even go to *taofan* (beg for food). Eventually he died of starvation in a ruined temple in the eastern suburb of Beijing." (S3L143-150)

Chang Lin's Mom continued with the enactment of the second "*yiku sitian*" act and said,

"When Chang Lin was little, the whole family liked him. But we were not able to keep him to not go hungry, as his daily meal was a tiny *luoshizhuan*<sup>18</sup> made with less than half a *liang*<sup>19</sup> of grain. He was so starved that he looked like a bag of bones. He was still not able to walk when he was already five years old. By six or seven years old, he had to go

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<sup>17</sup> Urine container for night time convenience when there was no indoor flushing toilet yet in China.

<sup>18</sup> The report didn't explain what kind of a food "*luoshizhuan*" is. I can only guess that it is a kind of steamed bread made into the shape of a snail.

<sup>19</sup> Liang is a measuring unit used in China. 1 *liang* equals to 50 grams. And 1 ounce equals to about 28 grams. So half a *liang* is about 1 ounce.

to search for coal cinder, scavenge among garbage, and dig up wild herbs...” (S3L152-156)

The past memories began to come back to Chang Lin. He enacted the third and nonverbal “*yiku sitian*” act of “vaguely *jide* (remembering)” “those already faded *wangshi* (past memories)” that “suddenly *yongshang xintou* (flooded his mind)”:

one early morning of a severe winter, without any food in stomach, he went with his four-year-old brother to search for coal cinder. It was snowing heavily. The cold was so unbearable that he stopped at the door of a nearby rich relative’s house to try to escape the cold. But that relative shouted to him, “*Ye haizi* (feral kid), don’t defile our doorsteps” (S3L158-162).

Chang Lin’s father’s “*ganqing*” (emotion) became even more “*jidong*” (agitated and moved) when his Mom mentioned Chang Lin’s childhood. He couldn’t help any more but enacted the fourth “*yiku sitian*” act of “*tanqi le* (starting to talk about) one incident that he had not told people in the past many years”:

When Chang Lin was one or two years old, he was so starved that even his breathing became thin as a thread. For several times, Mom became desperate with tears and nasal mucus<sup>20</sup> and said to Dad, “We are not able to keep him alive! Let’s place him on the road. Maybe a kindhearted person would pick him up and bring him home, which is better than starved to death at home.” But Dad said, “He is our *qin gurou* (one’s own flesh and blood). Even if he died he should die by our side...” (S3L170-176)

### **Step (8): Chang Lin’s Act of Acceptance to the Previous “*Yiku Sitian*” Acts and His Changes at Two Levels**

The whole “*yiku sitian*” event concluded successfully and brought about profound changes to Chang Lin. His hesitation and skepticism was washed away gradually and yet

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<sup>20</sup> The original Chinese says “*yiba biti yiba lei*”, which means, literally, “a handful of nasal mucus and a handful of tears.”

completely. In the segment we see his changes reported at two levels – immediate reactions and long term effects.

### **Step (8a): Chang Lin’s Act of Immediate Emotional Impact**

For the immediate reactions, we can see that Chang Lin’s heart started to open after the “*yiku sitian*” acts enacted by his parents. Their sharings caused “those already faded “*wangshi*” (past memories) suddenly “*yongshang xintou*” (flooded his mind)” and helped him to “vaguely *jide* (remember)” his own bitter childhood experience. At this point we learn that:

The memory of his *kunan shenghuo* (bitter and difficult life) during childhood period enabled this young man who has been living a life *fanlai zhangkou yilai shenshou* (opening one’s mouth waiting to be fed and spreading one’s arm waiting to be clothed) to experience the *kutong* (bitterness and painfulness) of *jieji yapo* (class oppression) for the first time. His eye socket turned pink<sup>21</sup>, and he felt very *nanshou* (uncomfortable) in his throat as if a cotton ball was stuck there (S3L162-167).

His father’s last “*yiku sitian*” sharing was the final blow and we see from the segment that,

Chang Lin could not hold himself any longer. He put down the bowl and chopsticks, threw his face down to the table and started to sob. This is the first time since he was born that he became so *ganqing jidong* (emotionally agitated and moved). He threw himself to his master and wept, “In the past, I always thought that you exaggerated facts in order to *jiaoyu* (educate) me. Today I’m completely clear.” He then said to his father and mother, “Why didn’t you tell me these earlier?” (S3L181-186)

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<sup>21</sup> The original Chinese says “*Ta de yanquan hong le*”, which, literally, means “His eye socket turned red”, implying that he is on the verge of tears.

### **Step (8b): Chang Lin's Long Term Effect of Significant Behavioral and Performance Change**

According to the report, the enactment of “*yiku sitian*” acts by Chang Lin’s parents and himself also produced long term significant behavioral and performance changes in Chang Lin. Although it’s not mentioned, we can safely assume that Chang Lin would not be “*tiaoti*” (picky) about food and clothes any more and would not “indulge himself in food, fun, and comfort” but paid great attention to “production and skill” and eventually excelled in his job performance:

Gradually, Chang Lin changed. Within a few short months, not only has Chang Lin learned to interpret production diagram paper, he also studied diligently of skills and technology. This year he has accomplished six technical renovations and saved one hundred and forty-two man-hours after putting into use in production. In the fourth quarter of 1963, Chang Lin was elected as a *chejian qingnian jiji fenzi* (youth active members of the workshop). In the first quarter of 1964, he showed even greater changes and was elected as a *chejian youxiu zhigong*(outstanding worker of the workshop) (S3L207-213).

From the above analysis we can see that there is a sequential structure that connects and organize all the acts enacted in this “*yiku sitian*” event. This event as a whole can be labelled as “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education) (see S3L 84, 89, and 131) as it attempts to “train persons like Chang Lin to become hard bones<sup>22</sup> with revolutionary spirit”, which means that it is necessary for them to “know about the *jieji ku* (class bitterness) and *xuelei chou* (blood and tears hatred) of *jiu shehui*”. Also, it is believed that “The more, the concrete, and the deeper they know it, the more it is possible to arouse their conscious

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<sup>22</sup> This is a common way of saying in China, meaning that someone has determination to complete a difficult task, such as the Socialist Construction.

revolutionary spirit, and the more it can inspire their strong revolutionary will” (S3L50-54).

#### 4.2.2.3 Sequential Structure B in Segment #6

Segment #6 is from a report dated June 9<sup>th</sup>, 1968, two years after the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. In 1967, according to this report, fifteen young women responded to Chairman Mao’s call that “*zhishi qingnian*” (intellectual youths) should “*shangshan xiaxiang*” (go up to mountainous areas and down to countryside)” to “receive re-education” from “*pin xia zhong nong* (poor and lower middle peasants) and relocated themselves to a barren countryside village in Linchang brigade, Wanli Commune, Jin County, Liaoning Province. To celebrate their one-year anniversary of settling down in this countryside, they decided to invite “poor and lower middle peasants” to have a “*yiku sitian*” meeting to commemorate this day. The “*yiku sitian*” event reported here is a demonstration of Sequential Structure B of acts commonly identifiable in “*yiku sitian*” practices, especially those in the years from 1966 to 1976. Acts are underlined in each of the following quotes.

#### **Step (1): The Ideologically Problematic Acts of “the Chinese Khrushchev” and “Yi Xiao Cuo (A Small Bunch of) Zouzipai (Capitalist Roaders)” Targeted and Needed to be “Henpi (Denounced Severely)”.**

According to the report, “the Chinese Khrushchev” promoted a “*fan geming xiuzheng zhuyi luxian* (reactionary revisionist line)” and the “*yi xiao cuo* (a small bunch of) *zouzipai* (capitalist roaders)” committed “*taotian zuixing* (monstrous crimes)” of trying to “*fubi* (restoring) *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism)” (S6L9-12). These alleged “crimes” are mentally, ideologically, and verbally based and can be regarded as various acts that are deemed “problematic”. Different from Chang Lin’s practical and problematic acts identified in Segment #3, which are deemed worthwhile of “*jie ji jiaoyu*” (class



education), these problematic acts need to be “*henpi*” (severely denounced) and the persons who enacted them are actually regarded as “*jieji diren*” (class enemies) and are to be cut off of their connection with the People.

### **Step (2): Multiple “*Yiku Sitian*” Acts Enacted at the “*Yiku Sitian Hui*” (*Yiku Sitian Meeting*)**

Several “*yiku sitian*” acts can be identified from this “*yiku sitian*” meeting. The first two by “*pin xia zhong nong*” (poor and lower middle peasants) representatives were elaborated and the last few by the “intellectual youths” were mentioned in passing.

#### **A. Grandma Lin’s Act of “*Yiku Sitian*”:**

Next, sobbing heavily, Grandma Lin *jiangshu le* (talked about) her tragic experience in *jiu shehui*. When she was very young, she already went to *taofan* (beg for food). Once, she got to the door of a big *dizhu* (landlord). Not only wouldn’t the hateful *dizhu* (landlord) give her one single grain of rice, he even released a fierce dog to bite people. While speaking, Grandma Lin rolled up the bottom of her pants and showed the scars on her legs to the girls (S6L26-30).

#### **B. Auntie Xu’s Act of “*Yiku Sitian*”:**

Auntie Xu, a *pinnong* (poor peasant) who came from the second production team to join the *yiku hui* (*yiku* meeting), also *kusu le* (poured out in crying) her *tongku* (painful) *jingli* (experience) in the past: at the age of nine, her family was so poor that her father had to endure the pain and reluctantly sold her away to be a child bride. Soon after that, her first younger sister was also sold to other people, and her second younger sister got sick and died because there was no money for her to be treated... (S6L30-36)

#### **C. Squad Leader Deng Yurong and Several Other Young Women’s Act of “*Yiku Sitian*”:**

Assistant squad leader Deng Yurong and several other young women also *huiyi le* (recalled) their own *kunan* (bitter and difficult) *jiashi* (family history) (S6L40-41).

### Step (3): “*Chi Yiku Fan*” (Eat *Yiku* Meal) as a Ritualized “*Yiku Sitian*” Acts

“*Chi Yiku Fan*” (Eat *Yiku* Meal) has been an important part of ritualized “*yiku sitian*” events. People who have experienced life in the 1960s and 1970s are all familiar with “*Yiku fan*” (*yiku* meals), as they had been a crucial part of the “*yiku sitian*” movement. As the name indicates, “*yiku fan*” (*yiku* meals) are meals that were eaten during “*yiku sitian*” practices to allow people to have a direct sense of the “*ku*” (bitterness) of “*jiu shehui*”. To serve this purpose, “*yiku fan*” (*yiku* meals) were usually prepared with items that were not commonly consumed by people. Some of these items were coarse and plain, such as corn meal, wheat bran, dried yam or yam flower, or pumpkin<sup>23</sup>; some of them are bitter, such as wild herbs; some of them are vegetable leaves or flowers, such as yam flower, pumpkin flower, and carrot green; or even non-food items such as rice husk, chaff, tree leaves, grass roots, dirt and sand. The combination could be very creative and the goal is to make it as unpalatable as possible to emphasize the “*ku*” (bitterness) of “*jiu shehui*”.

Participants in this “*yiku sitian*” event enacted acts of “*chi yiku fan*” (eat *yiku* meal) probably while listening to the *yiku* sharing, as we see “Grandma Lin” talked about the “*yiku* meal” right at the beginning of this special gathering:

*Pin xia zhong nong* (the poor and lower middle peasants) knew their minds the best.

Grandma Lin, who *kuda choushen* (had suffered bitterly in the old society and had a deep class hatred), *zuo* (made) *yiku fan* (*yiku* meal) for them early in the morning. Upon placing the bitter and astringent *kangcai bingzi* (pancake-shaped food made with chaff and wild herbs) onto the table, with tears running down her cheeks, Grandma Lin said to

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<sup>23</sup> Although corn meal, wheat bran, dried yam, yam flour, and pumpkin are healthy choices by today’s preference, they were regarded as “coarse food” in comparison with those finely processed food such as white flour and white rice, which was more available in cities or non-rural areas than in rural villages in the late 1950s and 1960s after the severe three-year famine from 1960 to 1963.

the young people, “My children, these *kangcai bingzi* were counted as good in *jiu shehui*.

By no means shall we forget the *ku* (bitterness) of the past!” (S6L13-19)

Associated with the act of “*chi yiku fan*” (eat *yiku* meal) is not just the action of “*chi*” (eat) but also the action of “*zuo* (making) *yiku fan*” and verbal comment on “*yiku fan*”, as depicted in the above quote. We see “Grandma Lin’s” complete support to these “intellectual youth” by her action of “*zuo* (making) *yiku* meal” for them “early in the morning”; we also see her nonverbal action of shedding tears and verbal action of commenting on “*yiku fan*”, both of which gave weight to the significance of their enactment of “*chi yiku fan*” (eat *yiku* meal).

After the “*yiku*” acts enacted by “Grandma Lin” and “Auntie Xu”, we see the solemn act of “*chi yiku fan*” described in the report:

“With tears in their eyes, they ate the *kangcai bingzi* and drank the soup made with bitter herbs. This is not food at all. This is the *kushui* (bitter water) of *qiongren* (poor people) in *jiu shehui*.” (S6L37-39)

#### **Step (4): Act of Endorsement toward the Above “*Yiku Sitian*” Acts**

We see acts of endorsement from the “intellectual youth” mentioned a couple of times in the report, as stated in the following two categories:

##### **Step (4a): Acts of Immediate Emotional Impact**

The first impact we see from this data segment is the strong emotion Grandma Lin herself experienced while preparing the “*yiku*” meal – “tears running down her cheeks” (S6L7). Obviously she was reminded of the “bitterness” of “*jiu shehui*” and was outraged that the “Chinese Khruhshchev” attempted to force the people to “*zou huitou lu* (take the road of retrogression) and *chi erbian ku* (eat bitterness for the second time)” (S6L21 to 22). By telling the “intellectual youth” that “these *kangcai bingzi* are counted

as good in *jiu shehui*" (S6L18), she helped them to imagine how "bitter" life in "*jiu shehui*" could be, as people could not even have the "*kangcai bingzi*" made with chaff and wild herbs as much as they want then!

This leads to the second impact in this data segment of the act of echoing by the "intellectual youth" to "Grandma Lin's" denouncement to the "Chinese Khrushchev". "Grandma Lin" asked them if they should allow the "Chinese Khrushchev" to be successful in forcing the people to "*zou huitou lu* (take the road of retrogression) and *chi erbian ku* (eat bitterness for the second time)", the "intellectual youth" answered in one voice, "Of course not!" and they shouted slogans to show their determination, which was a popular practice among people at that time: "Down with the Chinese Khrushchev!" "Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's *geming luxian* (revolutionary line)!" and "Long live Chairman Mao, long long live!" The report said "The sound of the slogans echoed in the valley" (S6L22-25).

The third impact in this data segment occurred to these "intellectual youth" after they listened to Grandma Lin and Auntie Xu sharing about their tragic life experience in "*jiu shehui*". The report says:

These young women's hearts were grabbed by each voicing of *xuelei* (blood and tears).  
With tears in their eyes, they ate the *kangcai bingzi* and drank the soup made with bitter herbs. This is not food at all. This is the *kushui* (bitter water) of *qiongren* (poor people) in *jiu shehui* (S6L37-39).

The term "*xuelei* (blood and tears)" is used to describe the life experience of Grandma Lin and Auntie Xu in "*jiu shehui*". The "bitterness" of it "grabbed" "these young women's hearts" and brought "tears" to their eyes. They associated themselves with the

tragic life of “*qiongren*” (poor people) in *jiu shehui* so much that the “*yiku fan*” was transformed into “*kushui* (bitter water) of *qiongren* (poor people) in *jiu shehui*”.

The last impact occurred after “assistant squad leader Deng Yurong and several other young women also “*huiyi le* (recalled) their own *kunan* (bitter and difficult) *jiashi* (family history)” (S6L40-41). By this point, the emotion of these “intellectual youth” has turned from heart-broken to “inflamed with anger” (S6L41). They didn’t just “criticize” the “Chinese Khrushchev” for his alleged evil attempt of retoring capitalism in China. They “*tongchi*”, which means “criticized harshly”, “the various *miulun* (misconceptions)” by him. They said, “The Chinese Khrushchev wanted us to *zou* (take) *ziben zhuyi de heilu* (the capitalist black road). This is to labor under a delusion!”

#### **Step (4b): The Act of Making Resolutions**

A ritualized “*yiku sitian*” event always ends with act of making resolutions. In this data segment, after going through the “*yiku sitian jiaoyu*” (education), “one after another”, these “intellectual youth” expressed their determination and resolution and said,

... they will *yongyuan* (forever) *zou* (take) the *geming daolu* (revolutionary road) of *shangshan xiaxiang* (going up to the mountains and down to the countryside) pointed out by Chairman *Mao* for *zhishi qingnian* (intellectual youths), take over well the post of *wuchan jieji* (proletariat) *geming shiye* (revolutionary cause), and make sure forever that *shehui zhuyi de jiangshan* (the socialist rivers and mountains, the socialist territories or state power) not *bianse* (change color) for *qianqiu wandai* (generation after generation) (S6L45-51).

Hence completes the sequential structure of acts enacted in this data segment.

#### **4.3 “Yiku Sitian” Enacted as Communication Style**

Communication Styles are communication practices that are particular types of talks (from among others) that span acts and events. Referencing Ervin-Tripp (1972),

Carbaugh (1989) defines communication style as “a way of organizing native labels for alternative ways of speaking and the rules for selecting them” (p. 100). Different from acts and events that themselves being kinds of talks too, Communication styles are general ways of speaking that categorize acts, events and scenes.

“*Huiyi*” (to recall from memory) and “*duibi*” (to put together and compare) are two salient cultural terms that identify “*yiku sitian*” communication practices on the style level. They refer to two particular ways of speaking (among others that Chinese people do) that are characterized by recalling life and experiences one had before, either verbally or non-verbally, and compare them with one’s life and experiences now<sup>24</sup>. These two ways of speaking are closely related with each other. Usually, “*huiyi*” is the first step and “*duibi*” is the second step. So they can be regarded as representing one communication style.

Previously we looked at some semantic structures that identify communication acts of “*yiku sitian*” such as “*tongchu de huiyi* (painful memory)” in S3L16; “*lianxiangqi* (relating to) his own life as an apprentice” in S3L26-27; “*huiyi le* (recalled) *guoqu* (the past)” in S2L106; “*zhuishu* (recollected) his own experience” in S2L93; “*jiangshu le* (talked about) her tragic experience in *jiu shehui*” in S6L26; “*tanqi le* (started talking about) one incident that he had not told people in the past many years” in S3L169-170... etc. Some of these semantic structures contain the action term “*huiyi*” (to recall from memory), which is step (2) in the structure, and some do not but indicate this sense of

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<sup>24</sup> Note that the “*duibi*” mentioned here is done vertically by comparing things in the past with things in the present. It can also be done horizontally by comparing one person with another person, one place with another place, or even one country with another country, depending on the context. Also note that the vertical comparison is not limited to just comparison between *xin shehui* and *jiu shehui* but can also be done between different periods in history. For example, we can see many vertical comparisons between the imagined state of society allegedly advocated by the Chinese Khruhshchev – Liu Shaoqi – if his so-called “revisionism” was allowed to be practiced and followed.

“recalling from memory” through step (3), a noun term or phrase summarizing the content pointed to by the action term, and step (4), a detailed description of the content. Hence we see that “*huiyi*” is a communication style enacted by the cultural term “*yiku sitian*”. That is, whenever people enact “*yiku sitian*” communication practice, they choose to use “*huiyi*” as one particular way of speaking from among many others.

We also see from data that, when “*yiku sitian*” practice is enacted, “*duibi*” (to put together and compare) as a particular way of speaking is also enacted very frequently. For example, in Segment #2, lines 106-139, after senior store clerks shared their painful and humiliating life experiences in “*jiu shehui*”, they also talked about their new life experience in “*xin shehui*”. The workers said,

“In *jiu shehui* we *disheng xiaqi* (lowered voice and made soft of tone), and *zuoniu zuoma* (worked like oxen and horses); today we *yangmei tuqi* (raise eyebrows and exhale freely), and become *zhuren* (masters) of the state as well as the stores.” (S2L111-114)

They then went on to talk about many specific changes they noticed between “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” and cited two workers’ drastically different fates in the two societies.

The report says,

With this *xinjiu duibi* (comparison between new and old), *zhigong men* (workers) came to *gandao* (feel) exceptionally the *tian* (sweetness) of today (S2L137-139).

Here the phrase “*xinjiu duibi*” categorizes the aforementioned “*yiku sitian*” acts and the whole “*yiku sitian*” event as a kind of vertical comparative action, which is also a particular way of speaking.

Sometimes the term “*huiyi*” and the term “*duibi*” are put together and used as one term, “*huiyi duibi*”, such as in the following example:

During the *huiyi duibi* (recalling and comparing), cadres and the mass *yiku* (recalled the bitterness) together and *sitian* (reflected on the sweetness) together and are mutually educated (S2L200-202).

Other examples that contain the term “*duibi*” that can be found in data in Appendix B are S2L214-217 and S4L77-86. There are also some examples that do not contain the term “*duibi*” but contain similar comparison between “*xin shehui*” and “*jiu shehui*”, such as in S1L34-41 and S5L43-54.

#### **4.4 Summary**

In this chapter we have looked at “*yiku sitian*” as a communication practice through Carbaugh’s Cultural Terms for Communicative Action theoretic framework. Analysis reveals that this cultural term of “*yiku sitian*” and its related terms and structures identify this communication practice on all the three levels: act, event, and style. Specific findings include a semantic structure for “*yiku sitian*” acts; three types of communicative scenes involved in “*yiku sitian*” events; two sequential structures for two types of “*yiku sitian*” events; and a particular communication style enacted by the terms “*huiyi*” and “*duibi*”. In Chapter 5 we will continue the examination of the literal messages conveyed by the cultural term of “*yiku sitian*” and the structures and terms related to it. We will also examine personal narrative as the message form for “*yiku sitian*” communication practices and some significant norms and rules regulating this practice.



## CHAPTER 5

### THE MESSAGE FORM, NORMS AND RULES, & LITERAL MESSAGES REGARDING “YIKU SITIAN” COMMUNICATION PRACTICE

We have examined “*yiku sitian*” communication practice at three levels of enactment in Chapter 4. In this chapter, we will continue the examination to see what message forms this “*yiku sitian*” practice takes; what literal messages regarding communication are conveyed by this practice; and what norms and rules are at work regulating this communication practice. Hymes’ descriptive theory and Carbaugh’s Cultural Terms for Communicative Action theoretic framework will continue to guide the analysis in this chapter.

#### 5.1 The Message Form of “*Yiku Sitian*” Events

Regarding message form, Hymes (1972) points out that “how something is said is part of what is said” (ibid). He observes that “shared ways of speaking acquire a partial autonomy, developing in part in terms of an inner logic of their means of expression” (p.59). He concludes that “The means of expression condition and sometimes control content” (ibid.). Therefore, “For members of the community, ... mastery of the way of speaking is prerequisite to personal expression” (p. 60). In reality, Chinese people might not be aware of their mastery of this shared ways of speaking and its inner logic, but their ways of conducting themselves demonstrated the truthfulness of Hymes’ statement regarding message form.

Analysis of data indicates that at least two message forms can be identified from the “*yiku sitian*” communication practice. The first form is personal narrative and the second form is ritual. There is a roughly nestling relationship between these two forms.

Or, put it another way, the “narrated event” takes personal narrative as its message form; and the “narrative event” takes ritual as its form of communication. Due to limitation of time and space, in this dissertation we will only examine personal narrative as a message form for “*yiku sitian*” event.

## **5.2 Personal Narrative as Message Form for “*Yiku Sitian*” Practice**

One exclusive and striking feature of “*yiku sitian*” practice is that people tell stories about their life in “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”, either to themselves or to other people, whenever there is a need to enact “*yiku sitian*” communication conduct. We can say that “storytelling”, or “personal narrative”, is the form through which the message of “*yiku sitian*” is conveyed. In those historical years, Chinese people “know what is being talked about and when what is talked about has changed”, and they “manage maintenance and change of topic” (Hymes 1972, p. 60) in this process.

Here I will refer to Kristin Langellier’s (1989) article titled “Personal Narratives: Perspectives on Theory and Research” to assist the analysis. I will first review the main ideas of this article, especially points that are relevant to the understanding of “*yiku sitian*” personal narratives and how they are resembled in the “*yiku sitian*” discourse. Then I will provide some specific examples to demonstrate the resemblance of some narrative features discussed in Langellier’s article in the “*yiku sitian*” discourse.

## **5.3 The Five Theoretical Positions Regarding Personal Narratives**

Langellier identified five theoretical positions regarding personal narratives: “personal narrative as story-text; personal narrative as storytelling performance; personal narrative as conversational interaction; personal narrative as social process; and personal narrative as political praxis” (Langellier, 1989, p. 244).

### 5.3.1 Personal Narrative as Story-Text

According to Langellier, this first position of “personal narrative as story-text” is “the earliest, most widely cited, and still current model” established by William Labov and Joshua Waletzky from their 1967 seminal work on black English vernacular and reading failure in inner city schools. Labov and Waletzky (1967) identified the *referential* and *evaluative* function of personal narratives. In addition, Labov (1972) distinguishes degrees of narrative completeness ranging from a *minimal* narrative that “may have one or two temporal junctures to fulfil its referential function” to a *complete* narrative that “contains a sequence of narrative clauses referring to the beginning, middle, and end of a specific event but may lack the elaboration of a fully-developed narrative” (p. 246). The paradigmatic Labovian model, which is the *fully-developed* narrative, has six components with each of them responding to an underlying question about how the narrative events are connected: “an *abstract* (what was this about?), in which one or two clauses summarize the whole story and encapsulate its point; an *orientation* (who, when, what, where?), in which free clauses identify the time, place, persons, and situation, including character sketches; *complicating action* (then what happened?), in which narrative clauses relate the temporal sequence of the specific event; *evaluation* (so what?), which conveys the significance of the event or the point of the story; *result* (what finally happened?), which concludes the action and may coincide with evaluation; and *coda*, which puts off further questions about the narrative events and returns the verbal perspective to the present moment” (ibid.). Personal stories shared by people during “*yiku sitian*” practice contain narratives ranges from minimal, to complete, to fully-developed. And those fully-developed personal narratives can be analyzed with the six components in the Labovian model.

### 5.3.2 Personal Narrative as Storytelling Performance

This second position looks on personal narrative as storytelling performance and emphasizes how a story is performed and how it delights or compels its listeners. As so, it “begins a dialogue between narrative and society which is developed further by later positions” (Langellier, p. 249). According to Langellier (1989), “A story implies storytelling” and “...storytelling is first of all a way of speaking by a storyteller to an audience in a social situation – in a word, a performance” (p. 249). In many occasions, *yiku sitian* enactment is such a kind of performance involving a storyteller, an audience, a social situation, and interaction between narrative and society. Put it into Bauman’s definition about performance, one can say that “*yiku sitian*” is “a mode of communication, a way of speaking, the essence of which resides in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative skill, highlighting the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content’ (Bauman, 3)” (Langellier, 1989, p. 250).

The following features from this second position are particularly relevant to “*yiku sitian*” practice:

1. *Narrative* event and *narrated* event. A “*yiku sitian*” event contains both a *narrative* event (the event in which a narrative is told, which is also the event in which an “*yiku sitian*” practice is enacted) and a *narrated* event (the event that is retold by a narrative, which is people’s experience in “*jiu shehui*” or “*xin shehui*”). These two events are closely connected by the personal narrative.

2. Mediation of experience and fact. “All narratives, including personal narratives, unavoidably mediate experience even when they promise a factual account. The very fact that experience is put in the shape of a narrative renders it subject to the desires and

choices of the teller, to the constraints of the audience, and to the forces of narrative traditions” (Langellier, 1989, p. 251). This poses the question about truthfulness of personal narrative, which is indeed an issue regarding “*yiku sitian*” practice. In the past twenty some years, there have been discoveries of “*zhenxiang*” (true fact) about some nationally well-known “*yiku sitian*” cases, the narratives were proved to be false and manipulated, not completely due to “the desires and choices of the teller” but because of the political context of that historical era.

3. Identification of a cycle by James P. Leary in which dramatic actions inspire dramatic stories which provide stylized ‘scripts’ for later actions that inspire still more narratives, and so forth (Langellier, p. 251). This cycle suggests that “Labovian causality from prior event to experience-based story may be reversed even in ‘true’ stories of personal experience such that the desires of the teller, the constraints of audience, and the forces of narrative traditions precede and even produce particular events” (ibid.)

4. The intensity of the performance. According to Langellier, there are various degrees of intensity of performance, “ranging from the most prominent cultural events which are scheduled, restricted in setting, clearly bounded, and widely public, using the most highly formalized performance forms and featuring the most accomplished performers, to the fleeting, mobile, unmarked, and private narratives in the everyday conversation of ordinary people” (ibid.). “*Yiku sitian*” practices are such kind of highly intensified performances and most prominent cultural events. They are usually not restricted to settings but are constantly scheduled ahead of time, clearly bounded and widely public, using the most highly formalized performance forms and featuring the most accomplished performers.

5. Ground rules. According to Langellier, “Ground rules cover all aspects of the personal narrative, such as whether or not a story is performed, what makes a tellable story, who can perform stories, whether or not performance accompanies the narrative, and excluded audiences” (Langellier, 1989, p. 252).

6. Repetitiveness. According to Langellier, “A personal narrative repeated often usually becomes increasingly polished” (Langellier, 1989, p. 254).

7. Personal narratives have transformative power. This “may occur at the level of the individual performer, of the social group, or even the culture” (Langellier, 1989, p. 254).

8. The structure of a *kernel story*. Susan Kalcik defines a kernel story as a “brief reference to the subject, the central action, or an important piece of dialogue from a longer story.” It may develop to a different length, shape, climax, or point depending upon the conversational context in which it is told as group participants add details and exposition, analyze characters, events, or themes, ask the narrator questions, or respond with other similar experiences, sometimes stringing several kernels together to produce an elaborate story or a serial unit” (Langellier, 1989, p. 254). There is such a “kernel story” across all “*yiku sitian*” narratives: “In *jiu shehui*, *Dizhu* (landlords)”, “*zibenjia* (capitalists)” and “*guomin dang fandongpai*” (KMT reactionary forces) took all chances to “*boxue*” (exploit) and “*yapo*” (oppress) “*qiongren*” (poor people); Chairman Mao and CCP led the People’s Liberation Army to fight with these reactionary forces, saved Chinese people out of “*kuhai* (bitter sea)” and “*huokeng* (fire pit)” of “*jiu shehui*” and brought them into “*tiantang* (heaven)” and “*miguan* (honey jar)” of “*xin shehui*”.

### 5.3.3 Personal Narrative as Conversational Interaction

This third position emphasizes the importance of the audience and the interactional context and “acknowledges how personal narratives occur in the ongoing stream of naturally-occurring talk” (Langellier, 1989, p. 256). Points in this position that are relevant to the “*yiku sitian*” narratives are:

1. How stories are distributed in conversation – that they are “chained, clustered, clumped, followed-on, seconded, or serialized” or as “story rounds” (Langellier, 1989, p. 259). These are frequently seen in “*yiku sitian*” narratives.

2. Enactment of social roles in relationship. According to Langellier, this position claims that “Participants not only operate as interactional partners in conversation, but they also enact their social roles in relationship to each other. Interaction takes place not between neutral, equal participants but within social and cultural matrices marked by differences in, for example, gender, age, race, and class” (Langellier, p. 260). For “*yiku sitian*” practice, the most significant difference is “*jieji* (class)” as people are placed into different categories of it and have to act accordingly to avoid making mistakes.

### 5.3.4 Personal Narrative as Social Process

According to Langellier, this fourth position “expands the narrative frame beyond the clause, the performance event, and the conversational turn to focus on the social uses of narratives by particular speech communities” (p. 261). This position wants to know, regarding a group or speech community, “Under what conditions do particular individuals tell particular stories to particular listeners?” Points in this position that are relevant to the “*yiku sitian*” narratives are:

1. The distinction between *context* and *surround*. Langellier quoted Katherine Young’s distinction regarding *context* and *surround*: “Context is a matter of relevance,

not proximity. A surround is whatever is contiguous whether it bears on the event or not; a context is whatever bears on the event whether it is contiguous or not. Not only is not all of the surround context but also not all of the contexts are in the surround” (p. 262). Thus, this position seeks to “explicate the relevance of social and cultural contexts for uses of narrative” (ibid.). This is very true for “*yiku sitian*” narratives. Although China is so big and geographically so different from place to place, the “*yiku sitian*” narratives are highly similar in their content. What to say and what not to say is dictated by the larger political context that set the tone for everyone throughout the country.

2. Telling family stories. Langellier reviewed Elizabeth Stone’s studies on family stories. According to Stone, family stories are “a private, informal, oral, and largely female discourse” (p. 264). They are “not marked off from surrounding discourse and may be quite invisible to others, especially when told within the routine practices of family life – casually, incidentally, unreflectively” (ibid.). “Stories work their way into the family cannon not by virtue of recording remarkable events of cultural interest, by being well-formed or well-performed, but by virtue of their ‘shaping’ significance, which maintains the family, in whatever form” (ibid.). Compared with Stone’s findings on family story narratives, telling family stories as part of the “*yiku sitian*” narratives has drastically different features – although they could be “private, informal, oral, and female discourse”, they are also largely “public, formal, written, and male discourse”. They **are marked off** from surrounding discourse and are quite **visible** to others. What’s more, they are always told “seriously”, “consequentially”, and “reflectively”. They “work their way into the family cannon” EXACTLY because they record remarkable events of cultural interest and because they are “well-formed” and “well-performed”.



### 5.3.5 Personal Narrative as Political Praxis

According to Langellier, this fifth position begins with the notion that narratives make meaning. “The act of telling a story is the act of organizing experience. In telling stories we organize events and human actions into some sort of whole; we give form to the understanding of a purpose in life... In a most profound way, our stories tell us who we are and who we can – or cannot – be, at both surface and deep-level meaning” (p. 267). Indeed, in telling “*yiku sitian*” stories, Chinese people organize events and their actions into “some sort of whole” and, through the telling of stories, convey messages about “who they are” or “who they can – or cannot – be”. Points in this position that are relevant to the “*yiku sitian*” narratives are:

1. Discursive closure. Quoting Dennis Mumby, Langellier (1989) said that “As meaning formation, personal narratives legitimate dominant forms of reality and lead to ‘discursive closure’ that restricts the interpretations and meanings that can be attached to an activity. Discursive closure distorts, marginalizes, and misrepresents particular groups so that certain realities hold sway over other competing realities. Thus, all personal narratives are ideological because they evolve from a structure of power relations and simultaneously produce, maintain, and reproduce that power structure” (ibid.). Similarly, the “*yiku sitian*” personal narratives are highly “ideological”. They “legitimated dominant forms of reality” during the 1960s and 1970s and created “discursive closure” that “distorted, marginalized, and misrepresented” the particular groups of people labeled as “*dizhu* (landlords)”, “*funong* (rich peasants)”, “*fandongpai* (reactionaries)”, “*huaifenzi* (bad elements)”, and “*youpai* (rightists)”.

2. The political function of narrative. According to Langellier (1989), the political function of narrative concerns “deep structure and meaning rather than surface structure

and meaning” and seeks to know “Whose interest does a personal narrative serve?” (p. 266). According to Langellier, “All personal narratives have a political function in that they produce a certain way of seeing the world which privileges certain interests (stories and meanings) over others, regardless of whether or not they contain explicit political content” (p. 271). We can say that all “*yiku sitian*” narratives contain explicit political content and all have this political function, “producing a certain way of seeing the world” which privileges the interests of “*gongren* (workers)”, “*nongmin* (peasants)”, “*shibing*” (soldiers) over that of the previously mentioned five groups of people.

**3. Discursive field.** The concept of discursive field was articulated by Michael Foucault and relates language, social institutions, subjectivity, and power. According to Langellier, personal narratives always participate within discursive field. Some examples of discursive fields are the law, the family, the school, the political system, the church, the education system, and the media, etc. They organize social structures and processes and give meaning to the world (Langellier, p. 267). This connects more or less with the concepts of “cultural discursive field” (p. 5), “communicative scene” (p. 6), and “culturescape” (p. 8) that Carbaugh, Gibson, and Milurn used in their 1997 article, “A view of communication and culture.” Regarding “*yiku sitian*” narratives, we can say that the whole country was turned into a discursive field during the 1960s and 1970s, as “*yiku sitian*” movement permeated into every aspect of social life, “organizing social structures and processes” and “giving meaning to the world.”

#### **5.4 Personal Narratives of “*Yiku Sitian*”**

As mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3, there are two types of “*yiku sitian*” accounts that can be seen today. One type is found on official media such as the archives of various national and local newspapers of *People’s Daily*, *The People’s Liberation Army*

*Daily*, *China's Youth Daily*, *Beijing Daily*, etc.; and in numerous books published in the 1960s, such as the following two “*yiku sitian*” reportages both compiled by the editorial department of *Liaoning Daily* and published in 1964: *Cong Heiye dao Tianming* (*From Dark Night to Day Break*) and *Chuang Guandong de Na Yibei Ren* (*That Generation of People Who Braved Their Journey to the Northeast*)<sup>1</sup>. The other type is found in various books published since the 1980s and more commonly as unofficial blogs on internet after the service became popular in mainland China since the year 2000. The first type viewed “*yiku sitian*” movement with official and positive light from the government’s point of view, vehemently denouncing “*jiu shehui*” and enthusiastically praising “*xin shehui*”; whereas the second type reviews “*yiku sitian*” movement critically and mockingly from the grassroots’ point of view, disclosing facts that used to be unknown or prohibited to be circulated among the public. I call the first type of “*yiku sitian*” accounts “official” and the second type “alternative.”

In this section, we will see an example of both the “official” and “alternative” versions of the same “*yiku sitian*” story that resembles the various features from the five theoretical positions regarding personal narratives talked about by Langellier in her 1989 article.

#### **5.4.1 Leng Yueying and the “Water Prison”**

Among all the “*yiku sitian*” narratives, one of the most well-known and controversial cases is regarding a landlord named Liu Wencai (1887-1949) in Sichuan

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<sup>1</sup> These two reportages are available as digital books at *Chaoxing* (Super Star) online library at [http://www.chaoxing.com/search?sw=%E5%BF%86%E8%8B%A6%E6%80%9D%E7%94%9C&x=0\\_7209](http://www.chaoxing.com/search?sw=%E5%BF%86%E8%8B%A6%E6%80%9D%E7%94%9C&x=0_7209)

province and a woman named Leng Yueying<sup>2</sup>. During the Cultural Revolution, Liu was denounced nationally as “a big landlord who would not shrink from any crime”<sup>3</sup> and “a reactionary who is a bureaucrat, a warlord, an evil tyrant, and a despotic landlord all in one”<sup>4</sup>. His residence as well as his parents’ residence in Anren Town, Dayi County, Sichuan Province, were preserved and converted into an Exhibition Hall of Landlord Manor and opened to the public in 1958. In order to vividly demonstrate how he had oppressed and exploited the poor people in “*jiu shehui*”, a series of clay sculpture in seven scenes (turning-in the grain rent; inspecting the grain rent; blowing the grain; measuring the grain; settling the account; pressing for rent; and resistance) and one hundred and fourteen figures in real-person-size were designed, modelled, created, and erected at the Exhibition Hall in 1965. Numerous people had paid visits to the exhibition, especially during the Cultural Revolution years. A documentary was also made giving detailed description about the landlord manor and the clay sculpture to show what a

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<sup>2</sup> There are other landlords or rich peasants throughout China from 1940s to 1960s who suffered similar fate as Liu Wencai did. One of them is Zhou Chunfu who was classified as rich peasants and beaten to death during the Land Reform Movement in 1947. Zhou was nicknamed as “Zhou *Bapi* (Skin-Peeling Zhou)” and was charged of pretending to crow like a rooster at midnight to force his hired men to get up and go to work earlier than usual (see short story “*Ban Ye Ji Jiao* (Rooster Crowing at Midnight)” written by Gao Yubao and published on *People’s Daily* on May 29th, 1952 and Gao Yubao’s autobiography book published in 1955). Zhou’s great grandson, Meng Lingqian, after conducting lots of research and interview, wrote a book titled “*Ban Ye Ji Bu Jiao* (Rooster does not Crow at Midnight)” published by Xiwei Publishing Company on January 1st, 2011, to reveal the truth about the fabrication of the whole story [see “*Wo Suo Liaojie de ‘Ban Ye Ji Jiao’ Zhenxiang* (the Truth that I have found out about ‘Rooster Crowing at Midnight’)” written by Meng Lingqian and published in a magazine titled *Yanhuang Chunqiu* (Issue 3, 2012). Meng’s investigation led him to the discovery that not only was the story of Zhou crowing at midnight fabricated, *Gao Yubao*’s thirteen-chapter autobiography book, which contained this story as his childhood experience when herding pigs for Zhou, turned out to be all written by someone else. Yet Zhou Chunfu had always been mocked as “Zhou *Bapi* (Skin-Peeling Zhou)” and his descendants suffered discrimination from 1950s to 1980s because of the short story and autobiography book accredited to Gao Yubao, which can be regarded as a type of “*yiku sitian* narratives” too. See [http://www.21ccom.net/articles/rwcq/article\\_2013081589896.html](http://www.21ccom.net/articles/rwcq/article_2013081589896.html), <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2013-07-03/112027564676.shtml>, <http://baike.baidu.com/subview/305792/10820090.htm> for more information.

<sup>3</sup> The original Chinese term is “*wu e bu zuo de da dizhu*”

<sup>4</sup> Entry item “Liu Wencai” from “Interactive Encyclopedia” at <http://www.baike.com/wiki/%E5%88%98%E6%96%87%E5%BD%A9>

luxurious, extravagant and dissipated life he lived and how extremely evil, cruel, violent, and wicked he was toward the poor people.

Leng Yueying and her famous denouncement against Liu Wencai is one of the reasons that made Liu so infamous throughout China. Leng was also from Dayi County, Sichuan Province. Her name firstly appeared in *People's Daily* in June, 1952 as one of the National Working Role Models honored by the Department of Agriculture of P. R. C. Then on February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1963, there was a picture on *People's Daily* of Leng Yueying sitting among some elementary school children as well as several adults and the caption says:

### Segment 5.1

四川省大邑县安仁中学，通过各种形式对学生进行生动的阶级教育。曾被地主关过水牢的农民冷月英应邀来校给学生们讲述她受地主迫害的亲身经历。(1963021802)

Anren Middle School in Dayi County, Sichuan Province, uses all kinds of method to conduct vivid *jieji jiaoyu* (class education) to students. Leng Yueying, a *nongmin* (peasant) who used to be confined by *dizhu* (landlord) into “water prison”, came as invited to share with students her personal experience of being tortured by *dizhu* (landlord).

Then on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 1965, a report titled “Never Forget Class Hatred” was published on *People's Daily*, with Leng Yueying being the author. By that time she was already the Vice Secretary of the Party Committee at Tang Town Commune, Dayi County, Sichuan Province. The report says in first person,

### Segment 5.2

我看了地主庄园“收租院”里的塑象，很激动，真是把我们穷苦农民在解放前受地主阶级压迫剥削的情况活生生的塑造出来了。恶霸地主刘文彩和他的狗腿子就是那个凶样子，旧社会我们贫苦农民过的生活也就是这个样子。看了这些，使我想起了解放前那种牛马不如的生活，无法压制住心头的悲痛和仇恨。

一看到逼租这段，我的眼泪就包不住了。那个农民交不够租被抓壮丁，那个抱着爸爸脚杆正在哭的娃娃，这种妻离子散的悲惨情景，使我想起了解放前的苦日子。我丈夫在外替人家放鸭子，我们在家佃田做庄稼。地主刘文彩的大斗大秤，整得我们年年都交不够他的“铁板租”。有一年，我刚生了娃娃。我那八岁的大女儿一早起

来，在门外惊叫一声：“妈吧，来啦！”突然就闯进四个背枪的狗腿子，凶狠狠地把我绑起来要带走。这时，我大女儿使劲抱住我的脚杆不放，不停地喊着：“妈呀！你不要走呀！”“妈呀！你不要走呀！”一个狠心的家伙把我大女儿估倒拉开，拖起就往门外甩。我那奶娃娃也在不停地哭，狼心狗肺的狗腿子连初生的婴儿也不饶过，后来就活活被他们整死了。

看到塑象中那个被地主关在监牢里的大娘和在监外等候妈妈的两个小姑娘，又使我想起被刘文彩关在水牢时的情景。那次狗腿子把我拉走后，我连大女儿是死是活都不知道。我只记得把我带到一个阴森森冷浸浸的地方，在那个又黑又臭寒气逼人的水坑里，我一脚踩到死人的骨，一脚踩到死人的肉，站都站不稳，一阵昏晕，就倒在死人身上，一口一口的恶脏水直往嘴里灌。我是才生了娃娃的人，竟然受他们这种残酷的折磨。

一提起过去的苦，真是十天十夜都说不完。我给来地主庄园参观的人，不知讲过多少次了。我的苦是千千万万劳动人民的苦，我的仇是千千万万劳动人民的仇。我要永世记住这种地主阶级残酷压迫我们农民的苦，牢记这种血海深仇。

现在美术工作者们把我们农民在旧社会受地主阶级压迫剥削的情景塑出来了，这就使我们的青年一代能够通过这些塑象，看到地主阶级过去是怎样压迫剥削我们的。通过这些动人的事实，可以使人们受到深刻的阶级教育。我们要让子孙后代不要忘记过去，经常忆苦思甜，永不忘本，这样才能使他们真正成为革命的接班人，我们的国家才能永远不变颜色，把革命进行到底。(1965112806)

1. I was deeply touched upon seeing the sculptures in “Court for Collecting Rent”.
2. They have vividly depicted the situation of us poor peasants being oppressed and
3. exploited by the landlord class before the Liberation. The ferocious appearance of
4. the despotic landlord Liu Wencai and his henchmen looked exactly like that, and the
5. life we poor peasants lived in *jiu shehui* was also exactly like this. Seeing these
6. reminded me of the life that was evenworse that oxen and horses lived before the
7. Liberation and it is impossible to suppress the grief and hatred in my heart.
  
8. As soon as I saw the scene of “Pressing for Rent”, I couldn’t hold back my tears.
9. That peasant who was forced to be drafted because he couldn’t turn in enough rent;
10. that small child who was crying and would not let go of his Daddy’s leg... This
11. tragic scene of a family wrenched apart reminded me of the bitter life before the
12. Liberation. My husband raised ducks for people elsewhere, and we stayed at home
13. growing crops on rented land. The giant “*dou*”<sup>5</sup> and “*cheng*”<sup>6</sup> of landlord Liu
14. Wencai made it impossible for us to turn in enough rent to him. One year, I have just
15. given birth to my baby. One early morning, I heard my eight-year-old daughter
16. screaming outside the door: “Mom! They are here!” Suddenly four henchmen
17. carrying guns broke in, tied me up in cruelty and were going to take me away. At
18. that moment, my older daughter held tightly onto one of my legs and kept crying,
19. “Mom, don’t go!” “Mom, please don’t go!” A merciless guy broke my daughter
20. apart from me and threw her outside the door. My baby kept crying. The henchmen
21. who had “wolf’s hearts and dog’s lung”<sup>7</sup> would not even spare a newborn, who was
22. tortured to death by them later on.

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<sup>5</sup> Container made of tree branches or wood for holding grain in it.

<sup>6</sup> Scale for measurement.

<sup>7</sup> In Chinese, “*langxin goufei*”, which means “brutal and cold-blooded”.

23. Seeing the sculpted woman who was confined in prison by landlord and the two little  
24. girls waiting for their mom outside of it reminded me of the time when I was kept in  
25. the water prison by Liu Wencai. After the henchmen dragged me away, I didn't even  
26. know whether my older daughter was dead or alive. I could only remember that I  
27. was taken to a place cold and gloomy. Walking inside that pool of water that was  
28. dark, stinky, and chilly, I felt myself stepped onto some dead person's bones and  
29. flesh. I felt light-headed and couldn't stand still and fell onto some dead persons'  
30. bodies. The disgusting dirty water gushed into my mouth. I was a woman that had  
31. just given birth to a baby. And yet I was tortured so cruelly by them.

32. Even ten days and ten nights would not be enough for me to exhaust telling the  
33. bitterness of the past. I don't know how many times I have told people who came to  
34. visit the landlord's manor about this. My bitterness is the bitterness of millions of  
35. working people; and my hatred is the hatred of millions of working people. I would  
36. remember forever this bitterness of landlord class mercilessly oppressing us  
37. peasants, and this type of intense and deep-seated hatred.

38. Now the artists have presented the scenes of us peasants being oppressed and  
39. exploited by the landlord class in *jiu shehui* through sculptures, enabling our younger  
40. generation to be able to learn how the landlord class used to oppress and exploit us in  
41. the past. People received profound class education through these vivid touching  
42. facts. We should teach our coming generations to never forget the past, frequently  
43. *yiku sitian* and never forget our origin. Only in this way can they be truly made into  
44. successors of the revolution, our country maintain its color forever and the revolution  
45. be carried out and followed through.

According to Leng Yueying, in *jiu shehui*, she was not able to turn in enough rent due to Liu Wencai's trick of using "giant *dou* and *sheng*" and was thrown into the water prison very soon after she gave birth to a baby (lines 12 to 31). Regarding this tragic event, Leng said that she couldn't remember how many times she had told people who came to visit the landlord's manor about this tragic experience (lines 33-34). Both Leng and Liu became famous nationally, though in different senses. Leng was invited to all kinds of "*yiku sitian*" occasions and gatherings to denounce Liu and recall her tragic experience as "the only survivor of the water prison"<sup>8</sup>. And Liu, who died in 1949 even before Dayi County was liberated, became notoriously infamous as the worst representative of big landlords throughout China.

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<sup>8</sup> Quoted from the caption for the water prison at the Exhibition Hall of Landlord Manor, retrievable at <http://www.renminbao.com/rmb/articles/2011/8/19/55185b.html>

In 1999, a book titled “*Liu Wencai Zhenxiang (The Truth on Liu Wencai)*” written by Xiao Shu was published by Shanxi Normal University Press, challenging the truthfulness of portraits and accusations regarding Liu Wencai in “*jiu shehu*”. In 2011, Xiao Shu wrote another book on Liu Wencai titled “*Da Dizhu Liu Wencai (Big Landlord Liu Wencai)*”, which is one of the book series titled “new historical studies” published by Guangdong People’s Publishing Company, providing more material and deeper analysis about this controversial, historical, and public figure. According to Xiao Shu’s research, the “water prison”, “dungeon”, “torturing chamber”, “storage for torturing equipment”, etc., that are on display in the Exhibition Hall are all fabricated. A different image of Liu Wencai was presented to people as a result – Although Liu was indeed a big landlord owning almost 10,000 *mu* land (about 1,647 acre) and had five wives, he was also called “Great Philanthropist Liu” by local people. He provided money to build roads and stores (with business sections in the front and residential sections in the back) and rented them at very low cost to fellow villagers who otherwise had no shelters to stay, which promoted commercial activities in Anren Town. He also financed the establishment of Wencai Middle School, which is the predecessor of Anren Middle School, and personally inspecting the quality of the construction of it every day. He hired the best teachers to come to teach and significantly reduced the fee for poor students. What’s more, he would never interfere with the school’s teaching curriculums... Whenever tenants came to turn in rents, he provided good food for them (every eight tenants sat down around a table to eat) ... Thus is how Liu Wencai was remembered by the local people – a representative of the village gentry who abided by Chinese tradition, who was philanthropic, and who created benefits for the local community.



Details about Leng Yueying and her “*yiku sitian*” sharings are disclosed more and more in the past several decades. In 1981, the Exhibition Hall of Landlord Manor assigned special persons who interviewed more than seventy insiders and went through large amount of historical archive. After searching for one year, they couldn’t find any personal witness or material evidence for the alleged water prison. In a report submitted by the Exhibition Hall to its supervising office, it concluded that the so-called “water prison” was a groundless fabrication. The “water prison” that was on display at the Exhibition Hall was actually converted from a storage place for opium. But how did all of this happen?

It was discovered that Leng Yueying first mentioned the water prison in a meeting in 1951. This is what she said,

### **Segment 5.3**

“1943年，我因欠了地主刘伯华（刘文彩的侄子）五斗租谷，刚生孩子三天，就蒙上眼睛抛进了刘家水牢关了七天七夜……。”<sup>9</sup>

“In 1943, I owed landlord Liu Bohua (nephew of Liu Wencai) five *dou* grain rent. Three days after giving birth to a baby, I was thrown into a water prison in *Liu Household* with my eyes covered up for seven days and seven nights...”

Here Leng didn’t specify clearly the exact location of the “water prison”. In January, 1954, an Exhibition of Agricultural Collectivization was held in Dayi County using concrete models on display accompanied with pictures and captions. Since Liu Bohua was Liu Wencai’s nephew, a design of “Leng Yueying being confined in Liu Wencai’s water prison” was proposed and granted permission from above. Then came the fabricated “water prison” based on some imaginary work. According to a report

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<sup>9</sup> <http://www.renminbao.com/rmb/articles/2011/8/19/55185b.html>

submitted to Dayi County Party Committee titled “Summary of the Exhibition of Agricultural Collectivization”, the purpose of designing such a plan is to enable people to “think about the past and look at the present” through the “sharp contrast of Leng Yueying’s experience before and after the Liberation”<sup>10</sup>. In 1958 Liu’s residence was converted into the Exhibition Hall of Landlord Manor and the whole model of “water prison” proposed in 1954 was copied and expanded. As a result, the empty basement in the west side of the Liu residence that was originally used as storage place for opium was filled up with water; some torturing instruments such as an iron cage and triangle-shaped nails were made and installed; and bloody water and bloody hand prints were also added, receiving visitors that came from all over the country with silent horror.

Leng Yueying also changed from a “national working role model” to “a living teaching material of class struggle”. She was invited to numerous places to give “*yiku sitian*” talk to condemn Liu Wencai’s monstrous crimes. It was said that Leng spoke at about one thousand occasions and the audience number totaled at least one million people during the Cultural Revolution years from 1966 to 1976. Her speech was completely drafted by offices in charge of each gathering. Lin Hui wrote in his article published online on Aug. 19<sup>th</sup>, 2011 at [renminbao.com](http://renminbao.com)<sup>11</sup> that,

#### **Segment 5.4**

“党叫干啥就干啥”的冷月英此时大概已是身不由己，讲台上的她成了一个彻彻底底的演员，演讲稿虽然不是出自她的笔下，她却不但可以倒背如流，而且演讲时能马上进入角色，简直是字字血，声声泪。她在台上边讲边哭，哭得像个泪人儿，而台下的听众也随之泪流不止。

通过冷月英“活灵活现”的演讲，人们知道：“在刘文彩的佛堂侧近一个角落里，秘密修建了水牢。据说，修建水牢的工人在完工后全部被杀害了。究竟水牢里害死

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.renminbao.com/rmb/articles/2011/8/19/55185b.html>

<sup>11</sup> Specific website address is <http://www.renminbao.com/rmb/articles/2011/8/19/55185b.html>

了多少人，很难估计……这个人间地狱里灌满了水，尸骨堆积，冰冷刺骨。腥臭难当。牢里还有一个囚人的铁笼，上下四周密布铁刺和三角钉，被关进去站不能站，坐不能坐，真休想活命。”而冷月英是侥幸从水牢里活著出来的仅有的一个人……

有意思的是，冷月英演讲的水牢故事，有多种版本。在不同的版本中，情节各有不同。一会儿她说自己是1943年被关进刘文彩水牢的，一会儿说她早在1937年就被关进了刘文彩水牢；一会儿说她是刘伯华的佃户，一会儿说她是刘文彩的佃户；一会儿说坐水牢期间她没有见过刘文彩本人，一会儿说坐水牢期间刘文彩提审过她。可惜，缺乏比较的听众们根本不知道不同版本之间的区别。<sup>12</sup>

1. Leng Yueying, who was willing to do whatever the Party asked her to, probably had
2. no choice to change anything now. She completely became a performer. Although
3. the speech draft was not written by herself, she could know them very well by heart,
4. and she could immediately get inside the role that she was playing and creating the
5. effect of “*zizi xue, shengsheng lei*” (i.e., each word is blood stained and each
6. utterance is accompanied with tears). She would shed tears while speaking on the
7. stage and turned herself into a tear-stained person. And the audience could not hold
8. back their tears either.
  
9. Through Leng Yueying’s vivid speech, people came to know that a water prison was
10. secretly built in a corner near Liu Wencai’s family hall for worshipping Buddha. It
11. was said that all the workers were killed after the construction was completed. It was
12. hard to estimate how many people were persecuted to death in the water prison...
13. This hell on earth was filled with chilly water; dead bodies and bones piled up in it;
14. and the smell was too stinky to endure. There was even an iron cage with nails and
15. triangular thorns sticking out in all directions inside the water prison. Whoever
16. confined in it would find it hard to sit down or stand to keep oneself alive. Leng
17. Yueying was the only survivor luckily enough to get out of the water prison.
  
18. Interestingly enough, there are many versions of the water prison story that Leng
19. Yueying told. Details varied from each other in different versions. In one of them she
20. said she was put into Liu Wencai’s water prison in 1943, then in another she said it
21. was in 1937; In one version she said she was tenant of Liu Bohua, in another she said
22. she was tenant of Liu Wencai; In one place she said she never saw Liu Wencai in
23. person while kept in the water prison, in another she said Liu Wencai did question
24. her in a trial. Unfortunately the audience who were not good at comparison were
25. completely unaware of the difference between these different versions.

After the Cultural Revolution, the focus of China changed from “class struggle” to “economic construction”. Leng Yueying as “a living teaching material of class struggle” was not useful any more. So she requested of retirement from the various positions she used to hold. On Sept. 15<sup>th</sup>, 1981, Leng was officially retired. In that same year, when interviewed by staff from the Exhibition Hall, she revealed that it was the County Party Committee that asked

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<sup>12</sup> <http://www.renminbao.com/rmb/articles/2011/8/19/55185b.html>

her to “speak like that”. Three years later, Leng died in loneliness and confusion at the age of 73.

In 1988, the Exhibition Hall of Landlord Manor finally removed the sign of “water prison”, pumped dry the water, got rid of the iron cage and converted that place back into the original opium storehouse with a wooden plaque outside of it says “Opium Room”.

#### **5.4.2 Leng Yueying’s “*Yiku Sitian*” Narrative Examined through the Narrative Theories**

All the six theoretical positions discussed by Langellier in her 1989 article are applicable in analyzing Leng Yueying’s “*yiku sitian*” narratives. Examined through the first position, personal narrative as story-text, we can see that Leng Yueying’s “*yiku sitian*” narrative, such as Segment 5.2, is a *complete*, or *fully-developed* narrative that contains the six components of the Labovian model.

Examined through the second position, personal narrative as storytelling performance, we can see that Leng’s “*yiku sitian*” narrative, as commented on by Lin Hui in Segment 5.4, lines 2 to 8, is a lively performance that significantly compelled her listeners. Leng is a very skillful and most accomplished performer and her narrative performance is very intense. In fact, in one occasion, after listening to her “*yiku sitian*” report at the Exhibition Hall, all three hundred air force officers and soldiers cried so hard that they collapsed and fell to the ground and eventually had to be assisted to get up by narrators working there<sup>13</sup>. Leng’s narrative contains a *kernel story* that got *repeated* and *polished*, eventually distorting the *experience* and *fact* that was *mediated* through the narratives (as seen from Segments 5.3 to 5.2).

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<sup>13</sup> See [http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog\\_5eda4d5b0100fk6c.html](http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_5eda4d5b0100fk6c.html) for more information

Examined through the third position, personal narrative as conversational interaction, Leng's "yiku sitian" narrative draws attention to the importance of *interactional context* and the enactment of *social roles* in relationships. Here the most significant social roles enacted are the class roles. Identity terms such as "us poor peasants" (in Segment 5.2 line 2) vs "landlord class" (in Segment 5.2 line 3) imply the great differences and sharp conflict between these two classes.

Examined through the fourth position, personal narrative as social process, Leng's "yiku sitian" narrative let us see that *context*, especially the *political context*, played a decisive role in determining what to be included in her narratives. We do not know whether what Leng said in Segment 5.3 is true – whether she was indeed thrown into a water prison because of owing Liu Bohua rents, but we do know that this type of denouncement by poor peasant class to landlord class was welcomed and supported; and the fabrication followed afterwards was allowed, encouraged, and even tailored for her by "offices in charge of each gathering".

Examined through the fifth position, personal narrative as political praxis, Leng's "yiku sitian" narrative can be seen as a site where particular type of meaning is made and specific ways of being, acting, relating, feeling and political positioning are defined. The *discursive closure* created in Leng's "yiku sitian" narrative *distorted, marginalized, and misrepresented* Liu Wencai so severely that he became a political symbol of "all-evil landlords" in 20<sup>th</sup> century China. *Leng's* narrative served a political function and produced "a certain way of seeing the world" for herself and her audience. Last but not the least, Leng's "yiku sitian" narrative participated in a vast (cultural) *discursive field* that "organized social structures and processes and gave meaning to the world" (c.f.

Langellier, p. 267). The beliefs and values contained in this (cultural) *discursive field* will be analyzed in Chapter 6.

### **5.5 Literal Messages about Communication as Conveyed by “Yiku Sitian” Practice**

Cultural Terms for Talk theoretic framework suggested four messages about communication to look for when talk is identified culturally. The first message concerns the *mode*, or “the prevailing manner for the enactment” (p. 104). It can range from *direct* to *indirect* on a continuum. The second message concerns *the relative degree of structuring of the code*. That is, “is the cultural talk that is lexicalized subject to extra rules and conventions?” (p. 105). It can range from relatively *fixed* to *flexible*, and relatively *restricted* to *elaborate*, such as who should speak, how they should gesture and posture, what should be said, and how, etc. The third message concerns the *tone*, “the emotional pitch, feeling, or key, appropriate to the act, event, or style” (p. 106). It can range from *controlled* to *less controlled*, from *formal* to *informal*, and from *serious* to *playful*. The fourth message concerns the *efficaciousness of communication as an action* and addresses the question of whether this culturally identified act, event, or style of speech is a more or less substantial form of action. In the following section we will examine what kind of literal messages regarding communication can we learn when “*yiku sitian*” practice is enacted as an act, event, or style.

#### **5.5.1 Mode of Action**

We can see from data that, in order for “*yiku sitian*” practice to be effective, it needs to be enacted directly. For example, in Segment #1, the Party branch invited senior worker Lan Binpeng and Li Huguo to give “*yiku sitian*” talk publicly to “*jiaoyu*” (educate) the young workers who had no personal experience of “*jiu shehui*” and its bitterness. An opposite example is Segment #3 in which, for quite a long time, Chang

Yuchun and his wife Quan Yufen refrained from directly sharing their past experience with their son Chang Lin for fear that it would make Chang Lin “*nanshou*” (heartbroken) (lines 13 and 23) and “*saoxing*” (disappointed) (line 13). Instead, they did things and said things that could only function indirectly, if at all, to influence Chang Lin. Whatever clothes and shoes that were worn out and Chang Lin didn’t like any more, Chang Yuchun would quietly wear them; and whatever food that Chang Lin didn’t like, Quan Yufen would eat them quietly (lines 6-9). When Chang Lin brought back home his first month of income, Chang Yuchun was reminded of his own apprentice experience featured by bitterness and unfairness. He couldn’t help and blurted out a comment – “This is truly incomparable” (line 29). But when he suddenly looked up and saw the excitement of his son, he immediately changed what he was going to say, “Chang Lin, you ought to work hard, listen to *Dang* (the Party), and listen to Mao Zhuxi (Chairman Mao)!” (lines 29-32). Obviously Chang Yuchun and Quan Yufen were “frequently upset by their son’s extreme *tiaoti* (pickiness) in daily life” (line 11). But it’s only after they realized their way of loving their son was wrong thanks to Li Decai’s help and after they opened up directly with Chang Lin about their tragic past experience one Sunday afternoon when Li came to visit again were they able to see significant change happened to Chang Lin, both immediately and long termly. Thus we know that the literal message regarding the mode of “*yiku sitian*” as a communication practice is that it can, and should, be conducted directly.

### **5.5.2. Degree of Structuring**

Although “*yiku sitian*” practice can happen in any time and any place, such as those mentioned in Chapter 4 in the discussion about the setting of it, its degree of structuring is relatively fixed and restricted. Regardless of whether a “*yiku sitian*”

practice is enacted spontaneously at home, such as that conducted by Mai Xiande's mom to him in Segment #4, or at work, such as that conducted by Li Decai to Chang Lin in Segment #3, or whether it is enacted as scheduled, such as that conducted by senior store clerks in their "*taolun hui*" (discussion gatherings) and "*zuotan hui*" (colloquium), there are norms regarding who should speak, how they should gesture and posture, what should be said, and how. According to Carbaugh (2007), "communication norms are statements about conduct which are granted some degree of legitimacy by participants in a speech event or community (see Carbaugh 1990a; Philipsen 1992)" (p. 178). Norms are moral messages formulated by researchers. These moral messages may be stated by participants themselves, but can also be implicit in the structuring of discourse. Carbaugh (2009) distinguishes the two senses of norms that may be relevant to a communication practice: "what is done normally as a matter of habit? (e.g., few vote), and what is the appropriate thing to do (e.g., one should vote in every election)" (pp 1595-1596). The second sense can be further distinguished into two types: norms for interaction and norms for interpretation. Carbaugh (2009) says, "The norm for interaction can be formulated as a rule for how one should properly interact when conducting the practice of concern: e.g., one should respect one's elders. The norm for interpretation can be formulated as a rule for what a practice means: e.g., sitting in silence with an elder counts as respecting that elder" (p. 1596). In 1990, Carbaugh developed a useful conceptual framework for normative rules, which says "In context C, if X, one should/should not do Y" (Carbaugh, 1990, p. 142). In 2007, Carbaugh expanded it into the following four-part formula: "1) in context C (specify the setting, scene, participants, topics of concern); 2) if one wants to do some task (e.g., be a particular kind of person, establish a kind of relationship, act in a



specific way, exhibit feeling in one way rather than others, dwell appropriately); 3) one ought/not (it is prescribed, preferred, permissible, or prohibited); 4) to do X (a specific action)” (p. 178). We will use the above stated theoretical concepts about norms in the following analysis.

### 5.5.2.1 Who Should Speak

In terms of who should speak, let’s firstly look at an example of who should not speak. In Segment #1, lines 200 to 202, when Liu Huaming told people that he has “*ku*” (bitterness) too, one person replied, “You young fellow do not look like a *shouku de ren* (person who suffered bitterness)”. The reason this person would question Liu’s qualification to speak about “*ku*” (bitterness) is not that Liu is a young man (though being older means it is more possible for one to have deeper understanding about the bitterness of “*jiu shehui*”) but that Liu’s previous working attitude is notoriously sloppy (lines 191-195) and his initial reaction to senior workers’ “*yiku sitian*” sharing is negative, thinking that it is not necessary to “mention these stuff” now that it is already “*xin shehui*” (lines 196-198). His comment implies that he doesn’t have high class consciousness. We can see a norm for interpretation at work from this example:

#### Norm 5.1

*A young worker with sloppy working attitude and low class consciousness does not have bitterness to share.*

Next, let’s see some examples regarding persons either spontaneously doing *yiku sitian* or chosen for this task. In Segment #3, Li Decai is Chang Lin’s master at work. He is “a level-six puncher in the factory, a Communist Party member, and *Wu-Hao zhigong* (Five-Good worker)” (lines 46-47). He is also “a senior *gongren* (worker) whose experience in *jiu shehui* was even more *beican de* (sad and tragic) than that of Chang Yuchun” (lines 47-48). What’s more, he also has a heart that loves Chang Lin; and yet his way of loving

him differs from that of Chang Lin's parents. He believes that, in order to train persons like Chang Lin to become hard bones with revolutionary spirit, they ought to know about the “*jieji ku*” (class bitterness) and “*xuelei chou*” (blood and tears hatred) of “*jiu shehui*”. The more, the concrete, and the deeper they know it, the more it is possible to arouse their conscious revolutionary spirit, and the more it can inspire their strong revolutionary will. Therefore, he “*sushuo*” (narrated emotionally) his “*jiashi*” (family history) and “*shenshi*” (life experience) again and again to Chang Lin during work breaks or at rest days” (lines 48-56).

Similarly, in Segment #1, the Party branch “decided to choose people who *shouku zuishen* (suffered bitterness the deepest) and *juewu zuigao* (having the highest [class] consciousness) to talk from their own personal experience to promote “*yiku sitian*” among people and *tigao* (raise) *jieji juewu* (class consciousness)” (lines 125-128). Hence senior workers Lan Binpeng and Li Huguo were chosen to give “*yiku sitian*” talks to all the workers in the workshop. In Segment #2, the Party branch organized “senior store clerks who are familiar with the history of the store” (lines 17-18) to help those young apprentices who grew up in “*xin shehui*” to “know the *kunan* (bitterness and hardship) of *laodong renmin* (the working people) in *jiu shehui*” (lines 12-14).

We can see another norm for interpretation at work from the above examples:

## **Norm 5.2**

*Older workers who are “Gongchuan dangyuan” (Communist Party members) and “Wu-Hao zhigong” (Five-Good workers), who “shouku zuishen” (suffered bitterness the deepest) in jiu shehui and “juewu zuigao” (had the highest [class] consciousness) are best candidates for yiku sitian sharing.*

### 5.5.2.2 How They Should Gesture and Posture

In terms of how they should gesture and posture, we see a norm in its habitual sense at work in data. For example, in Segment #5, after commune members of Tanzhou production team gathered together to “*chi kucan*” (eat bitter meal) and listen to senior peasant Zhou Juzhong to “*jiang chunshi*” (talk about village history), they “raised their arms and shouted loud, ‘Long live Chairman Mao! Long live the Chinese Communist Party!’” (lines 64-65). In Segment #6, there is also a mentioning of slogan shouting from lines 23 to 25 – after “Grandma Lin” warned the “intellectual youths” of the alleged attempt of “Chinese Khrushchev” to force Chinese people to “*zou huitou lu* (take the road of retrogression) and *chi erbian ku* (eat bitterness for the second time)”, they shouted,

“打倒中国赫鲁晓夫！“毛主席的革命路线胜利万岁！”“毛主席万岁，万万岁！”的口号声，震撼山谷。(1968060903)

“Down with the Chinese Khrushchev!” “Long live the victory of Chairman *Mao*’s *geming luxian* (revolutionary line)!” “Long live Chairman *Mao*, long long live!” The sound of the slogans echoed in the valley.

Although it didn’t say whether they raised their arms or not when shouting the slogan, it is a typical practice among Chinese people to raise their (usually right) arms with the hand in a fist when shouting slogans, especially when ritualized “*yiku sitian*” practice is enacted. Thus we can state this norm in the following way:

#### Norm 5.3

*It is normal for people to raise their arms and shout slogans during public yiku sitian gatherings to express their strong feelings of love (to Chairman Mao, CCP, xin shehui, etc.) and hate (to Chiang Kai-Shek, jiu shehui, Chinese Khrushchev, etc.)*

### 5.5.2.3 What Should Be Said

In terms of what should be said, we can see norms for interaction at work in data. Here it is necessary to consider both the orthodox “*yiku sitian*” data and alternative “*yiku sitian*” data because they allow us to see things from two sides. Examination of orthodox “*yiku sitian*” data reveals that the theme of the content for various “*yiku sitian*” narratives is more or less the same – how the working people suffered extremely in “*jiu shehui*” due to the oppression and exploitation of cruel landlords or capitalists; and how they were saved by the People’s Liberation Army under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman *Mao* and are leading a happy life now in “*xin shehui*”. But when examining alternative “*yiku sitian*” data, we encounter acts of “*yi cuo ku*” (recalling the wrong types of bitterness) and “*si cuo tian*” (reflecting on the wrong types of sweetness) in them. The following are two examples in this aspect. They are both retrieved from the world wide web.

#### Segment 5.5

“忆苦思甜”大会上经常出现令人尴尬的“忆错苦”、“思错甜”的场面;生产队的一位大婶站起来诉苦,说的却是1960年大饥荒丈夫和小儿子被活活饿死的事,越说越伤心,竟一把鼻涕一把泪地大哭起来。主持会议的干部只好叫她坐下来,不让她讲了。<sup>14</sup>

1. Very often some embarrassing situations of “*yi cuo ku*” (recalling the wrong types of
2. bitterness) and “*si cuo tian*” (reflecting on the wrong types of sweetness) occurred at
3. *yiku sitian* assembly: An Auntie of a production team stood up to *suku* (pouring out
4. the bitterness). Yet what she said was how her husband and younger son were
5. starved to death during the great famine in 1960. The more she said, the more
6. heartbroken she became and she even started to wail with tears and nasal mucus
7. running down. The cadre in charge of the assembly had to ask her to sit down and
8. not allow her to speak again.

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<sup>14</sup> <http://www.21ccom.net/articles/history/xiandai/20141017114802.html>

## Segment 5.6

“文革”期间，曾在周家做过长工的孔兆明，被要求上台“忆苦思甜”，揭露“剥削故事”。孔兆明讲着讲着却走了嘴：我们当时在周家吃的是啥？吃的都是饼子，苞米粥，还有豆腐，比现在吃的好多了……当时在周家一年能挣8石粮，可养活全家……孔兆明于是被干部赶紧拉下台。<sup>15</sup>

1. During the “Cultural Revolution”, *Kong Zhaoming*, who used to be a long-term hired
2. hand for the Zhou household, was asked to go up to the stage to “*yiku sitian*” and
3. “*jielou*” (disclose) “*boxue* (exploiting) stories”. While speaking, Kong Zhaoming had
4. a slip of tongue: “What did we eat at Zhou household? We ate *bingzi* (pancake-
5. shaped food usually made of maize), cracked corn porridge, and tofu, much better
6. than it is now... At that time we could earn eight *dan* grain a year (i.e., about 1,067
7. lbs), enough to feed the whole family...” Kong Zhaoming was immediately dragged
8. off the stage by the cadre.

## Segment 5.7

1960年到1976年我参加过各式各样忆苦思甜大会，有一次请的是公社的一个下中农。他说：“解放前俺爷爷省吃俭用，打长工，好不容易置了两三亩地，有地了生活好了。解放后搞合作社，地收走了，合作社打的粮食不够吃，特别在三年自然灾害。。。 ”下面在小声交头接耳：“这老伯在忆甜思苦。。。 ”<sup>16</sup>

1. I have attended all kinds of *yiku sitian* gatherings from 1960 to 1976. Once they
2. invited a *xia zhong nong* (lower middle peasant) from the commune. He said:
3. “Before the Liberation my grandpa *shengchi jianyong* (pinched and scraped) and
4. painstakingly acquired two to three *mu* land (about 0.3 to 0.5 acre) through working
5. as a long-term hired hand. Life got better now that we had land. After the Liberation,
6. they established Cooperative and took away the land. The crops produced through
7. the Cooperative was not enough to feed everybody, especially during the Three-
8. Year-Natural-Disaster period<sup>17</sup>...” Some people in the audience began whispering to
9. each other : “This *Lao Bo* (Uncle<sup>18</sup>) is doing *yitian siku* (recall the sweetness and
10. reflect on the bitterness)...” (Comment from *Shengyi* on 2008-3-26 21:06:55)

Segment 5.5 is an example of “*yi cuo ku*” (recalling the wrong type of bitterness),

Segment 5.6 is an example of “*si cuo tian*” (reflecting on the wrong type of sweetness),

and Segment 5.7 is an example of both, or, in the term used in it by the native, it’s an

example of “*yitian siku*”, which is the exact opposite of “*yiku sitian*”, meaning that what

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<sup>15</sup> [http://www.21ccom.net/articles/rwcq/article\\_2013081589896.html](http://www.21ccom.net/articles/rwcq/article_2013081589896.html)

<sup>16</sup> Comment by *Sheng Yi* posted at 21:06:55, 3-26-2008 at [http://www.360doc.com/content/08/0331/02/16239\\_1154471.shtml](http://www.360doc.com/content/08/0331/02/16239_1154471.shtml)

<sup>17</sup> “Three-Year-Natural-Disaster-Period” is the way the Chinese Government called the great famine between 1959 and 1961, which was actually the result of the wrong policy of “Great Leap Forward”.

<sup>18</sup> A polite form of address used to refer to older male.

is being “recalled” is the “*tian*/sweetness” of “*jiu shehui*” yet what is being “reflected upon” is the “*ku*/bitterness” of “*xin shehui*”. In Segment 5.5, that Auntie was expected to *suku* (line 3) to recall how life was sad and tragic in “*jiu shehui*”. Although what she shared was really something “*ku*” (bitter) – both her husband and younger son died of starvation (lines 4-5), the setting of this tragic event was problematic – instead of happening in “*jiu shehui*”, it happened in 1960, right in “*xin shehui*”, because of the great famine as a result of the “Great Leap Forward” movement.

In Segment 5.6, Kong Zhaoming was expected to share how life was miserable in “*jiu shehui*” but sweet and happy in “*xin shehui*” based on his past experience of working for Zhou Chunfu, the nationally infamous rich peasant denigrated as “Zhou *Bapi*” (Skin-Peeling Zhou). Somehow Kong did mention something “sweet and happy” in his narrative – eating *bingzi* (pancake-shaped food usually made of maize), cracked corn porridge, and tofu, and earning eight *dan* grain a year (i.e., about 1,067 lbs), which is enough to feed the whole family. But again the setting of this happy meal and satisfying wage was problematic – instead of happening in “*xin shehui*”, they happened in “*jiu shehui*” while he worked for the Zhou household and he said the food they were given then was “much better than it is now” (lines 5-6).

In Segment 5.7, the “*xia zhong nong*” (lower middle peasant), obviously a very simple-minded person, recalled how life was like in “*jiu shehui*” – his grandpa was able to buy some land and sustain the whole family after years of hard-working; and how life was like in “*xin shehui*” – they lost their land, had to join the cooperative, and did not have enough food any more, especially during the three years of great famine between 1959 to 1961. He was expected to give a “*yiku sitian*” talk, but the audience felt that he

was doing exactly the opposite – “*yitian siku*” (recalling the sweetness and reflecting on the bitterness).

If we make an equation to stand for the fundamental feature attributed to “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” respectively by the orthodox “*yiku sitian*” narratives, we get the following ones:

$$\begin{aligned} jiu\ shehui &= ku\ (\text{bitter}) \\ xin\ shehui &= tian\ (\text{sweet}) \end{aligned}$$

But when we look at the above three alternative “*yiku sitian*” narratives, we get the following equations:

$$\begin{aligned} jiu\ shehui &= tian\ (\text{sweet}) \\ xin\ shehui &= ku\ (\text{bitter}) \end{aligned}$$

In Segment 5.5, the cadre in charge of the assembly would not allow that Auntie to continue to speak (lines 7-8) because she had “*yi cuo ku*” (recalled the wrong type of bitterness) and in Segment 5.6, Kong Zhaoming was immediately dragged off the stage by the cadre (lines 7-8) because he had “*si cuo tian*” (reflected on the wrong type of sweetness). Segment 5.7 didn’t provide enough information but we can guess that this “lower middle peasant” would not be able to finish his talk either.

We see normative rules at work from the above examples and they can be stated as in the following:

**Prescription:** *In the context of doing yiku sitian, if one wants to show how bad jiu shehui is and how good xin shehui is, one should use examples that support one’s claims.*

**Proscription:** *In the context of doing yiku sitian, if one wants to show how bad jiu shehui is and how good xin shehui is, one should not “yi cuo ku” (recall the wrong type of bitterness) and “si cuo tian” (reflect on the wrong type of sweetness).*

Although in Segments 5.5 and 5.6 both the Auntie and Kong Zhaoming were just immediately stopped and not allowed to continue their “*yiku sitian*” sharing, in other occasions if someone “*yi cuo ku*” and “*si cuo tian*”, they could bring about consequences much more serious than this, such as being labelled as “anti-revolutionary” or “bad element”, and could be disciplined and even persecuted, as it is “politically wrong” and it is an indication that the speaker does not have high class consciousness. Put it in the vocabulary of Carbaugh’s cultural discourse analysis theory, the ideological dwelling space occupied by this kind of persons is problematic, which led to their acts of “*yi cuo ku*” and “*si cuo tian*”. Hence we see two more normative rules at work in the “*yiku sitian*” practice:

***Prescription:*** *In the context of doing yiku sitian, if one wants to be regarded as dwelling in a politically correct ideological space, one should follow the orthodox equation when sharing one’s experience.*

***Proscription:*** *In the context of doing yiku sitian, if one wants to be regarded as dwelling in a politically correct ideological space, one should not accidentally enacting the alternative equation when sharing one’s experience.*

These two normative rules can also be revised and made into regarding “the type of person” one wanted to be seen as:

***Prescription:*** *In the context of doing yiku sitian, if one wants to be regarded as a revolutionary successor with high class consciousness, one should follow the orthodox equation when sharing one’s experience.*

***Proscription:*** *In the context of doing yiku sitian, if one wants to be regarded as a revolutionary successor with high class consciousness, one should not accidentally enacting the alternative equation when sharing one’s experience.*



#### 5.5.2.4 How a “*Yiku Sitian*” Practice Should Be Said and Done

In terms of how a “*yiku sitian*” practice should be said and done, we can see some norms in the habitual sense at work in the data. Commonly and verbally, people use two main methods: “*huiyi*” (recalling from memory) and “*duibi*” (putting together to compare), in all occasions to do “*yiku sitian*”. Personal and family experiences are recalled and drastically different life in “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” are compared. Some other assisting methods that are used are “*kai yiku hui*” (holding *yiku* meetings), holding “*jieji jiaoyu zhanlanhui*” (class education exhibition) (as mentioned in Segment #2, line 144 and Segment #4, line 77), “*chi yiku fan*” (eating *yiku* meal), “*chang yiku ge*” (singing *yiku* songs), “*kan yiku xi*” (watching *yiku* drama), or “*yan yiku xi*” (putting on *yiku* drama). Also, it is common for people to show scars on their bodies or tools that they used before in “*jiu shehui*” while enacting “*yiku sitian*” to demonstrate vividly the cruelty of the landlords or capitalists and the oppression and exploitation that they or their family members suffered in the past. Some examples are Segment #1, lines 148-150, of scars on Lan Bingpeng’s body; Segment #2, line 79, of a scar on Liu Siming’s head; Segment #3, lines 67-68, of scars on Li Decai’s neck and chest; Segment #6, line 30, of scars on Grandma Lin’s legs, and Segment #5, lines 39-41, of the “four pieces of treasure” that Huang Xuguang used for digging up wild plants for food in “*jiu shehui*”: a rusty hoe, a tattered straw-rope, a ragged bamboo basket, and a worn-out sack. Elsewhere there are also examples of people showing worn out, patch-over-patch<sup>19</sup>, or blood-stained clothes or quilts during “*yiku sitian*” gatherings as proofs for the bitterness of “*jiu shehui*”. All

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<sup>19</sup> Meaning the clothes or quilts had been mended again and again with patches of cloth to cover up holes.

these discussed above are common practices in the 1960s and 1970s when “*yiku sitian*” conducts are enacted. Therefore we can state this habitual norm in the following way:

#### **Norm 5.4**

*It is normal for people to do yiku sitian verbally in ways of “huiyi” (recalling from memory) and “duibi” (putting together to compare);*

*It is normal for people to use assisting methods such as “kai yiku hui” (holding yiku meetings), “juban jieji jiaoyu zhanlanhui” (holding class education exhibition), “chi yiku fan” (eating yiku meal), “chang yiku ge” (singing yiku songs), “kan yiku xi” (watching yiku drama), or “yan yiku xi” (putting on yiku drama) to do “yiku sitian”;*

*It is normal for people to show scars on their bodies or things that were used before in jiu shehui, such as tools, clothes, and quilt, to visualize their yiku sitian sharing.*

Based on the above discussion, we can see that “*yiku sitian*” is not a randomly structured discourse but follows a set of fixed and restricted norms and rules, from who should speak, how one should gesture and posture, what should be said, to how a “*yiku sitian*” practice should be said and done.

#### **5.5.3 Tone**

When analyzing messages concerning tone, Carbaugh (1989) suggested some continuums, such as “controlled” to “less controlled”, “formal” to “informal”, and “serious” to “playful”, as candidates for consideration. The evolution of “*yiku sitian*” practice from its incipient stage in early 1960s (such as the example of Li Decai doing “*yiku sitian*” with his disciple Chang Lin in Segment #3) to its ritualized stage in late 1960s and 1970 (such as the “*yiku sitian*” meeting held among the (intellectual youth and peasants representatives in Segment #6) as well as the existence of both the orthodox and alternative “*yiku sitian*” practice (such as Leng Yueying’s “*yiku sitian*” narrative

regarding big landlord Liu Wencai) make it a bit complicated to analyze the messages concerning tone.

Ideally speaking, the tone of “*yiku sitian*” practice should be controlled, formal, and serious. The phrase itself, “*yiku*” (to recall the bitterness) and “*sitian*” (to reflect on the sweetness), has already set the tone (the controlledness) for the content of one’s sharing. That is, what one says should be about the “bitterness” and “sweetness” of their life. And the default periods to be associated with these two features are: “*jiu shehui*” with “bitterness” and “*xin shehui*” with “sweetness”. Therefore, “a climate of control over the verbal performance” (Carbaugh, 1989, p. 106) is implied by this cultural term for talk and whoever is doing “*yiku sitian*” sharing is expected to follow the equation of the orthodox “*yiku sitian*” practice discussed earlier in this chapter and talk about how miserable one’s life used to be in “*jiu shehui*” and how happy one’s life is now in “*xin shehui*”. But we can see from alternative “*yiku sitian*” accounts that things didn’t always go as planned. Segments 5.5, 5.6, and 5.7 showed examples of speakers who were not good at controlling their verbalization and messed up the time frame associated with the two societies.

Although the setting of “*yiku sitian*” practice can be either formal<sup>20</sup> or informal<sup>21</sup>, the tone of it is always *formal*, meaning that the content is always supposed to follow the *controlled* pattern, that is, the equation of the orthodox “*yiku sitian*” practice, and the atmosphere of the “*yiku sitian*” gathering or sharing should always be *serious* instead of

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<sup>20</sup> Such as old workers Lan Binpeng and Li Huguo’s “*yiku sitian*” sharing in their workshop in Segment #1 and senior store clerks’ sharing of the store history in Segment #2.

<sup>21</sup> Such as Li Decai’s “*yiku sitian*” effort with Chang Lin at Chang’s home in Segment #3 and Mai Xiande’s mom’s “*yiku sitian*” effort with him at home in Segment #4.

*playful*. But in alternative “*yiku sitian*” accounts, we see that sometimes it went awry too.

For example,

### Segment 5.8

从此以后，学校的“忆苦思甜”课再也不敢轻易选择一般人来上了。一段时间，口才极好的村支书，曾成了“忆苦思甜”课的固定角色。后来公社(乡)教办为此专门物色了一些口才比较好、“阶级觉悟”比较高的老贫农给学生们上“忆苦思甜”课。这些受过特殊辅导的人几乎成了“忆苦思甜”的专业户，他们轮番到各学校上“忆苦思甜”课。

这些经过严格筛选和特殊辅导的老贫农果真与过去那些未经筛选的老贫农不同，他们在忆“苦”之时，不但口齿伶俐，而且声情并茂，讲到悲愤之处，竟痛哭失声，致使许多同学眼中也流出了同情的泪水，一些女同学更是禁不住跟着老贫农痛哭失声起来……

这时，学校“革委会”主任往往会带领在场听众高呼：

“打倒地主！”“打倒万恶的旧社会！”“打倒国民党反动派！”“不忘阶级苦，牢记血泪仇！”“伟大领袖毛主席万岁！”“伟大的中国共产党万岁！”……

整个会场顿时弥漫着强烈的“无产阶级革命感情”……

然而，“忆苦思甜”活动也忒频繁了，后来，任凭老贫农再声情并茂，再痛哭失声，也没有人跟着流泪了，那些情感十分容易波动的女同学也不再跟着哭了。更糟糕的是，有一次，当那位经常来上“忆苦思甜”课的老贫农在讲到人们十分熟悉的痛苦情节时，哭得实在太做作太勉强了，台下高年级男同学群里有人忍不住哄笑起来。高年级同学一笑，太多人也跟着“轰”地笑了起来。老贫农顿时脸色十分难堪，结结巴巴再也讲不下去。于是“忆苦思甜”会只好草草结束。结果。所有发笑的同学都受到老师的严厉批评，并写出检讨在大会上接受批判。但“忆苦思甜”却成了同学们十分厌恶的活动了。<sup>22</sup>

1. From then on, the school would never randomly invite an ordinary person to be the
2. speaker for the *yiku sitian* class. For one time, the eloquent village secretary of the
3. Party branch became the regular speaker of it. Later on the Teachers' Office of the
4. Commune (County) selected some *lao pin nong* (old poor peasants) who were good
5. at speech and who had high “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) to come to teach
6. “*yiku sitian*” class to students. These people who had received special training
7. became “experts” in this aspect and took turns in going to different schools to lead
8. the “*yiku sitian*” class.

9. As expected, these critically selected and specially trained “old poor peasants” were
10. significantly different from those that were not screened and filtered. When they *yi*
11. “*ku*” (recalled the “bitterness”), not only were they eloquent and fluent, they were
12. also excellent in voice and expression. They even cried badly and lost their voice
13. when it came to the most grieving part. Many students were touched and couldn't
14. help their sympathetic tears either. Some girl students even joined the “old poor
15. peasants” and cried very hard...

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<sup>22</sup> [http://www.21ccom.net/articles/history/minjian/20141230118310\\_all.html](http://www.21ccom.net/articles/history/minjian/20141230118310_all.html)

16. At this point, the director of “Revolutionary Committee” of the school would usually
17. led the audience to shout slogans: “Down with the landlord!” “Down with the all-evil
18. *jiu shehui!*” “Down with the *Guomin Dang* (National Party) reactionaries!” “Do not
19. forget *jieji ku* (the class bitterness), *Liaoji* (lock in mind) *xuelei chou* (the blood and
20. tears hatred)!” “Long live the great leader Chairman *Mao!*” “Long live the great
21. Chinese Communist Party!”...
  
22. The whole meeting place was immediately filled with strong “proletariat
23. revolutionary emotion”...
  
24. Yet the *yiku sitian* activity was conducted too frequently. After a while, no matter
25. how excellent the “poor old peasant” could be in voice and expression and no matter
26. how hard he cried, nobody would shed tears with them anymore. Even those very
27. sensitive girl students would not cry with them either. What was even worse was that
28. one time when that particular “poor old peasant” who had come many times for the
29. *yiku sitian* class was recounting a painful plot that was extremely familiar to
30. everybody, his crying was so artificial and faking that someone from the higher
31. grades boy students’ section burst into laughters. When students of higher grades
32. started laughing, many other people couldn’t help laughing too. The “poor old
33. peasant” was so embarrassed that he started stuttering and didn’t know how to
34. continue. Therefore the *yiku sitian* meeting was ended hastily. As a result, all the
35. students who laughed were severely criticized by their teachers and had to write
36. *jiantao* (self-criticizing letters) and received *pipan* (denouncement) in an assembly.
37. And *yiku sitian* became a very disgusted activity to the students.

Segment 5.8 is taken from an article written by Li Huizhi posted on [www.21ccom.net](http://www.21ccom.net) on December 30<sup>th</sup>, 2014. The title of the article is “*Yiku Sitian* Jokes during Cultural Revolution”. In it he recalled his memory of the “*yiku sitian*” movement while in elementary and middle schools. He recalled how some people who were randomly selected accidentally messed up their “*yiku sitian*” sharing (similar to cases in Segments 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7), then came Segment 5.8 when the speakers for the “*yiku sitian*” class were carefully selected and trained to make sure their sharing was politically correct (lines 3-8). Things seemed to be going great at first, as students were touched to tears and girl students even cried hard after listening to “*yiku sitian*” by the “poor old peasant” (lines 9-15). Slogans were shouted and the place was filled with “proletariat revolutionary emotion” (lines 16-23). But when things were repeated again and again and became merely a performance, it went awry eventually and ended in embarrassment for the “poor old peasant” and political punishment for the students who laughed (lines 24-

37). We see the tone of the “*yiku sitian*” ritual changed from “seriousness” and “heartbroken” to “playfulness” and “ridiculousness”, though the former emotions were encouraged and cultivated and the latter emotions were suppressed and punished by the people in power.

Based on the above analysis, we can see that although ideally the tone of “*yiku sitian*” as a communication practice is *controlled*, *formal*, and *serious*, frequently things were messed up by inexperienced “*yiku sitian*” speakers, changing the tone of the event to be *less controlled* and *playful* from time to time.

#### **5.5.4 Efficaciousness of the Practice**

In regards to the efficaciousness of “*yiku sitian*” practice, orthodox and alternative “*yiku sitian*” accounts again can lead people to different conclusions about this point. Looking at orthodox “*yiku sitian*” accounts, such as all the segments included in Appendix A & B, one is led to believe that “*yiku sitian*” is a very useful, effective, and valuable practice in achieving its set goal; but when looking at alternative “*yiku sitian*” accounts, one is convinced that “*yiku sitian*” is a superficial, “disgusting”, and confusing practice.

Segments #1 to #7 in Appendix A & B are all examples of orthodox “*yiku sitian*” accounts taken from *People’s Daily*, China’s most important official newspaper. As analyzed in Chapter 4, each segment contains three types of scenes: scenes of problems; scenes of education efforts; and scenes of transformation. Specifically, in each segment, there is/are a young man/men who has/have problems in the area of attire, attitude, thought, viewpoint, or action, etc. in a particular context and needs to be corrected; then, in each segment, root cause for the observed problems is identified and “*yiku sitian*” practice is enacted by senior workers or people from older generation as an effective way

to address the problems; finally, The young man/men responded positively (and emotionally) to the “*yiku sitian*” effort with both immediate impact such as “crying” and “remorse” and long term changes such as “increased class consciousness” and “improved work performance”. In Segment #1, the changes that happened to workers at Baiyunshi workshop thanks to the “*yiku sitian*” effort initiated by the Party branch from two years ago was described as “*fantian fudi de bianhua* (changes as great as the sky and the earth turning upside down)”. One gets the impression that “*yiku sitian*” is a very useful, effective, and valuable practice in achieving its set goal.

But all the alternative “*yiku sitian*” accounts that we have examined so far suggest a completely opposite evaluation about the efficaciousness of this practice. We learn from data that “*yiku sitian*” is a very “frequent” assignment (Segment 5.8 line 24), a “class” (Segment 5.8 line 2) to be attended regularly by students (and a “meeting” to be attended regularly by workers, peasants, and soldiers, etc.). What’s more, the speakers are monitored for their sharing and would be immediately stopped if their sharing was regarded as inappropriate (Segments 5.5 to 5.7), which is an indication that there are requirements or standards about what kind of sharing is appropriate and acceptable and what is not. Orthodox “*yiku sitian*” reports, such as Segment #1, listed the standard used to choose “*yiku sitian*” speaker as “people who *shouku zuishen* (suffered bitterness the deepest) and *juewu zuigao* (having the highest [class] consciousness)” (lines 125-126). Other reports mention “*lao gongren* (old workers), *lao pin xia zhong nong* (old poor lower and middle peasants), and *lao zhanshi* (old soldiers)” (19660122011 from the archive of *People’s Daily*) as candidates of speakers. But from alternative “*yiku sitian*” accounts we know that one crucial criteria used for selecting is being “eloquent and

fluent” and “excellent in voice and expression” (Segment 5.8 lines 11-12). On top of that, the candidates are also “specially trained” (line 9) to make sure they know how to conduct the “*yiku sitian*” talk. And in Leng Yueying’s case, even her speech was drafted by other people and words were put into her mouth (Segment 5.4)... All of these make people wonder – to what extent can one believe those orthodox “*yiku sitian*” narratives and reports? And it is no surprise that people would find this kind of manipulated “*yiku sitian*” “a very disgusted activity” (Segment 5.8 line 37).

We see from the above analysis that for the efficaciousness of “*yiku sitian*” practice, different conclusions can be made from different perspectives. While it is hailed as very *useful, effective, and valuable* from the orthodox point of view, it is deemed as *manipulative, emotion-arousing, phony, and disgusting* from the alternative point of view.

## **5.6 Summary**

In this chapter we continued the examination of “*yiku sitian*” as a communication practice by analyzing its message form guided by the five theoretical positions of personal narratives identified in Langellier (1989) and applying them to the nationally infamous particular “*yiku sitian*” case of Leng Yueying’s denouncement against big landlord Liu Wencai. Some of the findings from the analysis are: Leng’s “*yiku sitian*” account regarding Liu and her alleged suffering at Liu’s water prison is a fully developed narrative in the Labovian sense; It is highly performative, repeated, polished, and distorting the facts; it involves sharp contrast between social roles such as “poor peasants” and “landlord”; it is politically contextualized; it also participated in a vast “discursive field” that “organized social structures and processes and gave meaning to the world”.



In this chapter we also continued the application of Carbaugh's Cultural Terms for Talk theoretic framework to data of "*yiku sitian*" conducts to examine the literal messages regarding communication conveyed by the various "*yiku sitian*" practices. Some of the findings include: "*yiku sitian*" is a communication practice that is *direct* in mode; *fixed* and *restricted* in degree of structuring; *controlled*, *formal*, and *serious* in tone (though in alternative *yiku sitian* accounts the tone could change into playfulness among the audience and embarrassment in the speaker); and either *highly valued* or *highly disvalued* in efficaciousness depending on the perspective one takes in viewing the practice. Norms regarding "*yiku sitian*" practice are identified.

In Chapter 6 we will be examining "*yiku sitian*" as a cultural practice. Specifically we will be looking at the semantic system spun around two significant cultural terms of "*jiu shehui*" (the old society) and "*xin shehui*" (the new society), the contrast between which constituted the permanent theme of "*yiku sitian*" practices in the 1960s and 1970s. We will also identify semantic dimensions at work within this semantic system.

## CHAPTER 6

### SEMANTIC SYSTEM OF “*JIU SHEHUI*” VS. “*XIN SHEHUI*”

In Chapters Four and Five, we have used data to illustrate how this Chinese historical and political practice of “*yiku sitian*” can be understood as a communication practice. Particularly, we identified terms and structures pointing to the enactment of “*yiku sitian*” as acts, events, and style; we analyzed personal narrative as the message form for this practice, and delineated literal messages regarding communication and norms active in it. In this and the following chapters we will examine “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural practice. Specifically, in this chapter, we will look at the two most significant cultural terms/symbols, “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”, used in “*yiku sitian*” discourse as well as other terms, symbols, and phrases used to make sense of Chinese people’s particular accounts of their “*ku*” (bitter) and “*tian*” (sweet) experience that is being “*yi*” (recalled) and “*si*” (reflected upon) in the practice. By analyzing the semantic system composed of these two terms and other terms associated with them, we will identify the semantic dimensions implied in this system. This concept of semantic dimension is elaborated in Carbaugh’s (2007) article on cultural discourse analysis theory. The five hubs of meanings of identity, action, relation, emotion, political dwelling<sup>1</sup> and the concept of “discursive web” from Carbaugh and Cerulli’s (2013) will be used when formulating cultural propositions. Specific discussion about these hubs and constructs will be given in next chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> In Carbaugh’s cultural discourse analysis theory, this last hub of meaning is simply “dwelling”. I added “political” to it because of the virtual nature of the “place/space” that Chinese people found themselves to be in the 1960s and 1970s.

In his 2010 book chapter on situating cultural studies in communication<sup>2</sup>, Carbaugh states that “culture can be understood as the practices of people in place, as something people do with each other, as a practical system of practices, as a way of organizing together and as a way of accounting for that organization” (p. 97). “*Yiku sitian*” can be regarded as such a “cultural expressive system” in which, historically, Chinese people engaged (or were forced to engage) in a special kind of interaction with each other. What they did with each other might be completely incomprehensible or even ridiculous in our eyes today, if we do not have access to that “way of organizing” and that “way of accounting for that organization.” The goal of this and the next chapters are, exactly, to identify and describe that “way of organizing” and to decipher and interpret that “way of accounting for that organization” regarding the “*yiku sitian*” practice.

### **6.1 The Semantic System and Semantic Dimension Concepts**

According to Carbaugh (2007), when researchers do interpretive analysis to their data, sometimes they arrive at meanings that vary along specific dimensions. For example, an analysis to some identity terms could reveal meanings of close-distant, equal-unequal, and powerful-powerless. These dimensions are called “semantic dimensions” as they “identify continua of meanings with two sets of values”. Carbaugh reminds that these are “dimensions of ‘more or less’, not dichotomies of an ‘either-or’ quality”. The concept of “semantic dimensions” can be used to identify two-valued sets that are used by participants to conceive of, and to evaluate their sense of personhood, relationships, actions, feeling, and dwelling (p. 178). The concept of semantic system refers to the meaning system constructed around semantic dimensions of two-valued sets suggested by

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<sup>2</sup>Carbaugh, D. (2010). “Situating cultural studies in communication: Cultural discourse theory”. In *Hybrids, differences, visions: On the study of culture*, ed. Claudio Baraldi, Andrea Borsari and Augusto, 97-112. Aurora Colorado: the John Davies Group.

a pair of or a cluster of mutually contrastive cultural terms. Analysis of data reveals that one such semantic system can be identified in “*yiku sitian*” communication practice, and the pair of cultural terms that point to this semantic system are “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”.

## **6.2 “*Jiu Shehui*” (the Old Society) vs. “*Xin Shehui*” (the New Society)**

As we can see more or less from cited segments or instances so far, “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” are two commonly used terms in “*yiku sitian*” discourses. Of these two terms, “*shehui*” means “*society*”; “*jiu*” means “old”, “*xin*” means “new”. So “*jiu shehui*” means “old society” and “*xin shehui*” means “new society”. Generally speaking, “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” are terms used to label the two historical periods marked by the year 1949, when Mao Zedong and his Chinese Communist Party won over the battle against Chiang Kai-Shek and his Nationalist Party and established the People’s Republic of China on Oct. 1<sup>st</sup> of that year. Although the history before 1949 can all be called “*jiu shehui*”, it is more specifically used to refer to the twenty some years when China was ruled by Chiang Kai-Shek and his Nationalist Party. “*Jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” are not just two terms simply associated with time line. Instead, they are rich cultural terms/symbols loaded with particular meanings that are “deeply felt, commonly intelligible, and widely accessible” (Carbaugh 1988c, p. 40) to the larger speech community of mainland Chinese people. Analysis of data indicates that these two terms are frequently contrasted sharply against each other by two opposite types of sub-symbols, images, terms and analogies that either define or describe the designated nature of the two societies. Many cultural propositions can be identified as a result. Four categories will be used here to organize all the sub-symbols, images, terms, and analogies: terms that refer to food (condiments) and their tastes; terms that refer to places and their

features; terms that describe contrasting experiences and fates; and terms that depict people’s impressions, evaluations, and reactions to the two societies as a result.

### 6.2.1 Terms that Compare the Two Societies with Food (Condiments) and Their Tastes

This feature of comparing “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” in symbols and terms that refer to food (condiments) and describe their drastically different tastes is a very common practice in the “*yiku sitian*” discourse. The selection of food items (condiments) to be used for the comparison is decided by their tastes, which is, commonly, “bitter” vs. “sweet”, with “bitter” taste being associated with “*jiu shehui*” and the “sweet” taste being associated with “*xin shehui*”. Table 15 is a summary of terms in this category.

Table 15: Terms comparing the Two Societies with Food and Their Tastes

	<i>Jiu shehui</i>	<i>Xin shehui</i>
Food (Condiments)	<i>huanglian</i> (bitter herb) <i>kudan</i> (gall bladder)	<i>tang</i> (sugar) <i>tangdou</i> (sugar ball) <i>hongzao</i> (dates) <i>mi</i> (honey) <i>mitang</i> (honey sugar)
Tastes	<i>ku</i> (bitter)	<i>tian</i> (sweet)

As shown in the table above, the most frequently used pair of sub-symbols/terms for food (condiments) is “*huanglian*” (bitter herb)<sup>3</sup> and “*tang*” (sugar). A significant

<sup>3</sup> Coptis, a kind of herb with a very distinct bitter taste.

contrast is placed between the tastes, “*ku*” (bitter) and “*tian*” (sweet), associated with each of them. Instance 6.1 is a good example:

### Instance 6.1

支部委员们热烈地讨论了这个问题。他们根据自己的所见所闻，谈出了自己相同的感受。有的说，产生这种现象的根本原因，是我们这些人是在旧社会里“吃黄连”长大的，他们是在新社会里“吃糖豆”长大的，“吃糖豆”的不知黄连的苦，也不知道糖豆是怎样得来的。也有的说，“吃黄连”长大的人，现在长期“吃糖豆”，有些人也慢慢把黄连的苦味忘掉了。(1963073006)

1. Members of the Party Branch Committee had a good discussion about this issue. A
2. similar awareness emerged from their exchanges of what they had heard and seen. One
3. said, the fundamental reason leading to this phenomenon is that we grew up in *jiu shehui*
4. “feeding on *huanglian* (bitter herb)”, and they grew up in *xin shehui* “feeding on *tangdou*
5. (sugar ball)”. Those who “feed on *tangdou* (sugar ball)” had no idea of the *ku* (bitter) of
6. *huanglian* (bitter herb). Neither did they know where the *tangdou* (sugar ball) came from.
7. Another said, even those who grew up “feeding on *huanglian* (bitter herb)” had gradually
8. forgotten the *ku* (bitter) taste of *huanglian* (bitter herb) after “feeding on *tangdou* (sugar
9. ball)” for a long time.

We can see from line 4 to 8 here that two sub-symbols/terms, “*huanglian*” (bitter herb) and “*tangdou*” (sugar ball), are associated with the two grand symbols of “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and “*xin shehui*” (the new society). “*Huanglian*” is extremely bitter. To say that one grew up feeding on “*huanglian*” (bitter herb) is to say that one lives an extremely miserable life; to say that one grew up feeding on “*tangdou*” (sugar ball) is to say that one lives an extremely happy life. This is a very common analogy and frequently used contrast across all the “*yiku sitian*” discourses. With this we can formulate the following two cultural propositions (abbreviated as CP from now on):

**CP #1:** “We” “grew up in *jiu shehui*” “feeding on *huanglian* (bitter herb)” [identity, action, political dwelling, feeling].

**CP #2:** “They” “grew up in *xin shehui*” “feeding on *tangdou* (sugar ball)” [identity, action, political dwelling, feeling].

It is common sense that “*huanglian*” tastes very “*ku*” (bitter) but “*tangdou*” (sugar balls) tastes very “*tian*” (sweet). Therefore, although the Chinese term, “*tian*”, is not mentioned

here as it is used frequently elsewhere, it is very much implied by the context and this sharp contrast of “*tang*” vs. “*huanglian*”. So CP #3 and CP #4 can be drawn based on this:

**CP #3:** “*Jiu shehui*” is as “*ku* (bitter)” as “*huanglian* (bitter herb)” [political dwelling, feeling].

**CP #4:** “*Xin shehui*” is as “*tian* (sweet)” as “*tangdou* (sugar ball)” [political dwelling, feeling].

Other similar sub-symbols used along this line of thoughts are:

Bitter sub-symbol: “*kudan*” (gall bladder)

Sweet sub-symbols: “*hongzao*” (dates) and “*mi*” (honey), or “*mitang*” (honey sugar)

They can be seen in Instance 6.2 in the following.

### Instance 6.2

旧社会是我们的地狱，真是苦胆加黄连，苦透苦透；新社会是我们的天堂，真是红枣加蜜糖，甜透甜透。(1968051802)

1. *Jiu shehui* is our *diyu* (hell), and is truly *kudan* (gall bladder) mixed with *huanglian*
2. (bitter herb)– extremely *ku* (bitter); *xin shehui* is our *tiantang* (heaven), and is truly
3. *hongzao* (dates) coated with *mitang* (honey sugar) – extremely *tian* (sweet).

Similar cultural propositions can be identified from Instance 6.2:

**CP #5:** “*Jiu shehui*” is “extremely *ku* (bitter)” like “*kudan* (gall bladder) mixed with *huanglian* (bitter herb)” [political dwelling, feeling].

**CP #6:** “*Xin shehui*” is “extremely *tian* (sweet)” like “*hongzao* (dates) coated with *mitang* (honey sugar)” [political dwelling, feeling].

### 6.2.2 Terms that Compare the Two Societies with Places and Their Features

Another feature that is frequently seen in the “*yiku sitian*” discourse is the practice of using terms about distinct kinds of places with specific features to compare “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”. The features are usually not explicitly stated as the tastes of food (condiments) are in the previous category. Instead, they are assumed to be understood by everyone who utters them and everyone else who hears them or read them. As will be

seen from the following examples, features of the places that are associated with “*jiu shehui*” are all bad, negative, frightening, and unpleasant; whereas features of the places that are associated with “*xin shehui*” are all good, positive, assuring, and pleasant. Table 16 is a summary of terms in this category.

Table 16: Terms Comparing the Two Societies with Places and Their Features

	Places	Features
<i>Jiu shehui</i>	<i>diyu</i> (hell) <i>yanwangdian</i> (Palace of Hell) <i>huokeng</i> (fire pit) <i>wanzhang shenyuan</i> (abyss) <i>kuhai</i> (bitter sea)  <i>kushui</i> (bitter water) <i>sanzuo dashan</i> (three big mountains)	eternal torture and suffering unbearable cruelty swallowed in fire, scorched and burned deep and bottomless stormy, unpredictable, drowning, and inescapable extremely unpalatable and deteriorating burying and crushing people underneath
<i>Xin shehui</i>	<i>tiantang</i> (heaven) <i>tianshui</i> (sweet water) <i>tanggang</i> (sugar vat) <i>miguan</i> (honey jar) <i>migang</i> (honey vat)	eternal bliss and happiness nurturing, sweetening, extremely palatable full of sweetness, happiness, and enjoyment

It is very common to use analogies to describe how “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” are like and how they are different, as shown in the following instance.

### Instance 6.2

旧社会是我们的地狱，真是苦胆加黄连，苦透苦透；新社会是我们的天堂，真是红枣加蜜糖，甜透甜透。(1968051802)

1. *Jiu shehui* is our *diyu* (hell), and is truly *kudan* (gall bladder) mixed with *huanglian*
2. (bitter herb)– extremely *ku* (bitter); *xin shehui* is our *tiantang* (heaven), and is truly
3. *hongzao* (dates) coated with *mitang* (honey sugar) – extremely *tian* (sweet).

This instance let us see the most frequently used pair of sub-symbols of places, “*diyu*” (hell) (in line 1) and “*tiantang*” (heaven) (in line 2), in defining the nature of the two societies. These two images are commonly intelligible among Chinese people, as they are concepts from Buddhism, which has been prevalent in China for more than two



thousand years. It is fare to say every Chinese has some basic ideas about what “*diyu*” (hell) and “*tiantang*” (heaven) would be like - with “*diyu*” as an afterlife place for eternal torture and suffering and “*tiantang*” as an afterlife place for eternal bliss and happiness.

Hence we draw the following analogies and cultural propositions:

**CP #7:** “*Jiu shehui*” is “*diyu* (hell)” [political dwelling, feeling]

**CP #8:** “*Xin shehui*” is “*tiantang* (heaven)” [political dwelling, feeling]

### Instance 6.3

是党，把我这个苦孩子从苦海里救了出来。（1963102305A）

It is *dang* (the Party), that *jiu* (saved) me, a *ku haizi* (bitter child), out of *kuhai* (bitter sea).

Here in this instance, although no mentioning of “*jiu shehui*” is made, we can still infer that “*jiu shehui*” is compared to “*kuhai*” (bitter sea), and “me”, the person who grew up in “*jiu shehui*”, is a “*ku haizi*” (a bitter child, i.e., a child that is soaked in the bitter sea, or a child that has suffered miserably). The unstated but obvious feature of “*kuhai*” (bitter sea) can be said as stormy, unpredictable, drowning, and inescapable. Living in “*jiu shehui*” is just like struggling hopelessly in a “*kuhai*” (bitter sea). Hence, we draw the following cultural proposition:

**CP #9:** “*Jiu shehui*” is “*kuhai* (the bitter sea)” [political dwelling, feeling]

**CP #10:** “*Dang*” (the Party) “*jiu*” (saved) “me”, a “*ku haizi*” (bitter child) out of it [identity, action, feeling]

### Instance 6.4

通过这次忆苦思甜活动，孩子们受到了一次深刻的阶级教育。中队委刘迪凡说：“我爸爸是在苦水中生，我是在甜水里长。我一定要努力学习，不怕困难，做个共产主义的优秀接班人！”(1963021502A)

1. Through this *yiku sitian* activity, the children received a profound class education.
2. *Liu Difan*, a member of the Young Pioneers<sup>4</sup> middle branch, said: “My Dad was

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<sup>4</sup> Primary school league, a preparation for Communist Youth League in China.

3. born in *kushui* (bitter water), I grew up in *tianshui* (sweet water). I am determined to
4. study hard and not be afraid of difficulties so that I can become a qualified
5. Communist heir!"

Again, “*jiu shehui*” is not mentioned here, but we see it compared as “*kushui* (bitter water)” (line 3); “*xin shehui*” is not mentioned either, but it is compared as “*tianshui* (sweet water)” (line 3). Although “*kushui*” and “*tianshui*” per se are not exactly place names, the context indicates that the place names are omitted. In another word, what is crucial here is not the size or the shape or the location of these places but the content of them. One can freely imagine any type of containers or geographical locations that have “*kushui*” or “*tianshui*” in them. It is very unfortunate for one to be born and grow up “in *kushui* (bitter water)”, as it is extremely unpalatable and deteriorating; but it is very fortunate for one to be born and grow up in “*tianshui* (sweet water)”, as it nurtures and sweetens and is extremely palatable. Hence readers or listeners can easily understand how bad “*jiu shehui*” is and how good “*xin shehui*” is. This leads us to the following cultural propositions:

**CP #11:** “*Jiu shehui*” is “*kushui* (bitter water)” [political dwelling, feeling]

**CP #12:** “*Xin shehui*” is “*tianshui* (sweet water)” [political dwelling]

**CP #13:** “Children” growing up in “*tianshui*” should be “determined to study hard and not be afraid of difficulties” so that they can “become a qualified Communist heir” [political dwelling, feeling, action, identity]

### Instance 6.5

提到这些伤心事，他总抑制不住激动的感情愤恨地说：“旧社会就是一座阎王殿，下煤窑好比跳火坑。。。 ” (1963073006A)

1. Recalling these heartbroken events, he could hardly contain his indignation: “*Jiu shehui* is a *yanwangdian* (Palace of Hell). Getting down into the coal pit is like
2. jumping into *huokeng* (fire pit)...”

Here, “*jiu shehui*” is compared to places of “*yanwangdian* (Palace of Hell)” (line 2) and “*huokeng* (fire pit)”<sup>5</sup> (line 3). The term “*yanwangdian* (Palace of Hell)” evokes vivid and frightening images one could imagine to see in the “Palace of Hell”, thus providing implication that one was treated in “*jiu shehui*” as cruelly as one can expect to be treated in the “Palace of Hell”. “*Huokeng* (fire pit)” brings similar images to mind about “*jiu shehui*” – it is a place that one could not escape the unbearably cruel fate of being. Hence the following cultural propositions:

CP #14: “*Jiu shehui*” is “*yanwangdian* (Palace of Hell)” [political dwelling, feeling]

CP #15: “*Jiu shehui*” is “*huokeng* (fire pit)” [political dwelling, feeling]

### Instance 6.6

党内头号走资本主义道路当权派，妄想把工农群众重新推进旧社会的万丈深渊。  
(1967060103)

1. The number one faction in authority within the Party taking the Capitalist road
2. attempted in vain to push the worker and peasant masses back again into the
3. *wanzhang shenyuan* (abyss) of *jiu shehui*.

Here “*jiu shehui*” is compared to a place image of “*wanzhang shenyuan*” (line 3). “*Yuan*” is a term that is used to describe a place that is very deep, either with or without water covering it up. For example, it can refer to a deep valley; it can also refer to a place that is deep down in the ocean. “*Shen*” means “deep”. “*Shenyuan*” is usually used together to further emphasize the depth of a place. “*Wan*” means “thousand”, “*zhang*” is a Chinese measuring unit and 1 *zhang* is about 3.33 meters. “*Wanzhang*” is not an exact number. Instead, it means “great” or “extremely deep”. When “*wanzhang*” is used to describe “*shenyuan*”, one can truly imagine how deep and bottomless that place really is,

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<sup>5</sup> “*Huokeng*” is usually associated with more specific careers or jobs, like the one mentioned here of mining. Elsewhere it can be used in association with the business of prostitution. But it is also used in a general sense referring to the whole of “*jiu shehui*” as a fire pit.

like abyss! And one can imagine how hopeless life in “*jiu shehui*” must have been when it is compared as “*wanzhang shenyuan*”! Hence the following cultural proposition:

**CP #16:** “*Jiu shehui*” is “*wanzhang shenyuan* (abyss)” [political dwelling, feeling]

### Instance 6.7

在旧社会三座大山的压迫下，劳动人民食不糊口、衣不遮体，他们肩上压着沉重的负担，在皮鞭下牛马似的干着活，却过着牛马不如的日子。(1964100606)

1. In *jiu shehui*, under the *yapo* (oppression) of *sanzuo dashan* (three big mountains),
2. *laodong renmin* (the labouring people) barely had any food to put into their mouths
3. and any clothes to cover their bodies. They carried very heavy loads over their
4. shoulders, working as hard as oxen and horses under whips. Yet their life was even
5. more to be pitied than oxen and horses.

“*Sanzuo dashan*” (three big mountains) is an analogous term and a famous symbol used in the “*yiku sitian*” discourse. It refers to imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism represented respectively by the colonial powers of Great Britain, the United States, Germany, Japan, etc that has invaded China since or after the Opium War in 1840; the traditional ruling system from the emperor in the central government to local officials; and Chiang Kai Shek and his Nationalist forces, the military power behind all the economic monopoly and corruption. According to the “*yiku sitian*” discourse, these three powers/forces were behind all the sufferings of “*laodong renmin*” (the laboring people) in “*jiu shehui*”.

**CP #17:** There were “*sanzuo dashan* (three big mountains)” in “*jiu shehui*” [political dwelling, feeling]

The following three segments are similar to each other in that they all make comments about someone growing up in “*xin shehui*” as if they are all “soaked” in a “jar” or “vat” containing “sugar water” or “honey” while growing up. So here the symbolic places being included into the comparison equation become more tangible and common to daily life.

## Instance 6.8

一个人如果先吃黄连再吃糖，就觉得糖特别甜，如果从小吃惯了糖，吃蜜也不觉得甜啦！象常林这样的年青人，真是在糖缸里泡大的，可他们不知道我们老一辈过的什么日子，就不会珍惜今天的幸福。这样的人，怎能把社会主义的大旗扛下去呢？” (1964071302)

1. If one eats *huanglian* first and then eats *tang* (sugar), one feels that *tang* (sugar) is
2. extremely *tian* (sweet); but if one is used to eating *tang* (sugar) ever since he is little,
3. even *mi* (honey) would not taste so *tian* (sweet) to him! Young men like Chang Lin
4. truly grew up soaked in a *tanggang* (sugar water vat). Yet they have no idea what
5. kind of life we the older generation had had, and they would not cherish the
6. happiness of today. How can we expect this kind of persons to carry on the flag of
7. Socialism?”

We see the term “*tanggang*” (sugar water vat)<sup>6</sup> used in Instance 6.8 (line 4). To be “soaked in a sugar water vat” is to be immersed in a state of life that is full of sweetness, happiness, and enjoyment without any bit of sadness or bitterness. This is the picture that has been widely painted by the “*yiku sitian*” discourse to represent “*xin shehui*”. So a cultural proposition based on it can be stated as:

**CP #18:** “*Xin shehui*” is “*tanggang* (sugar water vat)” [political dwelling, feeling]

## Instance 6.9

就学生来说，他们都是生在新社会，长在红旗下，是在蜜罐里泡大的，不懂得旧社会的苦，也不懂得新社会的甜。只有经常对他们进行阶级教育和忆苦思甜教育，才能使他们不忘阶级苦、牢记血泪仇，真正把他们培养成为无产阶级革命事业的接班人。(1969060902)

1. Speaking of students, they were all born in *xin shehui* and grew up under the red
2. flags and soaked in *miguan* (honey jar), without any understanding of the *ku* (bitter)
3. of *jiu shehui* or the *tian* (sweet) of *xin shehui*. Only a frequent *jieji* (class) education
4. and *yiku sitian* education to them can help them to not forget *jieji ku* (the bitterness
5. of the class) and engrave on their mind *xuelei chou* (the blood and tears hatred), and
6. truly bring them up to be heirs of the proletariat revolutionary cause.

The term “*miguan*” (honey jar) is used here (in line 2) and a similar cultural proposition regarding “*xin shehui*” can be stated as:

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<sup>6</sup> Although *tanggang* literally means “sugar vat,” I added “water” into the translation as it is implied by the word “soaked.” It is also to be noted that the translation for *gang* is just a proximate one, as it can be translated into different things under different context. For example, it can be translated as “mug” for drinking, “jar” for storing, classifier for loads of laundry, or “vat” to be used for dying. I prefer “vat” as the size of it is the biggest among the above mentioned things if we need to “soak” people inside a “*gang*”.

CP #19: “*Xin shehui*” is “*miguan* (honey jar)” [political dwelling, feeling]

### Instance 6.10

王万生讲完了自己的苦难经历，接着对大家说：“我今天过生日，也要招待招待大家。”他把儿子媳妇叫到厨房里，给全家人每人盛来了一碗忆苦的糠菜饭。老人说：“常吃吃这东西，才能体会到今天我们确实是生活在蜜缸里！”现在，大顾大队许多老人都在生日那天忆苦思甜，对青年人进行阶级教育。(1974012803)

1. After finishing telling his *kunan* (bitter and difficult) experience, Wang Wansheng said
2. to everybody: “Today is my birthday, so I want to invite you to eat something.” He
3. asked his sons and daughters-in-law to go to the kitchen and get everyone a bowl of
4. *yiku kangcai fan* (food made of chaff and wild herb that [helps one to] recall the
5. bitterness [of life in *jiu shehui*]). The old man said: “Eat this stuff from time to time.
6. Then we can know for sure that today we truly live in *migang* (honey vat)!” Now,
7. many old persons of *Dagu* Brigade choose to do *yiku sitian* on their birthdays to
8. conduct *jieji jiaoyu* (class education) to young men.

Here “*migang*” is translated as “honey vat” for the same consideration stated previously in the footnote regarding the translation for “*tanggang*”. Imagine a vat full of honey! That’s how life in “*xin shehui*” is compared to by this analogy. Hence we have another cultural proposition regarding “*xin shehui*”:

CP #20: “*Xin shehui*” is “*migang* (honey vat)” [political dwelling, feeling]

### 6.2.3 Terms that Describe Contrasting Fate, Experiences, and Attitudes in the Two Societies

This section provides descriptive analysis of some salient terms and phrases that express contrasting fate and experiences that people have claimed of having in firstly “*jiu shehui*” and then “*xin shehui*”, in their “*yiku sitian*” sharing. The descriptive terms and phrases associated with the two societies are very much opposite in meaning and extremely loaded with emotions. Table 17 on the next page is a summary of terms in this category. We would look at specific examples for each of them in the following.

Table 17: Terms and Phrases Describing People’s Contrasting Identities, Experiences, and Attitudes in the Two Societies

	<i>Jiu shehui</i>	<i>Xin shehui</i>
Fate	<i>qiongren</i> (poor people) <i>qiongkuren</i> (poor and bitter people) <i>kumingren</i> (a person with a bitter fate) <i>kuhaizi</i> (a bitter child) <i>guer</i> (orphan) <i>nuli</i> (slave)	<i>zhuren</i> (master)
Experience	<i>chi bubao</i> (eat but not full) <i>chuan bunuan</i> (wear but not warm) <i>zhemo de buxiangge renyang</i> (tortured so severely that one does not look like a human any more) <i>zuoniu zuoma</i> (to work like an ox or a horse) <i>shouku shoulei</i> (to suffer bitterness and exhaustion) <i>boduo le zuoren de quanli</i> (deprived of rights as humans) <i>chengle guer</i> (become an orphan) <i>chongman xue he lei</i> (full of blood and tears) bei <i>yapo</i> (oppressed) bei <i>boxue</i> (exploited) bei <i>zhemo</i> (tortured) bei <i>cuican</i> (devastated)	<i>chibao chuannuan</i> (eat enough and wear warm) bei <i>jiu</i> (saved) bei <i>jiefang</i> (liberated) <i>fanshen</i> (turn over one’s body) <i>huode xinsheng</i> (gain new life) bei <i>jiaodao</i> (instructed) bei <i>peiyang</i> (trained and cultivated) <i>dang de guanhuai</i> (caring and nurturing from the Party) <i>youjia youmuqin</i> (have home and mom)
Attitude	<i>disheng xiaqi</i> (be meek and subservient)	<i>yangmei tuqi</i> (feel proud and elated)

### 6.2.3.1 Terms Depicting Contrasting Fate in the Two Societies

People are reported to have had extremely different fate in “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”. Identity terms such as “*nuli*” (slave), “*kumingren*” (a person with a bitter fate), “*gu’er*” (orphan), etc. are used frequently to identify people struggling in “*jiu shehui*”.

The following segments provide good examples.

#### Instance 6.3

是党，把我这个苦孩子从苦海里救了出来。（1963102305A）

It is *dang* (the Party), that saved me, a *kuhaizi* (bitter child), out of *kuhai* (bitter sea).

It is a common saying throughout the “*yiku sitian*” discourse for someone recalling life in “*jiu shehui*” to refer to him/herself as a “*kuhaizi*”. “*Ku*” means “bitter”, and “*haizi*” means “child”. A “*kuhaizi*” means, literally, a child soaked in the bitter sea, and figuratively, a child that has suffered miserably. In this report, the person who made this utterance is a member of the *Shanghai Youth Modern Drama Troupe*, who, in “*jiu shehui*”, was merely a “*maichangde*” girl, a girl who made very little money for living by singing songs (usually accompanied by a piece of musical instrument played by another person) on the street to passers-by, and who was very low in terms of social status, constantly in danger of being the victim of violent attacks, bullying, robbery, or sexual harassment.

A similar term, “*kumingren*” (a person with a bitter fate), is also common, as shown in the following example of Instance 6.11.

#### **Instance 6.11**

我们队里好多工人，是旧社会的“苦命人”。这些人，对旧社会非常痛恨，对新社会无限热爱。(1964060105)

1. Many workers in our division are “*kumingren*” in *jiu shehui*. These people extremely
2. *tonghen* (abhor) *jiu shehui* and extremely *re-ai* (love ardently) *xin shehui*.

The term “*kumingren*” (in line 1, means literally, “bitter fate person”, a person with a bitter fate) put emphasis on the predestined fate that a person suffered in “*jiu shehui*”. As will be seen in the following chapter of analysis to the symbol of “*jieji*” (class), the whole Chinese society of “*jiu shehui*” was divided into two big class groups: “*boxue jieji*” (the exploiting class, such as “*dizhu*”/landlord, or “*zibenjia*”/capitalist) and “*bei boxue jieji*” (the exploited class, such as “*pinnong*”/poor peasants, or “*xia zhongnong*”/lower-middle peasants, or “*gongren*”/workers). Generally speaking, anyone who belonged to the “*bei*



*boxue jieji*” (the exploited class) in “*jiu shehui*” can be classified as a “*kumingren*” (a person with a bitter fate), as they all suffered various cruelties from the “*boxue jieji*” (the ruling class), according to “*yiku sitian*” reports.

Some more commonly used terms referring to members of “*bei boxue jieji*” (the exploited class) are “*qiongren*” (poor people), or “*qiongkuren*” (poor and bitter people), or “*shoukuren*” (people suffering from bitterness), as in the following examples (line 2 in Instance 6.12 and lines 1-2 in Instance 6.13):

### Instance 6.12

她对孩子们说：“旧社会是地主、资本家的天堂，是我们穷人的地狱 (1968061303)

1. She said to the children: “*Jiu shehui* is *tiantang* (heaven) for *dizhu* (landlords) and
2. *zibenjia* (capitalists) but *diyu* (hell) for us *qiongren* (poor people).

### Instance 6.13

是党和毛主席把我们穷苦人从苦难中救出来，做了国家的主人，生活一天天好起来。  
(1966092002)

1. It was *Dang* (the Party) and *Mao Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao) that *jiu* (saved) us
2. *qiongkuren* (poor and bitter people) out of *kunan* (sufferings), made us *zhuren*
3. (master) of the country, and gave us a life that is better and better day by day.

One distinctive term of identity is “*gu'er*” (orphan, in line 3 in the following instance), as many children lost their parents due to the severe life condition in “*jiu shehui*”.

### Instance 6.14

还在他幼年的时候，母亲就为饥寒折磨死了，接着当了一辈子轿夫的父亲也相继亡命。他这个孤儿，走投无路，便流浪到上海作了童工。(1960011902)

1. When he was still very young, his mother died of hunger and freezing cold. Soon his
2. father, who had worked as a sedan-chair carrier for his whole life, died too. As a
3. *gu'er* (orphan) in extremity, he drifted to *Shanghai* and became a child laborer.

“*Nuli*” (slave) is another popular term of identification:

### Instance 6.15

最近，库尔班吐鲁木给毛主席写了一封信。他在信中写道：“我原是一百万维吾尔族奴隶中的一个，吃不饱，穿不暖，眼泪流不完。共产党解放了我，我不再是奴隶了。。。”(1964070102)

1. Recently, Kuerban Tulumu wrote a letter to Mao Zhuxi (Chairman Mao). In the
2. letter, he wrote, “I used to be one among millions of Uighur *nuli* (slaves), *chi bu bao*
3. (lack of enough food), *chuan bu nuan* (lack of enough clothes), *yanlei liu bu wan*
4. (tears never ran dry). *Gongchan Dang* (the Communist Party) *jiefang* (liberated) me,
5. and I’m not a *nuli* (slave) anymore.

Here in this instance, in both line 2 and line 5, we see the term “*nuli*” (slave) being used. Although this term can be used in a narrow sense, referring to those Chinese people living in areas that had formally established slave system, as we learn in this segment, in the Northwestern part of China in Uighur people’s habitat, it can also be used in a general sense, referring to the inferior status that members of “*bei boxue jieji*” (the exploited class) was placed into against the superior status of members of “*boxue jieji*” (the ruling class) throughout China in “*jiu shehui*”. A “*nuli*” (slave) lived a very “*ku*” (bitter) life, always lack of enough food and clothes and always in tears due to the various sufferings (see lines 2-4), many of whom eventually lost their lives when they couldn’t bear any more the sufferings. Those who were fortunate were “*jiu*” (saved) and “*jiefang*” (liberated) by “*Dang*” (the Party) and Mao Zhuxi (Chairman Mao), as stated in line 4 here and Instance 6.13 previously.

A term in direct contrast with “*nuli*” (slave) is “*zhuren*” (master). It is frequently used in “*yiku sitian*” discourse, such as in Instance 6.13, and the following example.

### Instance 6.16

是毛主席把我们劳动人民拯救出火坑，翻身作主人 (1968072802)

1. It is Mao Zhuxi (Chairman Mao) who *zhengjiu* (saved) us *laodong renmin* (the
2. labouring people) out of *huokeng* (fire pit), and *fanshen* (turned over the body) to
3. become *zhuren* (masters).

As we can see from all the instances listed in this section, in the “*yiku sitian*” discourse, people identified themselves with terms like “*qiongren*” (poor people), “*qiongkuren*” (poor and bitter people), “*kumingren*” (persons with a bitter fate), “*kuhaizi*” (a bitter child), “*gu’er*” (orphan), even “*nuli*” (slave), in “*jiu shehui*” and then used terms like “*zhuren*” (masters) in “*xin shehui*”. It indicates a drastic contrast of people’s fate and dramatic change of people’s status and identity as China transformed from “*jiu shehui*” to “*xin shehui*”. We also see the term “*laodong renming*” (the labouring people) being mentioned in Instance 6.16. It is a term commonly used to refer to anyone belonging to the “*bei boxue jieij*” (the exploited class), especially “*gongren*” (workers) and “*nongmin*” (peasants), as they had to work hard for “*zibenjia*” (capitalists) or “*dizhu*” (landlords) in “*jiu shehui*”. We can formulate the next cultural proposition based on analysis to terms depicting people’s fates in Instance 6.3 and from Instances 6.12 to 6.16.

**CP #21:** In “*jiu shehui*”, if one belongs to the class of “*laodong renmin*” (the labouring people), one is a “*kuhaizi* (bitter child)”, “*kumingren* (a bitter fate person, a person with a bitter fate)”, “*qiongren* (poor person)”, and “*qiongkuren* (poor and bitter person)” [political dwelling, identity].

**CP #22:** It is common for people to become “*gu’er*” (orphan) when their parents died of the cruel treatment from “*dizhu/zibenjia*” (landlords/capitalists) [identity, action, political dwelling].

**CP #23:** People even become “*nuli* (slaves)”, both physically and spiritually speaking [identity]

**CP #24:** But in “*xin shehui*”, they become “*zhuren* (masters) of the country.” [identity, political dwelling]

### **6.2.3.2 Terms Describing Contrasting Experiences in the Two Societies**

Very frequently, we see in people’s “*yiku sitian*” discourse terms and phrases used to describe their tragic experiences in “*jiu shehui*”, and how things have changed for them in “*xin shehui*”.

#### **6.2.3.2.1 “*Jiu Shehui*”**

First of all, there are terms that define the extreme poverty people used to endure in “*jiu shehui*” in regards to food, clothes, and shelters. Lines 2 and 3 of Instance 6.15 in

the previous pages contain phrases like “*chi bu bao*” (eat but not satisfied, i.e., lack of enough food)” and “*chuan bu nuan*” (wear but not warm, i.e., lack of enough clothes).” Other frequently used terms that have the similar meanings are “*jihan jiaopo*” (under the double attack of starvation and freezing), “*renji ai-e*” (enduring hunger), “*banji banbao*” (half starving and half full), etc. The following instance is a specific scene depicted by terms like these.

**Instance 6.17** – lack of food:

大家茫然地望着他。他接着说：“那一年闹灾荒，妈妈饿得生了病，倒在炕上一点力气也没有。她对爸说：‘你给我个窝窝吃吧，吃个窝窝我这病就好啦！’可我们家里哪里找得出个窝窝呢！急得爸在屋里直打转转。好容易爸从别人家要了一个窝窝来，妈妈两手捧着窝窝，想吃，但看见我们饿成那个样子，眼里滚着泪，又舍不得咬……”(1963092304)

1. Everybody looked at him in puzzlement. He went on to say: “That year there was a
2. *zaihuang* (natural disaster and famine). My Mom got sick because of *e* (hunger,
3. starvation) and was confined to bed without any strength. She said to Dad, ‘Please
4. give me a *wo-wo*<sup>7</sup> to eat. I shall be fine after eating a *wo-wo*.’ But where could we
5. find a *wo-wo* at home?! Dad paced back and forth *jide* (anxiously) in the room. Then,
6. with great effort, Dad *yao* (begged) a *wo-wo* from a neighbor. Mom held the *wo-wo*
7. with her two hands. She wanted to eat. But seeing that we were all so starved, she
8. simply couldn’t take a bite and tears welled up in her eyes...”

The term “*e*” (hunger, starvation, in line 2) is a key word in this passage. Having no food to eat (for an extended period of time) took the toll on the narrator’s Mom and made her sick. But when she finally had some food in her hands, she couldn’t take a bit seeing that her husband and children were suffering from “*e*” (starvation) too.

A colloquial saying depicting the situation of lack of food is “*jie bu kai guo le*” (lines 1-2 in Instance 6.18). Literally it means “couldn’t open up the pot”; figuratively it means “having nothing to put into the pot to cook” or “having no food at all”.

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<sup>7</sup> Wo-wo is the name of a kind of steamed bread shaped as a tiny steep dome, usually made of corn meal or mixed with vegetable pieces. When there was not enough corn meal to make it, other less palatable things were used as a substitute, such as chaff or acorn flour.

**Instance 6.18** – lack of food (continued):

那是一九三七年的隆冬，马世杰一家连续几天都揭不开锅了。(1973073004A)

1. It was the deep winter of 1937. For quite a few days, Ma Shijie and his household *jie*
2. *bu kai guo le* (had not had anything to put into the pot to cook).

**Instance 6.19** – lack of clothes:

贫农赵永志是普通的一家，在解放前终年过着挨饿受冻的生活，他的老奶奶和妈妈，两辈子没穿过棉衣，他到十三岁时还常年光腚。(1964031302)

1. The household of poor peasant Zhao Yongzhi is an ordinary one. Before the
2. Liberation, they had a life marked by *ai-e shoudong* (enduring the lack of enough
3. food and clothes) year round. For two generations, his Grandma and Mom had never
4. worn any cotton-padded clothes. He himself was still frequently naked by the age of
5. thirteen.

Here, “*ai-e shoudong*” (enduring the lack of enough food and clothes, in line 2) is a typical term used frequently to describe life in “*jiu shehui*”. The sentence following it is an illustration of their extreme poverty- “his Grandma and Mom had never worn any cotton-padded clothes” and “He himself was still frequently naked by the age of thirteen.”

**Instance 6.20** – lack of appropriate shelter:

离库尔班吐鲁木的家不远，有一座进出碰头的破泥屋。老人积肥、割草经过这里，常停下来指着破屋对孩子们说：“这是我们过去住的地方。现在我们住着干净、宽敞的新屋，绝不能忘了这间破屋子。”(1964070102)

1. Not far away from Kuerban Tulumu’s home, there is a *po ni wu* (shabby mud shack)
2. *jinchu pengtou* (forcing one to lower his/her head when entering or exiting). When
3. he passes here on the way to collect manure or cutting grass, he often stops there and
4. points to the shack to his children and said, “This is where we used to live. Now we
5. live in clean and spacious new house and should never forget this shabby shack.”

As it says here, in “*jiu shehui*”, Kuerban Tulumu’s family lived in a “*po ni wu*” (shabby mud shack, in line 1) that was so low that one had to lower head to enter or exit. Similarly, there is also a colloquial saying describing the extreme situation of lack of shelter – “*shangwu pianwa, xiawu cuntu*”, which literally means “no single roof tile above head, no inch of land under feet”.

**Instance 6.21** – lack of shelter (continued):

孔虾原是贫农，解放前上无片瓦，下无寸土，生活十分困苦 (1963102302A)

1. Kong Xia used to be a *pinnong* (poor peasant), had *shangwu pianwa, xiawu cuntu*
2. (no single roof tile above head, no inch of land under feet) before the Liberation,
3. living a life very miserable.

As we can see from the translation, “*shangwu pianwa, xiawu cuntu*” means that one is so poor that he did not have any shelter or land of his own. This saying occurred 59 times in reports from *People’s Daily* archive between January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960 and December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1976, including some variation version of the second part of this saying, “*xiawu lizhui zhidi*” (not enough land under feet to stick an awl in), or “*xiawu chazhen zhidi*” (not enough land under feet to insert a needle into).

In those “*yiku sitian*” reports, we can see not only terms that describe the scarcity of food, clothes, and appropriate shelters for poor people, we can also see terms and sayings that describe extremely harsh working conditions that people had to suffer and endure, such as bad weather, cruel treatment, extended hours of labor, extremely demanding workload, and unsecured working environment, which commonly resulted in sleep deprivation, exhaustion, sickness, starvation, death, and separation of family members. The following segments provide very vivid descriptions:

**Instance 6.22** – bad weather:

隆冬酷寒，滴水成冰，漫天的西北风卷着鹅毛雪。我裹着一身遮不住羞的烂单衣，出外放牛。北风吹在身上像刀割，光着的双脚生满了冻疮，踩在冰冻的雪地上，疼得像乱箭穿心。这样的痛苦生活真难熬啊！(1963102305B)

1. It was midwinter time with freezing cold. Strong northwester filled the sky with
2. goose feather snow<sup>8</sup>. Wrapped up in ragged single layer clothes that could hardly
3. cover me, I went out to herd ox. The north wind blew unto me like a cutting knife.
4. My bare feet were full of frostbites. Stepping onto the frozen snow ground, the pain

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<sup>8</sup> This is a common way of describing how heavy a snow is – the size of snow flake is as big as goose feather.

5. was like that caused by thousands of arrows shooting my heart. It was so hard to bear
6. this kind of miserable life!

**Instance 6.23 – cruel treatment, sickness, death, and separation:**

他爷爷给地主扛了一辈子长工，爸爸给地主扛了半辈子长工。小时候，爸爸扛长工，日子过不下去，姐姐卖给人当了童养媳，妈妈拉着他和他妹妹，东村西庄去讨饭。他八岁那年，讨饭的路上，遇见了国民党的新五军，那帮如狼似虎的野兽，无缘无故地折磨死了妈妈。祸不单行，接着，正吃奶的一个小妹妹饿死了，另一个妹妹喉咙长疮没钱医，活活病死了；哥哥让国民党抓了壮丁捆走了，嫂嫂让地主的狗腿子霸占了。没有法儿，爸爸含泪卖他去给人家放牛……一家人，就这样被逼得死的死，散的散！每当提起这童年时血泪的遭遇，他的眼里就冒火！他在自己的日记上写着：“我爱的是共产党，我恨的是旧社会！”(1965071206)

1. His grandfather worked his entire life as a long-term hired hand for landlord, and his
2. father did that for half of his lifetime. When he was very young, his father worked as
3. a long-term hired hand and life was so hard. His older sister was sold to be a child
4. bride<sup>9</sup>; his mother took him and his younger sisters to beg for food in nearby
5. villages. When he was eight years old, on their way of begging, they encountered the
6. New Fifth Army of the National Party<sup>10</sup>. Those ruthless beasts tortured his mother to
7. death for no reason. What’s more, one younger sister who was still a nursing infant
8. died of hunger; and another younger sister died of ulcers/sores inside her throat
9. which they didn’t have money to seek medical treatment to; his older brother was
10. seized by the Army of the National Party to be their able-bodied man<sup>11</sup>, and his
11. sister-in-law was raped and taken away by force by a *goutuizi* (henchman)<sup>12</sup> of the
12. landlord. Without any way to survive, in tears, his father had to sell him to herd ox...
13. His whole family was forced to separate from each other with some of the members
14. died and some of them taken away! Each time when he recalled this *xuelei de zaoyu*
15. (blood and tears experience) of his childhood, his eyes began to snap fire! On his
16. diary he wrote, “What I love is *gongchan dang* (the Communist Party); what I hate is
17. *jiu shehui* (the old society)!”

**Instance 6.24 – extended hours of labor, extremely demanding workload, and unsecured working environment:**

我实在受不了这种虐待，就逃了出来，流浪在街头。但是，我接连逃了三次，被老板抓回去三次，每次都被打得浑身鞭痕累累。逃跑不成，我只得在厂里继续做牛做马。我日夜劳累得不到休息，身体很虚弱。有一天，我从三楼提着一大铜吊开水下来，在下楼的时候，突然头昏眼花，两脚一软，跌倒在水门汀地上，右脚背被开水烫得满是血泡。狠心的老板娘不但不给我治疗，反而把我锁在鸽子笼似的小阁楼里

<sup>9</sup> This is a common practice among poor families in “*jiu shehui*” of China to sell their young girls into families that have sons to be their future daughters-in-law.

<sup>10</sup> National Party (*Guomin Dang*) was the ruling Party in China between 1927 and 1949.

<sup>11</sup> To join the army or to serve as laborers to carry the military supply.

<sup>12</sup> “*Goutuizi*” can be translated literally as “dog’s legs”. It’s a derogatory term to refer to people who served those who were in power and who were evil.

受罪。三伏天，闷热的“鸽子笼”里充满了臭气，臭虫、蚊子叮得我全身红肿，我的伤口也烂得出了蛆。。。 (1963102305C)

1. I could not bear anymore this kind of *nuedai* (mistreatment, abuse), so I escaped and
2. wandered on street. But, three times I ran away, three times I was found and dragged
3. back by the boss, and whipped severely leaving whip scars all over. With no way to
4. escape, I had to stay in the factory and continue to *zuoziu zuoma* (work like an ox or
5. a horse). Hard labor day in and day out with almost no time to rest made me very
6. weak. One day, I went downstairs from the third floor carrying a big bronze
7. container of hot water. While walking, I suddenly felt dizzy in my head and blurred
8. of my vision, and collapsed and fell down onto the cement floor. The instep of my
9. right foot was covered in blisters because of the hot water. Not only did the cruel
10. madame refuse to seek medical treatment for me, she locked me up instead to suffer
11. in the attic which was as tiny as a pigeon's cage. It was the hottest time of the year
12. and the stuffy attic was very smelly. I was stung by bugs and mosquitoes and got red
13. and swollen all over, and maggots developed in my wound...

Here in this segment, we see an almost frightening scene being painted with words, which can all be summarized up with this one term, “*nuedai*” (mistreatment, abuse), in line 1.

Instances 6.17 to 6.24 shows us various terms and descriptions frequently used to refer to specific sufferings that people had endured in “*jiu shehui*”. Following are some more terms that are also frequently used and more generalizing. In fact, they became typical token terms of “*jiu shehui*”, summarizing the alleged extremely heart-broken sufferings and practices that people had endured. These terms can be put into two categories: A. primary actions carried out by “*dizhu/zibenjia*” (landlord/capitalists); and B. subsequent actions “*laodong renmin*” (the laboring people) were forced to take.

A. Primary actions carried out by oppressors such as “*dizhu/zibenjia*”

(landlords/capitalists):

*boxue* (to exploit);

*cuican* (devastate);

*yapo* (to oppress);

*lingru* (humiliation);

*zhemo* (torture);

*qiya* (bullying).



These terms are exclusively used to define the nature of the relationship between “*dizhu/zibenjia*” (landlords/capitalists) and “*laodong renmin*” (the laboring people). It is to be noted grammatically that, because these actions are supposedly taken by “*dizhu/zibenjia*” (landlords/capitalists) and are directed from them to “*laodong renmin*” (laboring people) that are hired by them, when “*laodong renmin*” (laboring people) was the subject of a sentence, a Chinese character “*shou*” (which is an indicator of passive voice that can be translated generally as “receive” but specifically as “suffer” within the context of *yiku sitian* discourse) is used before any of the terms listed above. And an adverb such as “*jin*” (or “*gou*”) is frequently used to describe the extreme degree of (cruel) treatment that one receives<sup>1</sup>. We can see this point from the following examples.

#### Instance 6.25

解放前，他的父母都给地主当长工，受尽地主的剥削压迫，五个姐妹饿死的饿死，卖掉的卖掉。(1969031105)

1. *Jiefang qian* (before the Liberation), his parents both worked for *dizhu* (landlords) as
2. long-term hired hands and had *shoujin* (suffered enough) *boxue yapo* (exploitation
3. and oppression). His five sisters were either starved to death or sold to other people.

#### Instance 6.26

敬爱的毛主席啊，是您解放了我，使我摆脱了旧社会的折磨和摧残，过着幸福的生活；是您培养了我，使我这个受尽凌辱和欺压的哑巴成为新中国的工程师。这海洋深的恩情，我怎样来报答啊！(1963102305)

1. It is you, dear Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao), who *jiefang* (liberated) me, and made me
2. breaking away from the *zhemo* (torturing) and *cuican* (devastating) of *jiu shehui* and
3. live a *xingfu de* (happy) life; It is you who *peiyang* (nurtured and trained) me, a
4. dumb person who had suffered enough *lingru* (humiliation) and *qiya* (bullying), to
5. become an engineer in new China. How am I going to *baoda* (pay back) this ocean-
6. deep *enqing* (grace)!

It was commonly believed that those “*dizhu/zibenjia*” (landlords/capitalists) were solely interested in increasing their own wealth regardless of whether the ways to achieve it

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<sup>1</sup> “Bei”, 被, is another word that has similar function as “shou”, 受, and that can be used with these terms.

were illegal or inhumane. In other words, they did not care at all about the well-beings of “*laodong renmin*” (laboring people) that they hired. The “*yiku sitian*” discourses are full of tragic accounts of how people were “*boxue*” (exploited), “*yapo*” (oppressed), “*zhemo*” (tortured), “*cuican*” (devastated), “*lingru*” (humiliated) and “*qiya*” (bullied) by “*dizhu/zibenjia*” (landlord/capitalists).

All the segments quoted in this chapter also demonstrate this point.

B. Subsequent actions “*laodong renmin*” (the laboring people) were forced to take:

*zuoniu zuoma* (to work like an ox or a horse);

*shouku shoulei* (to endure bitterness and exhaustion);

*maier mainu* (to sell sons and daughters);

*gurou fenli* (bone and flesh separated);

*qili zisan* (wife taken away and son separated);

*jiapo renwang* (family broken apart and members of it died);

*beijing lixiang* (to leave one’s native place against one’s will).

We see the term, “*zuoniu zuoma*” (work like an ox or a horse), being used in line 4 of the previously listed Instance 6.24. It is a high frequency term throughout the “*yiku sitian*” discourse, occurring 73 times in reports from the *People’s Daily* archive between January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960 and December 31, 1976. A similar term that usually goes with it is “*shouku shoulei*” (enduring bitterness and exhaustion), which defines the nature of people’s assigned labor as “*ku*” (bitter) and “*lei*” (exhaustive) and the act of doing it as “*shou* (to endure something that is not pleasant). The following instance is an example of “*shouku shoulei*” (in lines 1-2):

#### **Instance 6.27**

我父亲给地主当了一辈子长工，受苦受累，染上了疾病，被地主拖出寨子活活饿死。父亲死后，年幼的大哥被迫成了地主家会说话的牲口，没日没夜地给地主干活。  
(1974032503)

1. My father worked as a long-term hired hand for the landlord all his life, *shouku*
2. *shoulei*(enduring bitterness and exhaustion), and became very sick. The landlord had
3. him thrown out of the village and starved to death. After he died, my elder brother,
4. who was still very young, became a talking livestock for the landlord, working day
5. and night.

According to “*yiku sitian*” discourses, when life became too hard to survive, many peasants were left with no other choice but to “*maier mainu*” (sell sons and daughters) to get some desperately needed money. A surprisingly high number of 188 hit of this term was found from reports in *People’s Daily* archive between January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960 and December 31, 1976. We see this term in line 7 in the following instance.

### Instance 6.28

一九四九年春，国民党又来“扫荡”，我拖着九个月的大肚子往山上跑，在山洞里生下了最小的儿子，产后七天七夜没有饭吃。下山一看，家里被抢得精光。我丈夫只有上山挖土茯苓、黄狗头吃，不久就肚痛，眼光光痛了两天，就死了。那时真是没法生活下去，只好卖儿卖女，六个孩子卖了四个。讲起过去的苦，真是膝头都会出眼泪！解放了，毛主席、共产党把我们头上的七重石块七重砖搬走了，我家的生活越过越好。现在的甜，不只是白糖水的甜，是像蜜糖水那样甜。我怎能不读毛主席的书，听毛主席的话呢！（1966082903）

1. In the spring of 1947, the National Party’s army<sup>2</sup> came to attack (our village) again. I
2. ran up to the mountain, dragging my heavy body in nine-month pregnancy and gave
3. birth to my youngest son in a cave. I didn’t have anything to eat for seven days and
4. nights. When I got down the mountain and returned home, I saw everything was
5. taken away. My husband had to search for and dig *tufuling* and *huanggoutou*<sup>3</sup> to fill
6. his belly. But soon he felt stomachache and died after in pain for two days. It was
7. truly very hard to survive. So I had to *maier mainu* (sell sons and daughters) and sold
8. four out of my six children. Speaking of the *ku* (bitterness) of the past, tears could
9. even seep out of my knee caps! Since the Liberation, Chairman Mao and *Gongchan*
10. *Dang* (the Communist Party) had removed away from our heads the seven layers of
11. stone tablets and bricks. My family’s life is getting better and better. The *tian* (sweet)
12. now is not just the *tian* (sweet) of *baitang shui* (white sugar water) but the *tian* (sweet)
13. of *mitang shui* (honey water). How can I not read Chairman Mao’s books and follow
14. Chairman Mao’s commands?

Chinese people use the symbiotic images of “bone” and “flesh” to refer to the relationship between parents and offspring or among siblings, because they are related by

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<sup>2</sup> The National Party, Guomindang, was led by Chiang Kai Shek and was the ruling party in China between 1927 and 1949.

<sup>3</sup> Two wildly grown herbs, 土茯苓 and 黄狗头.

blood. When “bone” and “flesh” are separated from each other, the pain is unbearable and the consequence irrevocable. Thus the phrase “*gurou fenli*” (bone and flesh separated) is used to refer to the result of “*maier mainu*” (selling sons and daughters). The following is such an example and we see the the term “*gurou fenli*” (bone and flesh separated) in line 8 in the following instance.

### Instance 6.29

河南修武县贫下中农有一次派代表到人民解放军某部特务连去慰问子弟兵，连里留他们开了个座谈会。在座谈会上，老贫农马世杰畅谈了新社会的幸福生活，同时向战士们诉说了万恶的旧社会逼得他骨肉分离的悲惨家史。那是一九三七年的隆冬，马世杰一家连续几天都揭不开锅了。他老伴背着一岁多的儿子运来，要到菜市上捡点烂菜充饥。在路过一家地主的门口时，突然被狗地主拦住，说马大娘母子冲了他家的“风水”，指使狗腿子把运来抢走了。马大娘哭喊着要夺回运来，却被狗腿子拳打脚踢，当场昏死过去。从此孩子不知下落。(1973073004)

1. Once, *pinxia zhongnong* (poor and lower middle peasants) at Xiuwu County, Henan
2. Province, sent some delegates to show their appreciation to *zidibing* (army composed
3. of their own children and younger brothers)<sup>4</sup> of a Special Task Company of the
4. People’s Liberation Army. The company invited them to attend a *zuotanhui* (klatch).
5. At the meeting, senior poor peasant Ma Shijie spoke cheerfully of their *xingfu*
6. (happy) life in *xin shehui*. He also *sushuo* (spoke by pouring out one’s heart) to
7. soldiers their *beican* (sad and tragic) family history of how the *wan-e de* (all evil) *jiu*
8. *shehui* forced him *gurou fenli* (bone and flesh separated). It was the deep winter of
9. 1937. For quite a few days, Ma Shijie and his household *jie bu kai guo le* (had not
10. had anything to put into the pot to cook). His wife carried their one-year-old son
11. Yunlai and went to the market to look for discarded vegetables for food. When she
12. passed by the door of a landlord, suddenly, the evil landlord stopped them, saying
13. that Ma *Daniang*<sup>5</sup> and her son had disturbed the *fengshui* (geomantic omen) of his
14. house. He then ordered his henchman to snatch Yunlai away. Crying and shouting,
15. Ma *Daniang* tried to get back Yunlai, but was punched and kicked by the henchman
16. and fell into a coma on the spot. From then on the child was unaccounted for.

And we can see terms like “*qili zisan*” (wife taken away and son separated), “*jiapo renwang*” (family broken apart and members of it died), and “*beijing lixiang*” (to leave

<sup>4</sup> In Chinese, “*zi*” means “*haizi*”, children; “*di*” means “*dixiong*”, younger brothers; and “*bing*” means soldier. “*Zidibing*” means that the soldiers of the army are the children or younger brothers of the people, either literally or figuratively. This term creates a seemingly very intimate relationship between the people and the army.

<sup>5</sup> “*Daniang*” (大娘) is a respectful term of address to women in their 50s and older. Here this term is used from the perspective of the soldiers who were at the meeting.

one's native place against one's will) in the following instances (lines 12 and 13 in Instance 6.30 and line 12 in Instance 6.31).

### Instance 6.30

记得一九四三年，一场大旱，庄稼收不回来。全村一千四五百人当中，饿死了四五十。至于卖房去地，卖儿卖女，外出逃荒的，那是平平常常的事了。有个叫王银的，一家八口，因为交不起地主的租，爷爷和父亲活活饿死；母亲走投无路被逼上了吊；一个哥哥和一个弟弟卖给人当了包身工；两岁的弟弟送了人；七岁的妹妹给人当了童养媳。王银自己那年才十二三岁，也只好去给地主放牛。一家人就这么拆得妻离子散，家破人亡。(1964122905)

1. I remember it was the year of 1943 with a severe drought and no harvest at all of
2. crops. Among the one thousand four to five hundred villagers, forty to fifty people
3. died of starvation. Compared with this, it was a much more ordinary practice for
4. people to sell their dwelling places and land, *maier mainu* (sell sons and daughters),
5. and go to other places to escape from the famine. There was a man named Wang Yin.
6. There were eight people in his family. They had nothing to pay the landlord the land
7. rent. As a result, his grandfather and father died of hunger; his mother hanged herself
8. up and committed suicide; one older brother and one younger brother were sold as
9. indentured laborers; and his two-year-old younger brother was given away; his
10. seven-year-old younger sister was given as a child bride. He himself was only twelve
11. to thirteen years old that year, and had to herd ox for the landlord. In this way, his
12. whole family was torn apart, *qili zisan* (wife taken away and children separated),
13. *jiapo renwang* (family broken and members died).

### Instance 6.31

这事，深深刺痛了妈妈的心。妈妈拉着麦贤得的手在床头坐下，讲起了祖祖辈辈受尽阶级敌人凌辱、剥削和压迫的苦难家史：阿爸十八岁跟着爷爷行船走外海，干的牛马活，吃穿都困难。日本侵略军打进饶平以后，杀人、抢劫、封海、烧船……，一把火烧掉他家和几户穷哥们合用的一条船，断了一家的生路，阿爸阿妈背井离乡逃往福建做工，半年挣下一担地瓜丝，挑回家来爷爷已经饿死了两天，伯父也被地主活埋了。阿爸被迫给地主养蚝，又被国民党土匪抓去打了个死去活来……。(1966031902)

1. This event deeply hurt his Mom's heart. Holding Mai Xiande's hand, Mom sat down
2. with him at the head of the bed and started telling him the *kunan jiashi* (bitter and
3. miserable family history) of how *zuzubeibei* (generations after generations they)
4. were *lingru* (bullied and insulted), *boxue* (exploited) and *yapo* (oppressed) by *jieji*
5. *diren* (class enemies): At the age of eighteen years old, Daddy went with Grandpa to
6. sail a boat on the open sea. The work they did was *niumahuo* (workload intended for
7. oxen and horses) and yet still it was very difficult for them to fill their bellies and
8. clothes their bodies sufficiently. After the Japanese army invaded into Raoping<sup>6</sup> area,
9. (they committed all kinds of crimes like) killing, robbing, closing the seashore, and
10. burning boats... They set fire on the boat that his family and a couple of other poor
11. families shared together and severed their way of survival. Daddy and Mommy
12. *beijing lixiang* (left one's native place against one's will) and escaped to Fujian to
13. work. Half a year later, they returned home with their earning of two bundles of

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<sup>6</sup> Now Raoping county in Chaozhou city, Guangdong province.

14. dried sweet potato slices carried by a shoulder pole, only to learn that Grandpas died
15. of starvation two days before and Great Uncle was buried alive by the landlord.
16. Daddy was forced to raise clams for the landlord. Then he was seized by the bandit
17. connected with the National Party and beaten almost to death....

Two expressions in the “*yiku sitian*” discourse further summarize the various painful experiences that people shared in their accounts: “*zhemo de buxiang ge renyang*” (agonized so severely that one loses the dignity of being a human), and “*boduo le zuoren de quanli*” (deprived of rights as a human being). The following segments are examples.

### Instance 6.32

在旧社会里，地主、资本家吸我们的血，剥我们的皮，可我们的孩子却不知道谁把他的爸爸、妈妈折磨得不象个人样。(1964071302)

1. In *jiu shehui*, *dizhu* (landlords) and *zibenjia* (capitalists) sucked our blood and peeled
2. our skin, yet (now) our child does not know who *zhemo de* (agonized) his Daddy and
3. Mommy *buxiang ge renyang* (to the extent that they lost the dignity of being a
4. human).

### Instance 6.33

旧社会剥夺了我做人的权利，新社会使我获得新生。(1962050502A).

1. *Jiu shehui boduo le* (deprived) my *zuoren de quanli* (rights as a human being); *Xin*
2. *shehui shi* (enabled) me *huode xinsheng* (to gain new life).

Based on analysis to significant terms and phrases from Instances 6.17 to 6.33 depicting people’s experiences and sufferings, we can draw the following cluster of cultural propositions regarding “*jiu shehui*”:

**CP #25:** In “*jiu shehui*”, “*laodong renmin*” (the labouring people) “*chi bu bao*” (ate but not satisfied), “*chuan bu nuan*” (wore but not warm), “*jihan jiaopo*” (under the double attack of starvation and freezing cold), “*ai-e shoudong*” (enduring hunger and freezing cold), at best “*banji banbao*” (half starving and half full), but many people frequently “*jie bu kai guo le*” (couldn’t open up the pot, having no food to put into the pot to cook) [action, identity, political dwelling, feeling].

**CP #26:** They lived in shelters in very poor conditions, such as “*po ni wu*” (shabby mud shack), some even had “*shangwu pianwa, xiawu cundi*” (no single roof tile above head, no inch of land under feet) [dwelling]

**CP #27:** They “*zuoni zuoma*” (worked like an ox or a horse), “*shouku shoule*” (endure bitterness and exhaustion), had to work even in very bad weather, under very poor working condition, and endure very inhumane treatment from the landlords or capitalists [action, emotion]

**CP #28:** The sufferings were so severe that many people were forced to “*maier mainu*” (sell sons and daughters), became “*gurou fenli*” (bone and flesh separated), “*qili zisan*” (wife taken away and son separated), even “*jiapo renwang*” (family broken apart and members of it died) and “*beijing lixiang*” (to leave one’s native place against one’s will) [action, emotion]

**CP #29:** They were “*zhemo de buxiang ge renyang*” (agonized to the extent that one lost the dignity of being a human) and “*boduo le zuoren de quanli*” (deprived of the rights to be a human being) [identity, emotion]

By far we have seen various terms and phrases and ways of sayings being used in the “*yiku sitian*” accounts to describe and portray people’s life and experiences in “*jiu shehui*”, especially their bitter sufferings which frequently led to death and separation. In the following we will be looking at salient terms and phrases and ways of sayings being used by people to describe and portray their life and experiences in “*xin shehui*”, which form a sharp contrast between the two stages.

#### **6.2.3.2.2 “Xin Shehui”**

A significant claim in the “*yiku sitian*” discourse is that “*jiu shehui yao ren si*” (the old society forced people to die), and “*xin shehui jiao ren huo*” (the new society allows people to thrive). The crucial factor contributing to this significant change is believed to be the “*geming yundong*” (revolutionary movement) led by “*Dang*” (the Party) and Mao Zhuxi (Chairman Mao), and carried out by “*renmin jiefang jun*” (the People’s Liberation Army) with series of actions such as “*jiu*” (save) and “*jiefang*” (liberation), which enabled people to “*fanshen*” (turn over one’s body), and “*huode xinsheng*” (gain new life). The following segments contain these action terms that describe the process of change that people experienced when “*jiu shehui*” is replaced with “*xin shehui*”.

#### **Instance 6.3**

是党，把我这个苦孩子从苦海里救了出来。（1963102305A）

It is *dang* (the Party), that *jiu* (saved) me, a *ku haizi* (bitter child), out of *kuhai* (bitter sea).

### Instance 6.15

最近，库尔班吐鲁木给毛主席写了一封信。他在信中写道：“我原是几百万维吾尔族奴隶中的一个，吃不饱，穿不暖，眼泪流不完。共产党解放了我，我不再是奴隶了。。。”（1964070102）

1. Recently, Kuerban Tulumu wrote a letter to *Mao Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao). In the letter,
2. he wrote, “I used to be one among millions of Uighur *nuli* (slaves), *chi bu bao* (lack
3. of enough food), *chuan bu nuan* (lack of enough clothes), *yanlei liu bu wan* (tears
4. never ran dry). *Gongchan Dang* (the Communist Party) *jiefang* (liberated) me, and
5. I’m not a *nuli* (slave) anymore.

### Instance 6.16

是毛主席把我们劳动人民拯救出火坑，翻身作主人（1968072802）

It is *Mao Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao) who *zhengjiu* (saved) us *laodong renmin* (the labouring people) out of *huokeng* (fire pit), and *fanshen* (turned over the body) to become *zhuren* (masters).

### Instance 6.34

一九四九年，随着上海的解放，我也得到了新生。我这个在旧社会中受人歧视的哑巴，从此做了国家的主人。（1963102305D）

1. In 1949, thanks to the liberation of Shanghai, I also *dedao le xinsheng* (gained new
2. life). I, a dumb person who was discriminated in *jiu shehui*, became *guojia de zhuren*
3. (master of the state).

The above four examples of instances are very representative. The terms and phrases of “*jiu*” (to save), “*jiefang*” (to liberate), “*fanshen*” (to turn over one’s body), and “*dedao xinsheng*” (gain new life) occurred very frequently throughout the “*yiku sitian*” discourses. If we recall terms of places and their features used to symbolize people’s life in “*jiu shehui*”, we can see the sharp contrast being established regarding conceptions of the two societies: In “*jiu shehui*”, people were plunged into “*kuhai*” (bitter sea), “*huokeng*” (fire pit), even “*diyu*” (hell), “*yanwang dian*” (Palace of Hell), and “*wanzhang shenyuan*” (abyss), and were crushed under the heavy weight of “*sanzuo dashan*” (three big mountains). Now they were “*jiu*” (saved) and “*jiefang*” (liberated) by “*Gongchan Dang*” (the Communist Party), *Mao Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao), and “*renmin jiefangjun*” (the



People's Liberation Army), who enabled them to “*fanshen*” (turn over their bodies) and “*dedao xinsheng*” (gain new life).

Instead of lacking enough food to eat, appropriate clothes to wear and nice and warm shelters to stay, in “*xin shehui*”, according to those “*yiku sitian*” reports, all these basic needs of people were met and secured. The following excerpts contain terms and sayings that are opposite in meaning to various aspects and features of “*jiu shehui*”.

### Instance 6.35

现在，他爸爸担任生产队长，去年全家大小四个人共分了三千多斤粮食，还养了一头猪。现在的生活和过去简直无法比。(1963021502B)

1. Now, his father serves as a production team leader. Last year the whole household,
2. altogether four members from old to young, was allocated more than 3,000 *jin*<sup>7</sup>
3. grains. They even raised a pig. Life now is completely incomparable to life in the
4. past.

### Instance 6.36

结果全组年年粮食丰产，组员们户户都吃饱穿暖。(1964022902)

1. As a result, the whole group got grain harvest every year, and every household of the
2. group members *chibao chuannuan* (have enough food to eat and warm clothes to
3. wear).

### Instance 6.37

沈阳市第三十五中学学生谢文政是在新社会长大的，不知道旧社会是什么样子。当他听到雷锋给地主放猪时偎着母猪肚皮取暖，而自己今天住的是温暖的房屋时很感动，(1963020701)

1. *Xie Wenzheng*, a student from #35 Middle School of Shenyang City, grew up in *xin*
2. *shehui* and had no idea what *jiu shehui* was like. He was deeply touched when he
3. learned that Lei Feng could only snuggle next to the belly of a sow to keep himself
4. warm while herding pigs for landlord, and yet he himself now lived in *wennuan de*
5. *fangwu* (warm house).

### Instance 6.38

解放后，家里分得了土地和房屋，生活一天天好起来。(1963073006B)

After Liberation, my family was given land and house, and life became better and better.

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<sup>7</sup> “*Jin*” is a Chinese weight measuring unit. 1 “*jin*” equals to 0.5 kg. 3,000 “*jin*” equals to 1,500 kg.

The above instances provide comparisons between “*xin shehui*” and “*jiu shehui*” specifically in terms of food, clothes, shelter, and land. “*Chibao chuannuan*”, a term used in Instance 6.36 in line 2, summarizes up this big difference. Instead of owning not even a “*wowo*” in “*jiu shehui*” (Instance 6.17 on page 220), now a household of four is allocated more than 3,000 “*jin*” grain plus a pig (Instance 6.35, line 2-3); instead of “*shangwu pianwa, xiawu cuntu*” (no single roof tile above head, no inch of land under feet, see Instance 6.21 on page 222) in “*jiu shehui*”, now families are “given land and house” (Instance 6.38), and “lived in *wennuan de fangwu* (warm house)” (Instance 6.37, lines 4-5) in “*xin shehui*”. “Life became better and better” (Instance 6.38), “completely incomparable to life in the past” (Instance 6.35, lines 3-4).

Not only that, in “*xin shehui*”, they were treated dramatically different than in “*jiu shehui*”. According to “*yiku sitian*” discourses, those who used to be “*gu'er*” (orphans) are not left alone to suffer any more.

### Instance 6.39

在新社会，祖国到处是温暖的大家庭，走到哪里都有党的关怀 (1964072603)

1. In *xin shehui*, everywhere is part of a *wennuan de dajiating* (warm big family) in
2. *zuguo* (the ancestors' country). And everywhere there is *Dang de guanhuai* (caring
3. and nurturing from the Party).

### Instance 6.40

旧社会剥夺了我做人的权利，新社会使我获得新生。我可以自豪地说，现在我有家有母亲。集体就是我的家，党就是我的母亲。(1964100116B)

1. *Jiu shehui boduo le* (deprived) my *zuoren de quanli* (rights as a human being); *Xin*
2. *shehui shi* (enabled) me *huode xinsheng* (to gain new life). I can proudly say, now I
3. *youjia youmuqin* (have home and mom). *Jiti* (the Collective) is my *jia* (home) and
4. *Dang* (the Party) is my *muqin* (mother).

The above segments proudly claim that a “*gu’er*” (orphan) will not be “*gu*” (left alone) again because now the whole country is turned into a “*wennuan de dajiating*” (warm big family) with “*Dang*” (the Party) being the “*muqin*” (mother) of this “*dajiating*” (big family).

Not only have “*Dang*” (the Party) and “*Mao Zhuxi*” (Chairman Mao) “*jiu*” (saved) “*gu’er*” (orphans) and “*laodong renmin*” (the working people) from their extremely “*ku*” (bitter) life in “*jiu shehui*”, they are further hailed as providing spiritual guidance and nurturing as parents guide and nurture their young children, as shown in the following segments.

#### **Instance 6.41**

解放前，我是一个煤矿工人；解放后，在党的关怀和培养下，我当上了干部。  
(1964071205)

1. *Jiefang qian* (before the Liberation), I was a coal miner; *jiefang hou* (after the
2. Liberation), thanks to *Dang de guanhuai he peiyang* (the caring, nurturing and
3. training from the Party), I became a *ganbu* (cadre).

#### **Instance 6.42**

针对这种情况，我们对这些工人进行了思想工作，根据毛主席在《矛盾论》中的教导：“用不同的方法去解决不同的矛盾”，做到一把钥匙开一把锁。  
(1965021705)

1. In regard to this situation, we carried out *sixiang jiaoyu gongzuo* (thought education
2. work) to these workers. Based on the *jiaodao* (teachings and guidance) from Mao
3. *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao) in *On Contradiction*<sup>8</sup>, “Use different ways to solve different
4. contradictions,” we aimed at using one particular key to unlock one particular lock.

The “*guanhuai*” (caring and nurturing) and “*peiyang*” (nurturing and training) from “*Dang*” (the Party) brings changes to people’s social status, e.g., from “a coal miner” to “a *ganbu* (cadre)” in Instance 6.40; and the particularized “*sixiang jiaoyu gongzuo*”

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<sup>8</sup> Book written by Mao Zedong and published in Aug., 1937.

(thought education work) among workers help to solve particular problems and contradictions among them, as in Instance 6.41.

Based on analysis to significant terms and phrases in Instances 6.3, 6.15, 6.16, 6.34 and 6.42 depicting people's happy life in "*xin shehui*", we can draw the following cluster of cultural propositions in this regard:

**CP #30:** In "*xin shehui*", "*laodong renmin*" (the laboring people) were "*jiu*" (saved) and "*jiefang*" (liberated) from the previous "*ku*" (bitter) life [political dwelling, action, identity]

**CP #31:** They had "*fanshen*" (turned over their bodies) from underneath the crushing "*sanzuo dashan*" (three big mountains) of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism, and "*dedao xinsheng*" (gained new life) [action, political dwelling]

**CP #32:** Now they "*chibao chuannuan*" (have enough food to eat and warm clothes to wear). Families are "given land and house", and "lived in *wennuan de fangwu* (warm houses)." [action, dwelling, emotion]

**CP #33:** In "*xin shehui*", the whole country is a big and loving family, especially for "*gu'er*" (orphans), as they now "*youjia youmuqin*" (have home and mom), with "*jit*" (the collective) being the "*jia*" (home) and "*Dang*" (the Party) being the "*muqin*" (mother) [political dwelling, identity, relationship]

**CP #34:** Not only that, "*Dang*" (the Party) and "*Mao Zhuxi*" (Chairman Mao) gave people "*guanhuai*" (caring and nurturing), "*peiyang*" (nurturing and cultivating), "*jiaoyu*" (educating), and "*zhidao*" (guidance), just like what parents would do to their children [relationship, identity]

### 6.2.3.2 Terms Describing Contrasting Attitudes in the Two Societies

The following two terms, "*disheng xiaqi*" and "*yangmei tuqi*", which have opposite meanings, were frequently used in association with descriptions about people's attitudes in "*jiu shehui*" and "*xin shehui*".

The first term, "*disheng xiaqi*", means, literally, "to lower one's voice and make soft one's tone" and, figuratively, "to speak humbly and under one's breath"; the second term, "*yangmei tuqi*", means, literally, "to raise one's eyebrows and exhale freely" and, figuratively, "to feel proud and happy." A gesture commonly related with the first term is "chin down" or "lowering one's head" and a gesture commonly related with the second

term is “chin up” or “head up”. These two terms are usually used to describe people’s reactions/attitudes toward “*dizhu*” (landlords) or “*ziben jia*” (capitalists), who were usually denounced in “*yiku sitian*” discourses as “*boxuezhe*” (exploiters) or “*yapozhe*” (oppressors) in “*jiu shehui*”, as tyrannizing culprits causing the life of “*laodong renmin*” (the working people) to be miserable and painful, so much so that when around this kind of powerful people, “*laodong renmin*” (the working people) had to be very careful about the way they spoke and the manner they behaved. In other words, they had to lower their voice and speak under breath to indicate their extreme reverence and submission. The following segment (in line 1) is an example of this.

#### Instance 6.43

几十年来，他一直过着低声下气的日子，不敢大声讲话，不敢挺直腰走路，从他弯曲的身躯、满脸的皱纹、累累的伤疤，可以看出过去苦难生活留下的痕迹。  
(1959072906)

1. For several decades, he lived a life marked by *disheng xiaqi* (lowering one’s voice
2. and making soft one’s tone). He dared not to speak loudly and dared not to walk with
3. a straightened-up back. One could see mark left by the previous *kunan* (bitter and
4. difficult) life from his crooked body, the wrinkles all over his face, and layers of
5. scars on his skin.

In “*xin shehui*”, “*dizhu*” (landlords) and “*ziben jia*” (capitalists) or forces like that were “*dadao*” (downed) or “*pidou*” (denounced), allowing “*laodong renmin*” (working people) who used to be oppressed or exploited by them to live a dramatically different new life.

#### Instance 6.44

旧社会里一向饥寒交迫的劳动人民，一向没有地位的被压迫阶层，今天个个扬眉吐气，开始被自己也被别人看作“人” (1951021002)。

1. Each of the *Laodong renmin* (working people), who, in *jiu shehui*, had been *jihan*
2. *jiaopo* (threatened by both hunger and coldness), and who was within the oppressed
3. caste without any social status, is now *yangmei tuqi* (raising one’s eyebrows and
4. exhaling freely), and is started to be looked upon as a “human,” both by himself and
5. others.

### Instance 6.45

老店员们回忆了过去，自然地谈到了解放以后的种种变化。这十多年来，商店经过一系列社会主义改造，特别是公私合营之后，企业性质根本改变，成了为广大人民服务的阵地。职工们兴奋地说：“旧社会里我们低声下气，做牛做马；今天扬眉吐气，成了国家、商店的主人。”(1963092502)

1. Old store clerks reflected on the past and, reasonably, the various changes that had
2. occurred since *jiefang* (the Liberation). In the past decade, through a series of
3. socialist reformation, especially the joint of public and private operation, the nature
4. of the department store had changed fundamentally and become a place where the
5. vast majority of *renmin* (the People) are served. Staffs became very excited and said,
6. “In *jiu shehui* we *disheng xiaqi* (lowered voice and made soft of tone), *zuoni u zuoma*
7. (to work like an ox or a horse); today we *yangmei tuqi* (raise eyebrows and exhale
8. freely), and become *zhuren* (masters) of the State as well as the store.”

A cultural proposition can be drawn in regards to usage of the pair of terms discussed above.

**CP #35:** In “*jiu shehui*”, “*laodong renmin*” (the working people) had to “*disheng xiaqi*” (lower one’s voice and make soft of one’s tone) to survive; in “*xin shehui*”, they can “*yangmei tuqi*” (raise one’s eyebrows and exhale freely) [political dwelling, identity, action, emotion]

### 6.2.4 Terms Describing Impressions, Evaluations, and Reactions to the Two Societies

This section provides descriptive analysis of some salient and contrasting terms that are used in the “*yiku sitian*” discourse to describe people’s impressions and evaluations to “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” based on their own (or their family members, relatives, or colleagues’) experiences in the two societies, and their chosen actions/reactions as a result. Again the descriptive terms and phrases associated with the two societies are very much opposite in meaning and extremely loaded with emotions. Table 18 is a summary of this category. We would look at specific examples for each of them after the table.

Table 18: Terms and Phrases Describing Contrasting Impressions, Evaluations, and Reactions to the Two Societies

	<i>Jiu shehui</i>	<i>Xin shehui</i>
Impressions & Evaluations	<i>beican de</i> (sad and tragic) or <i>beican</i> (sadness, tragedy) <i>kunan de</i> (bitter and difficult) or <i>kunan</i> (bitterness and difficulty) <i>hei'an de</i> (dark) or <i>hei'an</i> (darkness) <i>canku de</i> (cruel) or <i>canku</i> (cruelty) or <i>lengku</i> (coldness and cruelty) <i>xuexing zuixing</i> (bloody crime)	<i>xingfu de</i> (happy) or <i>xingfu</i> (happiness) <i>guangming</i> (brightness) <i>wennuan de</i> (warm) <i>tianmei de</i> (sweet and beautiful) <i>enqing</i> (grace)
Reactions	<i>tonghen</i> (to abhor) <i>zenghen</i> (to detest) <i>chouhen</i> (to hate) <i>kongsu</i> (to denounce)	<i>re'ai</i> (to love ardently) <i>ganji</i> (be grateful) <i>zhenxi</i> (to cherish) <i>gesong</i> (to sing the praises of)

#### 6.2.4.1 Terms Describing People’s Impressions and Evaluations to the Two Societies

The following terms, among others, are frequently used in “*yiku sitian*” discourse to describe people’s impressions about “*jiu shehui*”: “*beican de*” (sad and tragic), “*kunan de*” (bitter and difficult), “*canku de*” (cruel) and “*hei’an de*” (dark)<sup>9</sup>. They are usually adjective terms defining the nature, quality, and feature of life or personality of the ruling class, such as “*dizhu jieji*” (the landlord class). For example,

#### Instance 6.46

这次忆苦思甜的会上，他向大家讲述了他童年讨饭、父母被饿死的悲惨苦难的家史。  
(1967042604)

1. During the *yiku sitan* gathering, he narrated to everyone about their *beican* (sad and

<sup>9</sup> The word “*de*” at the end of each of the terms is an article. When used after an adjective term, it helps to reinforce the adjective nature of that term, though many times it is also fine to just use adjective terms without “*de*” in front of a noun and it is still clear that the term before the noun is an adjective. For example, one can say, “*beican de* life”, which means “sad and tragical life”; or one can say, “*beican* life,” which still means “sad and tragical life”. Sometimes, when two (or more) adjective terms are used together to describe one same noun, only one “*de*” is needed between the end of the last adjective terms and before the noun (Segment #45 is such an example).

2. tragic) *kunan de* (bitter and difficult) family history of him begging for food in his
3. childhood and parents died of starvation.

### Instance 6.47

大家忆苦思甜，旧社会贫下中农一幕幕悲惨的生活景象浮现在眼前。(1969041604)

1. Everybody *yiku sitian* (recalled the bitterness and reflected on the sweetness) and
2. scenes after scenes of *beican de* (sad and tragic) life of *pin xia zhong nong* (poor and
3. lower-middle peasants) in *jiu shehui* appeared before their eyes.

### Instance 6.48

十岁以后，他便给地主干活，受尽苦难。(1963102302A)

1. He started working for *dizhu* (landlord) and suffered enough *kunan* (bitterness and
2. difficulties)<sup>10</sup> since he was ten years old.

### Instance 6.49

在黑暗的旧社会里，他们深受帝国主义、封建主义、官僚资本主义及本民族的奴隶主、农奴主的重重压迫和剥削。(1965062806)

1. In *hei'an de* (dark) *jiu shehui*, they were under the severe *yapo* (oppression) and
2. *boxue* (exploitation) from imperialism, feudalism, bureaucrat capitalism as well as
3. slave owners and serf owners of their own nation.

### Instance 6.50

双杨树大队有个大娘叫周玉花。在黑暗的旧社会，她父亲被地主逼死了，母亲饿死了，哥哥被日本人枪杀了。一家人就剩了她一口子。(1968013101)

1. In Shuangyangshu Brigade, there is an old woman named Zhou Yuhua. In *hei'an de*
2. (dark) *jiu shehui*, her father died of cruelty from *dizhu* (landlord), her mother died of
3. starvation, and her older brother was killed by the Japanese. She was the only one
4. survived among the whole family.

### Instance 6.51

他从亲身经验中体会到地主阶级的残酷和旧社会的黑暗，体会到只有共产党才是劳动人民的救星。(1963100801)

1. From his personal experience he came to see the *canku* (cruelty) of *dizhu jieji*
2. (landlord class) and the *hei'an* (darkness) of *jiu shehui* and he concluded that only
3. *Gong Chan Dang* (the Communist Party) was the *jiuxing* (saving star) of *laodong*
4. *renmin* (working people).

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<sup>10</sup> Here *kunan* is used as a noun, hence the translation of “bitterness and difficulties”.



### Instance 6.52

地处“河西走廊”的蓼泉公社，在黑暗的旧社会，经济、文化都十分落后。贫下中农受着残酷的剥削和压迫，根本谈不到上学读书。(1968111003)

1. In *hei'an de* (dark) *jiu shehui*, Liaoquan Commune, which is located at the “Gansu Corridor”, is extremely backward both economically and culturally. Under the *canku de* (cruel) boxu (exploitation) and *yapo* (oppression), it was not possible at all for *pin xia zhong nong* (poor and lower-middle peasants) to go to school.

From Instances 6.46 to 6.52, we can see that “*jiu shehui*” is described as “*hei'an de*” (dark, line 1 in 6.49 and 6.50, line 2 in 6.51) and “*dizhu jieji*” (landlord class) is described as “*canku de*” (cruel, line 1 in 6.51), resulting in “*beican de*” (sad and tragic, line 1 in 6.46, line 2 in 6.47) and “*kunan de*” (bitter and difficult, line 2 in 6.46, line 1 in 6.48) life or family history of “*pin xia zhong nong*” (poor and lower-middle peasants, line 2 in 6.47, lines 3-4 in 6.52). Hence the following cultural proposition:

**CP #36:** “*Jiu shehui*” is “*hei'an de*” (dark) [political dwelling]

**CP #37:** “*Dizhu jieji*” (landlord class) is “*canku de*” (cruel) [identity]

**CP #38:** Life in “*jiu shehui*” is “*beican de*” (sad and tragic) and “*kunan de*” (bitter and difficult) for “*pin xia zhong nong*” (poor and lower-middle peasants) [political dwelling, identity]

Similarly, terms with contrastive meanings are used in “*yiku sitian*” discourse to describe people’s impressions about “*xin shehui*”: “*xingfu de*” (happy) or “*xingfu*” (happiness), “*guangming*” (brightness), “*wenuan de*” (warm) or “*wenuan*” (warmth), and “*tianmei de*” (sweet and beautiful). The followings are some examples of them.

### Instance 6.53

他在旧社会受尽了苦，在新社会里翻了身，过着幸福的生活(1964020106)

1. He had suffered enough *ku* (bitterness) in *jiu shehui* but had *fanshen* (turned over his body) in *xin shehui* and lived a *xingfu de* (happy) life.

### Instance 6.54

随后，铁比力克给大家回忆了旧社会自己在牧主皮鞭下过的悲惨生活，畅谈了毛主席、共产党给草原上带来的幸福和光明。(1970031804)

1. Afterwards, Tiebilike *huiyi* (recalled) for everybody the *beican* (sad and tragic) life
2. he had in *jiu shehui* under the whip of *muzhu* (flock master) and then *changtan*
3. (spoke in a high spirit) the *xingfu* (happiness) and *guangming* (brightness) brought to
4. the prairies by Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao) and *Gong Chan Dang* (Communist
5. Party).

### Instance 6.55

没有亲身受到过阶级压迫的青年人，也从雷锋的身世，从父兄亲邻的忆苦思甜所提供的的事实当中，认识了剥削制度的黑暗和新社会的光明。（1963100801）

1. Those young men, who had never experienced *jieji yapo* (class oppression), came to
2. see the *hei'an* (darkness) of the exploiting system and the *guangming* (brightness) of
3. *xin shehui* from Lei Feng's family history and facts provided in *yiku sitian* accounts
4. by their fathers, older brothers, relatives and neighbors.

### Instance 6.56

一些年老的单身人，也跟大家一样欢乐地度过春节，享受到社会主义大家庭的温暖。（1964021701）

1. Some senior single persons are also spending the Spring Festival time merrily just
2. like everybody else does and enjoying the *wennuan* (warmth) of the *shehui zhuyi da*
3. *jiating* (socialist big family).

### Instance 6.39

在新社会，祖国到处是温暖的大家庭，走到哪里都有党的关怀（1964072603）

1. In *xin shehui*, there is *wennuan de* (warm) *da jiating* (big family) everywhere in
2. *zuguo* (ancestor's country), and there is *Dang de guanhuai* (caring and nurturing
3. from the Party) no matter where one goes.

### Instance 6.57

旧社会的冷酷，新社会的温暖，这一切使他的心情久久不能平静，他衷心地感激党和毛主席。（1963102302B）

1. The *lengku* (coldness and cruelty) of *jiu shehui* and *wennuan* (warmth) of *xin shehui*
2. gave him significant impact for quite a while. He *ganxie* (was grateful to) *Dang* (the
3. Party) and Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao) from the bottom of his heart.

### Instance 6.58

解放后她才翻了身，过上了甜美的日子，有了八个孩子。她逢人就说：“我永世不忘毛主席。”（1968013101）

1. It was not until *jiefang hou* (after the Liberation) that she *fanshen* (turned over her
2. body) and lived a *tianmei de* (sweet and beautiful) life and had eight children. She
3. told people whenever she could that “I will never forget Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman
4. Mao).”

From Instances 6.53 to 6.58 we see a drastically different scene of “*xin shehui*” being painted by those salient terms. People who used to suffer extreme “*kunan*” (bitterness and difficulty), who were crushed under the merciless “*boxue*” (exploitation) and “*yapo*” (oppression) from “*dizhu jieji*” (the landlord class) or “*boxue jieji*” (the exploitation class), are able to “*fanshen*” (turn over one’s body, i.e., get liberated, in lines 1-2 of Instance 6.58) and live a “*xingfu de*” (happy, line 3 of Instance 6.54) and “*tianmei de*” (sweet and beautiful, line 2 of Instance 6.58) life in this “*guangming de*” (bright, line 2 of Instance 6.55) and “*wennuan de*” (warm, line 1 in Instance 6.39 and 6.57) “*shehui zhuyi da jiating*” (socialist big family, lines 2-3 of Instance 6.56) brought to them by “*Dang*” (the Party) and Mao Zhuxi (Chairman Mao) since “*jiefang hou*” (after the Liberation, line 1 of Instance 6.58). Hence the following cultural propositions:

**CP #39:** People got to “*fanshen*” (turn over one’s body) and be set free [action]

**CP #40:** “*Xin shehui*” is a “*shehui zhuyi da jiating*” (socialist big family) [political dwelling]

**CP #41:** This “*da jiating*” is “*wennuan de*” (warm) [political dwelling]

**CP #42:** “*Xin shehui*” is “*guangming de*” (bright) [political dwelling]

**CP #43:** People lived a “*xingfu de*” (happy) and “*tianmei de*” (sweet and beautiful) life in it [political dwelling, emotion]

**CP #44:** It is “*Gong Chan Dang*” (the Communist Party) and “*Mao Zhuxi*” (Chairman Mao) who brought “*guangmin*” (brightness) and “*xingfu*” (happiness) to people’s life [identity, relationship, political dwelling]

Contrast and evaluation between “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” is also displayed by terms defining people’s perceptions about the way they were treated in the two societies. Some terms depicting bad and life-threatening actions attributed to oppressors such as “*dizhu*” (landlord) and “*zibenjia*” (capitalists), such as “*boxue*” (exploit), “*yapo*” (oppress), “*zhemo*” (torture), “*cuican*” (devastate), “*lingru*” (humiliate), and “*qiya*” (bully), are already listed in part A of section 6.2.3.2.1, and some terms depicting good

and life-saving actions attributed to “*Gong Chan Dang*” (the Communist Party) and Mao Zhuxi (Chairman Mao), such as “*jiefang*” (liberate), “*jiu*” (save), “*fanshen*” (turn over one’s body), and “*huode xinsheng*” (gain new life), are listed in section 6.2.3.2.2. Here two more salient terms along the same line will be looked at: “*xuexing zuixing*” (bloody crimes) and “*enqing*” (grace), categorizing the nature of these two contrastive groups of action terms related with “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”. In other words, “*dizhu*” (landlords) and “*zibenjia*” (capitalists) in “*jiu shehui*” has committed “*xuexing zuixing*” (bloody crime) by “*boxue*” (exploiting), “*yapo*” (oppressing), “*zhemo*” (torturing), “*cuican*” (devastating), “*lingru*” (humiliating), and “*qiya*” (bullying) “*pin xia zhong nong*” (poor the lower-middle peasants) or “*laodong renmin*” (working people); and *Gong Chan Dang* (the Communist Party) and Mao Zhuxi (Chairman Mao) have shown “*enqing*” (grace) to the poor and oppressed by “*jiefang*” (liberating) and “*jiu*” (saving) them, enabling them to “*fanshen*” (turn over one’s body) and “*huode xinsheng*” (gain new life). For example,

**Instance 6.59** – “*xuexing zuixing*” committed by “*dizhu jieji*” (landlord class):

参观预展的成千上万的群众，看到地主阶级凶残压榨农民的血腥罪行，都万分激愤。  
(1965111202)

1. All the thousands and thousands of people who attended the pre-exhibition became
2. extremely *jifen* (hot blooded) when they saw the *xuexing zuixing* (bloody crime) of
3. brutal *yazha* (oppression, exploitation, and squeezing) from *dizhu jieji* (landlord class)
4. to *nongmin* (peasants).

**Instance 6.60** – “*xuexing zuixing*” committed by *Chiang Kai Shek* “*fandong tongzhi*” (the reactionary rule of *Chiang Kai-Shek*):

在昆明的许多次朗诵会上，人们可以经常看到著名爱国诗人、民主战士闻一多先生，穿着灰布长袍拿着自己的诗稿站在那里，以严峻而深沉的目光，那洪亮的使你不能不跟着他一起斗争的声音、愤怒地控诉着蒋介石反动统治的血腥罪行。  
(1964030805)

1. In many poem-reciting gatherings in Kunming, people could often see Mr. Wen
2. Yiduo, a well-known patriotic poet and democratic fighter, stood there in long gray

3. robe holding drafts of his own poems, *fennu di* (indignantly) *kongsu* (denouncing)
4. the *xuexing zuixing* (bloody crimes) of Chiang Kai-Shek *fandong tongzhi* (the
5. reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-Shek) with his austere and deep gaze and a voice so
6. strong that you simply couldn't help fighting along with him.

**Instance 6.61** – “*xuexing zuixing*” committed by imperialism:

商建功常说：“我忘不了美帝国主义的血腥罪行，我要驾上自己的战鹰，保卫祖国的领空，严惩空中强盗！”(1970012202)

*Shang Jianguo* often said, “I couldn't forget the *xuexing zuixing* (bloody crimes) of American imperialism. I will fly my fighting Eagle to protect the air space of *zuguo* (ancestor's country) and punish severely the bandits in the air!”

**Instance 6.62** – “*enqing*” (grace) from “*Dang*” (the Party):

这个翻天覆地的变化，使我不时地想起旧社会的苦。忆苦思甜，觉得党的恩情比山高，比海深。

1. This sky-and-earth-shaking change constantly reminds me of the *ku* (bitterness) of
2. *jiu shehui*. *Yiku sitian*, I see the *enqing* (grace) of *Dang* (the Party) higher than
3. mountains and deeper than the ocean.

**Instance 6.63** – “*enqing*” (grace) from Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao):

六十三岁的杜玉秀，每当她回忆对比时，总是激动地说：“旧社会是地狱，新社会是天堂。毛主席把我从苦海里救了出来，天大地大不如毛主席的恩情大。”(1969033004)

1. Whenever recalling and comparing, Du Yuxiu, a sixty-three-year-old, always
2. commented affectively, “*Jiu shehui* is *diyu* (hell) and *xin shehui* is *tiantang* (heaven).
3. Mao *Zhuxi* Chairman Mao) *jiu* (saved) me out of *kuhai* (bitter sea). Even the
4. greatness of heaven and earth is no greater than the *enqing* (grace) of Mao *Zhuxi*
5. (Chairman Mao).”

Some cultural propositions can be drawn based on the above segments:

**CP #34:** “*Jiu shehui*” is full of “*xuexing zuixing*” committed by “*dizhu jieji*” (landlord class), “*zibenjia*” (capitalists), Chiang Kai-Shek “*fandong tongzh*” (the reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-Shek), and Imperialism.

**CP #35:** “*Xin shehui*” is full of “*enqing*” (grace) given to people by *Gong Chan Dang* (the Communist Party) and Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao).

**6.2.4.2 Terms Describing People's Reactions to the Two Societies**

There are salient terms in the “*yiku sitian*” discourse describing the different ways people acted toward their oppressors/exploiters (i.e., “*dizhu jieji*”/landlord class, “*zibenjia jieji*” /capitalist class, “*diguozhuyi daibiao*”/representatives of imperialism, and Chiang

Kai Shek “*fandongpai*”/Chiang Kai Shek reactionary force) in “*jiu shehui*” and their savior (i.e., “*Gong Chan Dang*”/the Communist Party, and Mao *Zhuxi*/Chairman Mao) in “*xin shehui*”. Particularly, terms like “*tonghen*” (abhor), “*zenghen*” (detest), “*chouhen*” (hate) and “*kongsu*” (accuse, denounce) are used in relation to “*jiu shehui*” and terms like “*re'ai*” (love ardently), “*ganji*” (be grateful), “*zhenxi*” (cherish), “*gesong*” (sing praises to) are used in relation to “*xin shehui*”. For example,

#### Instance 6.64

我们队里好多工人，是旧社会的“苦命人”。这些人，对旧社会非常痛恨，对新社会无限热爱。(1964060105)

1. Many workers in our group are “*kuming ren*” (bitter-fate persons) in *jiu shehui*.
2. These people *tonghen* (abhorred) *jiu shehui* very much and *re'ai* (loved ardently) *xin shehui* immeasurably.

#### Instance 6.65

这些在新社会成长的工农知识分子，解放前在旧社会里受到的压迫、剥削最为深重，憎恨旧社会的感情异常强烈，对党、对新社会热爱的感情也更为真挚。(196310230501A)

1. These workers and peasants who developed into intellectuals in *xin shehui* suffered
2. the most devastating *yapo* (oppression) and *boxue* (exploitation) in *jiu shehui*.
3. Therefore their feelings of *zenghen* (detesting) *jiu shehui* was unusually strong and
4. their feelings of *re'ai* (love ardently) *xin shehui* was even more sincerely.

#### Instance 6.66

我对旧社会有说不尽的仇恨，对新社会有说不尽的热爱 (1966050302)

1. I have inexhaustible *chouhen* (hate) to *jiu shehui* and inexhaustible *re'ai* (ardent love)
2. to *xin shehui*.

From Instances 6.64 to 6.66 we see these contrastive terms are used in pairs in each of them: “*tonghen*” (abhor) “*jiu shehui*” vs. “*re'ai*” (love ardently) “*xin shehui*”; “*zenghen*” (detesting) “*jiu shehui*” vs. “*re'ai*” (love ardently) “*xin shehui*”; and “*chouhen*” (hate) “*jiu shehui*” vs. “*re'ai*” (love ardently) “*xin shehui*”. All these terms express strong emotions. And yet they are modified with adverbs like “unusually strong”, “even more”,

and “inexhaustible”, making the emotions of “*hen*” (hate) and “*ai*” (love) expressed in “*yiku sitian*” discourse extremely strong.

### Instance 6.67

除夕晚上，社员们吃罢年夜饭，纷纷涌向大队的中心广场，参加“除夕联欢晚会”。十一岁的贫农社员的女儿冯普莲第一个表演，她口齿伶俐地说了一段快板，控诉旧社会地主恶霸欺压贫农的血腥罪行，歌颂了新社会党和毛主席的恩情。(1964021701)

1. In the evening of *chuxi* (i.e., the last day before the Chinese new year), after the year-
2. end dinner, commune members all gathered together at the central square of the
3. production brigade to attend the “*Chuxi Lianhuan Wanhui* /Year-End Merry-
4. Together Evening Show.” *Feng Pulian*, an eleven-year-old daughter of a poor
5. peasant commune member, was the first one to perform. She presented a clapper
6. talk<sup>11</sup> in skillful tongue to *kongsu* (accuse, denounce) the *xuexing zuixing* (bloody
7. crimes) of *dizhu eba* (despotic landlords) *qiya* (bullying) *pinnong* (peasants) and to
8. *gesong* (sing praises to) the *enqing* (grace) of *Dang* (the Party) and *Mao Zhuxi*
9. (Chairman Mao) in *xin shehui*.

“*Kongsu*” is a particular way of talking that is usually used in a public and legal setting when one party is accused by another party to be guilty of committing certain crimes. As a result, the content of “*kongsu*” is usually about social injustice and the speaker could become very emotional and may even cry, wail, shout, scream, or faint, as is described in the following example.

### Instance 6.68

三月三日，我们组织了领导干部的忆苦思甜会，一些领导干部在会上对万恶的旧社会进行了血泪的控诉。(1967042604)

1. On March 3<sup>rd</sup>, we organized a *yiku sitian* meeting among leaders and cadres. Some
2. of them conducted blood-and-tears *kongsu* (denouncement) toward the *wan’e de* (all
3. evil) *jiu shehui*.

A “blood-and-tears *kongsu*” is one laden with sad and heartbroken events that usually involves the loss of innocent life, life threatening cold or hunger, or miserable mistreatments from cruel “*dizhu*” (landlords) or “*zibenjia*” (capitalists), etc., as we can

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<sup>11</sup> 快板儿, “*kuai ban’er*”, a Chinese folk art similar to rap featured with fast and rhyming talk accompanied with a clapperboard made of two small and smooth rectangular wood plaque connected to each other at one end and held unto the performer’s hands (could be either one set on one hand or two sets on one hand each).

see from previously cited Instances such as 6.27 to 6.31 from page 227 to 230. And the comparison between “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” through “*huiyi*” (recalling) and “*duibi*” (comparison) is proved to be the most effective way of doing “*yiku sitian*”, as in the following example.

### Instance 6.69

他们用回忆对比的方法，用亲身经历的具体事例，控诉了旧社会的阶级压迫和阶级剥削的罪恶(196310230501B)

1. They used ways of *huiyi* (recalling) and *duibi* (comparison) with specific personal
2. experiences to *kongsu* (denounce) the evilness of *jieji yapo* (class oppression) and
3. *jieji boxue* (class exploitation) of *jiu shehui*.

According to “*yiku sitian*” discourses, all the sharp contrasts and comparisons of people’s experience in the two societies naturally lead people to a deep appreciation and thankfulness of “*ganji*” or “*ganxie*” to “*Gong Chan Dang*” (the Communist Party) and Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao), who were believed to be responsible for bringing about this significant change in their life.

### Instance 6.57

旧社会的冷酷，新社会的温暖，这一切使他的心情久久不能平静，他衷心地感激党和毛主席。(1963102302B)

1. The *lengku* (coldness and cruelty) of *jiu shehui* and *wennuan* (warmth) of *xin shehui*
2. gave him significant impact for quite a while. He *ganxie* (was grateful to) *Dang* (the
3. Party) and Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao) from the bottom of his heart.

### Instance 6.70

旧社会，七重石板七重砖压在我们头上，翻不了身。感谢毛主席领导我们翻了身，分了田，分了屋，日子一日好过一日，现在的日子，好比白糖加蜜糖，甜上加甜。(1966061303)

1. In *jiu shehui*, we were underneath seven layers of stone tablets and seven layers of
2. bricks and couldn’t *fanshen* (turn over our bodies). *Ganxie* (Thank) Mao *Zhuxi*
3. (Chairman Mao) leading us to *fanshen* (turn over bodies), to be allocated land and
4. houses, and to have life better and better. Our life now can be compared as *baitang*
5. (white sugar) mixed with *mitang* (honey), *tian shang jia tian* (sweet added to sweet).



“*Ganji*” or “*ganxie*” (be grateful) is more or less an internal emotion that people feel. A common and more external act that people do to show their appreciation and gratefulness to the saving grace of “*Dang*” (the Party) and Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao) is to “*gesong*” (sing praises to) them, as we can see in line 8 of Instance 6.67 on page 247 and line 3 of the following example.

### Instance 6.71

解放前被称为“穷小子街”的第三生产队，贫下中农在座谈会上联系本队的变化，热烈歌颂大救星毛主席。(1969042806)

1. In a colloquium, *pin xia zhong nong* (poor and lower-middle peasants) of the third
2. production brigade, which used to be nicknamed as “Poor Young Men Street”
3. *jiefang qian* (before the Liberation), *relie* (phenomenally) *gesong* (sang praises of)
4. Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao) *da jiuxing* (the great savior) when reflecting on the
5. changes of their brigade.

Chairman Mao and his Communist Party established the new China in 1949. By the 1960s a decade had passed and the younger generation who were either born right before 1949 or after it are growing up in a completely different environment. Most of them have no idea what kind of a life their parents or grandparents have had in “*jiu shehui*” and are taking it for granted of the life they have now in “*xin shehui*”. This presents a serious challenge to the older generation regarding how to raise their young and make them suitable for the socialist cause. And “*yiku sitian*” is proved to be an effective approach to this problem, helping the younger generation to “*zhenxi*” (cherish) the “*xingfu*” (happy) life of today and be willing to carry on the socialist cause.

### Instance 6.72

老年人忆苦思甜，谆谆告诫儿孙辈要珍惜现在的幸福生活，为社会主义建设贡献出自己的力量(1964021401)

1. The older generations *yiku sitian*, sincerely cautioning the younger generations to
2. *zhenxi* (cherish) the *xingfu* (happy) life now and to *gongxian* (devote) their *liliang*
3. (strength) to the socialist construction.

### Instance 6.73

象常林这样的年青人，真是在糖缸里泡大的，可他们不知道我们老一辈过的什么日子，就不会珍惜今天的幸福。这样的人，怎能把社会主义的大旗扛下去呢？  
(1964071302)

1. Young men like Chang Lin truly grew up soaked in a *tanggang* (sugar vat). But if
2. they do not know what kind of a life we the older generation had, they would not
3. *zhenxi* (cherish) the *xingfu* (happiness) of today. How can this kind of persons carry
4. forward the big flag of socialism?

We see in this section salient terms used to describe people's impressions, evaluations, and reactions to “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”. Some more cultural propositions can be identified based on the above examples and description.

**CP #45:** “*Laodong renmin*” “*hen*” (hate) “*jiu shehui*” [emotion, action, identity, political dwelling]

**CP #46:** “*Laodong renmin*” “*ai*” (love) “*xin shehui*” [emotion, identity, political dwelling]

**CP #47:** “*Laodong renmin*” “*kongsu*” (accuse, denounce) “*jiu shehui*” [emotion, identity, action, political dwelling]

**CP #48:** “*Laodong renmin*” “*gesong*” (sing praises to) “*Dang*” (the Party) and “*Mao Zhuxi*” (Chairman Mao) [emotion, action, identity]

**CP #49:** “*Laodong renmin*” “*ganji*” (are grateful to) “*Dang*” (the Party) and *Mao Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao) [emotion, action, identity]

**CP #50:** One should “*zhenxi*” (cherish) the “*xingfu*” (happy) life of today [action, emotion, political dwelling]

**CP #51:** One should “*gongxian*” (devote) “*liliang*” (strength) for the socialist construction [action]

### 6.3 The Semantic Dimensions Revealed

Now that we have examined the semantic system spinned around two key cultural terms/symbols of “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and “*xin shehui*” (the new society) as well as series of terms clustered with them in the four categories analyzed above, we can identify semantic dimensions revealed from the analysis. I summarized them into table 19 on the following page.

Table 19: Semantic Dimensions

	Dimensions of Meanings	Examples of Instances
Identity	restricted vs. free inferior vs. superior	“ <i>nuli</i> ” (slave) vs. “ <i>zhuren</i> ” (master)
Relation	distant vs. close	“ <i>gu’er</i> (orphan) vs. “ <i>wennuan de shehui zhuyi da jiating</i> ” (warm socialist big family)
Action	nervous vs. relaxed  despised vs. respected unsecured vs. secured	“ <i>disheng xiaqi</i> ” (be meek and subservient) vs. “ <i>yangmei tuqi</i> ” (feel proud and elated) “ <i>zuoniu zuoma</i> ” (to work like an ox or a horse) vs. “ <i>fanshen</i> ” (turn over one’s body) “ <i>chi bubao</i> ” (eat but not full), “ <i>chuan bunuan</i> ” (wear but not warm) vs. “ <i>chibao chuannuan</i> ” (eat enough and wear warm)
Emotion	full of hate vs. full of love	“ <i>zenghen</i> ” (to detest) vs. “ <i>re’ai</i> ” (to love ardently)
Political Dwelling	undesirable vs. desirable killing vs. sustaining repellent vs. attractive frightening vs. comforting	“ <i>ku</i> ” (bitterness) vs. “ <i>tian</i> ” (sweetness)  “ <i>diyu</i> ” (hell)” vs. “ <i>tiantang</i> ” (heaven) “ <i>lengku</i> (coldness and cruelty) vs. <i>wennuan</i> (warmth)  “ <i>hei’an</i> ” (darkness) vs. “ <i>guangming</i> ” (brightness)

As we can see from the table, eleven semantic dimensions are identified based on the analysis (each dimension is supported by the example of instance listed right next to it on the same line). These eleven dimensions correspond, roughly, to the “hubs of meanings” of identity, action, emotion, and (political dwelling in the “*yiku sitian*” cultural discourse and provide a way for us to understand this meaning system.

#### 6.4 Summary

The focus of this chapter is the presentation of the descriptive data regarding two of the most salient cultural terms, “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”, in the “*yiku sitian*” discourse. Analysis of report segments from the archive of *Renmin Ribao* (People’s Daily) between 1960 and 1976 reveals the following four categories that can be used to summarize terms and symbols associated with the key terms of “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”: (1) terms that compare the two societies to food (condiments) and their tastes; (2) terms that compare the two societies to places and their features; (3) terms that

describe people's contrasting fate and experiences in the two societies; (4) terms that describe people's impressions, evaluations, and reactions to the two societies.

Based on the analysis and according to the “*yiku sitian*” discourse, we come to see drastically different portraits painted for *xin shehui* in comparison with *jiu shehui*: while *jiu shehui* is described as “*ku*” (bitter) as “*huanglian*” (bitter herb) and “*kudan*” (gall bladder), “*xin shehui*” is described as “*tian*” (sweet) as “*tang*” (sugar), “*tangdou*” (sugar ball), “*mi*” (honey), and “*hongzao*” (dates) plus “*mitang*” (honey sugar); while “*jiu shehui*” is described as “*diyu*” (hell), “*yanwangdian*” (Palace of Hell), “*huokeng*” (fire pit), “*wanzhang shenyuan*” (abyss), “*kuhai*” (bitter sea), and “*kushui*” (bitter water), topped with “*sanzuo dashan*” (three big mountains), “*xin shehui*” is described as “*tiantang*” (heaven), “*tianshui*” (sweet water), “*tanggang*” (sugar vat), “*miguan*” (honey jar), and “*migang*” (honey vat).

In “*jiu shehui*”, it is almost nonexceptional for “*laodong renmin*” (the working people) to suffer the fate of being “*qiongren*” (poor people), “*qiongkuren*” (poor and bitter people), “*kumingren*” (a person with a bitter fate), or to become “*kuhaizi*” (bitter or unfortunate kids), “*gu'er*” (orphans), or “*nuli*” (slaves), but in “*xin shehui*”, “*laodong renmin*” (the working people) are transformed to be “*zhuren*” (masters) of the country.

In “*jiu shehui*”, “*laodong renmin*” (the working people) “*chi bubao chuan bunuan*” (ate but not full, wore but not warm), “*zuoniu zuoma*” (worked like an ox or a horse), “*shouku shoule*” (suffered bitterness and exhaustion), “*bei boxue*” (exploited), “*bei yapo*” (oppressed), “*bei zhemo*” (tortured), “*bei cuican*” (devastated), “*chengle gu'er*” (became an orphan), their life “*chongman xue he lei*” (full of blood and tears), “*zhemo de buxiangge renyang*” (tortured so severely that one does not look like a human any more),

and “*boduo le zuoren de quanli*” (deprived of rights as humans). But in “*xin shehui*”, not only were “*laodong renmin*” (the working people) “*bei jiu*” (saved), “*bei jiefang*” (liberated), and “*fanshen*” (turned over one’s body), but they were able to “*chibao chuannuan*” (eat enough and wear warm) and “*huode xinsheng*” (gain new life). What’s more, they were “*jiaodao*” (instructed), “*peiyang*” (trained and cultivated), enjoyed “*Dang de guanhuai*” (caring and nurturing from the Party) and those who used to be “*gu’er*” (orphans) now “*youjia youmuqin*” (had home and mom).

In “*jiu shehui*”, “*laodong renmin*” (the working people)’s social status was so low and inferior that they had to “*disheng xiaqi*” (lower one’s voice and restrict one’s breath, be meek and subservient) in their interaction with their oppressors/exploiters. But in “*xin shehui*”, “*laodong renmin*” (the working people)’s social status was raised and, as “*zhuren*” (masters) of the country, they could “*yangmei tuqi*” (raise one’s eyebrows and exhale freely, be happy and elated).

As shown in the previous analysis, “*jiu shehui*” is “*beican de*” (sad and tragic), “*hei’an de*” (dark), “*canku de*” (cruel), full of “*kunan*” (bitterness and difficulty) and “*lengku*” (coldness and cruelty), and “*xuexing zuixing*” (bloody crime) committed by “*dizhu*” (landlords), “*zibenjia*” (capitalists), and the reactionary forces of the National Party under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek; whereas “*xin shehui*” is “*xingfu de*” (happy), “*guangming de*” (bright), “*wennuan de*” (warm), “*tianmei de*” (sweet and beautiful), full of “*enqing*” (grace) from “*Gongchan Dang*” (the Communist Party) and Mao Zhuxi (Chairman Mao). Because of their bitter experiences in “*jiu shehui*”, “*laodong renmin*” (the working people) had strong feelings of “*ai*” (love) and “*hen*” (hate) toward their “*enren*” (benefactor) and “*diren*” or “*chouren*” (both means “enemies”). They

“*tonghen*” (abhorred), “*zenghen*” (detested), and “*chouhen*” (hated) their previous exploiters and oppressors, such as “*dizhu*” (landlords), “*zibenjia*” (capitalists), and the reactionary forces of the Nationalist Party and actively engaged in fierce “*kongsu*” (denouncement) to them. In “*xin shehui*”, “*laodong renmin*” (the working people) “*ganji*” (were grateful to) the “*enqing*” (grace) of “*Dang*” (the Party) and Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao) of “*jiu*” (saving) them, therefore they “*re'ai*” (loved ardently) “*Dang*” (the Party) and Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao), happily “*gesong*” (sang the praises of) them, and “*zhenxi*” (cherished) their new life.

In the next chapter we will continually examining “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural practice by analyzing another key cultural term/symbol, “*jieji*” (class), and terms clustered with it or derived from it, that is frequently used in *yiku sitian* discourses as well as the larger political discourses in China in the 1960s and 1970s. Cultural Premises will be formulated from both orthodox and alternative perspectives of looking at “*yiku sitian*”.

## CHAPTER 7

### “YIKU SITIAN” AS A CULTURAL DISCOURSE

In Chapter 6 we analyzed the semantic system of “*jiu shehui*” vs. “*xin shehui*” and identified ten semantic dimensions of meanings based on the analysis. In this chapter, we will continue the examination of “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural discourse by analyzing another key cultural term, “*jieji*” (class), and terms associated with it. Carbaugh’s Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory will be guiding the whole process. Cultural propositions and cultural premises will be formulated by the end to help us understand better the shape and meanings of “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural discourse.

#### 7.1 Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory

Carbaugh (2007) and Carbaugh & Cerulli (2013) summarized and sophisticated the Cultural Discourse Theory that has been developed based on the previous ethnographic research and theorization.

Carbaugh (2007) stated that, “Cultural discourse analysis treats meaning as an ongoing commentary that is immanent in actual communication practices. In other words, as people communicate with each other, they are saying things literally about the specific subject being discussed, but they are also saying things culturally, about who they are, how they are related, what they are doing together, how they feel about what is going in, and about the nature of things” (p. 174). Carbaugh termed these cultural meanings about personhood, relationships, action, emotion, and dwelling that are formulated in cultural discourse analyses as “radiants of cultural meaning” or “hubs of cultural meaning” (ibid.).

### **7.1.1 The Identity Hub Construct**

For the identity hub, Carbaugh (2007) suggests that a researcher can analyze it by asking the following question of the practice, “What does it presume, or create, as messages about identity?” (p. 175). He suggests further that a researcher can consider messages about identity at three different levels: (1) the cultural level concerning personhood – that is, what beliefs are presumed in order to be a person here? (2) the social level concerning positions – such as professor and student, husband and wife, mother and daughter, and (3) the personal level, as the unique qualities of participants come into focus (Carbaugh, 1996a). Messages about identity can be explicitly coded into communication through identity terms, pronouns, terms of address, or membership categorization devices (see Hester & Eglin, 1997); these messages can also be powerfully coded implicitly. It is the cultural analyst’s task to know these messages and how they are active in communication practice (p. 175).

### **7.1.2 The Relationship Hub Construct**

For the relationship hub, Carbaugh (2007) suggests an analyst to ask of a communication practice about how it works to relate people to each other. Quoting Kristine Fitch (1998)’s concept of “interpersonal ideologies” that was constructed in speech acts and events, including what these make culturally available to participants, Carbaugh outlines the task of the analyst here as to explore how relationships are presumed and engaged in communication practices. Messages about relating can be explicitly coded into communication through relationship terms, personal idioms, and uses of relative address terms, but these messages can also be conveyed implicitly and powerfully. How this radiant of meaning-making works is part of the cultural analyst’s interpretive task (ibid.) (p. 176).



### **7.1.3 The Action Hub Construct**

For the action hub, Carbaugh (2007) points out that as people engage in communication practices, they act as if they are doing one sort of thing, rather than other sorts of things. A cultural analyst's task is to identify this particular type of action and interpret its meanings. Messages about action are often coded explicitly into communication through terms that identify the kinds of communication or activities that are relevant to the participants. In any event, as people communicate, so they also engage in a meta-commentary that could be either explicitly stated or implicitly stated, about the type of activity they are doing (p. 176).

### **7.1.4 The Emotion Hub Construct**

Men are emotional creatures. People acquire knowledge about what emotions are appropriate to express in their interaction with each other ever since their childhood. Both Carbaugh (1990 & 2007) and Scruton (1979) have put it similarly that being socialized into life is to know what affect is appropriate, to what degree, on what occasions (p.176). Some of the questions that can be asked by the researcher regarding the emotion hub are: "How do people feel about what is going on? What is the feeling of the communication practice that people are engaging in, what is its tone, or how is it keyed?" (ibid.). To know how feeling is structured and conveyed is crucial to understanding the meaning of discourses. Messages about feeling can be conveyed explicitly through emotion terms and vocabulary; it can also be conveyed more implicitly through nonverbal compartment.

### **7.1.5 The Political Dwelling Hub Construct**

In Carbaugh's Cultural Discourse Analysis theory, the concept of "dwelling" refers more or less to a concrete location, a place where people can get to physically and, usually, a place that is associated with two (or more) mutually exclusive meaning systems

(cf. Carbaugh 1996a and Carbaugh and Rudnick 2006). Here it is extended to be used in a figurative sense, referring not to people's physical dwelling place, such as residential or natural environment, but to people's political "dwelling" place, the ideological space where the nature of societies are defined, people's identities are carved, relationships are set, kinds of actions originate, and types of emotions are legitimated.

When analyzing the dwelling hub, Carbaugh (2007) suggests researchers to pay attention to questions like "Where are these people located", "What is their sense of that place?", and "How, if at all, are they identifying their landscape, relating to their environment, and establishing their place within it?" (p. 177). As people engage in communication, they spin a cultural discourse that is located somewhere, and thus locates them there in a particular set of ways. How this is done conveys messages about place and dwelling. Messages about dwelling are tellingly and explicitly anchored in the use of place names, in locational formulations, and in direction-giving. Alternative cultural discourse can be studied which locate contested notions of "the same place," as well as different versions of history attached to each. Cultural analysts benefit from knowing what communication practices are saying about where people are, how they are related to those places, and what should be done when inhabiting them (ibid.).

In this dissertation research, Carbaugh's definition and explanation about the "dwelling" construct is expanded to be inclusive of ideological locations or places: "*xin shehui*" vs. "*jiu shehui*", and "*wuchan jieji lichang*" (proletariat standpoint) vs. "*zichan jieji lichang*" (bourgeoisie standpoint). Similar questions can be asked regarding this kind of "political dwelling spaces" – "Where are people located ideologically?" "How do they make sense of '*jiu shehui*' and '*xin shehui*'?" "From what class standpoints are people

identifying their political landscape, relating to their political environment, and establishing their place within it?” Questions like these would all be helpful for us to understand this political dwelling hub construct and the meanings radiating from it.

### **7.1.6 The Discursive Web Construct**

Carbaugh & Cerulli (2013) uses the concept of a “discursive web” (p. 9) to further integrate the Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory. According to them, we can visualize a discursive web as a continuous weaving of meaning by “semantic radiants” emanating from the five hubs of cultural meanings of identity, action, emotion, relation, and dwelling respectively. As people communicate with each other, their discursive practice makes some of the hubs more explicit than the others (we can visualize them as becoming brighter and wider). What’s more, when any one hub, such as the identity hub, is made explicit by the discourse, the other hubs may tag along as part of its implicit meanings (ibid.). Carbaugh and Cerulli (2013) define “this complex of explicit meanings about a discursive hub plus the implicit meanings attached to it” as “a meta-cultural commentary” (p. 10) and by that they mean the following: “as people talk about identity explicitly, they also may be saying something more implicitly about their actions (what they are doing as someone like that), their dwelling (where they are), their emotions (how they feel about things), and their social relations (who they are with or against)”. They believe that being able to understand and interpret the meta-cultural commentary in communication practice “helps cultural analysts penetrate the surface of meanings, to the deeper significance and importance of the matters at hand” (ibid.).

### **7.2 “*Yiku Sitian*” as a Cultural Discourse of Political Dwelling**

When analyzing “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural discourse, the “discursive web” construct from Carbaugh and Cerulli (2013) helps us to see that the political dwelling hub

is usually the most explicit and active one among the five hubs. It sets the tone for the other four hubs and gives them their shapes respectively. For example, it determines what identity people can have, what identities are acceptable, what relationships between people are appropriate, and what actions and feelings are appropriate. So we will focus our analysis to key terms that activate the political dwelling hub and, in this process, touching on other terms that activate other hubs and radiants. Also, because “*yiku sitian*” discourse is part of a larger Chinese political discourse, we will look at the political dwelling hub in a broad sense. In fact, the meaning system revealed by the political dwelling hub overlaps more or less with the whole Communist theories that were initiated by Marx and Engels, developed by Lenin and Stalin, and localized by Mao Zedong and his colleagues in China. The whole meaning system constitutes the way Chinese people look at the world and themselves in their daily life. So at the same time we will be analyzing the Chinese political discourse active in the 1960s and 1970s.

### **7.2.1 Key Terms and Symbols Activating the Five Hubs in “*Yiku Sitian*” Discourse**

We will look at a cluster of cultural terms derived from “*jieji*” (class) in “*yiku sitian*” accounts. They are “*jieji chengfen*” (class status) and “*jiating chushen*” (family class origin) that activate the identity hub; “*jieji guanxi*” (class relationship), “*jieji xiongdi*” (class brothers), and “*jieji diren*” (class enemies) that activate the relationship hub; “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education) and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) that activate the action hub; “*jieji ganqing*” (class feelings) and “*aizeng fenming*” that activate the emotion hub; and “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) and “*jieji lichang*” (class standpoint) that activate the political dwelling hub.

We will analyze these key terms with Carbaugh’s Cultural Discourse Theory, particularly the five hubs of cultural meanings – about personhood, relationships, action,

emotion, and dwelling, respectively – and the discursive web construct, and then formulate cultural propositions and premises accordingly. Cultural propositions are statements phrased with cultural terms that combine with each other to capture participants’ definitions, concepts, premises, beliefs or values. By arranging cultural terms into this kind of cultural propositions, local and taken-for-granted knowledge about personhood, relationships, actions, feelings and dwelling can be produced. Cultural premises are analysts’ formulations about participants’ beliefs about the significance and importance of what is going on, both as a condition for that practice of communication, and as expressed in that very practice (Carbaugh 2005, p. 5).

### **7.2.2 “Jieji” (Class) as a Salient Cultural Term**

In “*yiku sitian*” discourse, one of the most salient terms that are associated with all the five hubs are “*jieji*” (class). During those years, it seemed that everything and every aspect of life have been “class-ified”. In fact, if the concept of “*jieji*” was removed from the “*yiku sitian*” discourse, no one would be able to understand what had happened and why things had happened the way they did. As mentioned previously, “*jieji*” is a concept that Mao Zedong adopted from Marxist and Leninist theories and carried out to an extreme in Chinese context, especially during the Cultural Revolution. The most classical definition of “*jieji*” was given by Lenin in his 1919 essay, “A Great Beginning”: “Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated by law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and, consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a

definite system of social economy.”<sup>1</sup> This definition formed the basis that was used to place people into different class groups in China, such as “*zichan jieji*” (bourgeoisie) vs. “*wuchan jieji*” (proletariat); “*boxue jieji*” (the exploiting class) vs. “*bei boxue jieji*” (the exploited class); and “*yapo jieji*” (the oppressing class) vs. “*bei yapo jieji*” (the oppressed class). Among them, *wuchan jieji* (proletariat) is *bei boxue jieji* (the exploited class) and *bei yapo jieji* (the oppressed class) whereas *zichan jieji* (bourgeoisie) is *boxue jieji* (the exploiting class) and *yapo jieji* (the oppressing class). Representatives of “*boxue jieji*” (the exploiting class) and “*yapo jieji*” (the oppressing class) are “*dizhu*” (landlords), “*zibenjia*” (capitalists), or “*laoban*” (the boss); representatives of “*bei boxue jieji*” (the exploited class) and “*bei yapo jieji*” (the oppressed class) are “*gongren*” (workers) and “*nongmin*” (peasants).

The following instance is taken from a book review published on *People's Daily* on May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1964 to Marx and Engel's world-known document, *Communist Manifesto*. It contains some crucial cultural propositions regarding “*jieji*” that was deemed as truth for all and guiding principle for everything.

### Instance 7.1

马克思列宁主义者一贯认为，阶级的存在总是和生产发展的一定历史阶段相联系的。阶级不是从来就有的，它是人类历史发展的一定阶段上的产物，是社会经济发展的结果。原始公社里就没有阶级。后来，由于生产力有了一定的发展，出现了剩余产品，交换发展了，随着私有制的出现，便产生了阶级。可见，阶级存在是不以人们的意志为转移的，决不是你说它存在，它就存在；你说它不存在，它就不存在。就现代资产阶级本身来说，它是一个长期发展过程的产物，是生产方式多次变革的结果，是生产力有了较高发展的结果。当生产力高度发展之后，消灭生产资料私有制、消灭阶级，就成了社会历史发展的必然趋势。总之，阶级是人类社会发展到一定阶段的产物。人类社会的历史，除原始社会以外，都是阶级斗争的历史。人类社会的发展，是从没有阶级社会到阶级社会，最后通过社会革命，过渡到更高的没有阶级的社会。归根到底，这是为社会经济的发展所决定的。这是历史唯物主义的原

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<sup>1</sup> *Collected Works*, Volume 29, pp. 408-34, Progress Publishers, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1919/jun/19.htm>

则，是分析人类社会历史问题的根本武器。离开了这一原则，就只能走上邪门歪道，滚进修正主义泥坑。(1964051106)

1. Marxists have consistently proclaimed that the existence of *jieji* (class) has always
2. been related with certain historical stages of the development of production. *Jieji*
3. does not exist from the very beginning. It is the product of certain stages of the
4. historical development of human beings and the result of social economic
5. development. There was no *jieji* (class) in Primaeval Commune. Later on, with
6. certain development of productive force, there came leftover products and
7. development of trading. *Jieji* (class) occurred along with the development of private
8. ownership. Therefore, the existence of *jieji* (class) is independent of man's will. It
9. would not come into being simply because you ask it to; it would neither disappear
10. simply because you want it to. Speaking of the modern bourgeoisie itself, it is a
11. product of long term development process, a result of multiple changes to the
12. methods of production, and a result of fast development of productivity force. When
13. the productivity force reaches a highly advanced stage, it would be an inevitable
14. trend of social development to put an end to private ownership and *jieji* (class). In a
15. word, *jieji* (class) is the result of human society reaching certain degree of
16. development. Except the primitive society, the history of all hitherto existing society
17. is the history of *jieji douzheng* (class struggles). Human society develops from one
18. without *jieji* (class) to one with *jieji* (class), which, by the end, through social
19. revolution, will be transformed into more advanced society without *jieji* (class)
20. again. To sum it up, this is determined by social economic development. This is a
21. principle of historical materialism, a fundamental weapon for analyzing historical
22. issues of human society. Apart from this principle, one can only stumble onto a
23. crooked way and roll into the mud pit of revisionism.

This excerpt reinstates the origin of the “*jieji*” (class) concept (lines 2-5) and then elaborates the lifespan of it from birth to death (lines 5-10, 15-18). It contains partially fact (about the birth of “*jieji*” in lines 2-7) and partially faith (about the death of “*jieji*” in lines 13-14, 14-20) but claims both of them to be truth and warns readers of the consequence of not abiding by this “principle” (“one can only stumble onto a crooked way and roll into the mud pit of revisionism” in lines 22-23). This particular way of understanding the “*jieji*” (class) concept as represented by this excerpt lays foundation for the rest of the belief system of Chinese Communist Party since its establishment in 1921. As we analyze more terms derived from or related with “*jieji*” (class), we will see how this belief system allows only some specific ways for Chinese people to identify themselves, to relate with others, to reveal their feelings, and to act and react.

Some cultural propositions regarding this instance can be formulated in the following way. Also, explicit hubs of meaning identifiable within each cultural proposition will be listed within parenthesis at the end of each formulation.

**CP #1:** “*Jieji*” (class) is a concept that has beginning and ending in human history [political dwelling];

**CP #2:** “*Jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) exists in “all” “society” in “history” except “the primitive one” and “the most advanced one without class” [political dwelling, action]

**CP #3:** “Social revolution” is the method for achieving the future “class-less” society (lines 15-18) [action, political dwelling];

**CP #4:** “*Jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) is a form of “social revolution” (lines 14-18) [political dwelling, action];

**CP #5:** Therefore, “*jieji douzheng*” is necessary and crucial in promoting “social development” (lines 15-21) [political dwelling, action];

**CP #6:** This is a “principle of historical materialism”, a “fundamental weapon” for analyzing historical issues of human society” (lines 18-19) [political dwelling, action];

**CP #7:** Apart from this “principle”, one can only “stumble” onto “a crooked way” and “roll” into “the mud pit” of “revisionism” (lines 20-21) [political dwelling, action, relation].

“Revisionism” is a label placed by the Chinese Communist Party to Khrushchev and the Communist Party of USSR under his leadership. Mao and his colleagues at Chinese Communist Party were determined to act against any slightest possibility of turning China into a revisionist country.

### **7.2.3 “*Jieji Chengfen*” (Class Status), “*Jiating Chushen*” (Family Class Origin) and the Identity Hub**

“*Jieji chengfen*” (class status) and “*jiating chushen*” are two terms that activates identity hub in Chinese political discourse in general and “*yiku sitian*” discourse in particular. It conveys cultural messages concerning personhood and helps us to know what beliefs are presumed in order to be a person in that historical context in China.

“*Chengfen*” means “composition”, “make-up” or “ingredients”. “*Jieji chengfen*” refers to people’s class make-up, class composition, or class status. “*Jiating*” means “family” and



“*chushen*” means “the origin where one is from”. “*Jiating chushen*” refers to a family’s class origin. It is a way of categorizing people based on their economic status and was put into practice by the Chinese government since 1949. This practice started from the Land Reform movement in countryside which requires that people’s economic condition be classified so that policy can be made to carry out the Land Reform. The government issued specific guidelines for categorizing people<sup>2</sup>. The standard used at that time is as stated in the following<sup>3</sup>:

“*Dizhu*” (landlord):

If a household owns land and no members of the household participates in tilling the land but relies solely on rent or hiring hands to till the land, they belong to the “*dizhu*” (landlord) category. Their land is confiscated and given to other “*nongmin*” (peasants) to till, leaving only a portion of land equal to the size owned by average village fellows and to be tilled by the members of the household themselves. Some households are even deprived of any land. “*Dizhu*” belongs to the “*jiejī*” (class) to be “*dadao*” (knocked down). Their offspring are not allowed to serve in the Army or work for the Party or the government. *Liu Wencai* and his household were classified as “*da dizhu*” (big landlord) because of the great amount of land and wealth he had.

“*Funong*” (rich peasants):

If a household owns land but the head of the house and other members of the household participate in tilling the land, even though they collect rent or hire hands to

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<sup>2</sup> The Administration Council of the Central Government of the People issued two documents as guidelines: “On Determining *Jieji Chengfen* (Class Status) in Countryside”, published on August 20<sup>th</sup>, 1950, and “Supplementary Regulations to Determining *Jieji Chengfen* (Class Status) in Countryside”, published on March 7<sup>th</sup>, 1951.

<sup>3</sup> Reference from <https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E9%98%B6%E7%BA%A7%E6%88%90%E5%88%86>

help, they are classified as “*funong*” (rich peasants). Their excess land would be confiscated but they would not be “*dadao*” (knocked down).

“*Zhongnong*” (middle peasants):

If a household owns land but could meet their own needs and didn’t collect rent, they are regarded as “*zhongnong*” (middle peasants). If they hire temporary hands to help out during the busy time of the year, a ratio of “exploitation degree” (income by hired hands divided by income of the whole household) is calculated. If the ratio is greater than 20%, the household would be classified as “*fuyu zhongnong*” (rich middle peasants) or “*shang zhongnong*” (upper middle peasants) and would not be trusted or relied upon. If the ratio is less than 20%, the household would be classified as “*zhongnong*” (middle peasants) and regarded as “unitable objects” or “party to join force to”<sup>4</sup>. If the household does not have enough income and still has to work for others, they are classified as “*xia zhongnong*” (lower middle peasants) and belonged to “reliable parties that are exploited”<sup>5</sup>.

“*Pinnong*” (poor peasants):

If a household owns very little land and earns income mainly from working for others, they are “*pinnong*” (poor peasants).

“*Gunong*” (hired hands):

If a household has no land and survives solely on working for others, they are “*gunong*” (hired hands). The Chinese Communist Party relies mainly on “*pinnong*” (poor peasants) and “*gunong*” (hired hands) as support in countryside.

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<sup>4</sup> In Chinese, 团结对象 (*tuanjie duixiang*).

<sup>5</sup> In Chinese, 被剥削的依靠对象 (*bei boxue de yikao duixiang*).

Above is a general guideline used in countryside during Land Reform in early 1950s to classify people into different categories. In cities, similar practices are also taken following this guide for countryside. For example, in 1954, “Socialist Reformation” was started in various cities and privately-owned enterprises were purchased at a fixed price (which is also called “joint enterprises”). The owner of the business was given a fixed amount of interest each year and was classified as “*zibenjia*” (capitalists). Other types of “*jieji chengfen*” (class status) were also drafted and put into use. Aiyun Wang observed in her article, “A Tentative Analysis of the Formation and Influence of Our Country as an Identity-Society since the Establishment of New China”<sup>6</sup>, that, in general, by the middle of 1950s, the division of people into various “*jieji chengfen*” was mainly based on their economic situations. But since 1957, “*jieji chengfen*” was based more and more on people’s political views, attitudes, and standpoints. Ideological standard and political attitude were deemed as the most significant criteria in determining people’s “*jieji chengfen*”. New categories were added, such as “*youpai fenzi*” (the rightists) and “*zouzipai*” (the capitalist-roaders). A well-known abbreviation of people’s political identities during the Cultural Revolution years are “*hong wulei*” (the red fives)<sup>7</sup> and “*hei wulei*” (the black fives) or “*hei lei*” (the black ones) (as it was expanded to be “*hei shilei*”/the black tens later<sup>8</sup>). “*Hong wulei*” (the red fives) refers to youths born in families of “*gongren*” (workers), “*pin xia zhongnong*” (poor and lower middle peasants),

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<sup>6</sup> This article was published in *Studies to the History of the Chinese Communist Party* in November, 2011, and is also widely available online. The link to the website I used to retrieve this article is <http://www.politics.fudan.edu.cn/paper.php>

<sup>7</sup> See <http://www.baik.com/wiki/%E7%BA%A2%E4%BA%94%E7%B1%BB> for more information.

<sup>8</sup> See Xiaomeng Liu’s article, “‘*Xuetong Lun*’ *yu Zhiqing Shangshan Xiexiang Yundong*” (‘the Family Class Origin Theory’ and the Going-up-to-the-Mountains-and-down-to-the-Countryside Movement) published in *Youth Studies* in Issue 2 of 1995 and retrievable online at <http://jds.cass.cn/UploadFiles/ztsjk/2010/11/201011161340022679.pdf>

“*geming ganbu*” (revolutionary cadres), “*geming junren*”. “*Hei wulei*” (the black fives) refers to youths born in families of “*dizhu*” (landlords), “*funong*” (rich peasants), “*fan geming fenzi*” (reactionary elements), “*huai fenzi*” (bad elements), and “*youpai*” (rightists). They were treated drastically different in all aspects of social and political life, with “*hong wulei*” (the red fives) enjoying all the privileges and “*hei wulei*” deprived of all privileges.

In her article, Aiyun Wang suggested three categories of political identities that Chinese people were classified into: (1) “*geming jieji*” (the revolutionary class), including “*gongren*” (workers), “*pinnong*” (poor peasants), “*xia zhongnong*” (lower middle peasants), “*geming ganbu*” (revolutionary cadres), “*geming junren*” (revolutionary soldiers), and “*geming lieshi jiashu*” (family members of revolutionary martyrs), etc; (2) “*zhongjian jieji*” (the middle class<sup>9</sup>), including “*zhongnong*” (middle peasants), “*zhishi fenzi*” (intellectuals), “*ziyou zhiye zhe*” (freelancers), “*zongjiao zhiye zhe*” (religious professionals), “*xiao shougongye zhe*” (small handicraftsmen), “*xiaoshang*” (small traders), “*xiaofan*” (small vender), etc; (3) “*jieji diren*” (class enemies), including “*dizhu*” (landlords), “*funong*” (rich peasants), “*zibenjia*” (capitalists), “*fan geming fenzi*” (reactionaries), “*huai fenzi*” (bad elements), “*youpai fenzi*” (rightists elements), and “*zouzipai*” (capitalists-rovers), etc.

This way of labeling people based on their class composition has profound impact to all Chinese. During the Land Reform stage, the more wealth and land one possesses, the higher one’s class ranking would be on that list, and the higher one’s life would be in danger. Countless so-called “*dizhu*” (landlords) and “*funong*” (rich peasants) were

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<sup>9</sup> This has nothing to do with the concept of “middle class” in the United States but simply stands for “the class” that is between “*geming jieji*” ( the revolutionary class) and “*jieji diren*” (the class enemies).

denounced and beaten to death by the so-called “*xia zhongnong*” (lower middle peasants), “*pinnong*” (poor peasants), and “*gunong*” (hired hands) at “*suku*” (pouring-out-the-bitterness) gatherings.

By 1956, China rushed its way through the “Socialist Reformation” and converted all private business or private ownership to be collectively owned. Although there is actually no difference any more between “*dizhu*” (landlords) and “*pinnong*” (poor peasants) in terms of their material possessions, a label of “*jiating chushen*” (family class origins) up to three generations ago as well as everyone’s “*jieji chengfen*” (class status) become permanent for Chinese people. Whoever is born to a “*dizhu*” (landlord) family inherits “*dizhu*” as his “*jieji chengfen*”; whoever is born to a “*pinnong*” (poor peasants) family inherits “*pinnong*” as her “*jieji chengfen*” (class status). Everyone needs to provide this information each time when s/he fills out a form and those with “bad” “*jiating chushen*” (family class origins) and “*jieji chengfen*” were viewed as inferior to those with “good” “*jiating chushen*” and “*jieji chengfen*” and numerous people lose their chances of getting a good job, realizing one’s dreams, or marrying someone they really love. “*Jieji chengfen*” and “*jiating chushen*” become the first and foremost criteria in defining a person’s political identity. Individual persons have virtually no chance or very little chance to choose the identities they would like to be associated with themselves.

Although there is actually no “*dizhu*” (landlord), “*funong*” (rich peasants) or “*zhongnong*” (middle peasants) existing in Chinese society any more in the 1960s and 1970s, these identities are frequently enacted in “*yiku sitian*” discourse in stereotypical descriptions. The following instance is an example.

## Instance 7.2

一九六一年初，车间的领导干部换了，车间的党支部也改选了。改选后的党支部委员会，由五人组成，他们都是血统工人和贫农出身的老工人。支部书记刘瑞田，十二岁就在日寇占领下的唐山铁路工厂当“少年工”，日寇把他们叫做“少年狗”。支部委员、新任车间主任高升，是贫农的儿子，父亲被日寇抓走了，母亲领着他 and 弟弟讨过饭。另外三个委员是：被地主打跑参加解放军的王贵，日寇占领时期就在石钢干过活的王凤元，爬在门头沟煤窑里靠背煤为生的王存金。他们都是在日寇、国民党、地主、资本家皮鞭下受尽了折磨的劳动人民。他们一来就参加劳动，住集体宿舍，设法和工人们接近。(1963073006)<sup>10</sup>

1. In the beginning of 1961, the *lingdao ganbu* (leaders and cadres) of the workshop
2. were changed and the Party branch of the workshop also had a re-election. The new
3. Party branch *weiyuanhui* (committee) was made up of five members, all *xuetong*
4. *gongren* (workers with proletariat family origin) or *lao gongren* (old workers) with
5. *pinnong chushen* (poor peasant family origin). Liu Ruitian, the secretary of *zhibu*
6. (the branch), started working as a “juvenile worker” at Tangshan Railroad Factory
7. occupied by *rikou* (Japanese army, Japanese enemies) since he was twelve years old.
8. *Rikou* (Japanese enemies) called them “juvenile dogs”. Gao Sheng, a member of the
9. branch and the new director of the workshop, was a son of a poor peasants. His
10. father was snatched away by the Japanese enemies and his mother used to bring
11. him and his brother to *taofan* (beg for food). The other three members were: Wang
12. Gui, who escaped *dizhu* (the landlord)’s beating and became a *jiefang jun* (Liberation
13. Army man); Wang Fengyuan, who started working at *Shigang* since the Japanese
14. enemies occupation period; and Wang Cunjin, who used to survive by crawling in
15. the Mentougou coal pit and carrying coals. They were all *laodong renmin* (working
16. people) who had *shoujin le zhemo* (suffered enough torture) under the whip of
17. Japanese enemies, *Guomin Dang* (the Nationalist Party), *dizhu* (landlords) and
18. *zibenjia* (capitalists). Upon arrival, they joined the work, slept at dormitories, and
19. made efforts to be close to *gongren* (the workers).

From this instance we see that the “newly elected Party branch committee” is made up of five members who are all “*xuetong gongren* (workers with proletariat family origin) or *lao gongren* (old workers) with *pinnong chushen* (poor peasant family origin)” (lines 2-5), and “all *laodong renmin* (working people) who had *shoujin le zhemo* (suffered enough torture) under the whip of Japanese enemies, *Guomin Dang* (the Nationalist Party), *dizhu* (landlords) and *zibenjia* (capitalists)” (lines 15-18). Very clearly, the identities of “*xuetong gongren* (workers with proletariat family origin)”, “*pinnong chushen* (poor peasant family origin)”, and “*laodong renmin* (working people)” are

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<sup>10</sup> Taken from Segment #1 in Appendix A & B, lines 68-84).

regarded as good, positive, and revolutionary; whereas the identities of “*dizhu* (landlords)” and “*zibenjia* (capitalists)” are listed together with “Japanese enemies” and “*Guomin Dang* (the Nationalist Party)” and are regarded as bad, negative, and reactionary.

Some cultural propositions can be formulated based on the previous discussion about “*jieji*” (class), “*jieji chengfen*” (class status), “*jiating chushen*” (family class origin), “*hong wulei*” (the red fives), “*hei wulei*” (the black fives) and the example of Instance 7.2.

**CP #8:** “*Zichan jieji*” (the bourgeoisie class) is “*boxue jieji*” (the exploiting class) and “*yapo jieji*” (the oppressing class), therefore, it is reactionary and bad [identity, political dwelling];

**CP #9:** “*Wuchan jieji*” (the proletariat class) is “*bei boxue jieji*” (the exploited class) and “*bei yapo jieji*” (the oppressed class), therefore, it is revolutionary and good [identity, political dwelling];

**CP #10:** Anyone belonging to “*hong wulei*” (the red fives) is good and can “enjoy privileges” and anyone belonging to “*hei wulei*” (the black fives) is bad and should be “deprived of all privileges” [identity, political dwelling, relation];

**CP #11:** Anyone labeled as “*renmin*” (the People) or “*geming jieji*” (revolutionary class) is good and anyone labeled as “*fei renmin*” (the non-People) or “*jieji diren*” (class enemies) is bad [identity, political dwelling, relation];

**CP #12:** All “*xuetong gongren*” (workers with proletariat family origin) and “*lao gongren*” (old workers) with “*pinnong chushen*” (poor peasant family origin) are “*laodong renmin*” (working people) who had “*shoujin le zhemo*” (suffered enough torture) under the “whip of Japanese enemies”, “*Guomin Dang*” (the Nationalist Party), “*dizhu*” (landlords) and “*zibenjia*” (capitalists)” [Identity, political dwelling];

**CP #13:** Therefore, the “newly elected Party branch committee” is a good one because it is made up of five members who are all “*xuetong gongren*” (workers with proletariat family origin) or “*lao gongren*” (old workers) with “*pinnong chushen*” (poor peasant family origin) [Identity, political dwelling].

#### **7.2.4 “*Jieji Guanxi*” (Class Relations), “*Jieji Xiongdì*” (Class Brothers), “*Jieji Diren*” (Class Enemies) and the Relationship Hub**

When members of a society are primarily distinguished from each other by belonging to different “*jieji*” (classes), it is called a “*jieji shehui*” (class society). And the

relationship between people is defined more with the issue of “*jieji*” than others. We see this in the following segment.

### Instance 7.3

在阶级社会里，人和人的关系不管表面上如何温情脉脉，最根本的和起决定作用的，仍然是阶级关系。(1965052905)

In a *jieji shehui* (class society), no matter how tender the feelings between people seem to be on a surface level, the fundamental and decisive relationship among them is still *jieji guanxi* (class relationship).

This belief has shaped the way in which people interpreted many concepts or ideas. Under all circumstances, “*jieji guanxi*” (class relationship) rules over other relationships.

A cultural proposition can be stated in the following way:

**CP #11:** “*Jieji guanxi* (class relationship)” is the most “fundamental and decisive relationship” among people in a *jieji shehui* (class society). [relationship, political dwelling]

The term “*jieji guanxi*” (class relationship) clearly activates the relationship hub in political discourse in general and “*yiku sitian*” discourse in particular. When analyzing relationship hubs, Carbaugh (2007) suggests analysts to explore how relationships are presumed and engaged in communication practices and identify messages about relating through relationship terms, personal idioms, and uses of relative address terms in explicit and implicit ways. The following instances provide more examples for the relationship hub.

### Instance 7.4

就在这里，他第一次听到民兵营长麦克复讲毛主席写的《中国社会各阶级的分析》。毛主席说：“谁是我们的敌人？谁是我们的朋友？这个问题是革命的首要问题。”这些，对于没有亲身经受过阶级压迫和剥削的麦贤得阶级觉悟的提高，起了重大的作用，使他认清了敌和我，分清了好和坏，懂得了爱和憎。(1966031902)<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Taken from Segment #4 in Appendix A and lines 87-94 of Appendix B.



1. It was also here that he listened for the first time to Mai Kefu, the militia battalion
2. commander, talking about “Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society” written by
3. Mao Zhuxi (Chairman Mao). Mao Zhuxi (Chairman Mao) said, “Who are our *diren*
4. (enemies)? Who are our *pengyou* (friend)? This question is the most fundamental
5. one for *geming* (revolution).” This played a significant role in *tigao* (raising) the *jieji*
6. *juewu* (class consciousness) of Mai Xiande, who had no personal experience of *jieji*
7. *boxue* (class exploitation) and *yapo* (oppression), and enabled him to recognize *di*
8. (enemy side) and *wo* (my side), *hao* (good) and *huai* (bad), and understand *ai* (love)
9. and *zeng* (hate).

### Instance 7.5

在旧社会里，地主、资本家吸我们的血，剥我们的皮，可我们的孩子却不知道谁把他的爸爸、妈妈折磨得不象个人样。我们辛辛苦苦培养了一辈子，却培养出一个敌我不分的糊涂虫、软骨头。(1964071202)<sup>12</sup>

1. In *jiu shehui*, *dizhu* (landlords) and *zibenjia* (capitalists) sucked on our blood and
2. peeled our skins<sup>13</sup>. But our child does not know who tortured his father and mother
3. so badly that they almost lost their human shape. We spent our whole life *xinxin*
4. *kuku di* (painstakingly) *peiyang* (cultivating), yet we *peiyang chu* (cultivated as a
5. result) a *hutu chong* (fool worm), who couldn't tell *di* (enemy) and *wo* (me, or friend,
6. or comrade), and *ruan gutou* (soft-bone, coward).

### Instance 7.6

中队里举行了控诉美蒋罪行大会。来自祖国各地的战士们一个接一个愤怒地控诉了美帝国主义、日本侵略军、蒋匪帮、渔霸、地主欠下的累累血债。麦贤得听着听着，忍不住放声大哭起来。啊！原来这些陌生的战友都跟自己生在一条苦根上；天南海北，祖国的每一寸土地都有着阶级敌人犯下的罪行啊！他忍不住跳起来说：“同志们，我们大家都有仇！大家的仇就是我的仇。我们一定要牢记阶级仇，誓死革命到底！”(1966031902)<sup>14</sup>

1. An assembly was held at the lochus to *kongsu* (denounce) *Mei-Chiang's* (American
2. and Chiang Kai-Shek's) crimes. One after another, soldiers from different areas of
3. China *fennu de* (indignantly) *kongsu* (denounced) the *leilei xuezhai* (numerous debts
4. of blood) owed by American Imperialism, Japanese invasion army, the Chiang
5. bandit troops, the fishing despot, and landlords. Mai Xiande burst into crying after
6. listening for a while. Alas! It turned out that these strange<sup>15</sup> *zhanyou* (comrade-in-
7. arms) were all born on the same *kugen* (bitter root) with myself! All over the
8. country, every inch of the homeland is covered with crimes committed by *jieji diren*
9. (class enemies)! He couldn't help to jump up and said, “*Tongzhi men* (Comrades)!
10. We all have *chou* (hatred)! Your *chou* (hatred) is my *chou* (hatred)! We *yiding*
11. (absolutely) *yao* (ought) to *laoji* (lock in mind) *jieji chou* (class hatred), and carry out

<sup>12</sup> Taken from Segment #3 in Appendix A and lines 112-117 of Appendix B.

<sup>13</sup> The original saying in Chinese is *xi women de xue, bo women de pi*, a figurative way of describing the cruelty of *dizhu* (landlords) and *zibenjia* (capitalists) in their treatment to their hired *nongmin* (peasants) or *gongren* (workers).

<sup>14</sup> Taken from Segment #4 in Appendix A and lines 139-148 of Appendix B.

<sup>15</sup> Unfamiliar, not knowing each other before.

12. *geming* (revolution) to the very end till death.”

### Instance 7.7

经过算剥削帐，战士们进一步懂得了什么是阶级，什么是剥削。穷人是受了剥削才穷的，富人是剥削了穷人才富的。经过对比教育，战士们进一步懂得了共产党、民主政府、解放军来自人民、服务于人民。国民党、蒋匪军是保护剥削阶级利益的工具。在挖总根时大家通过切身的经验，从地主恶霸和反动政权的关系、国民党和美帝国主义的关系，认识到中国人民穷苦的总根是地主、帝国主义、国民党反动派，蒋介石是他们的总代表 (1962071205)

1. Through *suan boxue zhang* (the calculation of exploitation account), soldiers came to
2. a better understanding about what *jieji* (class) is and what *boxue* (exploitation) is.
3. *Qiongren* (poor persons) became *qiong* (poor) after they were *boxue* (exploited), and
4. *furen* (rich persons) became *fu* (rich) after they *boxue* (exploited) *qiongren* (poor
5. persons). Through *duibi jiaoyu* (comparative education), soldiers came to understand
6. that *Gongchan Dang* (the Communist Party), the democratic government, and
7. *jiefang jun* (the Liberation Army) came from *Renmin* (the People) and serve *Renmin*
8. (the People), whereas *Guomin Dang* (the National Party) and Chiang *feijun*
9. (Chiang's Bandit Troops)<sup>16</sup> are means protecting the interest of *boxue jieji*
10. (exploiting class). When it was time to *wa zonggen* (dig out the general root),
11. through direct experiences, through the relationship between *dizhu e-ba* (despotic
12. landlords) and *fandong zhengfu* (reactionary government), and through the
13. relationship between *Guomin Dang* (the Nationalist Party) and American
14. imperialism, everybody came to see that the *zonggen* (general root) of Chinese
15. people's *qiongnu* (poverty and bitterness) is *dizhu* (landlord), imperialism, and the
16. reactionary forces of *Guomin Dang* (the National Party). Chiang Kai-Shek is their
17. general representative....

Instance 7.4 recalls how Mai Xiande, a future battle hero, was introduced to Mao Zedong's famous article, "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society", and how he is greatly impacted by the teachings inside; Instance 7.5 warns the consequence of not teaching the younger generation about the past; Instance 7.6 records Mai Xiande's realization that all his fellow soldiers suffered the same "*jieji chou*" (class hatred) as he and his family have suffered; Instance 7.7 records soldiers' realization about some significant differences between the two forces of "*Guomin Dang* (the Nationalist Party)" (line 8) and "*Gongchan Dang* (the Communist Party)" (line 6).

We can identify some relative address terms used in the above four instances: for example, "our *diren*" (enemies)" (which implies that "We call that group of people 'our

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<sup>16</sup> This is a denigrating term referring to Chiang Kai-Shek's armies.

enemies’ and relate with them on this term”) and “our *pengyou* (friends)” (“We call that group of people ‘our friends’ and relate with them on this term”) from Instance 7.4 lines 3-4 and “*dizhu*” (landlords) and “*zibenjia*” (capitalists) in Instance 7.5 line1 (“We call that group of people ‘*dizhu*’ or ‘*zibenjia*’ and relate with them accordingly). We can also identify some relationship terms, such as “*di* (enemy) and *wo* (me)” (“Some people relate with us as enemies and some as ourselves”), “*hao* (good) and *huai* (bad)” (“Some people/things are good to us and some are bad”), and “*ai* (love) and *zeng* (hate)” (“We love people that are of our kind and hate our enemies”) in Instance 7.4, lines 7-9, and “*qiongren*” (poor persons) and “*furen*” (rich persons) (They are relative to each other in terms of their meanings) in Instance 7.7 lines 3-4, and “general representative” (the relationship between Chiang Kai-Shek and the other named evil forces) in Instance 7.7 lines 16-17.

Some cultural propositions can be formulated based on the above instances:

**CP #14:** The most fundamental question for *geming* (revolution) is “Who are our *diren* (enemies)?” and “Who are our *pengyou* (friend)?” [relationship, identity, political dwelling] (Instance 7.4)

**CP #15:** “*Tigao* (raising)” “*jieji juewu* (class consciousness)” can enable one to “recognize *di* (enemy side) and *wo* (my side), *hao* (good) and *huai* (bad), and understand *ai* (love) and *zeng* (hate) [relationship, political dwelling, identity] (Instance 7.4)

**CP #16:** In “*jiu shehu*”, “*dizhu*” (landlords) and “*zibenjia*” (capitalists) “sucked on our blood” and “peeled our skins” [relationship, political dwelling, action, identity, emotion] (Instance 7.5)

**CP #17:** If “we” do not teach “our children” about “the past”, “we” could end up “cultivating” them into a “*hutu chong*” (fool worm), who couldn’t tell *di* (enemy) and *wo* (me, or friend, or comrade), and *ruan gutou* (soft-bone, coward)” [relationship, political dwelling, identity] (Instance 7.5)

**CP #18:** “Soldiers” from different areas of China were all “born on the same *kugen*” (bitter root) with each other and share the same “*jieji chou*” (class hatred) because “*jieji diren*” (class enemies) “committed crimes” “all over the country” in “every inch of the homeland” [relationship, political dwelling, emotion] (Instance 7.5)

**CP #19:** “*Qiongren* (poor persons)” became “*qiong*” (poor) after they were “*boxue*” (exploited), and “*furen*” (rich persons) became “*fu*” (rich) after they “*boxue*” (exploited) “*qiongren*” (poor persons) [relationship, identity, political dwelling] (Instance 7.7)

**CP #20:** “*Gongchan Dang*” (the Communist Party), the “democratic government”, and “*jiefang jun*” (the Liberation Army) came “from *Renmin*” (the People) and “serve *Renmin*” (the People), whereas “*Guomin Dang*” (the Nationalist Party) and “*Chiang feijun*” (*Chiang’s* Bandit Troops)<sup>17</sup> are “means protecting the interest of *boxue jieji*” (exploiting class) [relationship, political dwelling, action] (Instance 7.7)

**CP #21:** The “*zonggen*” (general root) of Chinese people’s “*qiongnu*” (poverty and bitterness) is “*dizhu*” (landlord), “imperialism”, and the “reactionary forces of *Guomin Dang*” (the Nationalist Party). “*Chiang Kai-Shek*” is their “general representative” [relationship, political dwelling, identity] (Instance 7.7)

Two more terms are important to the relationship hub. They are “*jieji xiongdi*” (class brothers) and “*jieji diren*” (class enemies). These two cultural terms pose clear-cut contrast between two groups of people. We can also view it together with Aiyun Wang’s summary of the three categories of political identity and say for sure that all people belonging to “*geming jieji*” (revolutionary classes) can be regarded as “*jieji xiongdi*”, and all people listed in the third category is regarded as “*jieji diren*” (class enemies). The term “*jieji diren*” is mentioned in Instance 7.6 line 8, the following instance (line 3) has the term “*jieji xiongdi*” (class brothers) in it.

### Instance 7.8

富锁讲着，孩子们扑簌簌地掉下眼泪。我就对学生说：“穷人自来爱穷人，贫农下中农都是阶级弟兄，所以就有阶级情感!...”(1965020505A)

1. As Fusuo narrated, tears started running down the children’s faces. So I told the
2. students, “*Qiongren* (poor people) always love *qiongren* (poor people). *Pin xia*
3. *zhong nong* (poor and lower-middle peasants) are all *jieji xiongdi* (class brothers).
4. Therefore they have *jieji ganqing* (class feelings)!...”

Two cultural propositions can be summarized in relation with these two terms:

**CP #22:** “Crimes” “committed” by “*jieji diren*” (class enemies) cause “*jieji chou*” (class hatred) in all the soldiers; [relationship, identity, action, political dwelling]

**CP #23:** “*Pin xia zhong nong* (poor and lower-middle peasants)” are all *jieji xiongdi* (class brothers) [relationship, identity, political dwelling]

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<sup>17</sup> This is a denigrating term referring to *Chiang Kai-Shek’s* armies.

### 7.2.5 “Jieji Jiaoyu” (Class Education), “Jieji Douzheng” (Class Struggle) and the Action Hub

As mentioned previously, scholars observed that, in 1960s and 1970s, Chinese people throughout the whole country were shaped into two or three categories of identities/status. Namely, one is either a member of “*renmin*” (the People), or a member of “*fei renmin*” (the non-People); or one is either a member of “*geming jieji*” (the revolutionary class), or a member of “*zhongjian jieji*” (the middle class), or a member of “*jieji diren*” (class enemies). Different attitudes and ways of treating people in different categories are summarized by the two cultural terms, “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education) and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle). Put it simply, “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education) was conducted among people belonging to “*renmin*” (the People) or “*geming jieji*” (the revolutionary class) and some of the “*zhongjian jieji*” (the middle class) whereas “*jieji douzheng*” was carried out toward the majority of “*fei renmin*” (the non-People) or “*jieji diren*” (the class enemies). We have seen quite a few examples of communication event of “*yiku sitian jiaoyu*” (education) as analyzed in Chapter 4, such as that of “Young workers’ transformation by ‘*jieji jiaoyu*’ at *Baiyunshi* workshop” and “*Liu Huaming*’s ‘*wangben huitou*’ (repentance from forgetting his original root) through ‘*jieji jiaoyu*’” in Segment #1 in Appendix A & B, and “Commune members celebrating CCP’s birthday by doing ‘*jieji jiaoyu*’ with ‘*Yiku Sitian Day*’ activities” in Segment #5 in Appendix A & B, etc.

The following instance provides more reasoning about doing “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education) among workers and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) toward “*jieji diren*” (class enemies).

## Instance 7.9

当然，回忆对比、忆苦思甜，还只是对职工进行阶级教育的起点。我们必须进一步用阶级和阶级斗争的知识去武装他们。我们许多职工虽然具有一定的阶级觉悟，许多老职工也经历过阶级斗争的锻炼，但是，随着社会主义改造取得伟大胜利和建设事业的日益发展，阶级斗争的形式也改变了。在新的形势下，怎样透过各种复杂的外部现象，看到阶级斗争的本质，对于许多职工来说，还是一个需要很好地解决的问题。我们必须通过阶级教育，提高广大职工的阶级觉悟，增长他们关于阶级斗争的知识，扩大他们的政治视界，使他们真正认识到，社会主义商业不仅是建设社会主义不可缺少的组成部分，而且从来就是同资本主义进行两条道路斗争的一个重要阵地。要让他们了解，被推翻的反动统治阶级不甘心于灭亡，他们总是企图复辟；同时，社会上还存在着资产阶级的影响和旧社会的习惯势力，存在着小生产者的自发的资本主义倾向，只要有可乘之机，这些势力就要冲击社会主义商业的阵地。在现实生活中，如果看不见这些斗争着的现象，工作上就可能迷失方向。因此，每个商业部门的职工都必须提高阶级警惕性，站稳立场，去同市场上存在的各种投机倒把的行为进行斗争，同自发的资本主义势力进行斗争，同商业部门内部破坏国家经济政策、贪污盗窃和破坏国家财产的活动进行斗争，从而在斗争中进一步巩固和发展社会主义商业阵地，使每个职工的阶级立场受到锻炼和考验。(1963092501)

1. Of course, *huiyi* (recalling) and *duibi* (comparison) and *yiku sitian* (recalling the
2. bitterness and reflecting on the sweetness), is just a starting point of conducting *jieji*
3. *jiaoyu* (class education) to workers. We must arm them with knowledge about *jieji*
4. (class) and *jieji douzheng* (class struggle). Although some of our workers have some
5. basic *jieji juewu* (class consciousness), and some older workers have experienced
6. some sort of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle), the form of *jieji douzheng* (class
7. struggle) has changed following the great success of the Socialist Transformation
8. and the increasing progress of the construction. For many workers, how to see
9. through various complicated external phenomena to identify the essence of *jieji*
10. *douzheng* (class struggle) within the new situation remains a tough question that
11. needs to be carefully addressed. We have to rely on *jieji jiaoyu* (class education) to
12. *tigao* (raise) *jieji juewu* (class consciousness) of the vast majority of the workers,
13. increase their knowledge about *jieji douzheng* (class struggle), expand their political
14. view, and help them to truly come to see that *shehui zhuyi* (socialist) commerce is
15. not only an indispensable part contributing to the *shehui zhuyi* (socialist) construction
16. cause but has always been a crucial *zhendi* (position) for conducting the Two Line
17. *Douzheng* (Struggle) with *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism). They need to be informed that the
18. *fandong* (reactionary) *tongzhi jieji* (ruling class) that has been *tuifan* (overthrown)
19. would not willingly perish but would always attempt for *fubi* (restoration); At the
20. same time, there is still some lingering habitual forces of *jiu shehui* and influences of
21. *zichan jieji* (bourgeoisie) in society, as well as some spontaneous *ziben zhuyi*
22. (capitalist) tendency of some small producer, which would attack the *zhendi*
23. (position) of the socialist commerce whenever there is a chance. In real life, if we are
24. not aware of these *douzheng zhe de* (struggling) facts, we could very probably lose
25. direction in our work. Therefore, all workers of each commercial department must
26. *tigao* (raise) their *jieji jingtixing* (class vigilance), *zhanwen lichang* (stand firmly on
27. their standpoint), *douzheng* (struggle) with the various *touji daoba* (speculation and
28. profiteering) conducts in the market, *douzheng* (struggle) with the spontaneous *ziben*
29. *zhuyi* (capitalist) force, and *douzheng* (struggle) with the activities inside commercial
30. departments that destruct the State's economic policy, corrupt, steal, and damage
31. State properties, so that the socialist commercial *zhendi* (position) could be further
32. *gonggu* (strengthened) and *fazhan* (developed), and each worker's *jieji lichang* (class
33. standpoint) could be *duanlian* (exercised) and *kaoyan* (tested) through these kinds of
34. *douzheng* (struggle).

We see several key terms related with *jieji* (class) used in this segment. Also, an analogy of a battle is used to illustrate the importance and urgency of conducting *jieji jiaoyu* (class education) (mentioned in lines 2-3 and 11) and carrying out *jieji douzheng* (class struggle). *Jieji douzheng* as the most crucial term occurred five times (in lines 4, 6, 9, and 13), and *douzheng* (struggle) occurred six times (in lines 17, 24, 27, 28, 29, and 34).

According to this analogy, the *shehui zhuyi* (socialist) commercial departments (or any other department or work unit within the new China) function as a *zhendi* (position) in this battle of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) where a “Two Line *Douzheng* (Struggle)” between *shehui zhuyi* (socialism) and *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism) is being fought. On the socialist side are the workers, who “have some basic *jieji juewu* (classconsciousness)” (line 5) and some older workers who “have experienced some sort of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle)” (lines 5-6). But the completion of the “Socialist Transformation” and the “increasing progress of the construction” has created “new situation” (line 10) and brought forth new “form of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle)” (lines 6-7). Although “the *fandong* (reactionary) *tongzhi jieji* (ruling class)” “has been *tuiran* (overthrown),” they “would not willingly perish but would always attempt for *fubi* (restoration)” (lines 18-19); also, there are still “some lingering habitual forces of *jiu shehui* and influences of *zichan jieji* (bourgeoisie) in society, as well as some spontaneous *ziben zhuyi*(capitalist) tendency of some small producer”, which would wage a war and “attack the *zhendi* (position) of the socialist commerce whenever there is a chance” (lines 20-23). For example, they committed “various *touji daoba* (speculation and profiteering) conducts in the market” (lines 27-28), and carried out “activities inside commercial departments that destruct the State’s economic policy, corrupt, steal, and damage State properties” (line

29-31). If workers are not aware of “these *douzheng zhe de* (struggling) facts” (lines 23-24), the consequence could be detrimental - they could “very probably lose direction in ...work” (lines 24-25). Therefore, it is crucial to “arm” the workers with “knowledge about *jieji* (class) and *jieji douzheng* (class struggle)” and help them to know “how to see through various complicated external phenomena to identify the essence of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) within the new situation” (line 8-9). And *jieji jiaoyu* (class education) (in lines 2-3 and 11) is believed to be the most effective approach to achieve this goal. Specifically and cognitively speaking, *jieji jiaoyu* can help workers to “*tigao* (raise) *jieji juewu* (class consciousness)” (in lines 11-12), “increase their knowledge about *jieji douzheng* (class struggle)” (in line 13), and “expand their political view” (lines 13-14), and, practically speaking, it can help them to cultivate “*jieji jingtixing*” (class vigilance) and *zhanwen lichang* (stand firmly in their standpoint) (lines 25-27) so as to “*douzheng* (struggle)” against various attacks from the capitalist side of the battle field (lines 27-31).

Based on Instance 7.9, we can draw the following cultural propositions:

**CP #24:** The completion of “Socialist Transformation” brings about new forms of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle);

**CP #25:** The residue force of *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism) seeks all chances to attack *shehui zhuyi* (socialism);

**CP #26:** There still exists a “Two Line *Douzheng* (struggle)” between capitalism and socialism;

**CP #27:** Workers need *jieji jiaoyu* (class education) to *tigao* (raise) their *jieji juewu* (class consciousness) and *zhanwen* (stand firm on) their *jieji lichang* (class standpoint).

“*Douzheng*” means “struggle”, “fight” or “battle” and “*jieji douzheng*” means “class struggle”. *Jieji douzheng*” is regarded as the foundational concept of Marxism. Yet Mao Zedong’s “*jieji douzheng*” theory is somewhat different from that proposed by Marx and Engels. While Marx and Engels defined “*jieji douzheng*” as the struggle between



proletariat and bourgeoisie and based the struggle purely on economic terms, Mao located the site of it more in the ideological domain, as explained in Chapter 3. Because of the fear about revisionism, Mao believed that “*jieji douzheng*” is the most effective strategy to win this invisible battle. We can see the significance of “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) from the following instance taken from a *People’s Daily* report dated May 12<sup>th</sup>, 1968.

### Instance 7.10

当老工人们控诉这些血泪斑斑的惨痛经历时，广大革命职工热泪盈眶，激起了对中国赫鲁晓夫和万恶的资本主义的无比仇恨，掀起了忆苦思甜的高潮，一个群众性的阶级教育运动轰轰烈烈地在全厂开展起来。老工人们说：中国赫鲁晓夫等党内一小撮走资派鼓吹“阶级斗争熄灭”论的罪恶目的，就是妄图使我们忘记阶级斗争，以便达到他们复辟资本主义的罪恶阴谋。我们要狠揭狠批中国赫鲁晓夫的“阶级斗争熄灭”论，对于阶级斗争要年年讲，月月讲，天天讲；年年搞，月月搞，天天搞，坚决地向无产阶级的敌人发起猛烈进攻。(1968051203)

1. When senior workers *kongsu* (denounced, poured out by telling) these *xuelei banban de* (blood-and-tears-stained) *cantong* (tragic and painful) experience, the vast *geming*
2. *zhigong* (revolutionary workers) couldn’t help their tears. *Wubi de* (incomparable)
3. *chouhen* (hatred) was *jiqi* (stirred up) among them toward the Chinese Khrushchev
4. and the *wan-e de* (all evil) *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism) and a *gaochao* (high tide) of *yiku*
5. *sitian* was achieved. A massive *jieji jiaoyu yundong* (class educational movement)
6. was started *honghong lielie de* (vigorously) at the whole factory. The senior workers
7. said, the *zui-e mudi* (evil purpose) of *yixiaocuo* (a small bunch of) *zouzipai* (capitalist
8. on-rollers), such as the Chinese Khrushchev, *guchui* (advocating) the argument of
9. “*jieji douzheng ximie lun* (class struggle ceasing-ism) is to *wangtu* (attempt in vain)
10. to make us forget *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) so that they could realize their *zui-e*
11. *yinmo* (evil conspiracy) of *fubi* (restoring) *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism). We should *henjie*
12. (expose greatly) and *henpi* (denounce greatly) the argument of *jieji douzheng ximie*
13. *lun* (class struggle ceasing-ism) by the Chinese Khrushchev. *Jieji douzheng* (class
14. struggle) *yao* (needs to be) *niannian jiang* (talked about every year), *yueyue jiang*
15. (talked about every month), *tiantian jiang* (talked about every day), *yao* (needs to be)
16. *niannian gao* (conducted every year), *yueyue gao* (conducted every month), *tiantian*
17. *gao* (conducted every day). We need to *jianjue de* (unswervingly) *faq* (launch)
18. *menglie jingong* (severe attacks) to *wuchan jieji de diren* (enemies of the proletariat)
- 19.

This excerpt tried creating connections between several points: “*xuelei banban de* (blood-and-tears-stained) *cantong* (tragic and painful) experience” (lines 1-2) in *jiu shehui*, “Chinese Khrushchev” (lines 4, 9 and 14), the “*wan-e de* (all evil) *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism)” (line 5), and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) (lines 10 and 13). Specifically,

it is trying to say, the “*xuelei banban de* (blood-and-tears-stained) *cantong* (tragic and painful) experience” “senior workers” had in *jiu shehui* was a testimony to the evilness of the “*wan-e de* (all evil) *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism)”. “*Jieji douzheng ximie lun* (class struggle ceasing-ism) allegedly advocated by the “Chinese Khruhshchev” aims to restore “*ziben zhuyi*” (capitalism). If he was successful, Chinese people would have to re-live that “*xuelei banban de* (blood-and-tears-stained) *cantong* (tragic and painful) experience”. To prevent that from happening, it is crucial to emphasize “*jieji douzheng*”, do it on a yearly, monthly, and daily basis (lines 12-18), and “*jianjue de* (unswervingly) *faq* (launch) *menglie jingong* (severe attacks) to *wuchan jieji de diren* (enemies of the proletariat)” (lines 18-19). Again, this discourse of political dwelling defines the specific way to understand past experience and project future experience, and prescribes actions that are deemed appropriate in order to prevent the negative consequence to occur.

We can formulate the following cultural propositions based on Instance 7.8.

**CP #28:** “Senior workers” had “*xuelei banban de* (blood-and-tears-stained) *cantong* (tragic and painful) experience” in *jiu shehui* [action, identity, political dwelling, feeling];

**CP #29:** This “*yiku sitian*” sharing is very effective: “the vast *geming zhigong* (revolutionary workers) couldn’t help their tears. *Wubi de* (incomparable) *chouhen* (hatred) was *jiqi* (stirred up) among them toward the Chinese Khruhshchev and the *wan-e de* (all evil) *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism) and a *gaochao* (high tide) of “*yiku sitian*” was achieved. A massive *jieji jiaoyu yundong* (class educational movement) was started *honghong lielie de* (vigorously) at the whole factory” [action, feeling, identity, relating, political dwelling];

**CP #30:** “The *zui-e mudi* (evil purpose) of *yixiaocuo* (a small bunch of) *zouzipai* (capitalist on-rovers), such as the Chinese Khruhshchev, *guchui* (advocating) the argument of “*jieji douzheng ximie lun* (class struggle ceasing-ism) is to *wangtu* (attempt in vain) to make us forget *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) so that they could realize their *zui-e yinmo* (evil conspiracy) of *fubi* (restoring) *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism)” [action, political dwelling, identity, action];

**CP #31:** Therefore, “*Jieji douzheng* (class struggle) *yao* (needs to be) *niannian jiang* (talked about every year), *yueyue jiang* (talked about every month), *tiantian jiang* (talked about every day), *yao* (needs to be) *niannian gao* (conducted every year), *yueyue gao* (conducted every month), *tiantian gao* (conducted every day). We need to *jianjue de* (unswervingly) *faq* (launch) *menglie jingong* (severe attacks) to *wuchan jieji de diren* (enemies of the proletariat)” [action, political dwelling, identity, relation].

### 7.2.6 “*Jieji Ganqing*” (Class Feelings), “*Aizeng Fenming*” (Love and Hate Clearly Demarcated) and the Emotion Hub

According to Carbaugh (2007), “Being socialized into life is to know what affect is appropriate, to what degree, on what occasions” (p. 176). On one hand, “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural discourse reflects very well what affect is appropriate and to be encouraged and what affect is inappropriate and to be discouraged. On the other hand, “*yiku sitian*” practices also provide opportunities for Chinese people to gain such knowledge. “*Jieji ganqing*” and “*aizeng fenming*” are two cultural terms that activate the emotion hub in “*yiku sitian*” discourse. “*Gan*” means “to feel” and “*qing*” means “feeling”. When “*gan*” and “*qing*” are put together into a term it becomes a noun, meaning “feeling” or “emotion”. So “*jieji ganqing*” means “class feeling” and refers to the type of feeling between people based on their class background. “*Ai*” means “to love” and “*zeng*” means “to hate”, “*fenming*” means “clearly demarcated”. “*Aizeng fenming*” (love and hate clearly demarcated)” is the most pronounced feature of “*jieji ganqing*” (class feeling).

First let’s look at an excerpt containing the cultural term of “*jieji ganqing*” (class feelings).

#### Instance 7.11

王拉生是贫农儿子，家里人口多劳力少，经常误课，学习成绩差。个别学生叫拉生是“土地爷”，嫌他穿的破，平时不帮他认字。当时我觉得这些同学对待拉生的态度，是阶级斗争在同学们思想上的反映。于是在周会课上，我请老羊工王富锁给孩子们讲自己的血泪史。富锁九岁就给地主放羊，成年累月睡在野地，因受潮湿满身生疮，痛得爬不起来，狠心的地主把他赶出门，富锁家里穷得叮叮当，眼看就得活活饿死。一伙穷弟兄把他接回去，东家一把糠，西家一碗菜，才把富锁抚养好。富锁讲着，孩子们扑簌簌地掉下眼泪。我就对学生说：“穷人自来爱穷人，贫农下中农都是阶级弟兄，所以就有阶级情感！拉生和大家都是贫农下中农子女，是一条藤上结的瓜。有些同学看不起拉生，就是没有阶级感情！”后来表扬了拉生热爱劳动的好品德，又讲了雷锋帮助乔安山的故事。从此，有的孩子认真地帮拉生补习功课，帮他做家务事。拉生的学习成绩也就一天天有了提高。(1965020505B)

1. Wang Lasheng is a son to a *pinnong* (poor peasant). The size of his family is big yet
2. the number of people who can work is small. Therefore he frequently missed school
3. and performed poorly in his studies. Some particular students called Lasheng

4. “*tudiye*” (the earth god) because of his shabby clothes and were not willing to help  
 5. him to learn [Chinese] characters. I realized that the attitude of these students toward  
 6. *Lashen* indicated the existence of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) in their *sixiang*  
 7. (thoughts). Therefore at the next weekly meeting I invited Wang Fusuo, an old  
 8. shepherd, to tell the children about his *xuelei shi* (blood-and-tears-stained history).  
 9. *Fusuo* started herding sheep for *dizhu* (landlord) since he was nine years old. He  
 10. slept right in the field throughout the years and developed sores all over his body due  
 11. to the wetness. It was so painful that he even couldn’t get up. The cruel *dizhu*  
 12. (landlord) drove him out. Fusuo’s family was extremely poor and he was on the edge  
 13. of starvation. Some *qiong dixiong* (poor brothers) brought him back home and finally  
 14. brought him up with food given by different families. As Fusuo narrated, tears  
 15. started running down children’s faces. So I told the students, “*Qiongren* (poor  
 16. people) always love *qiongren* (poor people). *Pinnong xia zhong nong* (poor and  
 17. lower-middle peasants) are all *jieji xiongdi* (class brothers). Therefore they have *jieji*  
 18. *ganqing* (class feelings)! *Lasheng* and you are all children of *pinnong xia zhong nong*  
 19. (poor and lower-middle peasants), like melons growing on the same vine. Some  
 20. classmates look down upon *Lasheng*. And that is an indication of lacking of *jieji*  
 21. *ganqing* (class feelings)!” Then I praised *Lasheng* for his good character of *re-ai*  
 22. *laodong* (enjoying manual work). And I also told the story of Lei Feng<sup>18</sup> helping his  
 23. fellow soldier Qiao Anshan. From then on some children took time to help *Lasheng*  
 24. with his study and house chores. And *Lasheng*’s performance at school became  
 25. better and better day by day.

This instance was taken from a report published on February 5<sup>th</sup>, 1965, in *People’s Daily*.

It is written from a teacher’s perspective. We learn from the beginning that there was a particular “attitude” (line 5) among some students toward a student named “*Lasheng*” that concerned this teacher. *Lasheng* is from a poor family and wears “shabby clothes” (line 4). The students made fun of him by calling him “*tudiye*” (the earth god), probably because his shabby clothes is also as dirty as the color of earth. *Lasheng* “performed poorly” (line 3) at school because he has to spend lots of time to help with working in field. No one was willing to help him to “learn [Chinese] characters” (lines 4-5). He was “looked down upon” (lines 19-20) by other students. This attitude is inappropriate in this teacher’s eyes. What’s more, she believed that this is a reflection of the existence and influence of “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) in the “*sixiang*” (thought) realm (line 6).

The solution this teacher came up with was to do “*yiku sitian*” among the students. She

<sup>18</sup> A nationally well-known young soldier, even to this days, for his “whole-heartedly serving the People” spirit and selfless sacrificial spirit. He died in an accident in Aug., 1962 and Mao Zedong wrote a commemorative calligraphy of “*Xiang Lei Feng Tongzhi Xuexi*” (Learn from Comrade Lei Feng) in March 1963, and an annual commemorative day was designated (March 5<sup>th</sup>) to remember Lei Feng since then.

invited “Wang Fusuo, an old shepherd, to tell the children about his *xuelei shi* (blood-and-tears-stained history) (lines 7-14). Students began to show appropriate emotional reaction – “tears started running down children’s faces” (lines 14-15). Seeing that the children’s hearts had been touched by *Fusuo*’s “*xuelei shi*” (blood-and-tears-stained history) in *jiu shehui*, the teacher hammered in the important point to all the students – “*Qiongren* (poor people) always love *qiongren* (poor people). *Pin xia zhong nong* (poor and lower-middle peasants) are all *jieji xiongdi* (class brothers). Therefore they have *jieji ganqing* (class feelings)!” (lines 16-18). The teacher used an analogy to describe the relationship between *Lasheng* and the other students: they are all “children of *pin xia zhong nong* (poor and lower-middle peasants), like melons growing on the same vine”. Her conclusion is that to “look down upon” *Lasheng* is “an indication of lacking of *jieji ganqing* (class feelings)” (lines 20-21). She then praised *Lasheng* for his good character of “*re-ai laodong* (enjoying manual work)” (lines 21-22), and then told the story of “*Lei Feng* helping his fellow soldier *Qiao Anshan*” (lines 22-23). All of these worked together and changed the attitudes of students toward *Lasheng* – “From then on some children took time to help *Lasheng* with his study and house chores” (lines 23-24), which resulted in “*Lasheng*’s performance at school” getting “better and better day by day” (lines 24-25).

We can formulate the following cultural propositions based on Instance 7.11.

**CP #32:** “*Qiongren* (poor people) always love *qiongren* (poor people)” [feeling, identity, relationship, political dwelling]

**CP #33:** “*Pin nong xia zhong nong* (poor and lower-middle peasants)” are all *jieji xiongdi* (class brothers) [identity, relation, political dwelling]

**CP #34:** “*Jieji xiongdi* (class brothers)” have “*jieji ganqing*” (class feelings) between each other [feeling, identity, relation, political dwelling]

**CP #35:** “Children of *pin xia zhong nong* (poor and lower-middle peasants)” are like “melons growing on the same vine”. Therefore “they” should “love each other and help each other” [feeling, identity, relation, action, political dwelling]

**CP #36:** It is inappropriate for “other students” to “look down upon” “*Lasheng*”, as doing so is an indication of “the existence of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) in their *sixiang* (thoughts)” [feeling, action, political dwelling]

**CP #37:** To “look down upon *Lasheng*” is also an indication of lacking of “*jieji ganqing*” (class feelings), which would make one’s class status of being a “child of *pinnong xia zhong nong*” (poor and lower-middle peasants) questionable [feeling, identity, political dwelling]

**CP #38:** It is appropriate for the students to be moved to “tears” by Fusuo’s “*yiku sitian*” sharing [feeling, action]

**CP #39:** “*Yiku Sitian jiaoyu*” (education) provides chances for students to learn appropriate affect, attitude, and action [feeling, action, political dwelling]

Not only is “*jieji ganqing*” (class feelings) assumed between people coming from the same “*jieji*” (class) background, it is also required that this class-based feeling to be demonstrated in its most zealous form – “*aizeng fenming*”. “*Zeng*” is synonym with “*hen*” so “*aizeng*” means “love and hate.” “*Fen*” means “*demarcate*” and “*ming*” means “clear.” Together this term means “clearly demarcated love and hate” (when used as a noun phrase), or, “to know precisely whom and what to love and hate” (when used as a verb phrase). Here of course, “*ai*” (love) is supposedly expressed between members of “*renmin*” (the People) or “*geming jieji*” (the revolutionary class) and “*zeng*” (hate) is expected to be expressed from a member of “*renmen*” (the People) or “*geming jieji*” (the revolutionary class) to a member of “*fei renmin*” (the non-People) or “*jieji diren*” (class enemies). The following instances are some examples.

### **Instance 7.12**

我们讲的感情是对同志的爱，对敌人的恨的阶级感情。而不是周谷城一再宣扬的什么超阶级的“真实情感”。(1965012006)

1. The *ganqing* (feeling) we advocate is *jieji ganqing* (class feeling) featured by *ai*
2. (love) to *tongzhi* (comrades) and *hen* (hate) to *diren* (enemy) instead of the classless
3. “true feelings” blazed abroad again and again by Zhou Gucheng.

### Instance 7.13

听到他们的诉苦，我就反复琢磨他们的阶级感情，杜常好提到“地主老财”时是如此的咬牙切齿，可是提到党和毛主席却是这样的激动，爱憎是这么分明，这是为什么？正象广大贫下中农说的：“是共产党毛主席给了我们活命，要不是解放了，现在还不知道有我没我，现在我们是生活在天堂了。”我想，思想感情只能随着阶级立场的转移而起变化，自己站在资产阶级的立场又怎样能对党对毛主席产生热爱？自己没有站在党的立场又怎么去爱贫下中农，去向他们学习呢？(1965062106)

1. After hearing their *suku* (pouring out the bitterness), I began pondering again and
2. again over their *jieji ganqing* – Du Changhao gnashed his teeth so angrily when
3. mentioning “*dizhu laocai* (landlord)<sup>19</sup>,” and yet he was so affectionate when
4. mentioning *Dang* (the Party) and *Mao Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao). His *aizeng* (love and
5. hate) is so *fenming* (clearly demarcated). Why? The answer lies in what *pin xia*
6. *zhong nong* (poor and lower-middle peasants) said, “It is *Gongchan Dang* (the
7. Communist Party) and *Mao Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao) giving us chance to live. If it
8. were not *jiefang* (liberated), it is hard to say whether or not I’d still be alive. But
9. now we live in *tiantang* (heaven).” I believe *sixiang ganqing* (thoughts and feelings)
10. can only change when *jieji lichang* (class standpoint) is shifted. How can I come up
11. with feelings of *re-ai* (ardent love) to *Dang* (the Party) and *Mao Zhuxi* (Chairman
12. Mao) while positioned at a *zichan jieji lichang* (bourgeoisie standpoint)? And how
13. am I supposed to love *pin xia zhong nong* (poor and lower-middle peasants) and
14. learn from them when I myself am not positioned at *Dang de lichang* (the Party’s
15. standpoint)?

Instance 7.12 refutes an allegedly wrong claim by Zhou Gucheng on “*ganqing*” of saying that there are “classless ‘true feelings’” (lines 2-3). Instead, it emphasizes that “the *ganqing* (feeling) we advocate is *jieji ganqing* (class feeling) featured by *ai* (love) to *tongzhi* (comrades) and *hen* (hate) to *diren* (enemy)” (lines 1-2). It could never be “classless.”

Instance 7.13 records the author’s reflection on the intensity of the two feelings, “*ai*” (love) and “*zeng*” (hate) that were expressed by a peasant named Du Changhao in an “*yiku sitian*” gathering. The author noticed that Du Changhao “gnashed his teeth so angrily when mentioning ‘*dizhu laocai* (landlord)’” (lines 2-3), and yet he was “so affectionate when mentioning *Dang* (the Party) and *Mao Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao)” (lines 3-4). The author stated the direct reason of such drastically different expression of

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<sup>19</sup> *Laocai* is a local colloquial term referring to rich people in the countryside of southern China and is similar to *dizhu* (landlord) in its meaning.

feelings by quoting words from “*pin xia zhong nong* (poor and lower-middle peasants)” – “It is *Gongchan Dang* (the Communist Party) and *Mao Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao) giving us chance to live. If it were not *jiefang* (liberated), it is hard to say whether or not I’d still be alive. But now we live in *tiantang* (heaven)” (lines 6-9). The author then went one step further to think about the fundamental reason that contributed to this difference and suggested the following explanation: a person’s “*sixiang ganqing* (thoughts and feelings)” can only change “when *jieji lichang* (class standpoint) is shifted” (lines 9-10). If s/he is positioned “at a *zichan jieji lichang* (bourgeoisie standpoint)”, it would not be possible for her/him to “come up with feelings of *re-ai* (ardent love) to *Dang* (the Party) and *Mao Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao)” (lines 10-12). Similarly, if a person is “not positioned at *Dang de lichang* (the Party’s standpoint)”, s/he would not be able to “love *pin xia zhong nong* (poor and lower-middle peasants) and learn from them” (lines 12-15). We can formulate the following cultural propositions based on Instances 7.12 and 7.13.

**CP #40:** “*Ganqing*” (feelings) can never be “classless” but are always “*jieji ganqing*” (class feelings) [feeling, political dwelling]

**CP #41:** “*Jieji ganqing*” means “*ai*” (love) to “*tongzhi*” (comrades) and “*hen*” (hate) to “*diren*” (enemies) [feeling, action, political dwelling]

**CP #42:** The feelings of “*ai*” (love) and “*hen*” (hate) are clearly demarcated from each other and very intense [feeling]

**CP #43:** “*Pin xia zhong nong*” (poor and lower middle peasants) have this strong “*jieji ganqing*” (class feelings) because they almost died in *jiu shehui* but were “*jiefang*” (liberated) and “given chance to live” by “*Gongchan Dang* (the Communist Party) and *Mao Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao)” [feeling, identity, action, relation, political dwelling]

**CP #44:** “*Sixiang ganqing*” (thoughts and feelings) are closely related with one’s “*jieji lichang*” (class standpoint) and can only be changed when one’s “*jieji lichang*” is “shifted” [political dwelling]

**CP #45:** One would not have “feelings of *re-ai* (ardent love) to *Dang* (the Party) and *Mao Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao)” “while positioned at a *zichan jieji lichang* (bourgeoisie standpoint)” [political dwelling]



**CP #46:** One would not be able to “love *pin xia zhong nong* (poor and lower-middle peasants) and learn from them” when he/she is “not positioned at *Dang de lichang* (the Party’s standpoint)” [political dwelling]

### **7.2.7 “Jieji Juewu” (Class Consciousness), “Jieji Lichang” (Class Standing Place) and the Political Dwelling Hub**

Among all the terms derived from “*jieji*” (class), the phrases “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) and “*jieji lichang*” (class standpoint) might be closest in meaning to “political dwelling”. Therefore, using the phrases “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) and “*jieji lichang*” in “*yiku sitian*” communication practices activate the “political dwelling hub”. These phrases are very popular in the 1960s and 1970s. “*Jue*” means “aware of” and “*wu*” means “understand”. “*Juewu*” usually means, as a verb, “come to understand”, or as a noun, “understanding about (something)”, or “consciousness”. “*Jieji juewu*” means “understanding about class” or “class consciousness”. It is commonly described with terms like “*gao*” (high) or “*bugao*” (not high) or used in a verb phrase like “*tigao* (raise) *jieji juewu* (class consciousness)”.

“*Lichang*” means, literally, “a place where one can stand and look at other places or things from”. It is commonly used to refer to the perspective one adopts in viewing the world around oneself or the attitude one takes when reacting to certain events or issues. It is commonly described with terms like “*jianding*” (unswerving) or “*bu jianding*” (swerving) or used in a verb phrase like “*zhanwen* (stand firmly) *jieji lichang* (class standpoint)”. In China, during the 1960s and 1970s, speaking of one’s “*lichang*” is always speaking of one’s “*jieji lichang*” (class standpoint). With people divided into different “*jieji*” (classes), it is firmly believed that a person belonging to certain “*jieji*” (class) would always know the social nature and political “standing place” of one’s own “*jieji*” and would behave accordingly. On the other hand, by examining someone’s

behavior, we can get to know one's "*jieji lichang*" (class standpoint). There are basically two types of "*jieji lichang*" (class standpoint) that are significant to the "*yiku sitian*" discourse (as well as to the general political life of Chinese people in that historical stage): "*wuchan jieji lichang*" (proletariat class standpoint) and "*zichan jieji lichang*" (bourgeoisie class standpoint). Obviously, the Communist China endorses the "*wuchan jieji lichang*" but denounces the "*zichan jieji lichang*".

When used in "*yiku sitian*" communication practice, the two phrases of "*jieji juewu*" (class consciousness) and "*jieji lichang*" (class standpoint) activate the "political dwelling hub", as they constitute a political meaning system, a political "space", or a "dwelling" place for one's political orientation, choices, and thoughts. A "*wuchan jieji lichang*" (proletariat class standpoint) is a preferred, acclaimed and appropriate "dwelling" place for one's political life; and a "*zichan jieji lichang*" (bourgeoisie class standpoint) is a dangerous, denounced, and inappropriate "dwelling" place for one's political life.

Because of Mao Zedong's concern about "revisionism" and over-emphasis on "*jieji douzheng*" as the "major contradiction" existing in socialist China during the 1960s and 1970s, to help people "*tigao jieji juewu*" (raise class consciousness) and "*zhanwen jieji lichang*" (stand firmly on one's class standpoint) was regarded as a must to protect this new socialist country from "changing colors". And "*jieji jiaoyu*" (class education) is believed to be the most effective way to achieve this goal. We have analyzed Instance 6.9 for the key term of "*jieji jiaoyu*" (class education) activating the action hub, now we will look at it again and paying attention to the key term of "*jieji juewu*" (class consciousness).

## Instance 7.9

当然，回忆对比、忆苦思甜，还只是对职工进行阶级教育的起点。我们必须进一步用阶级和阶级斗争的知识去武装他们。我们许多职工虽然具有一定的阶级觉悟，许多老职工也经历过阶级斗争的锻炼，但是，随着社会主义改造取得伟大胜利和建设事业的日益发展，阶级斗争的形式也改变了。在新的形势下，怎样透过各种复杂的外部现象，看到阶级斗争的本质，对于许多职工来说，还是一个需要很好地解决的问题。我们必须通过阶级教育，提高广大职工的阶级觉悟，增长他们关于阶级斗争的知识，扩大他们的政治视界，使他们真正认识到，社会主义商业不仅是建设社会主义不可缺少的组成部分，而且从来就是同资本主义进行两条道路斗争的一个重要阵地。要让他们了解，被推翻的反动统治阶级不甘心于灭亡，他们总是企图复辟；同时，社会上还存在着资产阶级的影响和旧社会的习惯势力，存在着小生产者的自发的资本主义倾向，只要有可乘之机，这些势力就要冲击社会主义商业的阵地。在现实生活中，如果看不见这些斗争着的现象，工作上就可能迷失方向。因此，每个商业部门的职工都必须提高阶级警惕性，站稳立场，去同市场上存在的各种投机倒把的行为进行斗争，同自发的资本主义势力进行斗争，同商业部门内部破坏国家经济政策、贪污盗窃和破坏国家财产的活动进行斗争，从而在斗争中进一步巩固和发展社会主义商业阵地，使每个职工的阶级立场受到锻炼和考验。(1963092501)

1. Of course, *huiyi* (recalling) and *duibi* (comparison) and *yiku sitian* (recalling the
2. bitterness and reflecting on the sweetness), is just a starting point of conducting *jieji*
3. *jiaoyu* (class education) to workers. We must arm them with knowledge about *jieji*
4. (class) and *jieji douzheng* (class struggle). Although some of our workers have some
5. basic *jieji juewu* (class consciousness), and some older workers have experienced
6. some sort of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle), the form of *jieji douzheng* (class
7. struggle) has changed following the great success of the Socialist Transformation
8. and the increasing progress of the construction cause. For many workers, how to see
9. through various complicated external phenomena to identify the essence of *jieji*
10. *douzheng* (class struggle) within the new situation remains a tough question that
11. needs to be carefully addressed. We have to rely on *jieji jiaoyu* (class education) to
12. *tigao* (raise) *jieji juewu* (class consciousness) of the vast majority of the workers,
13. increase their knowledge about *jieji douzheng* (class struggle), expand their political
14. view, and help them to truly come to see that *shehui zhuyi* (socialist) commerce is
15. not only an indispensable part contributing to the *shehui zhuyi* (socialist) construction
16. cause but has always been a crucial *zhendi* (position) for conducting the Two Line
17. *Douzheng* (Struggle) with *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism). They need to be informed that the
18. *fandong* (reactionary) *tongzhi jieji* (ruling class) that has been *tuifan* (overthrown)
19. would not willingly perish but would always attempt for *fubi* (restoration); At the
20. same time, there are still some lingering habitual forces of *jiu shehui* and influences
21. of *zichan jieji* (bourgeoisie) in society, as well as some spontaneous *ziben zhuyi*
22. (capitalist) tendency of some small producer, which would attack the *zhendi*
23. (position) of the socialist commerce whenever there is a chance. In real life, if we are
24. not aware of these *douzheng zhe de* (struggling) facts, we could very probably lose
25. direction in our work. Therefore, all workers of each commercial department must
26. *tigao* (raise) their *jieji jingtixing* (class vigilance), *zhanwen lichang* (stand firmly on
27. their standpoint), *douzheng* (struggle) with the various *touji daoba* (speculation and
28. profiteering) conducts in the market, *douzheng* (struggle) with the spontaneous *ziben*
29. *zhuyi* (capitalist) force, and *douzheng* (struggle) with the activities inside commercial
30. departments that destruct the State's economic policy, corrupt, steal, and damage
31. State properties, so that the socialist commercial *zhendi* (position) could be further
32. *gonggu* (strengthened) and *fazhan* (developed), and each worker's *jieji lichang* (class
33. standpoint) could be *duanlian* (exercised) and *kaoyan* (tested) through these kinds of
34. *douzheng* (struggle).

The above excerpt acknowledges in the beginning that “some of our workers have some basic *jieji juewu* (class consciousness), and some older workers have experienced some sort of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle)” (lines 4-6), but then it points out that “form of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) has changed following the great success of the Socialist Transformation and the increasing progress of the construction cause” (lines 6-7). Many workers are facing a new question of “how to see through various complicated external phenomena to identify the essence of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) within the new situation” (lines 8-10). The solution is to “arm them with knowledge about *jieji* (class) and *jieji douzheng* (class struggle)” (lines 3-4), to “rely on *jieji jiaoyu* (class education) to *tigao* (raise) *jieji juewu* (class consciousness) of the vast majority of the workers” (lines 11-12), to “increase their knowledge about *jieji douzheng* (class struggle)” (line 13), and to “expand their political view” (line 12). Specifically, to “*tigao*” (raise) the workers’ “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) means (1) to “help them to truly come to see that *shehui zhuyi* (socialist) commerce is not only an indispensable part contributing to the *shehui zhuyi* (socialist) construction cause but has always been a crucial *zhendi* (position) for conducting the Two Line *Douzheng* (Struggle) with *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism)” (lines 14-17); (2) to inform them that “the *fandong* (reactionary) *tongzhi jieji* (ruling class) that has been *tuifan* (overthrown) would not willingly perish but would always attempt for *fubi* (restoration)” (lines 18-19); (3) to let them know that “there are still some lingering habitual forces of *jiu shehui* and influences of *zichan jieji* (bourgeoisie) in society, as well as some spontaneous *ziben zhuyi* (capitalist) tendency of some small producer, which would attack the *zhendi* (position) of the socialist commerce whenever there is a chance”

(lines 18-21); (5) to warn them that “In real life, if we are not aware of these *douzheng zhe de* (struggling) facts, we could very probably lose direction in our work” (lines 21-23). Therefore, to “*tigao*” (raise) the workers’ “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) in this particular commercial department is to “*jiaoyu*” (educate) them about all these “*douzheng zhe de* (struggling) facts” and make sure they are consciously “aware of” them. Not only should the workers’ strive to “*tigao*” (raise) their “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness), they should also put what they learned into practice and “*douzheng*” (struggle) against some specific problematic situations in real life, such as “the various *touji daoba* (speculation and profiteering) conducts in the market”, “the spontaneous *ziben zhuyi*(capitalist) force” (line 26), “the activities inside commercial departments that destruct the State’s economic policy, corrupt, steal, and damage State properties” (lines 27-28). Only then will “the socialist commercial *zhendi* (position)” be “further *gonggu* (strengthened) and *fazhan* (developed)”, and “each worker’s *jieji lichang* (class standpoint)” be “*duanlian* (exercised) and *kaoyan* (tested) through these kinds of *douzheng* (struggle)” (lines 31-34).

We can formulate the following cultural propositions based on this instance:

**CP #47:** “Some workers” have some “basic *jieji juewu* (class consciousness),” and “some older workers” have experienced “some sort of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle)” [political dwelling]

**CP #48:** But the completion of “Socialist Transformation” brings about “new forms of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle)” [political dwelling]

**CP #49:** Therefore “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education) is necessary to “*tigao*” (raise) the workers’ “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) [political dwelling, action]

**CP #50:** To “*tigao*” (raise) the workers’ “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) means to help them to be “aware of” the following (#43 to #46) “*douzheng zhe de* (struggling) facts” [political dwelling, action]

**CP #51:** “*Shehui zhuyi* (socialist) commerce” has always been “a crucial *zhendi* (position)” “for conducting the Two Line *Douzheng* (Struggle) with *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism)” [political dwelling]

**CP #52:** “*Fandong* (reactionary) *tongzhi jieji* (ruling class) that has been *tuifan* (overthrown)” would “not willingly perish” but would “always attempt for *fubi* (restoration)” [political dwelling, identity, action]

**CP #53:** There is still “some lingering habitual forces of *jiu shehui* and influences of *zichan jieji* (bourgeoisie)” in society, as well as “some spontaneous *ziben zhuyi* (capitalist) tendency” of some small producer, which would “attack” the “*zhendi* (position) of the socialist commerce” whenever there is a chance” [political dwelling, action]

**CP #54:** In real life, if “we” are “not aware of” these “*douzhen zhe de* (struggling) facts”, “we” could very probably “lose direction in our work” [political dwelling, action, identity]

**CP #55:** Besides working on “*tigao*” (raising) “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness), “workers” should also “practice” what they learned in real life and “*douzhen*” (struggle) against various specific problems [political dwelling, action, identity]

**CP #56:** Only then would it be possible to “further *gonggu* (strengthened) and *fazhan* (developed)” “the socialist commercial *zhendi* (position)” and have “each worker’s *jieji lichang* (class standpoint)” “*duanlian* (exercised) and *kaoyan* (tested)” through these kinds of “*douzhen*” (struggle) [political dwelling, action, identity]

As stated in Instance 7.13, “*sixiang ganqing* (thoughts and feelings) can only change when *jieji lichang* (class standpoint) is shifted.” Therefore, *jieji lichang* is a crucial factor in determining the orientation of people’s *ganqing* (feelings). A *zichan jieji lichang* (bourgeoisie standpoint) creates *zichan jieji ganqing* (bourgeoisie feelings) in people that aims at blurring the distinction between classes, whereas a *wuchan jieji lichang* (proletariat standpoint) creates *wuchan jieji ganqing* (proletariat feelings) in people that strictly define the boundary and intensity of people’s love and hate.

The significance of “*jieji lichang*” (class standpoint) is emphasized in the following instance, which is taken from a report published on *People’s Daily* on March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1968.

#### **Instance 7.14**

念念不忘阶级斗争，就要学好毛主席关于路线斗争的教导，增强路线斗争观念，站稳无产阶级立场。林副主席指出：在现实的阶级斗争中，站在哪一边，这是个立场问题，是个首要问题，其他都是附带的问题。这就是说，立场问题是高于一切的问题，立场错了，一切皆错，“干劲”越大越糟糕。就象飞机航向偏了，速度越大，偏得越远。在无产阶级专政条件下的阶级斗争，由于党内一小撮走资派是主要敌人，所以，阶级斗争就突出地、集中地表现为党内两条路线的斗争，也就是走社会主义

道路还是走资本主义道路的斗争。没有路线斗争观念，阶级斗争”观念就是抽象的，不彻底的。在两条路线斗争中拥护和执行哪条路线，就是跟谁走的问题，是最根本的立场问题。没有坚定的无产阶级立场，没有明确的路线斗争观念，就容易被打着“红旗”反红旗的敌人所蒙蔽，就有打灰旗、打白旗、打黑旗的危险。忘记路线斗争，就耳目失灵，在关键时刻就会站错队；牢记路线斗争，就耳聪目明，在关键时刻看得清，站得稳，顶得住，过得硬。(1968030401)

1. *Niannian buwang* (Never forgetting for a moment) *jieji douzheng* (class struggle)
2. means, next, that we study well Mao *Zhuxi's jiaodao* (teachings) on *luxian douzheng*
3. (line struggle), strengthen our viewpoint on *luxian douzheng* (line struggle), and
4. *zhanwen* (stand firmly) our proletariat *lichang* (standpoint). Vice Chairman *Lin*
5. points out that in the current *jieji douzheng* (class struggle), it is a *lichang*
6. (standpoint) issue and a foremost issue. All the rest are secondary issues. This is to
7. say that *lichang* (standpoint) issue comes before all the other issues. If *lichang*
8. (standpoint) is wrong, everything is wrong. The harder one works, the worse
9. the consequence. Just like an airplane that is off its course, the higher the speed goes,
10. the greater the deviation is. As to the *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) that is under the
11. condition of the proletariat dictatorship, because the main enemies are *yixiaocuo* (a
12. small bunch of) *zouzipai* (capitalist-on-roaders) in the Party, *jieji douzheng* (class
13. struggle) prominently and exclusively takes the form of struggle between the two
14. *luxian* (lines) in the Party, the socialist road vs. the capitalist road. Without
15. understanding of *luxian douzheng* (line struggle), our understanding of *jieji douzheng*
16. (class struggle) is abstract and incomplete. Which *luxian* (line) to *yonghu* (support)
17. and *zhixing* (carry out) during the two-*luxian douzheng* (two-line struggle) is a
18. question of whom to follow and is also the most fundamental question regarding
19. the *lichang* (standpoint) issue. Without a *jianding de* (unswerving) proletariat
20. *lichang* (standpoint), without clear understanding of *luxian douzheng* (line struggle),
21. we would be easily deceived by the enemies who “*dazhe hongqi fan hongqi* (are
22. actually against the red flag although disguised as holding the red flag),” and might
23. be in danger of holding a grey flag, white flag, or black flag. Forgetting *luxian*
24. *douzheng* (line struggle) could lead to *ermu shilling* (dysfunction of our ears and
25. eyes)<sup>20</sup>, and might *zhan cuo dui* (stand in the wrong line) at critical moment; *laoji*
26. (locking in mind) *luxian douzheng* (line struggle) could lead to *ercong muming* (to
27. see and hear well), and enable us to *kan de qing* (see clearly), *zhan de wen* (stand
28. firmly), *ding de zhu* (withstand stoutly), and *guo de ying* (pass solidly) at critical
29. moment.

This whole instance provides explanations and logic about what it means to “*niannian buwang jieji douzheng*”, a slogan popular in that historical era. “*Nian*” means “thought” or “idea”, “*niannian*” means, literally, “each thought or each idea that occurs in one’s mind”; figuratively it means “to keep in mind every moment or constantly.” “*Bu*” means “not” and “*wang*” means “forget.” “*Buwang*” means “not forget.” “*Niannian buwang*” describes the state of a person so preoccupied with something that he thinks about it all

<sup>20</sup> This is a figurative speech, comparing one’s insight as one’s ears and eyes. Saying that one’s ears and eyes are dysfunctional here means that one couldn’t see through the surface of things and reach a deeper understanding about the fundamental nature of social events and happenings.

the time – each of his thought and each of his idea is about that particular something. In this case, to “*niannian buwang jieji douzheng*” means that one is preoccupied with class struggle and thinks about it all the time.

This report was published in 1968, two years after the beginning of Cultural Revolution. “*Jieji douzheng*” has been given new meaning and new format since then. Previously, “*jieji douzheng*” usually happens, in general, between “*wuchan jieji*” (proletariat) and “*zichan jieji*” (bourgeoisie), and in specific, between “*gongren*” (workers) and “*nongmin*” (peasants) and “*zibenjia*” (capitalists) and “*dizhu*” (landlords). The “we” side and the “they” side are very easy to tell. Now it is believed to be more complicated with the “enemies” hidden right inside “us”, pretending to be holding a “red flag” but in fact acting against it (lines 21-22). This is summarized as demonstration of “*luxian douzheng*” (lines struggle) (in lines 2, 3, 15, 17, 20 and 26) within the Party, which becomes the current format of “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) (in lines 1, 5, 10, 12 and 15). It is tied in closely with the concept of “*lichang*” (standing place) (in lines 4, 5, 7, 19 and 20), and it is believed that where one stand decides what viewpoint one can have.

As we have mentioned before, *lichang* (standpoint) is a very important concept in that *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) era. In general, it is believed that oppressors/exploiters have different *lichang* (standpoint) from the oppressed/exploited. That is to say, landlords and capitalists have different *lichang* (standpoint) from peasants and workers, the laboring people. Therefore, *lichang* (standpoint) issue is closely related with *luxian douzheng* (lines struggle) between “the socialist road” and “the capitalist road” (line 14). It is “a foremost issue”



(line 6) that “comes before all the other issues” (line 7). “If *lichang* (standpoint) is wrong, everything is wrong. The harder one works, the worse the consequence” (lines 7-9). Therefore, it is crucial to know “whom to follow” (line 18) and “which *luxian* (line) to *yonghu* (support) and *zhixing* (carry out) during the “two-*luxian douzheng*” (two-line struggle)” (lines 16-17). Obviously here in this segment *hongqi* (red flag) (in line 21) stands for “the socialist road” and “proletariat line,” and *huiqi* (grey flag), *baiqi* (white flag) and *heiqi* (black flag) (line 23) stand for various “revisionist line” or “the capitalist road.” It cautions people to not be “deceived by the enemies who ‘*dazhe hongqi fan hongqi* (are actually against the red flag although disguised as holding the red flag)’” (in lines 21-22) for fear that they will gradually lose their vigilance against the invasion of enemies and turn blind to various dangerous trend challenging the “socialist road”. It compares people’s internal ability to make judgment as the eyes’ function to see and the ears’ function to hear. When one is keenly aware of the existence of *luxian douzheng* (line struggle), one can “see” clearly and “hear” well, but when one forgets *luxian douzheng* (line struggle), one can neither “see” clearly nor “hear” well (lines 23-27).

The following cultural propositions can be formulated from this instance:

**CP #57:** To “*niannian buwang jieji douzheng*” (never forget class struggle for a moment) means (1) “we” need to “study well” “Mao Zhuxi’s teachings on “*luxian douzheng*”; (2) “we” need to “strengthen” “our viewpoint on *luxian douzheng* (line struggle)”, and (3) “we” need to “*zhanwen* (stand firmly)” “our proletariat *lichang* (standpoint)” [political dwelling, action, identity]

**CP #58:** “*Lichang* (standpoint) issue” is a “foremost” issue and “comes before all the other issues”. [political dwelling]

**CP #59:** Under the condition of the proletariat dictatorship, “our main enemies” are “*yixiaocuo* (a small bunch of) *zouzipai* (capitalist-on-roaders) in the Party” “who *dazhe hongqi fan hongqi* (are actually against the red flag although disguised as holding the red flag)” [identity, political dwelling, action]

**CP #60:** The “*yixiaocuo* (a small bunch of) *zouzipai* (capitalist-on-roaders) in the Party” are “advocating” a “*luxian* (line) of capitalist road” which is “different” from the “socialist road of Mao *Zhuxi*” [political dwelling, identity, action]

**CP #61:** To do “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) is to do “*luxian douzheng*” (line struggle) now. [action, political dwelling]

**CP #62:** “We” should develop “a *jianding de* (unswerving) proletariat *lichang* (standpoint)” and “clear understanding of *luxian douzheng* (line struggle)” so that “we” can “face all challenges” “at critical moment”. [political dwelling, action]

### 7.3 Cultural Premises of “*Yiku Sitian*” Communication Practice

We have examined various instances containing key terms clustered around “*jieji*” (class) and formulated cultural propositions regarding each instance. Now we can identify the cultural premises of beliefs and values based on these cultural propositions. According to Carbaugh (2005), “cultural premises are analysts’ formulations about participants’ beliefs about the significance and importance of what is going on, both as a condition for that practice of communication, and as expressed in that very practice” (p. 5). In the following I summarized two sets of premises, one from the orthodox perspective, and one from the alternative perspective.

#### **Orthodox premises**<sup>21</sup>:

In 1960s and 1970s, although China is already socialist by nature, there are still “*jieji*” (class), [PD] “*jieji maodun*” (class contradiction), and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle).

Among all the Chinese people, the majority of them are “*geming jieji*” (revolutionary class), [ID] some belong to “*zhongjian jieji* (the middle class), but “a small bunch” of them are “*jieji diren*” (class enemies)<sup>22</sup>.

Represented by the “Chinese Khrushchev”, this “small bunch” of “*zouzipai*” (capitalist-roaders) [PD] attempted in vain to “*fubi*” (restore) capitalism in China and to force Chinese people to “*chi erbian*

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<sup>21</sup> Here I use “PD” to stand for “political dwelling” hub, “ID” for “identity” hub, “RN” stands for “relationship” hub, “AN” stands for “action” hub, and “EN” stands for “emotion hub”.

<sup>22</sup> See page 261 in this chapter for specific categories included in the three groups of people: “*geming jieji*”, “*zhongjian jieji*” and “*jieji diren*”.

*ku, shou ercha zu*” (eat bitterness for the second time and endure hardship for the second time), which is completely unacceptable.

People relate to each other based on their “*jieji guanxi*” (class relationship): Members of “*geming jieji*” relate to each other as “*jieji xiongdi*” (class brothers). Anyone excluded from this group might end up being “*jieji diren*” (class enemies). [RN]

They conduct “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education) to their younger generation to make sure they grow up to be “successors of the Communist cause”. And the most effective and efficient way of doing “*jieji jiaoyu*” is to do “*yiku sitian*” (recalling the bitterness of the past and reflecting on the sweetness of the present) to help the younger generation to know the “*ku*” (bitterness) of “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and the “*tian*” (sweet) of “*xin shehui*” (the new society) so they won’t “*wangben*” (forget about one’s original root) [AN]

To “*zhongjian jieji*”, the policy and practice of “*geming jieji*” is to “*jiaoyu*” (educate) and “*gaizao*” (transform), but “*jieji diren*” (class enemies) should be “*pipan*” (denounced) and “*dadao*” (knocked down), so the policy and practice of “*geming jieji*” to “*jieji diren*” is to conduct “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) “unswervingly” [AN]

Therefore members of “*geming jieji*” (revolutionary class) should cultivate “*geming ganqing*” (revolutionary feeling) of “*aizeng fenming*” (love and hate clearly demarcated) and treat different classes differently [EN]

“*Jieji jiaoyu*” is also conducted to help people to “*tigao*” (raise) their “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) and “*zhanwen*” (stand firmly) their “*jieji lichang*” (class standpoint) to prepare them for new forms of “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) in new era. [PD]

### **Alternative premises:**

In 1960s and 1970s, Chinese people have no choice but to accept the type of “*jiating chushen*” (family class origin) and “*jieji chengfen*” (class status) they were born to [identity]; they have to relate with each other based on their “*jieji guanxi*” (class relationship) [relationship]; they have to participate in endless activities of “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education), “*yiku sitian*” (recalling the bitterness and reflecting on the sweetness), and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) [action]; they have to respond with “politically correct” feelings of “*aizeng fenming*” (love and hate clearly demarcated) when listening to “*yiku sitian*” sharing as well as in real life [emotion]; they have to position and present themselves in a politically correct manner to avoid being in trouble [political dwelling].

## 7.4 Summary

In this chapter we examined series of cultural terms/phrases clustered around the key term “*jieji*” (class) activating the five hubs of meaning system in “*yiku sitian*” cultural discourse. Specifically, “*jieji chengfen*” (class status) and “*jiating chushen*” (family class origin) activate the identity hub; “*jieji guanxi*” (class relationship) and “*jieji xiongdi*” (class brothers) activate the relationship hub; “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education) and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) activate the action hub; “*jieji ganqing*” (class feeling) and “*aizeng fenming*” (love and hate clearly demarcated) activate the emotion hub; and “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) and “*jieji lichang*” (class standpoint) activate the political dwelling hub. These hubs and radiants of meanings weave a discursive web of Chinese political discourse in the 1960s and 1970s, constituting the larger meaning system within which the “*yiku sitian*” practice makes sense. Premises from both orthodox and alternative perspectives are formulated based on cultural propositions.

In Chapter 8 we will be focusing on a role model person named Lei Feng, who became famous in China in 1960s and, although died prematurely in 1962, continues to be well-known in contemporary China. Lei Feng gained his first fame exactly through giving “*yiku sitian*” public speeches to his local fellow soldiers and his fame spreaded farther and farther as he constantly and consistently did “good deeds” to help others in need while going on numerous trips to give “*yiku sitian*” speeches at invitations from all sorts of places near and afar. We will see if the findings we have arrived at in the previous chapters can be applied into this case study to help us understand better the shape and meanings of Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian*” practices.

## CHAPTER 8

### LEI FENG AND “YIKU SITIAN”

In previous chapters we have examined “*yiku sitian*” as a communication and cultural practice. In this chapter we will apply some of the findings we have arrived at regarding “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural discourse to look at a special Chinese person, Lei Feng, and his relationship with the “*yiku sitian*” practice. Specifically, we will examine a segment of book chapter about how *Lei Feng* became famous through doing “*yiku sitian*”, and another segment from the same book chapter containing transcript of Lei Feng’s own “*yiku sitian*” *baogao* (“*yiku sitian*” public speech), then two segments of news reports on Lei Feng published in *People’s Daily* in 1961 and 1963 respectively. We will apply some of the research findings in the previous chapters to these segments and try to understand why things are the way they are as presented in these four pieces of data.

#### 8.1 Brief Background Information about Lei Feng

Lei Feng (1940 – 1962) is the name of a nationally famous young soldier of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army who lived in the 1960s. Among several of the key characteristics that he was famous for, such as selflessness, modesty, and loyalty to Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, the most striking one is his always willingly and happily helping other people who were in need<sup>1</sup>. Put it in his own words, it is “to devote one’s finite life into the infinite cause of ‘Serving the people’.”<sup>2</sup> By his premature death in a car accident while on duty at the age of 22 on Aug. 15<sup>th</sup>, 1962, he had helped

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<sup>1</sup> See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lei\\_Feng](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lei_Feng) for more information and references.

<sup>2</sup> From Lei Feng diary entry dated Oct. 20, 1961. See <http://www.bjwmb.gov.cn/zt/leifeng/15.asp> for more Lei Feng diary entries.

numerous people with his time, energy and money. And there had already been some local news reports about his extraordinary deeds and spirit<sup>3</sup> and some local calling on learning from him. On Feb. 22, 1963, the then Chinese Chairman Mao Zedong wrote the famous inscription “*Xiang Lei Feng Tongzhi Xuexi*,” meaning to “Learn from Comrade Lei Feng,” at the request of the editorial board of the *China Youth* magazine. Mao’s inscription was published on March 2<sup>nd</sup> in the magazine’s unusual special issue combining issues 5 and 6 together so as to allow more space for a complete report of Lei Feng’s deeds and spirit.<sup>4</sup> On March 5<sup>th</sup>, all major Chinese newspapers reprinted Mao’s inscription on their front pages (Zhang, 1999, p. 112), and China’s most important news agency, *Xinhua* News Agency, sent out a circular, calling on all Chinese people to learn from comrade Lei Feng.<sup>5</sup> Hence is the annual *Xue Lei Feng Ri* (*Learn from Lei Feng Day*) on March 5<sup>th</sup> which has been in practice since 1963 to commemorate the soldier Lei Feng. During the past fifty years, as China went through dramatic changes domestically and internationally, Lei Feng’s reputation has also experienced different status in Chinese people’s eyes, from extremely esteemed in the 1960s to estranged in the 1980s; from a perfect idolized role model sitting on a high pedestal in those political era to a de-idolized ordinary young man having feelings and styles<sup>6</sup> in the 1990s (both of which, originally,

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<sup>3</sup> Note that the original Chinese term that is translated here into the English term of “spirit” is *jingshen* (精神). It has nothing to do with the sense of “a supernatural being” but refers to “the activating or essential principle influencing a person” in the Chinese context. This term of *jingshen* is used quite frequently in China and in Chinese language.

<sup>4</sup> See <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2004-03-10/14053008251.shtml> for a news report remembering the whole process involved in obtaining Mao’s inscription for Lei Feng – “The media planning 40 years ago: The whole story about Chairman Mao’s *Xue Lei Feng* inscription”

<sup>5</sup> Again see the link <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2004-03-10/14053008251.shtml> for the news report.

<sup>6</sup> In recent decades many “secrets” regarding Lei Feng’s personal life have been disclosed more and more. For example, according to Yingchuan Xiao, a famous Chinese engraving artist, who is also the art editor of the book, *Lei Feng’s Stories*, there are at least three girls who loved Lei Feng secretly in their hearts. Lei

got hidden away due to the rejection of western humanistic value system prevalent in China between 1950s and 1970s). Heated debates among Chinese people regarding whether or not it is still necessary to learn from Lei Feng in the contemporary era are very common in March, when too many ritualized or formalized “*Xue Lei Feng*” activities are staged throughout China around March 5<sup>th</sup>, the annual “Learn from Lei Feng Day”. While not many people go to visit seniors living in nursing homes during other months of a year, there were quite a few reports about some elders being bathed or their feet being washed FIVE or SEVEN times a day by various groups of people participating in the annual “*Xue Lei Feng*” activities<sup>7</sup>. People question about the essence of Lei Feng spirit, about whether or not Lei Feng spirit is out-dated, about whether it is still possible to be selfless when everything is commercialized, whether Lei Feng’s “screw spirit” of happily and willingly serving one’s share wherever one is placed by the Party according to the need of the socialist construction is still worthwhile<sup>8</sup>. But officially and in the main stream media, Lei Feng is still hailed as one of the most highly esteemed role models for Chinese people morally and professionally.

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Feng may or may not know about their feelings but because of his devotion to the socialist construction and later on because of the rule in the Army, the relationship never materialized. Interested readers may see <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/252/10343/10243/10247/20030225/930055.html> for more information. What is also revealed in recent decades is that Lei Feng had luxurious items such as a leather jacket, a watch, a pair of pants made of costly fabric, and a leather luggage. But after Lei Feng was criticized by certain leaders, he put them away and never used them again. See the following webpage for more information: <http://www.ntdtv.com/xtr/gb/2015/01/30/a1173305.html>

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, reports on [http://news.shangdu.com/105/20101015/9\\_75575.shtml](http://news.shangdu.com/105/20101015/9_75575.shtml), [http://guancha.gmw.cn/content/2009-03/04/content\\_893533.htm](http://guancha.gmw.cn/content/2009-03/04/content_893533.htm), <http://pinglun.eastday.com/p/20080306/u1a3447095.html>, <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/guandian/27/20020329/697806.html> for more information.

<sup>8</sup> See Lanfen Meng and Yong Chen’s article, “How to look at Lei Feng spirit? – Discussion and debate surrounding the ‘*Xue Lei Feng*’ issue”, published in a journal titled *Moral and Civilization* in 1990.

## 8.2 Lei Feng and His “*Yiku Sitian Baogao*”

It is interesting to note that Lei Feng became nationally well-known because of his “*yiku sitian baogao*” (*yiku sitian* public speeches), firstly among the People’s Liberation Army, later on at various places of China. In fact, since the beginning of 1961 and during the last one and a half years of Lei Feng’s short life, he had been invited to give “*yiku sitian baogao*” for numerous times, to various types of audiences, and in different locations. And many of the nationally famous “good deeds” that he did was done during his trips for such purposes. For example, the famous saying of “Lei Feng went on business trip for one thousand *li* (i.e., 500 kilometers), and the good deeds he did could fill up a whole train” refers to his selfless and enthusiastic help to various people along the way in one of his trips from Fushun to Shenyang<sup>9</sup>, both in Liaoning province in northeastern China.

In a book titled *Shangtong wusheng: Qiao Anshan yi Lei Feng (The silent pain: Qiao Anshan’s recollection of Lei Feng)*, Qiao Anshan, one of Lei Feng’s closest fellow soldiers, recalled how touching Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian baogao*” was and how Lei Feng became well known through doing “*yiku sitian baogao*”<sup>10</sup>:

### Segment 8.1

雷锋真正走出连里，在全团及沈阳军区产生影响，是在“忆苦思甜”大会之后。20世纪60年代初，部队号召开展“两忆三查”（忆阶级苦、民族苦，查立场、查斗志、查工作）活动，我们运输连也举行了“忆苦思甜”大会，雷锋的发言又一次打动了大家。

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<sup>9</sup> The actual distance between Fushun and Shenyang is 61 kilometers, which is 122 *li* or 61,000 meters. Obviously the distance mentioned in this saying is an exaggeration.

<sup>10</sup> Published by *Guojia Xingzheng Xueyuan Chubanshe* (National Administration College Publishing House) in January, 2007, this book is narrated by Qiao Anshan and transcribed and edited by Yanyu and Wenshui. Qiao Anshan is the one who backed the truck that knocked down a pole for hanging clothes and struck Lei Feng on the head while Lei Feng was giving direction to him for the backing-up, which directly led to Lei Feng’s death. Some of the chapters of this book can be retrieved at <http://www.geilibook.com/book/14444/1347842.html>.



记得那天的“忆苦”大会是在我们连的露天车场召开的。连队指导员做了简短动员后，雷锋就开始做“忆苦思甜”报告。雷锋悲惨的童年使得同志们都禁不住掉下泪来，虽然以前我已经听雷锋讲过好几次了，但还是忍不住的流泪。40多年过去了，我还记得雷锋当时说的每一句话。当他讲到母亲不堪地主的凌辱悬梁自尽的时候，会场上空气，令人感到喘不过气来，对旧社会的愤恨达到顶点，全场一片哭泣声。

雷锋的“忆苦思甜”感动了战友们，产生了不小的影响。逐渐地，其他连也过来邀请雷锋去给他们做“忆苦思甜”报告。有一天，团里的一个领导听了之后，感觉雷锋讲的实在是太好了，就专门安排雷锋到各地去作报告，雷锋也就是在那时走出我们连，走向团里，走向军区的。

1. It was after the “yiku sitian” dahui (“yiku sitian” assembly) that Lei Feng started to
2. be really known beyond the company and became influential within the whole
3. regiment and Shenyang military district. Early in 1960s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Army
4. called on and launched “Two Yi (Recalls) and Three Cha (Examinations)” (Yi jieji ku
5. / recall class bitterness and minzu ku / national bitterness; Cha lichang /Examine
6. standpoint, cha douzhi /examine fighting spirit, cha gongzuo /examine work)
7. activities. Our transportation company also juxing “yiku sitian” dahui (held “yiku
8. sitian” assembly) and Lei Feng’s speech once again touched all of us.

9. I remember the “yiku” dahui of that day was held at the open-air truck yard of our
10. company. After a brief mobilization intro, Lei Feng began to zuo “yiku sitian”
11. baogao (give yiku sitian public speech). His beican de (tragic) childhood touched all
12. comrades to tears. Although I had heard him about this several times before, I
13. couldn’t help my tears either. Forty years have passed since then. Yet I can still
14. remember each word Lei Feng said. When it came to the part of his Mom hanging
15. herself to death after humiliated by dizhu (the landlord) , the atmosphere of the
16. gathering was so serious that it was almost suffocating. Fenhen (outrage) toward jiu
17. shehui reached a climax. Sobbing could be heard everywhere.

18. Lei Feng’s “yiku sitian” touched his fellow soldiers and exerted great influence on
19. them. Gradually, other companies began inviting Lei Feng to do “yiku sitian”
20. baogao for them. One day, a leader from the regiment heard him and was really
21. impressed. So he made arrangements for Lei Feng to give baogao in various places.
22. It was at that time that Lei Feng became well known beyond our company, among
23. the regiment, and among the military district.

Then, in the same book chapter, right after Qiao Anshan’s recall in Segment 8.1 is the transcript of Lei Feng’s “yiku sitian” baogao given on November 5<sup>th</sup>, 1960, sharing with officers and soldiers of the whole company about his drastically different life experiences in “jiu shehui” and “xin shehui”.

## Segment 8.2

我叫雷锋，生于1940年12月18日，家住在湖南省湘潭专区望城县，家有五口人，爸爸、妈妈、哥哥、弟弟和我。我在旧社会遭受的痛苦和广大劳动人民一样是深重的。解放后，党和英明的毛主席拯救了我，给我带来了无比的幸福，我所要讲的也就是我在两个不同的社会里，过着两种不同生活的对比。

黑暗的旧社会是一个吃人的社会，穷人只能给富人当牛当马，过着非人的苦日子。我家祖辈三代都是给地主做长工，维持一家半饱的生活，我爸爸给唐地主做长工时，连一家半饱的生活也维持不住。到了荒年腊月，好久还看不到一粒米下锅。我哥哥常常带着我出去要饭，看到富人就央求他们老太太给点吃的，要是碰上有钱人家做喜事，就讨点剩饭、剩菜吃，看到桌上的饭菜也用手扫了起来，装在一个要饭的破布兜里，留着下顿吃，要是离家近一点，就送回家去，给小弟弟吃。

我们住的一间破草房子，屋顶露着天，后墙倒塌，要是天下雨，外面下大的，屋里就下小的，我妈怕雨淋湿了我的脑袋，拿着一个破脸盆罩在我的头上，又怕冻着我，拿破烂麻袋系在我的背上。冬天冻得没法，只好拿几捆稻草，堵住风雪，冷得实在不行了，全家人紧紧地挤在一起，又拿上几捆稻草盖上。终年辛勤劳动，全家五口有米不够半年吃。

抗日战争时期，日本鬼子侵略我国，残酷地屠杀人民；地主、资本家血腥地统治、压迫和剥削人民，劳苦人民无法生活。我爸爸参加过共产党所领导的抗日斗争，1945年被日本鬼子抓住，惨遭毒打，吐血屙血而死。全家无法生活，我12岁的哥哥到离家几百里的津市一个机械厂当徒工，经过资本家一年左右的折磨，得了童子癆（肺病）。一天，昏倒在机器旁，压伤了胳膊，轧断了手指，资本家看他再无油水可榨，便把他赶出了工厂。回家伤势稍好，又到荣湾市学皮匠，学印染。由于劳累过度，病情恶化，死于1946年春。

我和妈妈三人，只好上街讨吃，我那幼小的弟弟受不住那种生活的折磨，活活饿死在母亲怀里。可恨的唐地主，逼迫我妈到他家做女工，我也跟着去了，我妈给他家喂奶带小孩子，给小孩洗屎洗尿，给少奶奶倒马桶。我给他家扫地，抹桌凳。后来妈妈被唐地主强奸，我妈被逼得上天无路，入地无门，在1947年8月中旬的一天晚上自杀。那天晚上，她泪汪汪地对我说：“苦命的孩子，妈妈不能和你在一起了，靠天保佑，你要自长成人。”她脱下自己的一件衣服披在我的身上，叫我到六叔祖母家去睡，我走后，她就上吊了，和我永别了！（哭声）我母亲死时我还只有7岁，旧社会使我无法活下去。在那吃人的社会里，三大敌人压得我简直没法活命，那些仇恨我一定不能忘记，我要报仇。

一个农民介绍我到地主家看猪，每天看十头猪，要给猪洗澡，晚上没有地方睡，有时还要同猪睡。有一天扫猪栏扫得不干净，地主卡着我的脖子打。过年地主吃鱼吃肉，把肉喂狗，我也想吃点，我捡了喂狗的肉吃，被狗腿子揪着耳朵，揪出了血，我哭了，地主把我往外面拖，不给我饭吃。我的一个同伴很同情我，但也没有办法，就装了点猪食给我吃。

有一天是八月十五，天已经黑了，地主要我到六里外去打酒。到酒店，店主已经睡觉了，喊门叫不开，我就哭起来，他们才开门。我一天没吃饭，在回来的路上走不动了，跌了跤，把酒也洒了些。回来时地主还坐在床上等酒吃呢，一进门就说我回来晚了，打了我几个耳光。又说酒不够，问哪里去了，我说洒了点，他怪我把钱买糖吃了，一拳就打在我的鼻子上，出血了，一脚又把我踢在地上。当晚不给我饭吃，我没有办法，就到屋后挖了两个地瓜吃，又被地主婆打了一顿耳光。

1947年在地主家看猪，一天我用小罐子煮了点野菜，煮好了正准备吃，被地主家的一只猫刚倒了，狗又跑来吃了我的菜。我就打了狗，狗也咬了我，被地主婆看到了，她说打狗欺主，要打死我，还骂道：“这样的穷鬼打死十个少五双，死一个少一个！”多亏毛奶奶说情，才没有打死我。第二天地主把我赶出来，我没有办法，在破庙里住了几天，只得吃野果山枣。解放后，我看了《白毛女》电影以后，心里非

常痛，在吃人的旧社会里像我这样的人很多，都被搞得妻离子散、家破人亡。我一定革命到底，不消灭反动派决不甘心。

旧社会的苦是我们的阶级苦，我时时记住这血泪深仇。我想到全世界人民没有得到解放，我国台湾也还没有解放。想起他们心里就难过，一定要解放台湾，打倒帝国主义，把我的一切献给人民，献给党！

1949年我的家乡解放了，地下党员彭乡长找到了我，我那时真不像样子了，头发长得很长，身上披了一个旧麻袋。他给我洗了澡，给我换衣服，过年还把我接到他家里做好了菜给我吃。我好像做梦一样，心里非常感激彭乡长，就跪在他面前。他说，孩子，不要感谢我，是伟大的党和毛主席救了你，要感谢党和毛主席。

后来党又送我到学校念书，老师给我和同学发了新书，看到同学都交了费，我就去找老师说，我还没有交费呢，老师就说这是党送你来读书，并翻出毛主席像说，就是他老人家送你读书的，你永远也不要忘记他老人家。所以我第一次就在笔记本上写了“毛主席万岁”五个大字。我非常感谢党和毛主席，连睡觉做梦都想见到毛主席。

后来有一个同志带我到了毛主席家乡去参观，有一个老爷爷给我讲了毛主席的故事。毛主席热爱学习，热爱劳动，处处从人民的利益出发。我非常感动，一定要好好学习，做毛主席的好学生。每天功课每天都做完，星期天也不休息，晚上9点多钟才睡，我想将来很好地为人民服务。所以一年级时我考了第一名，二年级也是第一名。

二年级时土改斗地主，我们乡里成立了儿童团，我参加了，后来大家选我当团长。大人搞生产很忙，我们儿童团就去看管地主，斗争那个姓唐的地主时，我非常气愤，恨不得一口气要吃掉他，旧仇都一齐涌到我的心头，母亲是在他家做女工时被害死的，我在他家放猪遭到了非人的折磨，斗争后就把他枪毙了，为我们的阶级兄弟报了仇。

只有好好学习，才能将来更好地为人民服务，报答党的恩情。我在三年级时，参加了少先队，我是第一批入队的。队发展了，大家选我当了队长。我们队的工作搞得很好，评为全县的一个先进单位，这是队员们的努力。

我于1956年高小毕业，正是党号召大办农业、发展农业生产的时候。老师要我们学生填志愿，很多人都填志愿要入技校、高中，我就在志愿书上写着“党的需要就是我的志愿”。当时这样填的，班上只有两个人，一个是贫农的女儿愿意回农村养猪。老师让我升学，我向学校写了决心，要求到农村参加农业生产，去建设新农村。农业是国民经济的基础，到农村可帮助农民扫盲，去锻炼和改造自己。农村是广阔的天地。毛主席说有两门知识：实践知识、书本知识。我再三保证，才批准我的要求。到农村几个月收获很大，学了犁耙和许多生产知识。

1. My name is Lei Feng and I was born on December 18<sup>th</sup>, 1940. I am from Wangcheng
2. County, Xiangtan Special District, Hunan Province. There are five people in my
3. family, dad, mom, an older brother, a younger brother, and me. The *tongku*
4. (suffering) I experienced in *jiu shehui* is as grave as that of the vast majority of
5. *laodong renmin* (the working people). *Jiefang hou* (after the Liberation), *Dang* (the
6. Party) and the wise Chairman Mao *jiu* (saved) me and brought me *wubi de*
7. (unsurpassed) *xingfu* (happiness). What I am going to talk about are the *duibi*
8. (comparison) to the two different kinds of life that I had in two different societies.
  
9. The *hei'an de* (dark) *jiu shehui* is a man-eating society. *Qiongren* (poor people)
10. could only *dangniu dangma* (be oxen and horses) for *furen* (rich people) and lived
11. *feiren de* (inhumane) *ku rizi* (bitter life). Three generations of my family worked as

12. *changgong* (long-term hired hands) for *dizhu* (landlords) and could only keep their  
13. bellies half filled. When my dad worked as *changgong* for *Tang dizhu* (landlord), we  
14. couldn't even keep our bellies half filled. In lean years or winter months, there would  
15. not be a single grain of rice to be put into the pot to cook for a long time. My older  
16. brother often brought me along to beg for food. Whenever we saw *furen* (rich  
17. people) we would beg older women in that household to give us something to eat. If  
18. it happened to be a wedding event by *youqian ren* (people who had money), we  
19. would beg for leftover food to eat, or sweep with hand the leftover food on the table  
20. to a worn-out cloth bag used for begging and save them for the next meal. If it was  
21. not far from home, we would took them back and feed our younger brother.

22. The shabby thatched hut that we lived in had leakage on the roof and collapsed back  
23. wall. When it rained, it would pour outside and drizzle inside. Mom covered my  
24. head with an old basin in case my head got wet and tied a ragged burlap onto my  
25. back to keep me warm. It was so cold in winter time but we could only use straw  
26. bundles to block the wind and snow. When it was too cold for us to bear any more,  
27. the whole family would cuddle together tightly and covered ourselves up with  
28. straws. We worked very hard year round. But the rice we had for the five of us lasted  
29. less than half a year.

30. During the anti-Japanese war period, Japanese *guizi* (ghosts, i.e., armies) invaded our  
31. country and slaughtered people cruelly. *Dizhu* (landlords) and *zibenjia* (capitalists)  
32. *tongzhi* (ruled), *yapo* (oppressed), and *boxue* (exploited) people so *xuexing di*  
33. (bloodily) that it was impossible for *laoku renmin* (hardworking people) to survive.  
34. My dad participated in anti-Japanese activities led by *Gongchan Dang* (the  
35. Communist Party). In 1945 he was seized by the Japanese and was severely tortured.  
36. He died of vomiting blood and bloody stool. The whole family had to survive so my  
37. twelve-year-old brother went to a machinery factory in *Jinshi* city that was several  
38. hundred *li* (about 1 kilometer) away from home to be an apprentice. After *zhemo*  
39. (tortured) by *zibenjia* (the capitalist) for a year, he got lung disease. One day, he  
40. fainted by a machine, which injured one of his arms and crushed off his fingers.  
41. Seeing that there was no more profit to exploit out of him, *zibenjia* kicked him out of  
42. the factory. After coming back home and recovered a little bit, he went to *Rongwan*  
43. city to learn leatherwork and printing and dying skill. His illness got worse due to  
44. overwork and he died in spring, 1946.

45. My mom, younger brother and I had to beg for food on the street. My little brother  
46. was too young to endure the harshness of life and died of hunger in my mom's arms.  
47. The *kehen de* (hateful) *Tang dizhu* (landlord)<sup>11</sup> forced my mom to work for his  
48. household and I went along with my mom. Mom nursed and took care of the baby  
49. and washed the baby's soiled clothes, and emptied night chamber pot for *shao nainai*  
50. (the daughter-in-law of the landlord) while I swept floors and cleaned table tops and  
51. chairs for them. Later on my mom was raped by *Tang dizhu* and she was left with no  
52. road to heaven and no door into the earth (i.e., losing all hope to continue living) that  
53. she committed suicide one night in the middle of August in 1947. That night, she  
54. said to me in tears, "*Kuming de* (bitter-fate) child, mom cannot be with you anymore.  
55. May Heaven protect you and bless you. You need to grow up by yourself." She took  
56. off one of her clothes and put it on me and told me to go to sleep at my sixth *shu*  
57. *zumu* (wife of one's grandfather's younger brother)'s place. She hanged herself after  
58. I left and parted from me forever! (crying) I was only seven years old when my mom  
59. died. *Jiu shehui* made it impossible for me to live. The three-great-enemy almost  
60. crushed me to death. I should never forget those *chouhen* (hatred). I want to *baochou*  
61. (revenge).

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<sup>11</sup> This landlord's last name is Tang.

62. A peasant introduced me to herd pigs for a *dizhu* (landlord). I took care of ten pigs  
63. everyday and gave them bath. There was no place for me to sleep at night and  
64. sometimes I had to sleep with the pigs. One day I didn't sweep the pig pen clean  
65. enough. The *dizhu* (landlord) took me by the throat and beat me. During spring  
66. festival *dizhu* ate fish and meat and even fed his dog some meat. I wanted some too  
67. so I picked up the meat for the dog to eat. *Gou tuizi* (a henchman) grabbed my ear so  
68. hard that it started to bleed. I cried. The *dizhu* dragged me outward and didn't give  
69. me food. One of my fellow workers was sympathetic to me but couldn't help. At the  
70. end he got some pig's feed for me to eat.

... (One paragraph omitted here about more of the inhumane treatment from the landlord to Lei Feng).

71. In 1947, when I herded pigs for that *dizhu*, one day I cooked some wild herb with a  
72. small pot. Right when it was done and I was ready to eat, it was accidentally  
73. knocked down by a cat of the *dizhu*'s household. Then a dog ran over and ate up my  
74. herb. I hit the dog and the dog also bit me. It was seen by the *dizhu*'s wife. She  
75. claimed that I meant to bully the owner by hitting the dog and threatened of beating  
76. me to death. She even cursed, "If ten such kind of *qionggui* (poor ghosts)<sup>12</sup> were  
77. beaten to death, there will be five pairs less<sup>13</sup>. One more will be gone if dead<sup>14</sup>." If it  
78. was not Grandma Mao pleading for me, I might have been beaten to death. The next  
79. day I was driven out by the *dizhu*. Having no place to go, I had to take shelter in a  
80. ruined temple for a few days and rely on wild fruit and mountain dates for food.  
81. After the Liberation, when I watched the movie "*Bai Mao Nu*" (The White Haired  
82. Girl), I felt very painful in my heart. In *chiren de* (man-eating) *jiu shehui*, there were  
83. many people who were like me. They were forced *qili zisan* (wife taken away and  
84. son separated), *jiapo renwang* (family broken and members dead, i.e., homeless and  
85. destitute). I shall *geming daodi* (carry out the revolutionary cause to its very end)  
86. and would never reconcile before destroying all *fandongpai* (reactionaries)!

87. The *ku* (bitterness) in *jiu shehui* is our *jieji ku* (class bitterness). I keep it all the time  
88. in my mind of this *xuelei shenchou* (deep hatred of blood and tears). I see that people  
89. of the entire world have not been liberated. Taiwan of our country is not liberated  
90. either. My heart aches whenever I think of them. We should do all we can to liberate  
91. Taiwan and knock down the imperialism. I should give all I have to *renmin* (the  
92. People) and *Dang* (the Party).

93. My hometown was *jiefang* (liberated) in 1949. Village Chief Peng, an underground  
94. Communist Party member, found me. My look was terrible at that time. My hair  
95. grew very long and my body was covered only with a ragged burlap. He gave me a  
96. bath and changed my clothes. At Spring Festival time he even took me to his home  
97. and cooked food for me to eat. I felt like I was in a dream and I was truly grateful in  
98. my heart to Village Chief Peng. So I knelt down to him. He said, "Child, don't thank  
99. me. It was the great *Dang* (Party) and Chairman Mao who *jiu* (saved) you. You  
100. should be grateful to them."

101. Later on I was sent to school by *Dang* (the Party). The teacher handed out *xinshu*

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<sup>12</sup> This is a denigrating term referring to poor people.

<sup>13</sup> This sentence means that it is good to kill poor people as many as possible. It shows how indifferent the wife of the *dizhu* was toward poor people's life.

<sup>14</sup> Same meaning as in the last footnote.

102.(new books) to me and my classmates. Seeing that other students had all turned in  
103.the fee, I went to the teacher and said I have not paid the money. The teacher said it  
104.was *Dang* (the Party) who sent you to school. He then took out a picture of Chairman  
105.Mao and said, it was him who sent you to school. You should never forget him. So  
106.the first words I wrote on my notebook are “Mao *Zhuxi wansui*”. I am so thankful to  
107.*Dang* and Chairman Mao that I even want to see Chairman Mao in my dreams when  
108.I sleep.

109.Sometime later a *tongzhi* (comrade) brought me to visit Chairman Mao’s hometown.  
110.A Grandpa told me stories about Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao *re-ai xuexi* (loves  
111.study), *re-ai laodong* (loves physical labor)<sup>15</sup> and does everything for the benefit of  
112.the *renmin* (People)<sup>16</sup>. I was very touched. I was determined to study hard and be a  
113.good student of Chairman Mao. I finished my homework every day. I even didn’t  
114.rest on Sundays and would not go to bed until after nine o’clock. I wanted to be able  
115.to serve the people well in the future. I got the highest score in the test for 1<sup>st</sup> grade  
116.and then for the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade.

117.When I was in the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade, *dizhu* (landlords) were condemned during the Land  
118.Reform. A children’s corps was established in our village and I became a member of  
119.it. Then everybody elected me to be the leader of it. The grown-ups were busy  
120.working in the field. So the children’s corps took over the job of keeping those *dizhu*  
121.(landlords) in custody. When it was time to *douzheng* (denounce) that *Tang dizhu*, I  
122.was so furious that I just wanted to swallow him up with one gulp. All the past  
123.hatred welled up in my heart – he caused my mom’s death when she worked for him.  
124.He tortured me in an inhumane manner when I herded pigs for him. He was executed  
125.after being denounced. What a revenge it is for our *jieji xiongdì’s chou* (hatred).

126.Only by studying hard can one serve the *renmin* (People) better in the future and  
127.*baoda* (pay back) the *enqing* (grace) of *Dang* (the Party). In 3<sup>rd</sup> grade, I was one of  
128.the first to join the League of the Young Pioneers<sup>17</sup>. Our League grew and I was  
129.elected to be the leader. Thanks to the joint effort of all the League members, the  
130.work of our team was so well that we were chosen to be a *xianjin danwei* (advanced  
131.unit).

132.When I graduated from higher primary school in 1956, *Dang* (the Party) was calling  
133.on greater investment in agriculture to increase the production. The teacher asked us  
134.to fill out our wishes for the next step. Many students wished to go to a technical  
135.school or a high school. I wrote down on the *zhiyuan shu* (wish letter) that “*Dang’s*  
136.(the Party’s) needs are my wishes”. At that time there were only two students in the  
137.class who filled out their *zhiyuan shu* (wish letter) this way. The other one is a  
138.daughter of a *pinnong* (poor peasant), who was willing to go back to the countryside  
139.to herd pigs. The teacher wanted me to continue studying. But I wrote a *juexin*  
140.(resolution letter) to school asking to join the agricultural production in countryside  
141.and build *xin nongcun* (new countryside). Agriculture is the foundation of national  
142.economy. In countryside I could help eliminating illiteracy among *nongmin*  
143.(peasants) and train and reform myself. The countryside is a wide world. Chairman

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<sup>15</sup> “*Re-ai xuexi*” and “*re-ai laodong*” are two common standards used in China to measure a student’s characters.

<sup>16</sup> I used the present tense to translate this sentence as it is very likely that Lei Feng was not talking about what Chairman Mao loved to do when Mao was a little kid because it would not be possible for Mao as a kid to “do everything for the benefit of *renmin* (the people)”.

<sup>17</sup> Primary school league, a preparation for Communist Youth League.

144. *Mao* said there are two types of knowledge: practical knowledge and knowledge  
145. from books. I promised again and again before my request was granted. I learned a  
146. lot while in the countryside such as how to plow and harrow.....

Analyzing Segment 8.2 of Lei Feng's "*yiku sitian*" *baogao* (public speech) with reference to Segment 8.1, Qiao Anshan's recall of the impact of Lei Feng's speech on the officers and soldiers and with the help from the findings reached in the previous data-based four chapters under the guidance of Carbaugh's Cultural Terms for Talk theoretic framework and Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory, the first finding we can make is that Lei Feng and his fellow soldiers in the audience are jointly enacting a communication event of "*juxing yiku sitian dahui*" (holding *yiku sitian* assembly) (Segment 8.1, lines 7-8) while he himself is personally enacting a communication act of "*yiku sitian*" (or "*zuo yiku sitian baogao*"/giving a *yiku sitian* public speech, in Segment 8.1, lines 10-11) and a communication style of "*huiyi*" (recalling from memory) and "*duibi*" (putting two things together to compare, in Segment 8.2, line 7). We also see immediate impact and long term changes happened to Lei Feng personally because of his drastically different experiences in "*jiu shehui*" and "*xin shehui*". And some literal messages (of the mode, degree of structure, tone, and efficaciousness) regarding communication itself can be delineated from the "*juxing yiku sitian dahui*" (holding *yiku sitian* assembly) communication event and Lei Feng's "*yiku sitian*" communication act. The second finding we can make is that Lei Feng's "*yiku sitian*" *baogao* is, as most other "*yiku sitian*" *baogao* are, in the form of "personal narrative" and exhibits features summarized by Langellier in her 1989 article. The third finding is that as Lei Feng recalls his family's tragic suffering in "*jiu shehui*" and reflects on his happy life in "*xin shehui*", we see a semantic system built around key cultural terms of "*jiu shehui*" and "*xin shehui*" and various semantic dimensions exhibited within this system, constituting the first layer of

meaning of a cultural discourse of “*yiku sitian*”. The fourth finding is that we see the second layer of meaning weaved around the key cultural term of “*jieji*” (class), constituting the larger political context for the enactment of this communication event of “*juxing yiku sitian dahui*” (holding *yiku sitian* assembly) among Lei Feng’s fellow soldiers and this communication act of Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian*” practice.

### **8.2.1 Communication Act, Event, and Style Enacted in Lei Feng’s “*Yiku Sitian*” Practice**

As discussed previously in Chapter 4, a communication act refers to a communication conduct that can be enacted by participants individually. Lei Feng’s “*zuo yiku sitian baogao*” (giving a *yiku sitian* public speech) is a communication act by nature. It is verbally based and very emotional. We can know from Segment 8.2 that he enacted a “*yiku sitian*” act instead of any other types of acts from the *key words* he used, such as “*jiu shehui*” and “*tongku*” (suffering) in lines 3 to 4, “*jiefang hou*” (after the Liberation) in line 5, “*jiu*” (saved) in line 6, “*wubi de*” (unsurpassed) “*xingfu*” (happiness) in lines 6 to 7, and “two different kinds of life” “in two different societies” in line 8. Also, we can know that he enacted a “*yiku sitian*” act instead of any other types of acts from the content/theme of his speech. For example, he talked about how miserable life was for their family of five in “*jiu shehui*” – always short of food and had to go begging (lines 11-21), and shabby thatched hut that was leaking when raining and hard to keep warm in winter time (lines 22-28). He also talked about how his father, younger brother, older brother, and mother died one after another due to the cruelty and persecution of “Japanese *guizi*”, “*zibenjia*” (capitalists), and “*dizhu*” (landlords) (lines 30-58), as well as his own sufferings while herding pigs for *Tang dizhu* (landlord) (lines 62 to 79). He then talked about how his hometown was “*jiefang*” (liberated) in line 93 and how Village



Chief Peng, an underground Communist Party member, found him from the mountain and took good care of him. Lei Feng was so touched in his young heart that he knelt down to thank Village Chief Peng (lines 93-98). But Peng told him that he was actually “*jiu*” (saved) by “*Dang*” (the Party) and “Chairman Mao” and he should be thankful to them, instead (lines 98-100). Not only did “*Dang*” and “Chairman Mao” saved him, they also sent him to school free of charge (lines 101-105). In a following Segment 8.6, it was even stated that the original plan of “*renmin zhengfu*” (another name for “*Dang*”) is to support Lei Feng through college (Segment 8.6, lines 63-64). So we see here a sharp contrast between Lei Feng’s life in “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”, which is typical content of “*yiku sitian*” *baogao*.

Lei Feng’s communication act of “*yiku sitian*” or “*zuo yiku sitian baogao*” (giving *yiku sitian* public speech) is an essential part of the communication event of “*juxing yiku sitian dahui*” (holding *yiku sitian* assembly), which was jointly enacted by Lei Feng and his fellow soldiers attending the “*yiku sitian*” assembly. As a communication event, it is situated in specific scenes, is co-enacted by participants, has sequentialized acts, is culturally bounded with beginnings and endings, and governed by rules and norms. From Segment 8.1 we can see that the setting of this event is the “the open-air truck yard of” the company (line 9-10), the scene of it is the “*liangyi sancha huodong*” (two recalls and three examinations activity) that has been carried out in the Army (lines 3-7). Particularly, it refers to “*Yi jieji ku* / recall class bitterness and *minzu ku* / national bitterness; *Cha lichang* /Examine standpoint, *cha douzhi* /examine fighting spirit, *cha gongzuo* /examine work” (lines 3-7). As explained in Chapter 3 of the historical overview of “*yiku sitian*” movement, “*liangyi sancha*” was a political movement initiated in the

Army in the early 1960s to combat difficulties encountered in China's socialist construction and strengthen people's faith and trust in communist government. The core of it is "*liangyi*" (two recalls). Through recalling tragic experiences of individual persons as well as all Chinese people as a nation, it is supposed that people's "*jieji juewu*" (class consciousness) are raised, "*jieji lichang*" are strengthened, and their work performance enhanced. "*Yiku sitian*" is a typical method adopted in the "*liangyi sancha*" activities. Although not stated in Segment 8.1, we learn from the historical overview about "*yiku sitian*" in Chapter 3 that the education effort of "*yiku sitian*" in the Army was prompted by some problems existing domestically in China and it leads to transformation of people's thoughts and behaviors, which in turn produces immediate and long term changes in terms of emotion and work performance. So there are also three types of scenes identifiable in the communication event of "*juxing yiku sitian dahui*" (holding *yiku sitian* assembly), some described in Segment 8.1 and some elsewhere. In his dissertation titled "Study on '*yikusitian* method' after the founding of P.R.C. 1949", Yangcheng Li described problems/challenges faced by China as a background to the "*liangyi sancha huodong*" (two recalls and three examinations movement):

### Segment 8.3

“两忆三查”是在内外交困的环境下应运而生的。在党中央已经逐步意识到“大跃进”的失误，准备纠正的过程中，1959年召开的庐山会议不仅推迟了这一纠错过程，反而掀起了一场声势浩大的反对以彭德怀，黄克诚，张闻天，周小舟为代表的“右倾机会主义”的斗争。这场“反右倾”斗争“在政治上把阶级斗争扩大化的左倾错误从社会上延伸到党内和党的高层领导，在经济上打断了纠正‘急躁冒进’失误的积极过程，使大跃进和人民公社化中许多已被指出，有待纠正的错误再度发展起来。”<sup>18</sup>从1959年起，我国农业连续几年遭受大面积自然灾害的影响，再加上中苏两国关系破裂，苏联政府单方面宣布中止对中国的经济技术援助，这一

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<sup>18</sup> Ying Cao, *Zhonggong dangshi quanjian (A complete history of Chinese Communist Party)*, Vol. 6, Beijing: *Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe* (Chinese Literature and History Publishing Company), 2002, p. 3763. Quoted from Yangcheng Li's dissertation, "Study on '*yikusitian* method' after the founding of P.R.C. 1949", 2012, p. 92.

切使我国国民经济的发展遇到了建国以来最严重的困难局面，给党和国家以及广大人民群众带来了重大的损失，国民经济比例关系严重失调，农业中粮棉油等主要农副产品产量急剧下降，市场紧张，人民生活必需的消费品严重短缺，全国许多地区因食物营养不足而普遍地发生疾病与非正常人口死亡。饥荒已经笼罩了全国大地，部队官兵的士气十分低迷，甚至有干部战士在思想上产生不满情绪，这些现象直接影响到军队的斗志和战斗力。（李羊城，2012，p. 92）

1. “*Liangyi sancha*” (two recalls and three examinations) came into being within a
2. circumstance of great internal and external stress. During the process when *Dang*
3. *Zhongyang* (Party Central Committee) had gradually realized the mistake of “Great
4. Leap Forward” and was going to correct it, Lushan Meeting held in 1959 not only
5. postponed this correction procedure but instead launched a massive struggle against
6. “right-leaning opportunism” represented by Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang
7. Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou. This “*fan youqing douzheng*” (anti-right deviation
8. struggle) “caused the spread of the ‘left-leaning’ error that exaggerated the
9. importance of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) from society into the Party and reached
10. the highest level of leadership in political area, and interrupted the positive procedure
11. that had been taken to correct the mistake of ‘impetuosity and rash advance’ in
12. economic area. It enabled the revival of many mistakes that were already identified
13. and waiting to be corrected during the Great Leap Forward and People’s Commune
14. Movements.” From 1959, for several years, our country’s agriculture suffered severe
15. influence of large scale natural disasters. This is toppled with the severed Sino-
16. U.S.S.R. relationship and U.S.S.R.’s unilateral announcement terminating its
17. economic and technical assistance to China, which created the most difficult
18. situation to China’s national economic development since 1949, and resulted in
19. the greatest loss to *Dang* (the Party), *guojia* (the country), and the vast majority of
20. *renmin qunzhong* (the People and the mass); severely imbalanced national economic
21. ratio relationship; drastically reduced output amount of farm and sideline products
22. such as grain, cotton, and oil; tightened market; serious shortage of consumer goods
23. necessary to people’s life; disease and abnormal death of people commonly
24. occurring throughout China due to lack of sufficient food and nutrition; famine
25. shadowing everywhere in the country; the morale of the troops sinking low; some
26. cadres and soldiers even harboring resentfulness in their thoughts. All of these
27. directly influence the army’s fighting spirit and fighting strength.

We see from Segment 8.3 some serious problems and challenges faced by China in general and the Army in particular. “*Liangyi sancha huodong*” (two recalls and three examinations activities) were prompted by such needs and “*juxing yiku sitian dahui*” (holding *yiku sitian* assembly) were regarded as one of the most effective method to address the problems and achieve the goal of raising the morale of the troops. Lei Feng was chosen to be the first one to “*zuo yiku sitian baogao*” (give *yiku sitian* public speech) at the assembly<sup>19</sup>. His “*yiku sitian baogao*” changed other people’s value system and

<sup>19</sup> Interested readers can check out pages 22 to 24 of Guangsheng Chen’s book, *Lei Feng zai wo xinzhong* (*Lei Feng in my heart*), published by Shanghai University Publishing Company in 2002 for the reason why

patterns of behavior, producing immediate and long term changes in his fellow soldiers.

We see from Segment 8.1 some immediate emotional impact Lei Feng's speech has on the troops,

His *beican de* (tragic) childhood touched all comrades to tears. Although I had heard him about this several times before, I couldn't help my tears either. Forty years have passed since then. Yet I can still remember each word Lei Feng said. When it came to the part of his Mom hanging herself to death after humiliated by *dizhu* (the landlord), the atmosphere of the gathering was so serious that it was almost suffocating. *Fenhen* (outrage) toward *jiu shehui* reached a climax. Sobbing could be heard everywhere (Segment 8.1, lines 11-17).

We also see acts of making resolutions enacted by soldiers after listening to Lei Feng's

“*baogao*” according to Guangsheng Chen's book, *Lei Feng in my heart*:

#### Segment 8.4

雷锋对旧社会的血泪控诉，对新中国的无比热爱，极大地激发了战友们的革命精神，更加坚定了战胜困难的决心。韩万金政委即席讲话说，“雷锋同志在旧社会受的苦，实际上是我们整个阶级，整个民族的苦。我们不忘过去，就是不要背叛自己，不要被暂时的困难和挫折所吓倒。我们一定要和全国人民一道，自立更生，发奋图强，建设和保卫我们伟大的社会主义江山！。。。” (Chen 2002)

1. Lei Feng's *xuelei kongsu* (denouncement in blood and tears) to *jiu shehui* and his
2. *wubi re-ai* (incomparable love) to *xin zhongguo* (new China) greatly inspired his
3. fellow soldiers' *geming jingshen* (revolutionary spirit) and significantly strengthened
4. their *juexin* (determination) of overcoming the difficulties. Political Commissar *Han*
5. *Wanjin* made a short speech afterwards, “The *ku* (bitterness) suffered by Comrade
6. Lei Feng in *jiu shehui* is actually the *ku* (bitterness) of our whole *jieji* (class) and
7. whole nation. Not forgetting about the past is to not betray oneself and to not be
8. scared by the temporary difficulty and setback. We shall join force with all Chinese
9. people, rely on ourselves, be determined to do better, and build and protect our great
10. socialist cause!...”

We identified two sequential structures in Chapter 4. Here as a communication event, this

“*juxing yiku sitian dahui*” (holding *yiku sitian* assembly) also takes place within a

sequentialized structure which can be put in the following way:

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Lei Feng was chosen to be the first one speaking at the “*yiku sitian dahui*” (*yiku sitian* assembly). The author, Guangsheng Chen, was one of the first and important people reporting about Lei Feng before his death and writing books on Lei Feng in the past decades.

### **Sequential Structure:**

- (1) Problematic acts detected and need to be corrected;
- (2) Act of “*yiku sitian*” sharing enacted in a gathering;
- (3) Act of endorsement toward the above “*yiku sitian*” acts
- (4a) Act of immediate emotional impact;
- (4b) Act of making resolutions

### **8.2.2 Literal Messages Regarding Communication**

Examination of Segments 8.1 to 8.3 shows that, for both the communication event of “*juxing yiku sitian dahui*” (holding the *yiku sitian* assembly) and the communication act of Lei Feng’s “*zuo yiku sitian baogao*” (giving *yiku sitian* public speech), the literal message regarding the mode of action conveyed by them is that such practice is conducted *directly* and is extremely focused on the set theme and topic of “recalling the bitterness of *jiu shehui* and reflecting on the sweetness of *xin shehui*”. The literal message regarding the degree of structuring is that it is relatively *fixed* and *restricted*. Specifically, regarding who should speak, we learn that Lei Feng, who had a “*beican de* (tragic) childhood” (Segment 8.1, line 11) in *jiu shehui* and “two different kinds of life” “in two different societies” (Segment 8.2, line 8), were chosen to be the first speaker. Although this goes a little bit against the first two norms formulated in Chapter 5 since Lei Feng was a young and new soldier (Norm 5.1: *A young worker with sloppy working attitude and low class consciousness does not have bitterness to share* and Norm 5.2: *Older workers who are “Gongchan dangyuan” (Communist Party members) and “Wu-Hao zhi Gong” (Five-Good workers), who “shouku zuishen” (suffered bitterness the deepest) in jiu shehui and “juewu zuigao” (had the highest [class] consciousness) are best candidates for yiku sitian sharing.*), we can see that the most important criteria for

selecting “yiku sitian” speakers is the same –“shouku zuishen” (suffered bitterness the deepest) in *jiu shehui* and “juewu zuigao” (had the highest [class] consciousness).

Regarding what should be said, we can see that Lei Feng’s “yiku sitian” practice, as reported here in Segments 8.1 to 8.3, follows exactly the orthodox equation of “*jiu shehui* = *ku* (bitter)” and “*xin shehui* = *tian* (sweet)” and fits the prescriptive norms formulated in Chapter 5:

**Prescription:** *In the context of doing “yiku sitian”, if one wants to show how bad jiu shehui is and how good xin shehui is, one should use examples that support one’s claims*

**Prescription:** *In the context of doing “yiku sitian”, if one wants to be regarded as dwelling in a politically correct ideological space, one should follow the orthodox equation when sharing one’s experience.*

**Prescription:** *In the context of doing “yiku sitian”, if one wants to be regarded as a revolutionary successor with high class consciousness, one should follow the orthodox equation when sharing one’s experience.*

All the examples Lei Feng gave support his claim about *jiu shehui* and *xin shehui* very well. His “yiku sitian” sharing locates him in a politically correct ideological space, and indicates that Lei Feng has very high “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness).

Regarding how the “yiku sitian” practice is said and done, we see from Segments 8.1 and 8.2 that it fits the following three norms formulated in Chapter 5:

#### **Norm 5.4**

*It is normal for people to do “yiku sitian” verbally in ways of “huiyi” (recalling from memory) and “duibi” (putting together to compare);*

*It is normal for people to use assisting methods such as “kai yiku hui” (holding yiku meetings), “juban jieji jiaoyu zhanlanhui” (holding class education exhibition), “chi yiku fan” (eating yiku meal), “chang yiku ge” (singing yiku songs), “kan yiku xi” (watching yiku drama), or “yan yiku xi” (putting on yiku drama) to do “yiku sitian”;*

*It is normal for people to show scars on their bodies or things that were used before in jiu shehui, such as tools, clothes, and quilt, to visualize their “yiku sitian” sharing.*

As shown in Segment 8.2, Lei Feng used exactly verbal ways of “*huiyi*” (recalling from memory) and “*duibi*” (putting together to compare) when doing “*yiku sitian*”, recalling how life was like for his family of five in *jiu shehui* and comparing it to his life in *xin shehui*. As indicated in Segment 8.1, the method of “*juxing yiku sitian dahui*” (holding *yiku sitian* assembly), among others, is used to do “*yiku sitian*”. Although we do not see in Segments 8.1 or 8.2, we will see in Segments 8.5 and 8.6 in the following section mentioning of the three scars on Lei Feng’s left hand by the cruel *dizhu* (landlord). It is reasonable to assume that while Lei Feng was telling his story, he showed the scars on his left hand to the audience, as a proof of the cruelty of the landlord.

The literal message regarding the tone of Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian*” communication practice is that it is *controlled*, *formal*, and *serious*. The setting of the communication event, “*juxing yiku sitian dahui*” (holding *yiku sitian* assembly) and Lei Feng’s communication act of “*zuo yiku sitian baogao*” (giving *yiku sitian* public speech) is *formal* – all soldiers and commanders of the whole company gathered together at the open-air truck yard to listen to Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian baogao*”. The content of Lei Feng’s sharing is nicely *controlled*, with right kind of examples supporting his arguments of “*jiu shehui*” is “*ku*” whereas “*xin shehui*” is “*tian*”. And his tone is *serious* when telling about his experience in both societies.

The literal message regarding the efficaciousness of Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian*” communication practice is that it is very *useful*, *effective*, and *valuable* from the orthodox point of view. Not only is it able to touch “all comrades to tears” on the spot (Segment

8.1, line 11-12), it is able to impress people so hard that even after “forty years”, Qiao Anshan can still remember each word Lei Feng said (Segment 8.1, lines 13-14). Lei Feng’s “*baogao*” (public speech) is done so well that “a leader from the regiment heard him and was really impressed” and “made arrangements for Lei Feng to give *baogao* in various places,” making Lei Feng more and more well-known beyond the company, among the regiment, and among the military district (Segment 8.1, lines 20-23).

### 8.2.3 Lei Feng’s “*Yiku Sitian*” Practice as Personal Narratives

As we have analyzed in Chapter 5, “*yiku sitian*” as a communication practice takes on testimony to Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian*” personal narrative as storytelling performance. We can see that a *narrative* event (of officers and soldiers of the whole company attending to the “*yiku sitian*” *dahui*/ assembly and listening to Lei Feng’s sharing) and a *narrated* event (of Lei Feng’s tragic childhood experience in *jiu shehui*) are closely connected through Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian*” performance<sup>20</sup>. We see, more or less, the intensity of Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian*” performance in Segment 8.1, as “*yiku*”, or “*suku*” (pouring out the bitterness), is one of the most prominent cultural events in China in that political era. It is “scheduled, restricted in setting, clearly bounded, widely public, using the most highly formalized performance forms and featuring the most accomplished performers” (Langellier, p. 251). Qiao was so impressed with Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian*” *baogao* that “forty years” later he can “still remember each word Lei Feng said” (lines 13-14). What’s more, Lei Feng’s “*beican de* (tragic) childhood touched all

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<sup>20</sup> To use the term “performance” to describe Lei Feng or other people’s “*yiku sitian*” practice does not necessarily implies that Lei Feng or other people were phony or insincere in their presentation of their family experience in *jiu shehui*. The term “performance” is simply used in its academic sense as a study about ways of presentation that people have adopted as good and effective. It is questionable, though, according to recent studies and investigations, whether or not what Lei Feng said in his “*yiku sitian baogao*” are all truthful. We will address this issue in the following sections.



comrades to tears” (line 11-12) and “When it came to the part of his Mom hanging herself to death after humiliated by *dizhu* (the landlord), the atmosphere of the gathering was so serious that it was almost suffocating. *Fenhen* (outrage) toward *jiu shehui* reached a climax. Sobbing could be heard everywhere” (lines 14-17). We also see the political function being served by Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian*” personal narrative – “producing a certain way of seeing the world” (Langellier 1989, p. 271), which, in the case of Segment 8.1, is the “*fenhen*” (outrage) toward “*jiu shehui*” “reaching a climax” in the hearts of all in the audience. As Qiao recalls, Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian*” *baogao* deeply touched and impressed officers and soldiers of their company and he began to be invited to more places to give “*yiku sitian*” *baogao*. Lei Feng’s own narration, as recorded in Segment 8.2, is a *fully-developed* narrative in Labovian sense that has six components with each of them responding to an underlying question about how the narrative events are connected.

Following is a tentative analysis of the six components based on Segment 8.2:

Abstract (what was this about?):

- the *duibi* (comparison) to the two different kinds of life that Lei Feng had in two different societies (line 7);

Orientation (who, when, what, where?):

- Lei Feng’s parents and brothers, in *jiu shehui*, all died of cruelty of Japanese “*guizi*” (enemies), *zibenjia* (capitalist), and *dizhu* (landlord), in various places (lines 13-61);

Complicating action (then what happened?):

- Lei Feng’s own survival story (lines 62-80);

Evaluation (so what?):

- Lei Feng’s realization about the nature of the “*ku*” (bitterness) that he suffered in “*jiu shehui*” and his resolution to set free all the people in the world through revolution (lines 87-92);

Result (what finally happened?):

- *Lei Feng* was saved by “*Dang*” (the Party) and Chairman Mao and sent to school for free. He grew up into a young man who had deep love toward “*Dang*” and Chairman Mao and always ready to serve the People wholeheartedly (lines 93 and afterwards into the section that is not included in the transcript but can be seen at the following website:  
<http://www.geilibook.com/book/14444/1347845.html>);

Coda (which puts off further questions about the narrative events and returns the verbal perspective to the present moment):

- Lei Feng seized all the spare time he could use into diligent reading and studying of Chairman Mao’s books and applied lessons that he learned into his real life (the end of Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian baogao*”, which is not included in the transcript either but can be seen at the following website: <http://www.geilibook.com/book/14444/1347846.html>).

One of the most significant features of Lei Feng's "yiku sitian" personal narratives is their questionable mediation of experience and fact. As Langellier explains in her 1989 article, it is possible for a teller to manipulate the particular way an experience is put into the shape of a narrative based on the teller's desires and choices. Let us look at two more segments first before we examine the truthfulness of Lei Feng's "yiku sitian" narrative. Segment 8.5 is from a report titled "A *ku haizi* (bitter child) growing into an outstanding *renmin zhanshi* (People's soldier)"<sup>21</sup> published on *People's Daily* on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1961, half a year after Lei Feng gave his first "yiku sitian baogao" as quoted in Segment 8.2.

### Segment 8.5

雷锋在旧社会只经历了八年多，可是这短短的经历却是一篇血泪史。他的父亲因为参加抗日活动，被日本鬼子严刑拷打后活埋了。年仅十二岁的哥哥，为生活所迫出去做工，被机器轧断了胳膊，没钱医治，活活疼死在家里，接着，小弟弟饿死了。母亲又被地主强奸凌辱，失掉生活勇气而悬梁自尽。刚满六岁的雷锋，沦落在地主的手里，天天挨打受骂，放猪砍柴。冬天没有棉衣，就挤在猪的肚皮取取暖。八岁那年的一天，地主的狗抢他的饭吃，他打了狗一下，地主说他是“打狗欺主”，在他手上砍了三刀，把他赶了出来。可是雷锋没掉一滴眼泪，抓了一把土，把伤口糊住，就逃进深山，靠打柴、拾野果过日子。他浑身被山里毒虫咬得长满脓疮，头发都盖住了耳朵。

苦尽甘来，1949年夏天，人民解放军百万雄师下江南，解放了雷锋的故乡——湖南省望城县安庆乡。在欢乐的锣鼓声中，雷锋带着满身脓疮，从深山里走出来。人民政府的乡长彭德茂拉着他的小手，送他到县人民医院去治病。几个月以后，他的病治好了。乡长彭德茂带着给他做的新衣服接他出院。雷锋真正感到了人间的温暖，冻结在幼小心灵里的冰块融化了，他一下扑到彭德茂的身上，叫唤着：“救命恩人呵！”彭德茂抚摸着他的头说：“小雷，我们的救命恩人是毛主席，是共产党，是解放军。现在，你可以为你的父母兄弟报仇了！”

1950年，雷锋当上了儿童团长。在斗争恶霸地主的大会上，千仇万恨涌上这个十岁少年的心头，他跳上台去，伸出砍伤的手，揪住那害死他妈妈的地主的脖子问罪。他亲眼看着人民政府依法枪决了那个万恶的地主，为他，为无数阶级弟兄报了仇。

雷锋背起乡长彭德茂给他买的书包，走进了学校门。他望着课本上的毛主席像，首先学着写“毛主席万岁”。他永远记得，是党和毛主席把他救出苦海重见天日。1956年，他初中毕业了。九年的功课，六年就学完了。他响应党的号召参加了农业生产。(1961050504)

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<sup>21</sup> The original title is "Ku haizi chengzhang wei youxiu renmin zhanshi" (苦孩子成长为优秀人民战士).

1. Lei Feng lived in *jiu shehui* (the old society) for just about eight years. But this short  
2. experience is a *xue lei shi* (blood and tears history). His father was badly tortured and  
3. then buried alive by the Japanese *guizi* (soldiers) because of participating in anti-  
4. Japanese activities. His older brother, who was just twelve years old, had to work to  
5. support the family. He lost his arms to a machine in an accident and died painfully at  
6. home because they didn't have money for medical treatment. Soon after that, his  
7. younger brother died of hunger. Raped and humiliated by the landlord and lost  
8. courage to go on living, her mother committed suicide by hanging herself up. Lei  
9. Feng was just six years old and had to work for the landlord to herd pigs and collect  
10. firewood while enduring beating and scolding everyday. In winter time, he didn't  
11. have overcoat and had to lean against pig's belly to keep warm. One day when he  
12. was eight years old, the landlord's dog snatched his food. He gave the dog a slap, but  
13. was scolded by the landlord as "beating the dog to bully the owner." The landlord  
14. hacked his hand with a knife three times and drove him out. Without shedding a drop  
15. of tear, Lei Feng covered up the wound with a handful of dirt and fled into the  
16. mountain area, surviving by collecting wild berries and firewood. He was frequently  
17. stung by poisonous bugs or insects living in the mountain, and his body was covered  
18. by abscess all over. His hair had grown so long that it covered up his ears.

19. *Ku* (bitter) *jin* (end) *gan* (sweet) *lai* (come) (i.e., the bitterness ended and the  
20. sweetness came). In summer of 1949, the grand troop of *renmin* (the People's)  
21. *jiefang jun* (Liberation Army), numbered in millions, crossed the *Yangzi* River  
22. toward the south and *jiefang le* (liberated) Lei Feng's hometown – Anqing Village of  
23. Wangcheng County of Hu'nan province. Upon hearing the *huanle de* (joyful) sound  
24. of gong and drum, *Lei Feng* walked out of the deep mountain with abscess all over  
25. his body. *Peng Demao*, the village chief of *renmin* (the People's) *zhengfu*  
26. (government), held his little hand and brought him to *renmin yiyuan* (the People's  
27. hospital) in the county for medical treatment. He was completely healed several  
28. months later. Village chief Peng Demao brought *xin yifu* (new clothes) specially  
29. made for him when he went to pick him up from the hospital after Lei Feng was  
30. discharged. Lei Feng *zhenzheng* (truly) felt the *wennuan* (warmth) in the world. And  
31. the *bing* (ice) that had been kept frozen in his young heart melted. He flew into Peng  
32. Demao's arms and cried, "*Jiuming* (life-saving) *enren* (benefactor) (i.e., savior)!"  
33. Peng Demao stroked his head gently and said, "Little Lei, our *jiuming enren* (savior)  
34. is Mao *zhuxi* (Chairman Mao), *gongchan dang* (the Communist Party), and *jiefang*  
35. *jun* (the Liberation Army). Now you can *baochou* (revenge) for your parents and  
36. brothers!"

37. In 1950, Lei Feng was elected to be the head of the children's league. In the  
38. assembly denouncing *eba* (despotic hooligans) and *dizhu* (landlords), *qianchou*  
39. (thousands of enmity) *wanhen* (ten thousands of hatred) (i.e., deep hatred) surged to  
40. the heart and mind of this ten-year-old boy. He jumped onto the stage, stretched out  
41. the hand that was hacked before, grabbed the neck of that landlord who caused his  
42. mother's death and condemned him. He then witnessed with his very own eyes the  
43. *wan'e de* (extremely evil) *dizhu* (landlord) being executed by *renmin* (the People's)  
44. *zhengfu* government) according to the law, *baochou* (revenging) for him and  
45. numerous other *jieji* (class) *dixiong* (brothers).

46. Carrying the backpack that village chief Peng Demao bought for him, Lei Feng  
47. started school. Looking at the picture of Mao *zhuxi* (Chairman Mao) on the textbook,  
48. he firstly learned to write "Mao *zhuxi wan sui* (Long live Chairman Mao)." He  
49. remembered forever that it was *dang* (the Party) and Mao *zhuxi* (Chairman Mao)  
50. who *jiu* (saved) him out of the *kuhai* (bitter sea) and enabled him to *chongjian* (see  
51. *again*) *tianri* (the sky and the Sun) (i.e., to have a new life). In 1956, *Lei Feng*  
52. graduated from middle school, finishing a nine-year curriculum in six years of time.  
53. *Xiangying* (responding like an echo to) *dang de* (the Party's) *haozhao* (call), he

54. *canjia le* (participated) in *nongye* (agricultural) *shengchan* (production).

Segment 8.6 is from a report titled “Chairman Mao’s good soldier – Lei Feng”<sup>22</sup> published on *People’s Daily* on February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1963, half a year after Lei Feng’s unexpected death.

### Segment 8.6

雷锋生在湘江畔望城县安乐乡的一个雇农家里。当他刚刚懂得想念爸爸的时候，爸爸因为参加抗日斗争，被日本强盗活埋了。扔下母子四人，饥饿难当，妈妈让刚满十二岁的哥哥进工厂当了童工。可是，机器把哥哥的小胳膊轧断了，资本家一脚把他踢出了工厂。哥哥回家没钱医治，活活疼死在妈妈的怀里。接着，小弟弟也饿死在床上。苦命的妈妈为了保全这最后一条命根，忍气吞声地给一家姓谭的地主帮工。哪知道，妈妈在这地主家里，竟被少东家强奸了。这位饱受摧残的善良妇女，终于在一九四六年七月十五日的晚上，含恨悬梁自尽了。她留给了雷锋两句遗言：愿老天保佑你自长成人，给全家报仇！

这时，雷锋还不满七岁。他在失掉一切亲人之后，地主又强迫这个孤苦伶仃的儿童给放猪。住的是猪栏、吃的是霉米。冬天，衣不遮寒，他挤在猪仔窝里，偎着母猪肚皮取暖。一天，地主的狗偷吃了他的饭，雷锋打了这条狗一下，不料惹出大祸，地主谭老三挥起一把剁猪草的刀，朝雷锋左手连砍三刀，把他赶了出来。

小小年纪的雷锋并没有因此而失去生活的勇气。他记着妈妈死前的话，一心要活下去，为全家报仇。他用泥土糊住刀伤，逃进深山，拾野果，喝山水，有时用手攀些树条，到村中换饭吃。夏天让蚊虫咬烂了全身，冬天在山庙里冻得难熬，但他还是顽强地生活着。不过，经过两年非人生活的折磨，他已经枯瘦不堪了。

正在雷锋濒于死亡的时刻，他的故乡解放了。人民政府的乡长彭德茂，从深山破庙里找到了遍体鳞伤的雷锋，送他进了医院，治好了满身的脓疮。当彭乡长拿着给他做的新衣服，接他出院的时候，雷锋双膝跪在彭德茂的脚下，喊着“救命恩人哪！”从妈妈死后，他第一次流下热泪，也是第一次下跪。彭德茂急忙扶起他，抚摸着他的头说：“我们的救命恩人，是毛主席，是共产党，是解放军，现在，可以给你的父母兄弟报仇了！”从此，雷锋苦尽甜来。他怀着对压迫者和剥削者的深仇大恨，十岁那年（一九五〇年）便手执红缨枪，投入了反封建的斗争。当时他是儿童团长，和一队同命运的小伙伴，押着恶霸地主游街。在斗争大会上，他用被砍伤的手，揪着害死妈妈的地主问罪。他亲眼看到人民政府枪决了那地主，为他，为千百万穷人报了仇。

人民政府免费供这个苦孩子上了小学。他最先学会了“毛主席万岁”五个字。他默默地对死去的妈妈说：“老天没有保佑我，是毛主席，是共产党救了我的命。”他用六年时间便学完了从小学到初中的九年功课；尽管人民政府决定供他念完大学，他却急不可耐地要为祖国社会主义建设添砖加瓦。这时，他才十六岁。（1963020702）

1. Lei Feng was born to a *gunong* (hired hand) family at Anle Town, Wangcheng
2. County which is next to the Xiangjiang river. When he was just old enough to miss

<sup>22</sup> The original title is “*Mao Zhuxi de hao zhanshi – Lei Feng*” (毛主席的好战士 – 雷锋).

3. his Dad, his Dad was buried alive by the Japanese *qiangdao* (bandits)<sup>23</sup> because of  
4. participating in anti-Japanese activities, leaving behind the four members of the rest  
5. of the family, suffering unbearable starvation. His Mom let his older brother, who  
6. had just turned twelve years old, go to work in a factory. His older brother lost his  
7. arms to a machine in an accident and got kicked out by *zibenjia* (capitalists). After  
8. coming back home, his older brother died painfully in his Mom's arms because they  
9. didn't have money for medical treatment. Soon after that, his younger brother died in  
10. bed of hunger. In order to preserve the last lifeblood of the family, his poor Mom had  
11. to *renqi tunsheng* (hold one's breath and swallow one's voice, i.e., suffer in silence)  
12. and went to work for a *dizhu* (landlord) whose last name is Tan. Yet, unexpectedly,  
13. Mom was raped and humiliated by the son of the landlord. Finally, this kind-hearted  
14. woman, who had suffered devastation to the fullest, committed suicide in grievance  
15. by hanging herself up at the night of July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1946. She left Lei Feng the following  
16. last words: "May the Old Heaven<sup>24</sup> baoyou (protect and bless) you to grow up by  
17. yourself and *baochou* (revenge) for the whole family!"

18. At that time Lei Feng was less than seven years old. After losing all his loved ones,  
19. this alone and uncared for child was forced to herd pigs for *dizhu* (the landlord). He  
20. slept at pig pens and ate moldy rice. In winter time, his clothes were too thin to  
21. protect him from the severe cold that he had to lean against a mother pig's belly  
22. among baby pigs to keep himself warm. One day, the landlord's dog snatched his  
23. food. He gave the dog a slap, which got himself in big trouble. Tan Laosan, the  
24. landlord, raised a knife for cutting grass for the pigs and hacked his left hand three  
25. times and drove him out. Little Lei Feng didn't lose courage to live because of this.  
26. He remembered his Mom's words and did all he can to survive in order to *baochou*  
27. (revenge) for his whole family. He covered up the wound with a handful of dirt and  
28. fled into the mountain area, surviving by collecting wild berries and drinking  
29. mountain water. Sometimes he would collect some tree branches and took them to  
30. the village in exchange for food. In summer time his whole body was covered with  
31. bug bites or stings, and in winter time he was almost frozen staying inside a  
32. mountain temple. Still he persisted tenaciously. Yet his body became extremely  
33. gaunt after two years of inhuman torturing.

34. While Lei Feng was at the edge of death, his hometown was *jiefang* (liberated). Peng  
35. Demao, the village chief of *renmin zhengfu* (the People's government), found Lei  
36. Feng, who was covered all over with cuts, in a ruined temple deep inside the  
37. mountain. He sent Lei Feng to the hospital, where the abscess all over his body was  
38. treated and healed. When village chief *Peng* came to pick him up from the hospital  
39. and brought *xin yifu* (new clothes) specially made for him, Lei Feng knelt down to  
40. him by the feet and cried out, "*Jiuming* (life-saving) *enren* (benefactor, i.e., savior)!"  
41. This was the first time that *Lei Feng* had ever shed tears and knelt down since his  
42. Mom died. *Peng Demao* immediately helped Lei Feng to his feet and stroked his  
43. head gently while saying, "Our *jiuming enren* (savior) is Mao *zhuxi* (Chairman  
44. Mao), *gongchan dang* (the Communist Party), and *jiefang jun* (the Liberation Army).  
45. Now you can *baochou* (revenge) for your parents and brothers!" From then on Lei  
46. Feng's *ku* (bitterness) *jin* (ended) and *tian* (sweetness) *lai* (came). With deep  
47. animosity and great hatred in his heart toward *yapo zhe* (the oppressor) and *boxue*  
48. *zhe* (the exploiter), and with a red-tasseled spear in his hand, he threw himself into  
49. the *douzheng* (struggle) of *fan fengjian* (anti-feudalism) at the age of ten in 1950. At  
50. that time he was the leader of the Children's Corps. Teamed with a group of children

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<sup>23</sup> Here the term "*qiangdao*" is used to describe the cruelty of Japanese invasion army.

<sup>24</sup> "Old Heaven", which is the direct translation of the original term, "*laotian*", is a common Chinese folk way of referring to God, who is believed to dwell in heaven.

51. who also shared his fate, they paraded the *eba dizhu* (despotic landlords) through the  
 52. streets. At the *douzheng dahui* (struggling assembly)<sup>25</sup>, with the hand that was  
 53. hacked, he grabbed the *dizhu* (landlord) who caused his Mom’s death and  
 54. condemned him. He witnessed with his own eyes how *renmin zhengfu* (the People’s  
 55. government) executed that *dizhu* (landlord) and *bao le chou* (revenged) for him as  
 56. well as millions of *qiongren* (poor people). At this point, he was only sixteen years  
 57. old.

58. *Renmin zhengfu* (the People’s government) sent him to elementary school free of  
 59. charge and the first words he learned to write were “Mao Zhuxi wansui” (Long live  
 60. Chairman Mao). He said to his Mom silently, “The Old Heaven didn’t *baoyou*  
 61. (protect and bless) me, but Chairman Mao and *Gongchan Dang* (the Communist  
 62. Party) *jiu* (saved) my life.” In six years, he finished a nine-year curriculum from  
 63. elementary to junior high school. Although *renmin zhengfu* (the People’s  
 64. government) planned to keep supporting him through college, he couldn’t wait any  
 65. more to give his contribution to the country’s *shehui zhuyi jianshe* (socialist  
 66. construction).

Readers might have noticed that there are some discrepancies among Segments

8.2, 8.5 and 8.6. The following tables list five of them one by one:

Table 20: Lei Feng’s Father’s Death

Segments	Statements
8.2	“seized by the Japanese”, “severely tortured”, “died of vomiting blood and bloody stool” (lines 35-36)
8.5	“badly tortured and then buried alive by the Japanese <i>guizi</i> (soldiers) (lines 2-4)
8.6	“buried alive by the Japanese <i>qiangdao</i> (bandits)” (line 3)

Lei Feng himself said that his father “died of vomiting blood and bloody stool”, but in the 1961 and 1963 reports, it was both stated as “buried alive” by the Japanese army.

Table 21: Lei Feng’s Older Brother’s Death

Segments	Statements
8.2	“ <i>zhemo</i> (tortured) by <i>zibenjia</i> (the capitalist) for a year”, “got lung disease” “fainted by a machine, which injured one of his arms and crushed off his fingers”, “ <i>zibenjia</i> kicked him out of the factory”, “coming back home and recovered a little bit”, “went to <i>Rongwan</i> city to learn leatherwork and printing and dying skill” “illness got worse due to overwork” “died in spring, 1946” (lines 38-44)
8.5	“lost his arms to a machine in an accident and died painfully at home because they didn’t have money for medical treatment” (lines 5-6)
8.6	“lost his arms to a machine in an accident and got kicked out by <i>zibenjia</i> (capitalists). After coming back home, died painfully in Mom’s arms because they didn’t have money for medical treatment.” (lines 6-9)

<sup>25</sup> Gatherings held for the purpose of denouncing someone. To “*douzheng*” someone is to “denounce” him publicly by disclosing all the crimes and wrongdoings he had committed before, which was usually followed by physical violence toward this target, either humiliating, beating or executing.

Lei Feng himself said that his older brother “recovered a little bit” after coming back home from the machine injury in a factory and then went to work in a different place. Then his older brother’s lung disease “got worse due to overwork”, which led to his death in spring, 1946. But both reports stated that his older brother “died painfully” “at home” or “in Mom’s arms” soon after he was injured, kicked out by *zibenjia* (capitalists), and came back home.

Table 22: The Scars on Lei Feng’s Left Hand

Segments	Statements
8.2	“A peasant introduced me to herd pigs for a <i>dizhu</i> (landlord)” (line 56). “In 1947, when I herded pigs for that <i>dizhu</i> , one day I cooked some wild herb with a small pot. Right when it was done and I was ready to eat, it was accidentally knocked down by a cat of the <i>dizhu</i> ’s household. Then a dog ran over and ate up my herb. I hit the dog and the dog also bit me. It was seen by the <i>dizhu</i> ’s wife. She claimed that I meant to bully the owner by hitting the dog and threatened of beating me to death. She even cursed, ‘If ten such kind of <i>qionggui</i> (poor ghosts) <sup>26</sup> were beaten to death, there will be five pairs less <sup>27</sup> . One more will be gone if dead <sup>28</sup> .’ The next day I was driven out by the <i>dizhu</i> . ” (lines 62-79)
8.5	“ <i>Lei Feng</i> was just six years old and had to work for the landlord to herd pigs and collect firewood while enduring beating and scolding every day. In winter time, he didn’t have overcoat and had to lean against pig’s belly to keep warm. One day when he was eight years old, the landlord’s dog snatched his food. He gave the dog a slap, but was scolded by the landlord as ‘beating the dog to bully the owner.’ The landlord hacked his hand with a knife three times and drove him out.” (lines 8-14)
8.6	“At that time <i>Lei Feng</i> was less than seven years old. After losing all his loved ones, this alone and uncared for child was forced to herd pigs for <i>dizhu</i> (the landlord). He slept at pig pens and ate moldy rice. In winter time, his clothes were too thin to protect him from the severe cold that he had to lean against a mother pig’s belly among baby pigs to keep himself warm. One day, the landlord’s dog snatched his food. He gave the dog a slap, which got himself in big trouble. <i>Tan Laosan</i> , the landlord, raised a knife for cutting grass for the pigs and hacked his left hand three times and drove him out.” (lines 18-25)

In this version of Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian baogao*” (*yiku sitian* public speech) in Segment 8.2, which is taken from the 2007 book, *Shangtong wusheng* (*The silent pain*), we didn’t

<sup>26</sup> This is a denigrating term referring to poor people.

<sup>27</sup> This sentence means that it is good to kill poor people as many as possible. It shows how indifferent the wife of the *dizhu* was toward poor people’s life.

<sup>28</sup> Same meaning as in the last footnote.

see any mentioning of the scars on *Lei Feng*'s left hand, though it was mentioned in both of the two *Renmin Ribao* reports. But in an article written by Fudong Han titled "The three knife scars on Lei Feng's hand" posted online on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 2013<sup>29</sup>, which provided a paragraph from a similar transcript of Lei Feng's talk at Fushun People's Radio Station, we can see the following line right after "threatened of beating me to death" in line 76, Segment 8.2, "She then grabbed a knife and hacked three times at my (left) hand, the scars of which can still be seen today." If this line was there in Lei Feng's original speech, it seems that it was taken away in this 2007 book for some reasons. Fudong Han, a senior journalist at *Nanfang Dushi Bao (Southern Cities Newspaper)*, wrote this article after interviewing Lei Feng's hometown fellows, relatives, and even Village Chief Peng. The finding is pretty shocking: the whole story surrounding the scars on Lei Feng's left hand is not true. Lei Feng had never worked for that landlord. It was impossible for him to be hacked with knife on the hand by either the landlord or the landlord's wife. The scars came from Lei Feng's own mistake of accidentally cutting himself while collecting firewood from the mountain.

Table 23: How Lei Feng Survived Afterwards

Segments	Statements
8.2	"Having no place to go, I had to take shelter in a ruined temple for a few days and rely on wild fruit and mountain dates for food." (lines 79-80)
8.5	"Without shedding a drop of tear, Lei Feng covered up the wound with a handful of dirt and fled into the mountain area, surviving by collecting wild berries and firewood. He was frequently stung by poisonous bugs or insects living in the mountain, and his body was covered by abscess all over. His hair had grown so long that it covered up his ears" (lines 14-18)
8.6	"He covered up the wound with a handful of dirt and fled into the mountain area, surviving by collecting wild berries and drinking mountain water. Sometimes he would collect some tree branches and took them to the village in exchange for food. In summer time his whole body was covered with bug bites or stings, and in winter time he was almost frozen staying inside a mountain temple. Still he persisted tenaciously. Yet his body became extremely gaunt after two years of inhuman torturing" (lines 27-33)

<sup>29</sup> Retrievable at <http://dajia.qq.com/blog/180958053439065>



According to Lei Feng’s own narrative, he took shelter “in a ruined temple for a few days and rely on wild fruit and mountain dates for food” after driven out by the landlord the following day. He didn’t specify how long he continued staying in the temple/mountain after the initial “a few days”. The other two reports seem to imply that Lei Feng fled into the mountain area and lived there for quite a long time, through winters and summers.

Table 24: How Village Chief Peng Found Lei Feng and Helped Him

Segments	Statements
8.2	“My hometown was <i>jiefang</i> (liberated) in 1949. Village Chief <i>Peng</i> , an underground Communist Party member, found me. My look was terrible at that time. My hair grew very long and my body was covered only with a ragged burlap. He gave me a bath and changed my clothes. At Spring Festival time he even took me to his home and cooked food for me to eat. I felt like I was in a dream and I was truly grateful in my heart to Village Chief <i>Peng</i> . So I knelt down to him. He said, ‘Child, don’t thank me. It was the great <i>Dang</i> (Party) and Chairman Mao who <i>jiu</i> (saved) you. You should be grateful to them.’” (lines 93-100)
8.5	“In summer of 1949, the grand troop of <i>renmin</i> (the People’s) <i>jiefang jun</i> (Liberation Army), numbered in millions, crossed the Yangzi River toward the south and <i>jiefang le</i> (liberated) Lei Feng’s hometown – Anqing Village of Wangcheng County of Hu’nan province. Upon hearing the <i>huanle de</i> (joyful) sound of gong and drum, Lei Feng walked out of the deep mountain with abscess all over his body. Peng Demao, the village chief of <i>renmin</i> (the People’s) <i>zhengfu</i> (government), held his little hand and brought him to <i>renmin yiyuan</i> (the People’s hospital) in the county for medical treatment. He was completely healed several months later. Village chief Peng Demao brought new clothes specially made for him when he went to pick him up from the hospital after Lei Feng was discharged. Lei Feng <i>zhengzhen</i> (truly) felt the <i>wennuan</i> (warmth) among people. And the <i>bing</i> (ice) that had been kept frozen in his young heart melted. He flew into Peng Demao’s arms and cried, ‘ <i>Jiuming</i> (life-saving) <i>enren</i> (benefactor) (i.e., savior)!’ Peng Demao stroked his head gently and said, ‘Little Lei, our <i>jiuming enren</i> (savior) is Mao <i>zhuxi</i> (Chairman Mao), <i>gongchan dang</i> (the Communist Party), and <i>jiefang jun</i> (the Liberation Army). Now you can <i>baochou</i> (revenge) for your parents and brothers!’” (lines 20-36)
8.6	“While Lei Feng was at the edge of death, his hometown was <i>jiefang</i> (liberated). Peng Demao, the village chief of <i>renmin zhengfu</i> (the People’s government), found Lei Feng, who was covered all over with cuts, in a ruined temple deep inside the mountain. He sent Lei Feng to the hospital, where the abscess all over his body was treated and healed. When village chief Peng came to pick him up from the hospital and brought new clothes specially made for him, Lei Feng knelt down to him by the feet and cried out, ‘ <i>Jiuming</i> (life-saving) <i>enren</i> (benefactor, i.e., savior)!’ This was the first time that Lei Feng had ever shed tears and knelt down since his Mom died. Peng Demao immediately helped Lei Feng to his feet and stroked his head gently while saying, ‘Our <i>jiuming enren</i> (savior) is Mao <i>zhuxi</i> (Chairman Mao), <i>gongchan dang</i> (the Communist Party), and <i>jiefang jun</i> (the Liberation Army). Now you can <i>baochou</i> (revenge) for your parents and brothers!’” (lines 34-45)

Lei Feng himself said that he was “found” by Village Chief Peng after his hometown was liberated in 1949. There was no mentioning of Village Chief Peng sent him to hospital for

treatment of the “abscess all over his body”, as it was in the two *People’s Daily* reports. What’s more, in Segment 8.5, it says that “Lei Feng walked out of the deep mountain with abscess all over his body” and, in Segment 8.6, it goes back to the version that Village Chief Peng “found” him, “who was covered all over with cuts, in a ruined temple deep inside the mountain”.

The above five discrepancies can be understood as resulting from the questionable mediation of experience and fact. Various reasons could contribute to this and it might not be Lei Feng purposefully lying about his childhood experience. Living in an era that emphasized extreme hatred toward *jiu shehui* and extreme love toward *xin shehui*, sometimes it was viewed as a political necessity to exaggerate a little bit one’s bitter experience in *jiu shehui*. As it is in Leng Yueying’s case, when she was questioned in 1981 by a journalist about her alleged suffering in the water prison, at first she refused to answer the question directly; when pressed harder, she became furious and blurted out, “Why you keep chasing after me? It’s not me who wanted to speak like that. It’s the County Committee that asked me to speak like that.”<sup>30</sup> The political pressure of the era is usually more powerful in making the teller to manipulate, either consciously or unconsciously, the particular way an experience is put into the shape of a narrative.

#### **8.2.4 The Semantic System and Semantic Dimensions Revealed in Lei Feng’s “*Yiku Sitian*” Practice**

Examination of Segments 8.1 to 8.6 reveals the same semantic system and semantic dimensions at work surrounding Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian*” practice. Salient cultural terms of “*jiu shehui*”, “*jieji*” (class) and related cultural terms, such as “*dizhu*”

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<sup>30</sup> See the article, “Leng Yueying, the survivor of Liu Wencai’s water prison: It is the County Committee that asked me to speak like that” published in *Fuzhou Wanbao (Fuzhou Evening News)* on April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2005, retrievable at [http://news.china.com/zh\\_cn/history/all/11025807/20050419/12251264.html](http://news.china.com/zh_cn/history/all/11025807/20050419/12251264.html)

(landlord), “*zibenjia*” (capitalists), “*qiongren*” (poor people), “*furen*” (rich people), “*yapo*” (to oppress), “*boxue*” (to exploit), “*jiu*” (save), “*jiefang*” (liberate), “*geming*” (revolution), “*baochou*” (to revenge), “*Dang*” (the Party), “*Mao Zhuxi*” (Chairman Mao), “*renmin*” (the People), “*jieji xiongdi*” (class brothers), “*ku*” (bitter), “*hei-an*” (dark), *wennuan* (warm), etc., constitute a semantic system that is structured with ten semantic dimensions, as summarized in Chapter 6. Although the term “*xin shehui*” is not directly used here, it is indirectly referred to by terms such as “*xin*” (new), for example, “*xinshu*” (new books) in Segment 8.2, lines 101-102; “*xin nongcun*” (new countryside) in Segment 8.2, line 141; “*xin zhongguo*” (new China) in Segment 8.3, line 2; “*xin yifu*” (new clothes) in Segment 8.5, line 28 and Segment 8.6, line 39; and “*renmin zhengfu*” (the People’s government) in Segment 8.5, lines 25 and 43, and in Segment 8.6, lines 35, 54, 58, 63, indicating that it is a “new” society with “the government” protecting “the People’s” rights. Next we will take a closer look at terms identifying some of the eleven semantic dimensions of meanings.

The first two dimensions, *restricted* vs. *free*, and *inferior* vs. *superior*, apply to the “identity hub”. As “*qiongren*” (poor people, Segment 8.2, line 9) in “*jiu shehui*”, Lei Feng and his parents and brothers are *inferior* in their social status compared to “*furen*” (rich people, Segment 8.2, line 10) and had very *restricted* resource for surviving; but in “*xin shehui*”, Lei Feng enjoys a social status much higher and *superior* than those “*dizhu*” (landlord, Segment 8.2, line 12) and “*zibenjia*” (capitalists, Segment 8.2, line 31). He and his little friends in the Children’s Corps now “took over the job of keeping those *dizhu* (landlords) in custody” (Segment 8.2, lines 120-121) and He is now *free* to make

decisions regarding his life (whether to continue going to school or start working to build the “*xin nongcun*” /new countryside, in Segment 8.2, line 141).

The next dimension, *distant vs. close*, applies to the “relationship hub”. In “*jiu shehui*”, after both parents and both brothers died, Lei Feng, a seven-year-old boy, became a “*gu-er*” (orphan) and had to grow up by himself (Segment 8.2, line 55). But in “*xin shehui*”, “*laodong renmin*” (the working people, Segment 8.2, line 5), of which Lei Feng is a member, became “*jieji xiongdi*” (class brothers, Segment 8.2, line 125) with each other. Elsewhere Lei Feng had said that “*Jiefang hou* (after the Liberation) I have *jia* (a family) and *Dang* is my mom.”<sup>31</sup>, which is a similar way to say that new China is a “*shehui zhuyi da jiating*” (socialist big family).

The next three dimensions, *nervous vs. relaxed, despised vs. respected, unsecured vs. secured*, apply to the “action hub”. In “*jiu shehui*”, after Lei Feng’s father and brothers died, in order to survive and raise Lei Feng, his mom had to “*renqi tunsheng*” (hold one’s breath and swallow one’s voice, i.e., suffer in silence), and “went to work for a *dizhu* (landlord) whose last name is *Tan*” (Segment 8.6, lines 10-12); in “*xin shehui*”, Lei Feng was saved and able to “*chongjian* (see again) *tianri* (the sky and the Sun) (i.e., to have a new life)” (Segment 8.5, lines 50-51). In “*jiu shehui*”, being “*qiongren*” (poor people), generations of Lei Feng’s family could only “*dangniu dangma* (be oxen and horses) for *furen* (rich people) and lived *feiren de* (inhumane) *ku rizi* (bitter life)” (Segment 8.2, lines 9-11); in “*xin shehui*”, Lei Feng’s hometown was “*jiefang*” (liberated), setting him and all the other “*laoku renmin* (hardworking people) free. In “*jiu*

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<sup>31</sup> This is the title that Lei Feng chose to rename a report written by Guangsheng Chen in 1960 in first person position based on Lei’s miserable life experience in *jiu shehui* and his significantly different life in *xin shehui*.

*shehui*”, Lei Feng’s family was constantly short of food, and the rice they had for their family of five lasted “less than half a year” (Segment 8.2, lines 28-29). What’s more, “In lean years or winter months, there would not be a single grain of rice to be put into the pot to cook for a long time” (line 14-15). He and his elder brother had to “beg for leftover food to eat” (line 19). Besides hunger, they also had to endure coldness as the “shabby thatched hut” that they lived in had “leakage on the roof and collapsed back wall” (line 22) and they had to “cuddle together” and cover themselves up with “straws” (lines 27-28); in “*xin shehui*”, after Lei Feng’s hometown was “*jiefang*” (liberated), “Village Chief Peng, an underground Communist Party member”, found him, gave him a bath, changed his clothes, took Lei Feng home and cooked food for him at Spring Festival time according to Segment 8.2, lines 93-97, or, as reported in Segments 8.5 and 8.6, Village Chief Peng sent Lei Feng to hospital to receive medical treatment. And when he came to pick up Lei Feng, he brought new clothes specially made for him (Segment 8.5, lines 25-30, and Segment 8.6, lines 34-39). What’s more, “*Dang*” (the Party) and Chairman Mao sent him to school to receive education at no cost (Segment 8.6, lines 58-59).

The next dimension, *full of hate vs. full of love*, applies to the emotion hub. The tragic experience of Lei Feng’s family members and himself in “*jiu shehui*” left deep “*chouhen*” (hatred, Segment 8.2, line 60), even “*xuelei shenchou*” (deep hatred of blood and tears), or “*qianchou* (thousands of enmity) *wanhen* (ten thousands of hatred) (i.e., deep hatred)” (Segment 8.5, lines 38-39). Being saved, treated, clothed, fed, and sent to school for free since “*jiefanghou*” (after the Liberation), Lei Feng’s young heart is filled with “*wubi re-ai* (incomparable love) to *xin zhongguo* (new China)” (Segment 8.4, line 2)

and “*ganxie*” (gratefulness) to “*Dang*” (the Party) and “Chairman Mao” (Segment 8.2, lines 100, Segment 8.5, lines 33-34, Segment 8.6, lines 43-44).

The next four dimensions, *undesirable* vs. *desirable*, *killing* vs. *sustaining*, *repellent* vs. *attractive*, *frightening* vs. *comforting*, apply to the political dwelling hub. Lei Feng is a “*kuming de* (bitter-fate) child” (Segment 8.2, line 54), who had a “*beican de* (tragic) childhood” (Segment 8.1, line 11) in “*jiu shehui*”, because “*jiu shehui*” is “*kuhai* (bitter sea)” (Segment 8.5, lines 50), is “*hei’an de* (dark)”, is “a man-eating society” (Segment 8.2, line 9). “During the anti-Japanese war period, Japanese *guizi* (ghosts, i.e., armies) invaded our country and slaughtered people cruelly. *Dizhu* (landlords) and *zibenjia* (capitalists) *tongzhi* (ruled), *yapo* (oppressed), and *boxue* (exploited) people so *xuexing di* (bloodily) that it was impossible for *laoku renmin* (hardworking people) to survive” (Segment 8.2, lines 30-33). Lei Feng was almost crushed to death by “the three-great-enemy” (Segment 8.2, lines 59-60). In “*xin shehui*”, “*jiefang hou* (after the Liberation)”, “*Dang* (the Party) and the wise Chairman Mao” “*jiu* (saved)” Lei Feng and brought him “*wubi de* (unsurpassed) *xingfu* (happiness)” (Segment 8.2, lines 5-7). He “*zhengzheng* (truly) felt the *wennuan* (warmth) in the world”. And “the *bing* (ice) that had been kept frozen in his young heart melted” (Segment 8.5, lines 30-31).

These semantic dimensions of meanings contained within the semantic system spun around Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian*” communication practice help us better understand the sharp contrast placed between “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”, and help us to see the kind of identities, relationships, actions, and life (political dwelling) that Chinese people had to accept in “*jiu shehui*”, and the kind of emotions Chinese people had toward “*dizhu*” (landlords), “*zibenjia*” (capitalists), etc. because of all these experiences, as well

as the kind of identities, relationships, actions, and life (political dwelling) that Chinese people are entitled to in “*xin shehui*”, and the kind of emotions Chinese people had toward “*Dang*” (the Party), Chairman Mao, and the new China, revealing the cultural discourse at work behind Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian*” communication practice.

### 8.3 Summary

In this chapter I have briefly reviewed background information of a special Chinese “*yiku sitian*” role model named Lei Feng, his own “*yiku sitian*” narrative, and *People’s Daily* news reports about him before and after his accidental and premature death on Aug. 15<sup>th</sup>, 1962. Through application of research findings arrived at previously from Chapters Four to Seven, I have demonstrated that Lei Feng’s “*zuo yiku sitian baogao*” (giving *yiku sitian public speech*) can be understood as a communication act enacted within the communication event of “*juxing yiku sitian dahui*” (holding *yiku sitian* assembly). Also, Lei Feng used a communication style of “*huiyi*” (recall from the memory) and “*duibi*” (putting two things together to compare) in doing his act of “*yiku sitian baogao*” (*yiku sitian* public speech). Same literal messages regarding communication, such as mode, degree of structure, tone, and efficaciousness, are identified from Lei Feng’s “*yiku sitian*” communication practice. Same message form of personal narrative and same features can be seen at work in Lei Feng’s own enactment of the communication act of “*yiku sitian*” as well as the reported version of it. A semantic system weaved around key terms of “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and “*jieji*” (class) is delineated and eleven semantic dimensions of meanings are identified within the theoretic framework of Carbaugh’s cultural discourse analysis theory. This indicates that the ethnography of communication theoretic program in general and Carbaugh’s cultural

discourse analysis theory in particular can be very helpful when interpreting Chinese cultural communication practices.

The next chapter, which is also the final chapter of this dissertation research, will integrate all the analytical efforts in the previous chapters and summarize all the findings arrived at in this study. At the same time, it will assess the significance of this research, examine its strengths and limitations, and suggest possible future researches that can be carried out based on this dissertation.



## CHAPTER 9

### DISCUSSION, IMPLICATION, AND CONCLUSION

In this final chapter I will firstly summarize and discuss the findings of this dissertation research as presented in Chapters 4 to 8 previously. Then I will explore the implications of this research, theoretically and practically, the contributions of this study, as well as limitations of it and directions for possible future researches to be carried out.

#### 9.1 Summary and Discussion of the Findings

Different from other researchers or authors who have also studied or commented on “*yiku sitian*” for the strategy of political mobilization used in it<sup>1</sup>, for effective ways of conducting ideological education in contemporary China<sup>2</sup>, for admonishment of avoiding the same mistakes from happening again in the future<sup>3</sup>, or simply for fun<sup>4</sup>, from the very beginning, this dissertation is designed to understand Chinese people’s historical “*yiku sitian*” activities as a type of communicational and cultural practice under the guidance of Ethnography of Communication Program in general and Cultural Terms for Talk Theoretic Framework and Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory in particular. Chapters 4 and 5 mainly address the issue from the communicational perspective and Chapters 6 and 7 mainly from the cultural perspective. Examined as a communication phenomenon, we see that when Chinese people enact “*yiku sitian*” in their daily life, they enact it at three

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<sup>1</sup> Such as Qiya An’s thesis titled “Research on Political Mobilization Mode of ‘Contrasting the past bitterness with the present happiness’ (1963-1966)”.

<sup>2</sup> As Yangcheng Li’s dissertation titled “Study on ‘*yikusitian* method’ after the founding of P.R.C. 1949” has demonstrated.

<sup>3</sup> Such as Shanbin Xu’s article, “*Yiku Sitian*”, published online at [people.com.cn](http://book.people.com.cn/GB/69399/107423/156384/9371678.html) on May 27<sup>th</sup>, 2009. It can be retrieved at <http://book.people.com.cn/GB/69399/107423/156384/9371678.html>.

<sup>4</sup> See Huizhi Li’s article, ““*Yiku Sitian*” Jokes during Cultural Revolution”, published online at [21ccom.net](http://www.21ccom.net) on December 30<sup>th</sup>, 2014. It can be retrieved at [http://www.21ccom.net/articles/history/minjian/20141230118310\\_all.html](http://www.21ccom.net/articles/history/minjian/20141230118310_all.html).

levels – as a communication act, a communication event, or a communication style. That is, “*yiku sitian*” is a communication conduct that can be performed by an individual person, either silently or verbally. One might lose in one’s thought “recalling the bitterness of the past and reflecting on the sweetness of the present” when there was a stimulation, either physically or spiritually. One might, more frequently, share with other people about their “tragic” experience in “*jiu shehui*” and compare it with their “happy” life in “*xin shehui*”. The semantic structure as summarized in Chapter 4 provides detailed clues for detecting communication acts of “*yiku sitian*” from discourses in the 1960s and 1970s.

“*Yiku sitian*” is also a communication conduct that requires co-enactment and coordination among participants. Analysis of data reveals that “*yiku sitian*” as an event is usually enacted to address an existing or potential problem of “*wangben*” (forgetting about one’s origin), as exhibited by those young workers in general and Liu Huaming in particular in Segment #1 in Appendixes A and B. Therefore three types of communicational scenes can be identified from these events: scenes of problems, scenes of educational effort, and scenes of transformation. Senior workers perform “*yiku sitian*” with young workers to help them develop appropriate understandings about “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” and appropriate attitudes towards their work. This type of event is commonly called “*yiku sitian jiaoyu*” (*yiku sitian* education), “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education), or “*shehui zhuyi jiaoyu*” (socialist education). It can be done formally, as in a public gathering recorded in Segment #2 in Appendixes A and B to have the senior store clerks recalling the store history and comparing their experiences in “*jiu shehui*” to that in “*xin shehui*” to “educate” the newly recruited young workers, or informally, as during the

work break between a master and his apprentice, as shown in Segment #3 in Appendixes A and B of Li Decai and Chang Lin. The successfulness of such kind of “*yiku sitian jiaoyu*” (*yiku sitian* education) depends on the nature of the response from the audience, who are usually younger generation or young workers. If the response is positive in nature (i.e., the targeted audience shows immediate emotional remorse and long term changed work performance), it is a successfully conducted “*yiku sitian*” event; but if the response is negative in nature (i.e., the targeted audience questions the legitimacy and validity of the focal “*yiku sitian*” effort or even mocks at it), it is unsuccessfully enacted and usually requires identification of the root problem that contributed to the unsuccessfulness and adjustment of the strategy used in the previous “*yiku sitian*” effort. This process is summarized in the two sequential structures identified in Chapter 4.

It is also easily recognizable that someone is doing “*yiku sitian*” when we see that the communication style of “*huiyi*” (to recall from memory) and “*duibi*” (to put together and compare) is in use in a discourse, especially in the 1960s and 1970s.

Since “*yiku sitian*” is a communication practice that can be enacted at the act, event, and style level, it surely conveys literal messages regarding communication, as suggested by Carbaugh’s Cultural Terms for Talk theoretic framework. Analysis done in Chapter 5 indicates that the mode of “*yiku sitian*” action is usually direct; the degree of structuring is fixed and restricted; ideally speaking the tone of it should be controlled, formal, and serious, as depicted in orthodox “*yiku sitian*” accounts, but in reality it could also end up being less controlled and playful, as depicted in alternative “*yiku sitian*” accounts; and, similarly, the efficaciousness of this practice from the orthodox

perspective is very useful, effective, and valuable, yet from the alternative perspective it is very manipulative, emotion-arousing, phony, and disgusting.

Looking at “*yiku sitian*” as a communication practice helps us to better understand not only the shape but also the form of an activity that used to be so important in Chinese people’s political life. Analysis in Chapter 5 also indicates that “*Yiku sitian*” takes on the message form of “personal narrative” as people recall their personal life stories in narration and perform them out, usually very intensely. It is customary for organizers of “*yiku sitian*” meetings or “*yiku sitian*” classes to “choose those people who ‘*shouku zuishen*’ (suffered bitterness the deepest) and ‘*juewu zuigao*’ (having the highest [class] consciousness) to talk from their own personal experience to promote ‘*yiku sitian*’ among people and ‘*tigao*’ (raise) ‘*jieji juewu*’ (class consciousness)” (Appendix B, Segment #1, lines 125-128). But alternative data indicates that what Chinese people commonly remember the most and make fun about the most regarding the past “*yiku sitian*” activities are the numerous embarrassing yet funny moments when some of the unprepared and inexperienced speakers, due to their lack of education, messed up their memories about “*jiu shehui*” and the great famine of 1960s and started to “recall” how “bitter” and “miserable” life was during the three-year famine, and had to be quickly removed from the stage, or when some of the selected and experienced speakers repeat their “*yiku sitian*” stories for the one thousandth time to the same audience and eventually lose the power they used to have in making themselves or the audience to cry. Or, as in the case of Leng Yueying’s “*kongsu*” (denouncement) of the nationally infamous “big landlord” Liu Wencai, Leng’s “*yiku sitian*” personal narrative in the 1960s, although very famous, dramatic and impressive, turns out to be fabricated after the truth was

uncovered in the recent years regarding Liu Wencai's "landlord mansion". And many more similar cases have also been disclosed, involving some previously denounced "evil landlords", such as "Zhou *Bapi*" ("Skin-Peeling *Zhou*"), "Nan Ba Tian" (the Southern Despot)<sup>5</sup>, "Huang Shiren"<sup>6</sup>, etc. "Zhou *Bapi* (Skin-Peeling *Zhou*)" (whose real name is Zhou Chunfu) is another nationally infamous landlord. From the 1950s on he was alleged of pretending to crow like a rooster at midnight to force his hired men to get up and go to work earlier than usual in "*jiu shehui*" (see short story "*Ban Ye Ji Jiao* (Rooster Crowing at Midnight)" written by Gao Yubao and published on *People's Daily* on May 29<sup>th</sup>, 1952). Zhou's great grandson, Meng Lingqian, wrote a book titled "*Ban Ye Ji Bu Jiao* (Rooster does not Crow at Midnight)" published by Xiuwei Publishing Company on January 1st, 2011, claiming that the whole story was fabricated<sup>7</sup>. But, like Leng Yueying, Gao Yubao had also been invited to do "*yiku sitian*" talks for numerous times, to various types of audience, and at locations throughout China<sup>8</sup>, contributing to the widely spread notorious fame for Zhou Chunfu long after his death and nightmare experience for his family members and younger generations in the past fifty years.

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<sup>5</sup> See an article titled "Let me tell you a true 'Nan Ba Tian' – Definitely not a despot" posted by ygz1959 at "Chinese History", "Iron Blood Forum" at <http://bbs.tiexue.net/bbs73-0-1.html>. This article is retrieved at [http://bbs.tiexue.net/post\\_5047452\\_1.html](http://bbs.tiexue.net/post_5047452_1.html)

<sup>6</sup> See an article titled "Huang Shiren, Nan Ba Tian, and Zhou *Bapi* are all fabricated bad role models" firstly published at <http://www.huanqiu.com> on May 7<sup>th</sup>, 2013 and now retrievable at <http://www.mianfeiwendang.com/doc/4a9c7ebad2d87a9c5f353195>

<sup>7</sup> see "*Wo Suo Liaojie de 'Ban Ye Ji Jiao' Zhenxiang* (the Truth that I have found out about 'Rooster Crowing at Midnight') written by Meng Lingqian and published in a magazine titled *Yanhuang Chunqiu* (Issue 3, 2012). This article can be found at [http://www.21ccom.net/articles/rwcq/article\\_2013081589896.html](http://www.21ccom.net/articles/rwcq/article_2013081589896.html)

<sup>8</sup> According to the entry on Gao Yubao on [www.baike.baidu.com](http://www.baike.baidu.com), a Chinese online encyclopedia website, *Gao* has given more than 5000 talks to about 5,000,000 people in the past several decades. See <http://baike.baidu.com/subview/305460/7631431.htm> for more information.

But the performative nature and the socially constructive nature of “*yiku sitian*” personal narratives did serve its political function of “producing a certain way of seeing the world” in Chinese people in the 1960s and 1970s, which is the focus of Chapters 6 and 7 where “*yiku sitian*” is examined as a cultural practice. Chapter 6 identifies a semantic system composed of two salient cultural terms, “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and “*xin shehui*” (the new society) and series of other terms associated with these two terms. Discourses regarding “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” are compared in the following three categories: terms that compare the two societies with food (condiments) and their taste; terms that compare the two societies with places and their features; terms and phrases describing people’s contrasting identities, experiences, and attitudes in the two societies; and terms and phrases describing contrasting impressions, evaluations, and reactions to the two societies.

The above comparison and analysis lead to the identification of eleven semantic dimensions internal to this system along the hubs of meanings of identity, relation, action, emotion, and political dwelling: In “*jiu shehui*”, for people whose social status are as low and *inferior* as “*nuli*” (slave), they are *restricted* in many aspects of their life, such as making decisions and following rules; In “*xin shehui*”, “*laodong renmin*” (the working people) enjoy an identity status as high and *superior* as “*zhuren*” (masters) of the State and are *free* in making decisions regarding their life. In “*jiu shehui*”, relationship between people could be distant, especially for those who lost all loved ones and relatives and became “*guer*” (orphans); in “*xin shehui*”, relationship between people is *close*, because the whole country is turned into a “*wenuan de shehui zhuyi dajiating*” (warm socialist big family). In “*jiu shehui*”, people had to behave in a very *nervous* manner and “*disheng*

*xiaqi*” (be meek and subservient) in front of the “*dizhu*” (landlord) or “*zibenjia*” (capitalists); In “*xin shehui*”, people can behave in a very *relaxed* manner and “*yangmei tuqi*” (feel proud and elated) wherever they are. In “*jiu shehui*”, “*laodong renmin*” (the working people) are *despised* by the society as they had to “*zuoniu zuoma*” (work like an ox or a horse) to survive; in “*xin shehui*”, they are *respected* by the society as they had “*fanshen*” (turned over one’s body) from underneath the exploiters and oppressors. In “*jiu shehui*”, people’s life is “unsecured” as they “*chi bubao*” (eat but not full) and “*chuan bunuan*” (wear but not warm); in “*xin shehui*”, people’s life is “secured” as they “*chibao chuannuan*” (eat enough and wear warm). People’s hearts are *full of hate* emotion toward “*jiu shehui*” and they “*zenghen*” (detest) very much their previous exploiters and oppressors; People’s hearts are *full of love* emotion toward “*xin shehui*” and they “*re’ai*” (love ardently) their “saviors” – Chairman Mao and the Communist Party. “*Jiu shehui*” is an *undesirable* place as it is “*ku*” (bitter) everywhere; “*Xin shehui*” is a *desirable* place as it is “*tian*” (sweet) everywhere. “*Jiu shehui*” is a *killing* place, like “*diyü*” (hell); “*Xin shehui*” is a *sustaining* place, like “*tiantang*” (heaven). “*Jiu shehui*” is a *repellent* place marked by “*lengku*” (coldness and cruelty); “*Xin shehui*” is an *attractive* place marked by *wennuan* (warmth). “*Jiu shehui*” is a *frightening* place filled with “*hei’an*” (darkness); “*Xin shehui*” is a *comforting* place filled with “*guangming*” (brightness).

The above can more or less summarize the way Chinese people are supposed to view “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” in those political decades of 1960s and 1970s. The Chinese Communist Party launched “*yiku sitian*” movement to work this way of understanding these two societies into Chinese people’s thoughts, words, and actions, and

this “way of seeing the world” in turn leads to exaggerated needs of conducting “*yiku sitian jiaoyu*” (*yiku sitian* education) to the younger generation on a frequent basis to make sure “*xin shehui*” would not be replaced by “*jiu shehui*” and people would not have to “*chi erbian ku, shou ercha zui*” (eat bitterness for the second time, endure hardship for the second time). All of this calls our attention to the fact that “*yiku sitian*” has been so engrained in Chinese people’s life in the 1960s and 1970s that Chinese people, either individually or collectively, either willingly or reluctantly, have demonstrated the mutually constructive relationship between communication and social life. That is, social life helps to shape the way people communicate, and communication system is at least partly constitutive of socio-cultural life (Philipsen 1992; Carbaugh 1995).

Chapter 7 continues the examination of “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural practice by looking at the larger political meaning system for “*yiku sitian*” and formulates a set of cultural premises centered around the cultural term “*jieji*” (class) and terms derived from it. As showed in Table 1 in Chapter 2, “*yiku sitian*” movement is launched in the beginning of 1960s but reached its peak between 1968 and 1975. The initial motive of calling on Chinese people to engage in “*yiku sitian*” activities is to divert people’s attention from the severe famine going on throughout China between 1959 and 1961 due to the wrong economic policy of “Great Leap Forward” and strengthen people’s faith and trust in Communist Party by emphasizing the sharp contrast between “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”. But as the numbers reveal in Table 1, annual reports on *People’s Daily* containing the term “*yiku sitian*” is at most 83 in 1964. But the number jumps significantly from 74 in 1974 to 395 in 1968, more than five times in ratio, and then 457 in 1969, more than six times in ratio, and stays in hundreds until 1976. This big surge of



“*yiku sitian*” activities in late 1960s is closely related with Mao’s belief of the existence of “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle), its degree of seriousness, and the necessity to vehemently combat against it in socialist China. Hence the ten-year turmoil period of Cultural Revolution during which “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) is carried out on a yearly, monthly, and daily basis and, within this larger political meaning system, “*yiku sitian*” is continually adopted as an effective way to prevent the so-called “bourgeoisie class”, “revisionists”, and “*zouzipai*” (capitalist-roaders) from “*fubi*” (restoring) “*ziben zhuyi*” (capitalism). Chapter 7 examines this meaning system centered around the concept of “*jieji*” (class) and formulates cultural premises from both the orthodox and the alternative perspective on “*yiku sitian*” (see the end of Chapter 7 for the formulations). Hence completes this research project of understanding “*yiku sitian*” as a cultural discourse which is a particular Chinese meaning system with particular beliefs and values about appropriate ways of being, relating, acting, feeling, and political positioning enacted by particular Chinese cultural terms, such as “*jiu shehui*”, “*xin shehui*”, “*jieji*” (class), and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle).

## **9.2 Theoretical and Practical Implications**

This study is conducted within the programmatic context of ethnography of communication theory as conceived by Dell Hymes (1962, 1967a, 1972, 1974) and developed by Gerry Philipsen (1975, 1976a, 1986, 1987, 1989a, 1992, 1997, 2005 with Coutu) and Donal Carbaugh (1988a, 1989, 1994, 1995, 1995 with Hastings, 1996a, 1997 with Gibson and Milburn, 2006, 2007, 2010, 2013 with Cerulli). Among them, Hymes’ Descriptive Theory, Carbaugh’s Cultural Terms for Talk Theoretic Framework and Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory are directly applied when analyzing the data. In this section I will evaluate the utility and strength of each of the theories or theoretic

frameworks and will also explore possible practical implications that this study of “*yiku sitian*” communication practice points to.

### **9.2.1 Theoretical Implications**

The ethnography of communication program provides a very productive framework and perspective for the current study of a native Chinese communication practice. Although studies on “*yiku sitian*” have been done from different theoretic perspective, such as Yangcheng Li’s dissertation and Qiya An’s thesis, the theories they applied to their analysis, such as the Marxist theories of indoctrination and ideological education (in Li’s study) and political mobilization theories (in An’s study), tend to be more subjective than objective, more general than specific, and broader than concrete. The ethnography of communication program provides a workable platform by focusing on situated communication practices, describing the way language is used from the native’s point of view, and probing the meanings that the natives intend to convey. Specifically, Hymes’s descriptive theory (1972), including both the social unit of analysis and their components, is proved to be very helpful in pointing to the kind of data to collect. His “SPEAKING” mnemonic is very functional in helping to identify important components active in focal “*yiku sitian*” social unit, be it a communication act, or a communication event. It produces detailed description of each instance and interpretations of them in terms of distinctive cultural features, functions, and meanings of a practice. Although not all the analytical process can be and need to be presented in this dissertation, Chapters 4 and 5 provide good demonstrations of how Hymes’ descriptive theory guides the analysis in identifying, for the social unit of “*yiku sitian*” communication event, its settings, scenes, act sequences (including sequential structures and message form), and norms.

Carbaugh's Cultural Terms for Talk theoretic framework (1989a) is one of the major theories I applied in the analysis. Although it is a theoretic framework developed within the ethnography of communication theory, therefore sharing all the important assumptions and basic conceptions regarding communication and culture, itself can be used as a standalone framework as it provides a clear and obvious entry point – the identification of salient cultural terms for talk – and ways to access the shape and form (i.e., descriptions) and meanings (i.e., interpretations) of a communication practice pointed to by the salient cultural terms. The three levels of communication enactment and the three types of messages conveyed by them constitute a coherent and expressive tool in conducting ethnography of communication studies. The application of this theoretic framework is also presented in Chapters 4 and 5, with “*yiku sitian*” communication act, event, and style identified, described, and the literal messages conveyed by them analyzed.

Carbaugh's Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory (1989b, 1994, 1997 with Gibson and Milburn, 2007, and 2013 with Cerulli) is the other major theory that I applied in the analysis. This theory began to take shape from his 1989b book, *Talking American: Cultural Discourses on Donahue*, and was sophisticated throughout the past years. It provides a very clear and workable structure that a student of ethnography of communication studies can follow easily. The five mode of inquiry (theoretical, descriptive, interpretive, comparative, and critical), “when implemented as parts of a research project, can create a powerful approach to the study of communication” (Carbaugh 2007, p. 171). And within the interpretive mode, the five hubs of meanings (identity, relationship, action, emotion, and dwelling) covers comprehensively the major

areas of inquiry an ethnographer can explore into for a productive display of the natively conceived appropriate ways of being a person, relating with others, acting in context, showing feelings, and positioning oneself in certain places/environment/circumstances. Concepts for formulating interpretive accounts include all the crucial ones, such as *symbols, cultural or key terms, cultural propositions, cultural premises, semantic dimensions*, and *norms* that have been proved to be important in previous and various cases of ethnography of communication studies. And the discursive web concept allows a dynamic presentation and indication of the ebb and flow of cultural meanings revealed in the five hubs. In my view, Carbaugh's Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory is not only one of the most comprehensive theories in the field of ethnography of communication studies, it has the potential to be applied to other areas of communication studies, and to other subjects of social, political, cultural, and humanity studies. By attending to situated communication practices and examining them from native's point of view, it would enable people from different background to understand each other better, respect each other better, and coordinate with each other better. Human life is motivated by systems of beliefs and values that are usually unexpressed and held deep down below, Carbaugh's Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory can help us to dig down and disclose the core of those systems so that appropriate methods can be taken to reach out, to facilitate, to negotiate, to appease, and to rebuild, whenever possible and necessary in the world.

Although Hymes's descriptive theory, Carbaugh's Cultural Terms for Talk Theoretic Framework, and his Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory, as well as the Cultural Communication theories and concepts developed by Gerry Philipsen, are all very helpful and functional in conducting ethnography of communication studies, through

conducting this dissertation research project, I found myself wishing for more integration of all the theories and concepts that are available in the ethnography of communication field so that all the strengths of each theory can be combined to make it more powerful. For example, readers might have noticed that in my presentation of the analysis of the communication practice of “*yiku sitian*”, I started with identification of “*yiku sitian*” communication act, event, and style under the guidance of Carbaugh’s Cultural Terms for Talk Theoretic Framework. At the same time, I conducted analysis of the settings and scenes, sequential structures, and message form for “*yiku sitian*” communication acts and events under the guidance of Hymes’ Descriptive Theory. I then came back to analyze the literal messages regarding communication, i.e., the modes, degrees of structuring, tone, and efficaciousness, of the “*yiku sitian*” communication acts and events, and norms contained in them, under the guidance of Cultural Terms for Talk Theoretic Framework again, as these messages are all present in “*yiku sitian*” communication practices. Then I proceeded to analyze the semantic system of “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”, the semantic dimensions revealed by the terms and symbols used in the semantic system, and to the analysis and formulation of the cultural premises as revealed by the five hubs of meanings surrounding the key term of “*jieji*” (class) and terms derived from it, both under the guidance of Carbaugh’s Cultural Discourse Analysis Theory. My concern is whether or not I have utilized each of these theories to its maximum strength and what can be combined or integrated to make it an even more powerful and expressive tool for future analysis.

But I do agree with what Carbaugh stated in his 2007 article after explaining all the concepts that can be used in interpretive analysis:

“This set of concepts provides a vocabulary for conducting interpretive analysis of cultural discourses. In the process, certain radiants of meaning may be explicated as symbolic terms, cultural propositions, cultural premises, semantic dimensions, and/or norms. Each says something about the meaningfulness of a practice to participants; each can also complement the others in constructing an interpretive account of the discursive practice. All of course are not necessary in any one account. Interpretive analysis is something of a science, in that it can be structured in a systematic and rigorous way; yet it is also something of an art. One must have a feel for what is most productive for attention given the particulars of the case, at this particular moment in time, for purposes of discussion with some audience.” (pp. 178-179)

What Carbaugh said here is true regarding selecting concepts to use for the interpretive analysis. It also makes sense to say that this is also true regarding selecting theories and theoretic frameworks to use for one’s research project. What’s more, with more ethnography of communication researches being done in various cultures around the world, it is hopeful that the current sets of theories and theoretic framework will be not only tested and supported, but also expanded and even more sophisticated.

Besides using ethnography of communication theories in my analysis, I also made use of personal narrative theories as summarized in Kristin Langellier’s (1989) article titled “Personal Narratives: Perspectives on Theory and Research”. In this article, Langellier reviewed five of the most prominent personal narrative theories (personal narrative as story-text; personal narrative as storytelling performance; personal narrative as conversational interaction; personal narrative as social process; and personal narrative as political praxis) and cited researches that apply each of them. Although this dissertation research is not a narrative study by design, personal narrative can be viewed as a communicative means imbedded with cultural meanings. All the five positions reviewed in Langellier’s article proved to be inspiring and productive when applied to analyzing “*yiku sitian*” narratives.

## 9.2.2 Practical Implications

Looking at the historical “*yiku sitian*” movement from cultural discourse analysis perspective help us understand better Chinese people’s social, political, and cultural life – we come to see why things have been the way they have been and we can also make predictions about how things will be like in the future and why. It all hinges on the deepest and most important cultural premises of each era. In the case of “*yiku sitian*” studies, we see that, in 1960s and 1970s, “*jieji*” (class) was used as the most crucial standard to identify people. Relationship between each other was simplified as either “*jieji dixiong*” (class brothers) or “*jieji diren*” (class enemies), and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) was regarded as the most appropriate way to handle interactions with people. One is expected to be “*aizeng fenming*” (love and hate clearly demarcated) and treat different classes differently. One should receive “*jieji jiaoyu*” (class education) to make sure one has high “*jieji juewu*” (class consciousness) and firm “*jieji lichang*” (class standpoint) and will not “*wangben*” (forget about one’s root origin) but become “proletariat revolutionary successors”. This is a rather simplistic set of beliefs and values about how one should live one’s life, socially, politically, and culturally. Life has changed significantly for Chinese people since 1978 after China adopted “open door” policy and new economic policy that no longer despise “wealth” and “richness” as symbols of capitalism. Instead, *Deng Xiaoping*, who was the leader of China from 1978 to 1992, advocated a new set of beliefs and values about Chinese people’s social, political, and cultural life. For example, being “*qiong*” (poor) was no longer an honorable and admirable feature of being a person but being “*fu*” (rich) was; “*jieji*” was no longer viewed as an important criteria for labeling people’s identity. “*Laodong zhifu*” (to become rich through hard work) was widely advocated throughout China (though, in

some extreme cases, “*xiang qian kan*”/looking up to money, as “*qian*” can be used to refer to either “money” or “the front of”, became the new way that some Chinese people positioned themselves). The whole country experienced a transition from “*yi jieji douzheng wei gang*” (taking class struggle as the key chain) to “*yi jingji jianshe wei zhongxin*” (taking economic construction as the center)<sup>9</sup>. As a result, significant changes happened in China since 1978 in terms of economic development, improvement of Chinese people’s living standard, the establishment of market economy, stock market, and private businesses<sup>10</sup>.

One special anecdote happened in China last September is worthy of mentioning here. On Sept. 24<sup>th</sup>, 2014, Weiguang Wang, the President of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, published an article in *Hongqi Wengao (Red Flag Manuscripts)*, a biweekly journal under the leadership of *Qiushi (Seek Truth)*, which is a biweekly political theory periodical published by the Central Party School and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The title of his article is “It is not wrong to adhere to people’s democratic dictatorship”. Strong reactions and criticisms were immediately by this article. Wang stated in his article that,

“Today, our country, which is socialism with Chinese characteristics, still exists in the historical era defined by classical authors of Marxism, which is an era marked with the life and death struggle between *shehui zhuyi* (socialism) and *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism) in terms of two different futures, two paths, two fates, and two forces. The main line of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) between *wuchan jieji* (proletariat) and *zichan jieji* (bourgeoisie), and *shehui zhuyi* (socialism) and *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism) still runs through this era. This determines that it would not be possible for *jieji douzheng* (class struggles) within the international and the domestic domains to die out.”<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> A key word search of “*yi jingji jianshe wei zhongxin*” on *People’s Daily* produced 3,600 results from 1978 to present.

<sup>10</sup> Interested readers can see <http://www.baike.com/wiki/%E6%94%B9%E9%9D%A9%E5%BC%80%E6%94%BE30%E5%B9%B4> for detailed information.

<sup>11</sup> <http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E7%8E%8B%E4%BC%9F%E5%85%89>. Interested readers can also go to <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2014-09-24/145630907684.shtml> to read Wang’s complete article.



His article and claims caused heated discussion and debate on internet among people. Although there were voices defending Wang and complained that Wang's view was interpreted out of its context, the majority of the feedback criticizes such a bold view from a scholar with such a high ranking of academic status. Some people questioned if he knows what year it is now, meaning that "*jieji douzheng*" (class struggle) is something outdated; some people pointed out that there is no "*jieji*" (class) any more in China, only "*jieceng*" (social stratum); some people asked mockingly, "Then who are the *jieji diren* (class enemies)?"; and some people warned that his view on "*jieji douzheng*" (class struggle) is dangerous and emphasized that China should adhere to the principle of "ruling the country according to the law". In fact, whether or not Wang's claim on "*jieji douzheng*" (class struggle) being still necessary in contemporary China can be resolved by examining the major cultural discourse at work in Chinese people's social, political, and cultural life and the one embedded in Wang's argument and then compare the two of them. If the two sets of beliefs and values regarding appropriate ways of being, relating, acting, feeling and political dwelling match each other, one can be more or less certain that more people would identify and support Wang's argument; if the two differ from each other greatly, chances are more people would disagree with Wang's judgment. We can also reverse this process to make a prediction about whether or not the cultural premises at work in Wang's discourses match those revealed in Chinese people's social, political, and cultural life. Table 25 on the following page charts internet users' comments to Wang's article.

Table 25: Internet Users' Reactions

Initial Comment	Agree Comment	N/S	Disagree Comment
1			2029
2			1818
3			923
4			523
5	560		
6			245
7			293
8		86	
9			120
10			199
11	125		
12	150		
13			235
14			117
15			286
16			103
17	169		
18			25
19	119		
20			268
21	257		
22	126		
23	880		
24			161
25			350
26			557
27			227
28	109		
29	188		
30			600
31		86	
32	122		
33	262		
34		90	
35	164		
36	46		
37	85		
38	186		
39	147		
40	69		
41	145		
42	138		
43	174		
44	54		
45	105		
46			292
47		29	
48	134		
49			121
50		59	

Initial Comment	Agree Comment	N/S	Disagree Comment
51	125		
52	596		
53	116		
54	767		
55	2938		
56	66		
57	95		
58			150
59			212
60			87
61	194		
62	723		
63	134		
64		23	
65	121		
66	70		
67			224
68	306		
69	284		
70			57
71			2034
72			121
73	98		
74	153		
75			99
76		33	
77	318		
78	94		
79			99
80			176
81		82	
82			127
83	102		
84			42
85			128
86			127
87	28		
88		79	
89			113
90			63
91		29	
92			67
93		50	
94		20	
95	48		
96		1	
97	94		
98			131
99	77		
100	62		
Total	12,123	667	14,344

Altogether 100 people's comments can be seen after Wang's article on the [www.news.sina.cn](http://www.news.sina.cn). But more people indicated their preference by checking the "support" sign after each comment. Therefore we can calculate the numbers of people agree with or disagree with Wang's argument, with "N/S" stands for "not sure", as some comments are not very clear in their preference. We can see that totally 12,123 people voted to agree with Wang's argument and 14,344 people voted to disagree with him. Now that more people disagree with Wang's viewpoint, it makes sense to predict that there is a gap between the system of beliefs and values that Wang's discourse revealed and that held by the majority of the Chinese people. History serves as a mirror to the contemporary world. The ways of being, relating, feeling, acting, and political dwelling that were deemed appropriate in the 1960s and 1970s which were all centered around the concepts of "*jieji*" (class) and "*jieji douzheng*" (class struggle) have been proved to be futile, ridiculous, and inappropriate by what happened in P. R. China since its establishment in 1949. Does China really want to repeat its mistake and go back to the chaos of "*jieji douzheng*" (class struggle)? Examining Chinese people's communication practices from the perspective of cultural discourse analysis theory can help us answer this question better.

### **9.3 Contributions of this Study**

Since this is a study about a Chinese communication practice and is carried out within the programmatic context of ethnography of communication in general and cultural terms for talk theoretic framework and cultural discourse analysis theory in particular, it contributes both theoretically to Chinese studies and thematically to ethnography of communication studies and cultural discourse analysis research.

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<sup>1</sup> Specific link to this web page is <http://comment5.news.sina.com.cn/comment/skin/default.html?channel=gn&newsid=1-1-30907684>

In terms of advancement made to the Chinese studies, this research contributes to this field by demonstrating a new perspective applicable when examining any Chinese cultural phenomenon involving verbal or non-verbal communication practices. Although many of Hymes' earlier works were introduced into China in the late 1970s and throughout 1980s, and some of the concepts put forward by him, such as communicative competency, were well-known and applied widely by Chinese scholars and students in the area of linguistics, sociolinguistics, and foreign language teaching, his insightful call for the study of language use in specific social settings in a speech community were only began to be understood and attempted by Chinese scholars in recent decades, when communication studies emerged as an independent discipline across universities in China. As I reviewed in Chapter 1, in recent years, there have been Chinese scholars utilizing theories and concepts of ethnography of communication as Hymes initiated into their research, and there have been journal articles introducing the theoretic development of the EC field by Gerry Philipsen and Donal Carbaugh, but there has been virtually no study utilizing theories or frameworks developed by them, such as Philipsen's theory of speech codes, cultural communication theory, and Carbaugh's cultural terms for talk and cultural discourse analysis theory. As far as I know, this current research is the first one of this kind designed within the ethnography of communication theoretic program and utilizing Carbaugh's cultural terms for talk and cultural discourse analysis theory to analyze a historically and culturally situated Chinese communicative practice of "*yiku sitian*". By examining the cultural and communicational enactment of "*yiku sitian*" through the lenses of cultural terms for talk and cultural discourse analysis theory, readers learn about the shape and form of this unique Chinese practice. For example, by identifying salient cultural terms and structures pointing to communication practice of "*yiku sitian*" at the act, event, and style levels, readers who are non-

Chinese or who are not familiar with that part of Chinese history in 1960s and 1970s can learn to recognize this particular way of speaking from various cultural resources, such as books, newspaper reports, songs, movies, and dramas; what's more, by identifying the five hubs and radiants of meanings active in the "*yiku sitian*" discourses, they are able to see the local beliefs and values held by the Chinese beneath the surface level of sounds and words. Specifically, they can learn about the depressive ways of being, acting, relating, feeling, and political dwelling that "*qiongren*" (poor people) or "*laodong renmin*" (working people) had to acquire or adopt in "*jiu shehui*" (the old society) and the nurturing ways of being, acting, relating, feeling, and political dwelling that "*wuchan jieji*" (proletariat), who are esteemed as "*guojia de zhuren*" (masters of the State), enjoyed in "*xin shehui*" (the new society); and they can also learn about what constitute appropriate and preferable ways of being a person, acting in society, relating with people, showing feelings, and choosing political standing positions in the 1960s and 1970s, when "*jieji*" (class) and "*jieji douzheng*" (class struggle) became dominating themes of everything. Although the local beliefs and values revealed through the cultural discourse analysis process were not something brandnew to Chinese people in that historical era, but are mostly "presumed by participants" (Carbaugh 2007, p. 174), the way it is organized and presented (in the format of hubs and radiants of meaning) helps readers to "understand the meta-cultural commentary imminent in it" (ibid.). Not only is this research framework helpful in examining "*yiku sitian*" as a cultural and communicational practice, as demonstrated through this research, it also proves to be helpful in examining virtually all cultural and communicational practices prevalent among Chinese people. And the entry points are always cultural terms that are used most frequently among the natives.

In terms of advancement made to ethnography of communication studies and cultural discourse analysis studies, this research contributes to them by adding a set of localized and situated emic theory regarding a Chinese communication phenomenon into the reservoir of current ethnography of communication studies and cultural discourse analysis studies, which, prior to this research, have not been extensively applied either by Chinese scholars and students or to Chinese communication studies, especially in terms of cultural discourse analysis studies. This is a good indication of the strength and capacity of ethnography of communication theory and cultural discourse analysis theory, showing that they are globally applicable, al beit their American origin, as they have been successfully applied to studies of communication phenomena in China, Columbia, Finland, Hungary, Israel, Japan, Russia, etc., as well as in the United States. With the inclusion of research findings from my study about this Chinese communication practice of “*yiku sitian*”, scholars and students from other cultures are now able to compare and contrast practices in their own culture either similar or directly opposite to “*yiku sitian*” practices. So far there can be seen some Chinese journal articles in print or online reporting some schools in the United States providing “*yiku sitian*” meals to their students to cultivate their sense of awareness about people in other parts of the world suffering from different degrees of hunger on a daily basis. For example, Yunzhen Chen’s article, “*Meiguo de yiku sitian jiaoyu*” (*Yiku sitian* education in the United States)<sup>2</sup>, reported two “*yiku sitian*” efforts attempted by two schools in the United States, one an elementary school in Maryland and another a middle school in San Fransisco. In the elementary school in Maryland, for three days, at lunch time, students are assigned two types of roles: several as charity workers who distribute foods, and the majority

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<sup>2</sup> It is published in a journal titled *Jiazhang* (Parents), Issue 8-9, 2008, p. 29-30. An article by an unknown author with similar content and titled “*Meiguo you’eryuan de ‘yiku sitian fan’*” (“*Yiku sitian* meal” at Preschools in the United States) can be found published online at Sept. 27<sup>th</sup>, 2007 at <http://jia.cersp.com/QZB/YWLF/200709/15011.html> (*Zhongguo jiaoyu ziyuan fuwu pingtai* / Chinese Educational Resources and Services Platform).

as beggars, homeless people, and extremely poor people who rely on this assistance. After receiving food, those “beggars, homeless people, and extremely poor people” simply sit on the floor to eat their meal, which is not only meager but also unpalatable – a small piece of whole grain bread, several water-boiled potato chunks, and two slices of fatty pork meat. While they are eating, a teacher would remind them that there are about 1,000,000 homeless people in the United States and about 200,000,000 beggars in the world today, whose lunch might be even worse than what they have for now. The middle school in San Francisco organized an activity called “experiencing hunger” which attracted 75 students aged 11 to 14 to participate. Before each meal, every participating student would draw a lunch ticket. If it has “15” printed on it, it means the student can enjoy a good meal and very attentive service affordable only by the “rich people stratum” making up 15% of the world population; If it has “25” on it, it means the student can have a meal of enough rice, fried fish and cooked beans affordable by the “warmly dressed and sufficiently fed stratum” making up 25% of the world population; If it has “60” on it, it means the student belongs to the “poor people stratum” making up 60% of the world population and can have only a little bit water-boiled potatoes as lunch and has to wait patiently in line for food. Both activities are believed to have yielded positive results as the organizers projected. It would be possible and interesting to compare the practices of American students’ having “*yiku sitian*” meal with its Chinese counterpart, as well as the discourses related with them, using the comparative mode and critical mode that Carbaugh defined in his 2007 article on CuDA theory. This kind of studies will surely help to reduce misunderstandings between people and enrich people’s understandings about similar or different communication practices across cultures. In fact, it is the goal of ethnography of communication studies or cultural discourse analysis studies to promote more understanding, more harmony, and more cooperation among people and this

dissertation research contributes to this goal by providing findings regarding a particular communication practice of “*yiku sitian*” that used to be extremely prevalent in China in the 1960s and 1970s.

This dissertation research also contributes to the development of cultural discourse analysis theory. Specifically, it broadens the meaning scope of the “dwelling hub” as defined and explained in Carbaugh (2007 & 2010) from a more or less concrete view to a more or less abstract view. In Carbaugh’s original construction of the cultural discourse analysis theory, the “dwelling” concept refers mainly to the physical location of people’s habitat or a natural environment, such as Greylock Glen (Carbaugh 1996) and Glacier National Park (Carbaugh and Rudnick, 2006), that are the focal places of each cultural discourse. Here in this dissertation research, the “dwelling” concept is expanded to be “political dwelling” and used in an abstract sense, referring to ideological locations or places where people assumingly choose (or are assigned to) their “*lichang*” (standpoints) according to their class background. In this “*yiku sitian*” cultural discourse, it is believed that where people stand ideologically directly determines what kind of persons they can be, how they can be related with each other, what they can do, and how they should feel. As a result, this political dwelling hub is also the most explicit and meaningful hub in the discursive web weaved by the “*yiku sitian*” cultural discourses. In another word, we can always detect a metacommentary about one’s “class origin”, “family background” and “class standpoint” from the way people present themselves to be and the way they interact with each other in that historical era. The expansion of the “dwelling” construct in Carbaugh’s cultural discourse analysis theory opens up a new window for researchers when they engage in similar kind of researches where the ideological space enacted by a communication practice shapes the local people’s ways of being, relating, acting, and feeling and the meanings they



associate with this practice. Hence it is possible to arrive at a cultural discourse of political dwelling.

#### **9.4 Limitations of this Study**

The fact that “*yiku sitian*” is a communication practice historically active in the 1960s and 1970s poses both an advantage and a limitation in terms of the research methodology for the current study. It lies in the fact that, when datas are collected, the large amount of reports on “*yiku sitian*” practices that are available from various written sources, such as the online archive of *People’s Daily*, printed books, and internet websites, are *reports about “yiku sitian” enactments* instead of *actual “yiku sitian” enactments* themselves. Because of this limitation, it is not possible to collect interview data or observational data, if not relying on fictional movies. But at the same time, when datas are analyzed, these reported “*yiku sitian*” enactments provide native terms or labels used to identify or refer to various features of the focal “*yiku sitian*” conducts, allowing the cultural meanings embedded in the “*yiku sitian*” practice be explored and unearthed.

Another limitation of this study comes from the broad scope that I attempted to cover in this research. As I have briefly reviewed in Chapter 3 of the socio-political background of “*yiku sitian*” movement, it had a precedent of “*suku*” (pouring out the bitterness) movement prevalent in late 1940s and early 1950s. What’s more, “*yiku sitian*” spanned two decades, during which series of international and domestic crisis happened one after another, constantly shifting the composition of political environment of China. In a way this is limited by the “situated” feature of ethnography of communication studies, which is like a rich and detailed snap shot taken of the focal research object, or a slice of bread taken out of the whole loaf. It is possible and necessary to collect multiple instances of the same social units and analyze all of them to identify patterns of usage and meanings. But for “*yiku sitian*” communication practices that have a root traceable back to the late 1940s and 1950s and that have spanned for two decades from 1960s to 1970s, it

is practically not possible to exhaust collecting all the data available, neither is it reasonable to expect that they all share the same social-cultural context and contain the same cultural discourse at work. Some slight changes and evolvement can surely be found in that long range of 20 years, the complete picture of which can be obtained only after multiple CuDA analysis can be carried out about that long range of years.

### **9.5 Directions for Future Researches**

The limitations of this study also suggest possible directions for future researches. It can mean breaking down of this “*yiku sitian*” study that covers a long span of time into several smaller projects and focus on instances/same type of social units that share the same historical background. For example, one can explore patterned usage of the term “*suku*” (pouring out the bitterness) and its meanings during the two Land Reform movements to set the stage for the coming into being of “*yiku sitian*” practices afterwards; one can then examine “*yiku sitian*” communication practices in the following three stages as reviewed in Chapter 3: 1949 to 1956; 1956 to 1966, and 1966 to 1976. This way one will be able to identify cultural premises active in each stage and see changes, either minor or major, occurred along the way in terms of appropriate ways of being, relating, acting, feeling, and political dwelling.

In the current study I examined “personal narrative” as a form of message for the “*yiku sitian*” communication practice. In fact, I can also see “ritual” and “social drama” as identifiable forms of communication for this historical practice. As mentioned briefly in previous chapters, during the ten-year Cultural Revolution period between 1966 and 1976, “*yiku sitian*” movement was significantly ritualized and a somewhat fixed structure was developed as a result.

Yangcheng Li described the “*yiku sitian*” ritual during the Cultural Revolution era in his dissertation research:

## Segment 9.1

“文化大革命”时期的“忆苦思甜”已经形成了一种基本固定的模式，它的开展主要是结合以下六种方式进行的，即“一讲（讲剥削阶级的罪恶），二展（展览新旧对比的实物），三访（访工农群众的家庭），四议（议阶级斗争的道理），五记（记革命前辈的事迹），六传（传阶级教育的经验）”<sup>3</sup>。主要的载体是开“忆苦思甜”会，在会上，通过听“忆苦思甜”报告，吃“忆苦思甜”饭，听“忆苦思甜”歌，看“忆苦思甜”剧，开展批评斗争等，对广大群众尤其是青少年进行阶级、阶级矛盾和阶级斗争的教育，使他们了解革命胜利的来之不易，更加热爱新社会，热爱社会主义。

“*Yiku sitian*” during the period of “Cultural Revolution” has formed a more or less fixed pattern, conducted mainly using the following six methods: “Talking (i.e., talking about the evilness of the exploiting class), exhibition (i.e., displaying actual objects for comparison between new and old), visiting (i.e., visiting families of workers and peasants), discussing (i.e., discussing the principles for class struggle), remembering (i.e., keeping in hearts the stories of the revolutionary forerunners), sharing (i.e., sharing experiences of class education)”. The main carrier is to *kai* “*yiku sitian*” *hui* (hold “*yiku sitian*” meeting). At the meeting, people *ting* “*yiku sitian*” *baogao*” (listen to “*yiku sitian*” public speeches), *chi* “*yiku sitian*” *fan* (eat “*yiku sitian*” meals), *ting* “*yiku sitian*” *ge* (listen to “*yiku sitian*” songs), *kan* “*yiku sitian*” *ju* (watch “*yiku sitian*” dramas), and do *piping* (denouncement) and *douzheng* (struggling against). Through *jiaoyu* (education) in the sphere of *jieji* (class), *jieji maodun* (class contradiction), and *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) to the vast majority of the mass, especially the youth and adolescent, effort is made to help them understand the hard-won nature of revolutionary victory, love *xin shehui* and *shehui zhuyi* (socialism) even more.

From Yangcheng Li’s description we can see that there are fixed steps and procedures involved in terms of both how “*yiku sitian*” is done in general and how “*yiku sitian*” *dahui* is conducted in specific. Analysis to those sequentially structured and correctly performed symbolic acts, such as *chi* “*yiku sitian*” *fan* (eat “*yiku sitian*” meals), *ting* “*yiku sitian*” *ge* (listen to “*yiku sitian*” songs), and *kan* “*yiku sitian*” *ju* (watch “*yiku sitian*” dramas), would lead to the discovery of a ritualized communication form and the formulation of cultural meanings embedded in this practice.

In Chapter 5 we cited data containing examples of “*yi cuo ku*” (recalled the wrong type of bitterness) and “*si cuo tian*” (reflected on the wrong type of sweetness). The enactment of these types of “*yiku sitian*” acts constituted a breach that threatened the credibility of “*yiku sitian*”

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<sup>3</sup> Ming’an Han, *Xin yuci da cidian (Big dictionary on new words and expressions)*, Ha’erbin Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe (the People’s Publisher of Heilongjiang), 1991, p. 584, cited by Yangcheng Li in his dissertation on p. 119.

movements and was usually quickly dismissed or corrected to make sure the theme of the gathering remained politically correct.

In the future, it would be productive to continue the study by looking at how “*yiku sitian*” is ritualized, especially in the late 1960s and 1970s, how dramatic moments occurred when people “*yi cuo ku*” (recalled the wrong type of bitterness) and “*si cuo tian*” (reflected on the wrong type of sweetness), and what premises and meanings are conveyed when communication forms like these are enacted.

It is a common knowledge among Chinese people that there exist “orthodox *yiku sitian* accounts” vs. “alternative *yiku sitian* accounts”, depending on which channel one relies to collect data. In general, data collected from official media resources, such as the archive of *People’s Daily*, are orthodox in nature and the discourses about “*yiku sitian*” from this orthodox perspective emphasize the contrast of people’s life between “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”. It glorified and credited Mao Zedong and his “*Gongchandang*” (the Communist Party) for saving “*qiongren*” (the poor people) out of the cruel “*boxue*” (exploitation) and “*yapo*” (oppression) by “*dizhu*” (landlords) and “*zibenjia*” (capitalists) and for making them into “*guojia de zhuren*” (masters of the State) and enjoying a “happy” and “worry-free” life in “*xin shehui*”; whereas data collected from unofficial media resources, such as personal memoir, political jokes, and online blogs, are alternative in nature. It disclosed the fact about people’s life in “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*” and revealed the shocking aspect that Chinese people’s life in the 1960s and 1970s, especially in years between 1959 and 1961, which is already in “*xin shehui*”, was much worse than it was in “*jiu shehui*”. It implicitly questioned the legitimacy of the regime by Mao Zedong and his “*Gongchandang*” (the Communist Party) for failing to create a “happy” and “worry-free” life for Chinese people in “*xin shehui*”, as they had promised. It would be productive to explore

both sets of discourses for their shapes and meanings to support the cultural premises I outlined at the end of Chapter 8.

Another possible direction of future research is to conduct various comparative studies between “*yiku sitian*” and other similar communication practices either in China or elsewhere. For example, one can compare different generations of Chinese people’s perceptions and reactions to acts and events enacted by the same cultural term of “*yiku sitian*” and explore how the term “*yiku sitian*” is conceived and used in China in pre- and post Cultural Revolution era, with “*jieji*” (class) and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) being the central concepts dominating Chinese people’s political life in the former stage and “*gaige*” (reformation), “*jingji*” (economy) and “*jianshe*” (construction) being the ones for the latter stage. For example, by 1980s, “*yiku sitian*” was no longer a nationally and politically mobilizing method but had become a way of speaking that younger generations sometimes used to complain against their parents for speaking in a “*yiku sitian*” way. This usually happens when parents are concerned that their children are not grateful for what they already possess in life and keep asking for more money or material things. It would be interesting to see what beliefs and values are at work in such kind of discourses and how people’s conception about appropriate ways of being, relating, acting, feeling and political dwelling have changed over time.

Comparison can also be made in terms of similarities and differences between “*yiku sitian*” communication practices in China and practices found elsewhere, because, although people from other parts of the world sometimes also engage themselves in similar practices comparable to “*yiku sitian*”, the way they were conducted and the meanings that were revealed vary drastically from this particular Chinese form of communication. For example, in his article,

“Ethnography as narrative,”<sup>4</sup> citing the example of stories of Native Americans, E. M. Brunner identified what he calls a “master story” which, in the 1930s and 1940s, featured the present as “a time of decay and loss” contrasted with “a golden past.” Following Brunner’s steps, Todd L. Sandel also identified a master story in his article, “Tales of the bitter and sweet: A study of a Taiwanese master story and transgression narratives as shared cross-generationally in Taiwanese families”<sup>5</sup>, which narrated about a bitter past contrasted with an easier present based on interview results with the question of “How is life today different from life in the past?” asked of older Taiwanese who had experienced hardship of life from the late 1940s and through the 1950s when homes did not have running water, used kindling instead of natural gas for cooking, and everyday tasks for running a household took up much time and energy, most notably when contrasted with life in the present. It would be interesting and productive to compare the forms and meanings of these two seemingly similar practices and find out how they are different from each other and what they mean respectively to people when enacted in their own cultural landscapes.

It would also be productive to compare many of the alternative “*yiku sitian*” accounts with the conversational occasion studied by Donal Carbaugh in his 1993 article, “‘Soul’ and ‘Self’: Soviet and American Cultures in Conversation”. Among alternative “*yiku sitian*” accounts, we can see many occasions of “*yi cuo ku*” (recalling the wrong type of bitterness) and/or “*si cuo tian*” (reflecting on the wrong type of sweetness), during which the speakers, who were supposed to “*yi*” (recall) how “*ku*” (bitter) life was in “*jiu shehui*” (the old society) and “*si*” (reflect on) how “*tian*” (sweet) life was in “*xin shehui*” (the new society), accidentally did

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<sup>4</sup> In V. Turner & E. Brunner (eds.), *The anthropology of experience* (pp. 139-155). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

<sup>5</sup> *Narrative Inquiry*; 2010, Vol. 20 Issue 2, pp. 325-348.

exactly the opposite and were immediately stopped and not allowed to continue. In some cases, such speakers were even criticized as “*jieji diren*” (class enemies) and accused of purposefully denigrating “*xin shehui*”. Following are two posts shared by the initiator of an online chatting room on the theme of saying things inappropriately during “*yiku sitian*” activities:

### Segment 9.2

文革初期有段时间兴忆苦思甜教育，各机关单位学校请在旧社会苦大仇深的老贫农做忆苦思甜报告，控诉万恶的旧社会地主老财的剥削压迫歌颂新社会的幸福生活，有位老农民听说要他讲讲过去他受的苦，欣然应许。谁知这老哥一上台就扯开嗓子：“要说过去受的苦，远的就不说啦，六零年我饿的吃锯末-----”这一句话让这老哥糊里糊涂的在牢里呆了三年。（回望冬阳，吴庄子人）<sup>6</sup>

*Yiku Sitian Jiaoyu* (*yiku sitian* education) was popular at the beginning of Cultural Revolution. Many working units and schools invited *lao pinnong* (old poor peasants) who had severe *ku* (bitterness) and deep *chou* (hatred) to do *yiku sitian baogao* (*yiku sitian* public speech), to *kongsu* (denounce) the *boxue* (exploitation) and *yapo* (oppression) by *dizhu* (landlords) and *laocai* (rich people) in *wan'e de* (all evil) *jiu shehui* and to *gesong* (sing praises to) the *xingfu shenghuo* (happy life) of *xin shehui*. An old peasant was asked to talk about the *ku* (bitterness) he suffered in the past and agreed without hesitation. But, unexpectedly, this old fellow said loudly upon getting onto the podium: “To speak of the *ku* (bitterness) of the past, let me not talk about those in the early past. In 1960 I was so hungry that I ate saw dust...” This single utterance caused this old fellow three years in jail without understanding why. (written by “*huiwang dongyang*” / “looking back at the winter sun”, posted by “*wuzhuangziren*” / “a person from village wu”)

### Segment 9.3

那时随便说旧社会生活比解放后好，是要定为\*\*\*的。因为赵大爷是贫农，所以那个年代如果没有人整事就不会挨专政。如果有人反映到上一级群众专政指挥部或是红卫连，轻则一顿皮鞭子三角带，打得你皮开肉绽。关牛棚里“专政”个一两个月。如果你倒霉打死就算白死。重则送县公检法军事管制委员会，判个十年八年徒刑也不稀奇。如果家庭出身是地主富农那后果就不堪设想。（完颜活废物，吴庄子人）<sup>7</sup>

At that time one would be classified as \*\*\*<sup>8</sup> if casually commenting that life in *jiu shehui* is better than *jiefang hou* (after the Liberation). Because Grandpa Zhao is a *pinnong* (poor peasant), he probably would not be *zhuanzheng* (dictated, i.e., prosecuted) if no one reported on him. But if someone informed the higher level *Qunzhong Zhuanzheng Zhihuibu* (Headquarter for the Mass Dictatorship) or *Hongwei Lian* (Red Guard Company), he would probably be whipped severely and confined in “cowshed” (i.e., a shabby shelter served as a semi-prison) for one to two months as a minor punishment (it would be his bad luck if he was beaten to death). He could also be sent to the Military Control Commissions of Public Security Authorities of the County as a major

<sup>6</sup> <http://tieba.baidu.com/p/3618440053>

<sup>7</sup> <http://tieba.baidu.com/p/3618440053?pn=2>

<sup>8</sup> Here the three \*\*\* stands for a term that is purposefully undisclosed. It is very possible that the term is “*fan geming*”, which means “anti-revolutionary”. Or it could also be similar terms describing the alleged “crime” committed by speakers who accidentally “*yi cuo ku*” (recalled the wrong type of bitterness) and “*si cuo tian*” (reflected on the wrong type of sweetness).

punishment and it would not be rare for him to be sentenced to eight or ten years of imprisonment. The consequence could also be unimaginable if his *jiating chushen* (family origin) is *dizhu* (landlord) or *funong* (rich peasant). (written by “wanyanhuo feiwu” / “wanyan, a living rubbish”, posted by “wuzhuangziren”/ “a person from village wu”)

Segment 9.2 showed an example of how a *lao pinnong* (old poor peasant) “*yi cuo ku*” (recalled the wrong type of bitterness). Segment 9.3 revealed the type of punishment one could expect to receive after “*yi cuo ku*” and “*si cuo tian*” (reflected on the wrong type of sweetness).

According to Carbaugh’s 1993 article, when Phil Donahue asked a Russian audience questions about “having sex”, “using contraceptive”, “avoiding unwanted pregnancy”, etc., for the popular American television program, *Donahue*, he unexpectedly met reactions of laughter, embarrassment, and corrections from the Russian audience.

What is similar between the Chinese “*yi cuo ku*” (recalling the wrong type of bitterness) and “*si cuo tian*” (reflecting on the wrong type of sweetness) occasions and Donahue’s unsuccessful conversation attempt regarding “sex” with the Russian audience is that both of them “deal with processes of ‘disequilibrium’, as when one senses something has ‘gone wrong’ and tries to get the interaction going more smoothly” (Carbaugh 1993, p. 183), and they both “instantiate a generic form of ritualized face-work” (ibid.). They are different from each other in terms of the nature of the “disequilibrium” and in the semantic dimensions exhibited by these cultural communication practices.

The disequilibrium resulted from “*yi cuo ku*” (recalling the wrong type of bitterness) and “*si cuo tian*” (reflecting on the wrong type of sweetness) is that it undermined the foundation of the “*yiku sitian*” movement and called into question the credibility of words, thoughts, and theories of Mao Zedong and policies of his Communist Party. It might be weighed as even more serious than a face-threatening act, as what is being threatened by the act is not just Mao’s positive face but more of the credibility of socialism. It is basically a true or false issue- who is



telling the truth and who is lying? Is life in “*jiu shehui*” really “*ku*” (bitter) and life in “*xin shehui*” really “*tian*” (sweet)? And the semantic dimensions identifiable from this type of alternative “*yiku sitian*” accounts can be summarized as *physically based vs. ideologically based*; *objectively true vs. politically correct*; and *powerless vs. powerful*. Specifically, those peasants who “*yi cuo ku*” (recalled the wrong type of bitterness) and “*si cuo tian*” (reflected on the wrong type of sweetness) enacted their “*yiku sitian*” practice on a material base – the severe hunger and famine they experienced during the 1960s left them such profound and painful memories that they could recall vividly how their body felt *physically* about the hunger; but those “*ganbu*” (cadres) who were in charge of “*yiku sitian*” meetings or “*yiku sitian*” movement based their speaking and acting *ideologically*, on the “*jieji*” (class) and “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) theory that Mao Zedong proclaimed vehemently in the 1960s. Peasants shared what happened to them during the “Great Famine” of 1960s and their utterances were *objectively true* (as proved by more and more documents and records surfaced later in the past forty years); and yet we could only conclude that those cadres’ behaviors and utterances are *politically correct*, meeting the policies and guidelines set by the central government. The peasants and cadres were drastically different in terms of powers they had- the peasants were completely powerless and couldn’t protect themselves at all when they “*yi cuo ku*” (recalled the wrong type of bitterness) and “*si cuo tian*” (reflected on the wrong type of sweetness) whereas the cadres were very powerful, having the power to bypass the law and determine one’s life and death at will by simply labeling someone as “*fan geming*” (anti-revolutionary) or “*huai fenzi*” (bad elements).

The disequilibrium resulted from Donahue’s conversation with his Russian audience is that the two parties approached the same set of issue with two different cultural interpretations and meaning systems, as explained by Carbaugh in his article. It is not a true or false issue but a

preference issue. The semantic dimensions Carbaugh summarized in his article are “degrees of public/private contexts, outsider/insider participants, ... shallow/deep themes or topics, taciturn/voluble levels of expressiveness” (p. 195). Specifically, Donahue and his Russian audience interpreted the topic of “sex” from two cultural systems. Donahue enacted a “problem talk”, dissecting the issue of “having sex” from a rational, scientific, and technical perspective, and intended for it to be discussed publicly in front of the camera and TV audience. His Russian audience, instead, made decision about whether they should actively engage in the conversation or refrain from participating based on their cultural premises which examine whether the setting is a public or private context, whether the participants could be regarded as outsiders or insiders, and whether the themes or topics are shallow or deep. To them, “sex” is a *deep* topic that should only be discussed *volubly* among *insiders* in a *private* context. It is inappropriate, in their eyes, for Donahue to attempt to treat it as a *shallow* topic that can be discussed with *outsiders* in a *public* context. Without this cultural knowledge, Donahue interpreted their refusal to cooperate as “reluctance to discuss”, “implying that ‘they’ are holding back the truth, rather than stating it” (Carbaugh 1993, pp. 191-192). But some bilingual Russian viewers came to see that “They think they are talking about the same thing, but they’re not” (Carbaugh 1993, p. 183).

It would be interesting to compare the Chinese “*yi cuo ku*” (recalling the wrong type of bitterness) and “*si cuo tian*” (reflecting on the wrong type of sweetness) communication practice with this Russian-American incongruency to see how exactly they are similar and how they are different from each other, and what cultural discourses are at work behind each operating system.

## 9.6 Conclusion

As the title of this dissertation indicates, doing “*yiku sitian*” is like telling a tale of “*ku*” (bitterness) vs. “*tian*” (sweetness). In those historical years, Chinese people did not have much freedom to define what really tasted “*ku*” and what really tasted “*tian*”. Instead, they have to be

careful to follow the definition provided by the Chinese Communist Party regarding “*jiu shehui*” and “*xin shehui*”, if they didn’t want to get into trouble. It is true that many times their subconsciousness couldn’t help blurting out what they really believed to be “*ku*” (bitter) and “*tian*” (sweet). Nowadays Chinese people have much greater freedom to determine for themselves what is “*ku*” and what is “*tian*”. But a bigger issue is that a context must be provided before one can truly avoid “*ku*” (bitterness) and enjoy “*tian*” (sweetness). A clearly identified set of beliefs and values and a cultural discourse formulated based on them regarding ways of being, relating, acting, feeling, and dwelling that are held to be appropriate by people belonging to the same speech community will help them know better what they really want, and help Weiguang Wang, the President of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, to truly know if he really wants to live in a society where “*jieji douzheng*” (class struggle) is still mentioned “every year, every month, and every day”...

## APPENDIX A

### DATA SEGMENTS IN ORIGINAL CHINESE LANGUAGE

#### Segment #1

(节选自“‘白云石’革命记 —— 记石钢白云石车间党支部改进领导作风教育职工和改变生产面貌的经过”；作者：新华社驻北京记者；《人民日报》；1963073006)

“白云石”，是石景山钢铁公司炼钢厂白云石车间工人对自己车间亲昵的简称。在最近两年多的时间中，它经历了一次翻天覆地的变化：过去，车间职工大多数不安心工作，他们思想上各有打算，行动上自由散漫，现在已和全体职工一起，被锻炼成为一支有组织、有纪律和有觉悟的工人阶级队伍；过去，车间的劳动条件差，厂房里烟尘飞扬，基本上是手工操作，现在已经实现了机械化和半机械化，显著地改变了车间生产的落后面貌，连续两年被评为石钢的先进生产单位。

两年多的时间不算长，这个变化是怎样发生的呢？

这是一个为炼钢转炉生产炉衬砖的辅助车间，在一九五八年初步建成。当时在这里劳动的，除百分之五左右的骨干是从石钢所属各厂抽调来的老工人外，绝大部分是来自农村和城市的青年，还有一部分是从商业方面来的店员、小商贩等。他们抱着各种不同的想法进工厂。有些人是认为“当工人比当农民强”，为了学技术，甚至为了多挣钱才进工厂来的。可是，来厂一看，实际情况和他们的想法很不相同。这个新建的车间，机械化程度低，劳动强度大，打砖工人要提着笨重的风镐整天按着砖模打转，拌料工人每天要把大量的白云石、沥青油搅拌成熟料。厂房里的通风、除尘设备也不全。一些没有经过锻炼的新工人，认为在这里干活，又累又脏，又有烟熏，不是他们的“理想之地”。有的不辞而别，有的逢年过节不管工作多忙，放下工具就走。有的见到重活迟疑不前。对于国家财产，也不知道爱惜。工厂给他们发了很多保护用品：工作服、皮套裤、口罩、手套、脚罩、皮鞋、毛巾、肥皂等等。有些青年工人还不知足，皮鞋裂缝不肯补，要求换新的；手套发晚了一天，就发脾气。老工人看不惯，对他们说：“旧社会哪有这些东西，工人穷得连块遮身的保护布都没有，找个洋灰袋，挖个窟窿，往身上一套，就上班了。”青年工人听了哄堂大笑，他们说：“别逗弄我们青年人了，哪有穿纸衣服上班的！”有的老工人说了他们几句，他们反驳说：“你们是旧社会的人，我们是新社会的人，时代不同，我们怎么同你们比。”同时，在老工人中，也有个别觉悟不高的人，他们认为自己被调在这儿干活，是“倒了霉”。再加上干部很少参加车间的劳动，支部书记忙于开会，车间主任好坐办公室，有些工长对待工人提出的问题，只说“研究研究”，不给解决。这样，干部和群众的关系就疏远了。干部觉得工人难领导，工人认为干部不知他们的甜和苦。双方的思想不见面，生产自然搞不好。车间生产出来的砖，质量差、成本高，在数量上也不能保证炼钢的需要，炼钢车间常常等砖砌炉。

在这期间，车间和党支部也做了不少工作，例如开大会，做报告，讲白云石车间的重要性啦；找有思想问题的新工人个别谈话，进行批评教育啦；增添了一些抽风除尘设备来改善劳动条件啦；采用物质鼓励的办法来促使他们安心生产啦，等等。但是，仍然不能从根本上解决问题。

问题究竟在哪里呢？人们在探索。

一九六一年初，车间的领导干部换了，车间的党支部也改选了。改选后的党支部委员会，由五人组成，他们都是血统工人和贫农出身的老工人。支部书记刘瑞田，十二岁就在日寇占领下的唐山铁路工厂当“少年工”，日寇把他们叫做“少年狗”。支部委员、新任车间主任高升，是贫农的儿子，父亲被日寇抓走了，母亲领着他 and 弟弟讨过饭。另外三个委员是：

被地主打跑参加解放军的王贵，日寇占领时期就在石钢干过活的王凤元，爬在门头沟煤窑里靠背煤为生的王存金。他们都是在日寇、国民党、地主、资本家皮鞭下受尽了折磨的劳动人民。他们一来就参加劳动，住集体宿舍，设法和工人们接近。

刘瑞田在和工人们共同劳动中发现这里有两种显然不同的劳动态度：老工人傅文才打砖时，看到原料撒在地上，便马上趁热铲到打砖的模子里，回收利用。停工时总要把工作岗位收拾得干干净净，把打砖用的风镐平平稳稳地放在固定的位置上，可是，在许多青年工人的工作场地上，则撒满了制砖的原料。下班的汽笛一响，他们就连忙放下风镐，拔腿就走。有一个时期，车间生产的砖，数量不能满足炼钢的需要，傅文才根据自己的试验，倡议用二人合打一模砖代替三人合打一模砖，这样就可以增加二分之一的产量。老工人们都响应这个倡议，可是大多数青年工人不赞成。

这些事情向刘瑞田提出一个问题：为什么新老工人的劳动态度这样的不同呢？他回想起解放初期自己在石钢另一车间干活的情景。当时，那里的劳动条件不比这里好，工资也没有现在的青年人挣得多。可是，那时候，大伙干活很欢，下了班，搞义务劳动，干得满头大汗，心里还直乐。为什么现在这些青年人没那股子干劲呢？

支部委员们热烈地讨论了这个问题。他们根据自己的所见所闻，谈出了自己相同的感受。有的说，产生这种现象的根本原因，是我们这些人是在旧社会里“吃黄连”长大的，他们是在新社会里“吃糖豆”长大的，“吃糖豆”的不知黄连的苦，也不知道糖豆是怎样得来的。也有的说，“吃黄连”长大的人，现在长期“吃糖豆”，有些人也慢慢把黄连的苦味忘掉了。

他们从这番议论中，逐步认识到在工人队伍中进行阶级教育的必要性。他们分析在当时的一百八十四人中，产业工人和工人子弟、转业军人、店员、贫农出身的工人共有一百三十人，占总人数的百分之七十。这些人在旧社会是被剥削、被压迫的人，他们或他们的家庭，都吃过旧社会的“黄连苦”，而现在许多人却忘记了阶级压迫。支部委员会决定挑选受苦最深、觉悟最高的人，来现身说法，推动大家忆苦思甜，提高阶级觉悟。

在同吃、同住、同劳动的过程中，老工人蓝斌朋的表现，最先引起了支部委员们的注意。他在劳动时，见了青年不好好干活，就怀着恨铁不成钢的心情指着他们说：“像你们这样子，在旧社会早被工头揍扁了。”原来，在旧社会，蓝斌朋就曾被资本家和把头们“揍”得遍体鳞伤过。他从十四岁开始，就为生活所迫到小煤窑背煤。那时，许多怵目惊心的事件，经常在他面前出现。许多背煤的伙伴，有的在窑里被落下的煤石砸死了，有的得了重病还没断气，就被窑主的狗腿子拖到山沟里喂狗去了。蓝斌朋小心翼翼地背煤，不敢多说一句话。可是，有一次，他背上长了湿疮，煤筐恰好顶着疮口，疼得不能行动，刚坐下喘口气，被把头看见了，把头说：“这病我能治！”他一边说，一边举起棍子，狠命地向他背上的疮口打去，打得血浓直流。现在，蓝斌朋背上有被棍子打伤的瘢痕，腿上有被斧子砍过的伤痕，脸皮里面有爆进的煤渣，臀部两侧也全是湿毒的陈迹……。提到这些伤心事，他总抑制不住激动的感情愤恨地说：“旧社会就是一座阎王殿，下煤窑好比跳火坑。那个时候，我们工人吃的阳间饭，干的是阴间活。现在翻了身，为啥不好好劳动？！”为了用他的经历教育工人，党支部请蓝斌朋给大家讲了第一课：人间地狱的煤黑子生活。

蓝斌朋对旧社会的控诉，在工人中引起了强烈的反响。老年人摇头叹息，青年人半信半疑。接着这个车间又组织工人们去听了厂里其他老工人的诉苦。有个名叫李护国的老工人，解放前和他的哥哥李护民同时在石钢当童工。一九四四年，李护国得了黄疸病，被扣了口粮，连病带饿已是奄奄一息。有一天，日寇金本提着战刀，带着两个拿着绳索、杠子的人闯进了窝棚，说他害的是“虎列拉”（霍乱），不由分说，就把他抬走，要照例把他扔进万人坑活埋。追在后面拚命叫屈的哥哥李护民，被金本一脚踢倒在地上。幸而抬李护国的两个人也是被抓来的穷哥儿们，他们把李护国抬到万人坑旁边时，看见金本因事走开，就乘机把李护国放在一棵榆树下面，用青草把他掩盖起来。几小时后，被吓昏了的李护国苏醒过来，

发现自己躺在万人坑旁边，又怕又恨。他把两手撑在地上，想坐起来，但感到身体像有千斤重，脑袋像灌了铅似的沉。这样一直挨到黄昏的时候，他用尽全身力气挣扎着从草堆里坐起来，拚着命爬上了一个土坡，正好碰见他的哥哥。兄弟俩抱头痛哭了一场，才搀扶着逃离了虎口。老工人的诉苦，引起很多人的共鸣。好些人跑到万人坑的旧地去参观，好些人心里久久不能平静。

从农村来的青年拌料工刘华明，小时候父亲给地主当长工，自己跟姐姐卖唱求乞。解放后，家里分得了土地和房屋，生活一天天好起来，父亲、姐姐参了军，姐姐后来又参加了共产党，上了大学，他便把过去的苦丢在脑后了。来厂后，他戴了一顶大白帽，配了一副黑眼镜，晃来晃去，工作吊儿郎当，不服从指挥，成了车间有名的“调皮大王”。听到一些老工人诉苦后，起初还不很在意，他说：“现在是新社会了，还提这些事干什么？”可是大家都在诉旧社会的苦，想新社会的甜，他也就越来越觉得不是滋味。一天，他对别人说：“我也有苦。”有人说：“你小子哪像受苦的人。”支部听说他有苦，就和他细谈。又把他姐姐找来，帮助他转变。他姐姐要他回忆小时候受过的苦，刘华明已经记不清楚了。姐姐就把他带回家去，在昔日卖唱求乞的村头，向老乡们演唱过去要饭时唱的歌曲。经过这番“复习”，打狗棒、破砂锅、地主小孩追着屁股骂“小要饭”的情景，一桩一桩地又重新浮现在眼前。这时，他父亲又对他说：“这几年，地主还经常到我们家门转，看见墙上缺块砖，就满脸不高兴。咱们别睡在鼓里，地主可时刻惦记着倒算哩！”刘华明想起自己在工厂里甘心落后的情形，失声痛哭起来。他悔恨地说：“地主没死心，我倒忘了本！”

从此，刘华明变成了努力干活，热心社会工作的积极分子，并且积极帮助原来和他搅在一块的三个“伙伴”进步。现在，嫌脏、嫌累、在班上磨洋工的梦林早，曾经三次旷工跑回家去的崔振杰，都变成了车间的五好青年。过去调动了十三个岗位都不满意，吵着非离开白云石车间不可的何金福，也转变过来了。刘华明的“忘本回头”，进一步提高了大家的阶级觉悟，引起了一连串人的转变。百分之九十以上的人在小组会上谈了他们对新旧社会的认识和体会。

## Segment #2

（节选自“布店里的苦辣酸甜 – 记上海市提篮桥纺织品中心店组织老店员讲店史的活动”；作者：王祖樾；叶世涛；《人民日报》；1963092502）

上海市提篮桥纺织品中心店党支部，组织老店员回忆商店史，以活的教材向职工进行阶级教育，对提高职工的阶级觉悟，起了显著的作用。

提篮桥纺织品中心商店管理九家绸布商店，其中八家是在解放以前开设的，有些已有二三十年历史。在一百三十一个职工中，老店员占了半数以上，还有些是近两年中吸收的青年艺徒。这几年来，部分职工受到资产阶级思想的影响，对过去的苦日子逐渐淡忘；青年艺徒都是在新社会长大的，不了解旧社会劳动人民的苦难。怎样从根本上帮助职工进一步提高阶级觉悟？在今年五月开展社会主义教育运动初期，党支部根据店里老店员多、熟悉商店历史的特点，通过讨论会、座谈会等形式，组织老店员进行讲店史的活动。在一个多月里，先后有六十三名老店员讲了店史。

这些商店解放以前的历史，是一部职工的苦难史。老店员们愤怒地诉说了当年受老板残酷剥削、压迫的种种事实。那时店员进店先要交铺保，还要写下一份服从“店规”，像“卖身契”一样的保证书。店规少的几十条，多的一百多条。其中有：“不准看书看报”、“不准三五成群高谈阔论”、“不准回家过夜”、“衣物携出要检查”……职工被束缚得没有一点自由。商店早晨六七点钟开门，晚上老板看到街上人少才叫打烊，店员一天至少干十四五小时，又没有休息天。因此，布店职工是“卖青春”，一般年过四十就顶不住了。在春裕绸布店耽了二十多年的樊家祥说：“绸布业职工过去有两种职业病，一种是劳累过度生肺病，一种是从早

到晚站柜台生脚肿病。生了病怕停生意不敢讲，只好偷偷吃点药硬挺。我从一九三五年进店到解放，亲眼看到十二个同事贫病交迫而死。”职工这样为资本家“卖命”，职业还无保障。许多老店员激动地谈到，当年店员是“包袱”当“枕头”，每逢端午、中秋、春节总是提心吊胆，害怕停生意。老店员朱德兴气愤地说：“一年春节我没有赶上拜财神，就被老板开除了。”在资本家的残酷剥削下，店员的工资很少，加上物价飞涨，一般都无法养家，有些人辛勤劳动一年，连回乡的路费也积不起来。资本家呢？春裕绸布店的职工给老板算了一笔剥削账：一九二三年老板同别人合伙在弄堂口开了一家小店，雇了四个职工，资本只有六百多匹布。三年不到就变成了五开间门面的大店，最发达的时候，有四十多个职工，十三万多匹布的资本。一九四〇年以后还陆续在宁波、温州等地开设分店。老板住洋房，买汽车，讨小老婆，花天酒地。有一次他买进一只钻戒，就花去一千二百匹“龙头细布”，相当于全店三十个职工两年半的工资。

“三年徒弟，三年奴隶”。老店员们回想当年做学徒时的情景，满腹辛酸。他们说，旧社会当学徒更是苦上加苦。一进店就要剃光头，三年不能回家，起在别人前头，睡在别人后头。从早到晚，烧饭、买菜、抱小囡、送货，尽做些杂务，还要替老板倒便壶，为“小开”洗尿布，根本谈不上学本领。天宝祥绸布店老店员刘思明在一次座谈会上说：“我小时候当学徒，挨骂挨打是家常便饭。老板用皮带打不过瘾，竟用一根两尺多长的木棍打，棍上写着‘打死人不抵命’。”刘思明越谈越激动。他指指头上的伤疤继续说，有一天，老板要他把七匹羽纱一次背上楼，他人小，楼梯陡，东西又重，背到半楼梯，连人带布滚下来，跌得头破血流。老板非但不替他看病，没等伤好就逼着干活。

许多老店员还谈到，在旧社会当个店员，不仅被资本家压迫，还受到帝国主义分子、反动官僚、军警、地痞流氓以及“阔太太”们的侮辱。有些“阔太太”故意摆阔气，买的布很少，也叫店员送。她坐着黄包车前面跑，店员挟着布后面跟，送到“公馆”还不让进门取钱。被提拔为中心店副经理的老店员胡斌追述自己的遭遇时说：“我在恒源祥布店当店员时，一天来了个国民党伤兵，选了一条上等丝绸被面，不付钱就想走。我心里很急，硬着头皮陪着笑脸向他收钱，岂知这个伤兵眼珠一转，骂道‘老子还要付钱！’扬长而去。我追出店门，他不问情由就是啪、啪两个耳光。事后老板反怪我闯了祸，这条被面的钱要我赔，我将近半个月的工作白做，苦水只好往肚里咽……。”说到自己受日本鬼子、反动派欺压时，胡斌热泪盈眶，有些听的人也跟着流了泪。

老店员们回忆了过去，自然地谈到了解放以后的种种变化。这十多年来，商店经过一系列社会主义改造，特别是公私合营之后，企业性质根本改变，成了为人民服务的阵地。职工们兴奋地说：“旧社会里我们低声下气，做牛做马；今天扬眉吐气，成了国家、商店的主人。”这几年来，提篮桥纺织品中心店有三十九个职工被提拔为中心店经理、基层店经理等，有的还当选为人民代表、人民陪审员，参与管理国家大事。还有七个职工获得了市、区先进工作者的称号。在顾客和营业员的关系上，老店员们也体会很深：“现在顾客都叫我们‘同志’，再也听不到什么侮辱我们的称呼了。服务得好就受到顾客表扬，工作上有点缺点，顾客提出的批评也是善意的。”大家还畅谈了解放以后生活上受到党和政府无微不至的关怀：职业有保障，生了病享受劳保，年老退休以后还有养老金。春裕绸布店职工举出本店两个老年店员，在两个时代的两种不同命运：一个叫樊锡林，解放前老板起初看他年轻能干、模样好，用高薪把他从别的店挖过来；一到五十岁，就冷言冷语奚落他。有一年，樊锡林生病，老板借口把他踢掉。后来樊锡林在乡下病死，他儿子到上海借钱买棺材，老板一毛不拔。另一个叫周金华，今年六十岁退休，商店特地开了欢送会，送他高高兴兴回乡，每月还发给养老金。老周来信说，在家里生活过得很愉快。这样新旧一对比，职工们分外感到今日甜。

在老店员讲店史、忆苦思甜的基础上，党支部又引导大家由浅入深挖苦根、找甜源，同时组织职工参观了上海市工人文化宫举办的“阶级教育展览会”。有些职工起初只是恨自己店里的老板，恨曾经侮辱自己的那些地痞流氓、“阔太太”，看到展览会上工人、农民解放以

前的血泪史，进一步认识到劳动人民在旧社会里，不分行业、地区都受苦，这是整个阶级的苦，这条苦根就在于剥削阶级和剥削制度。有些人过去认为自己店里的老板比较和气，逢年过节给职工办酒席、分“花红”，现在也心明眼亮，原来老板给这些小恩小惠就是要自己死心塌地为他卖命，进行更多的剥削，归根到底是“羊毛出在羊身上”。恒丰裕绸布店职工方元龙说：“我爷是棉布店员，我也当店员，过去总以为是命中注定，自己命不好只好受苦，现在我弄清楚了，这是受阶级压迫的苦。解放以后生活越过越好，就是因为共产党、毛主席领导我们打倒了骑在劳动人民头上的三大敌人。”

老店员回忆商店史，使大家受到了一次深刻的阶级教育。现在，职工中谈阶级斗争，比艰苦朴素的多了；谈吃谈喝，比花钱比阔气的少了。同时通过教育，提高了职工们的阶级觉悟和工作的积极性。许多老职工说：“想想过去的苦，更觉今日甜，工作就越干越有劲。”新公茂绸布店老店员赵铭新，原来留恋过去老板的小恩小惠，工作疲疲沓沓，现在他认清了资本家剥削的本质，工作时好像换了一个人。顾客上门不仅热情接待，还拿出自己几十年的业务经验，主动为顾客精打细算，量体派料，介绍各种绸布的保养知识，得到很多顾客的好评。恒丰裕绸布店最近修理招牌，职工们认为当家就得拿出当家的样子来，他们自己动手铲除旧漆，为企业节省了五十多元。青年艺徒纷纷表示：“知道当年学艺苦，生在福中才知福，一定记住老一辈过去的悲惨生活，当社会主义商业可靠的接班人。”有些人主动学习《毛泽东选集》；有些人要求参加共青团。过去乱花钱的青年，现在有钱存入银行。艺徒钻研业务的劲头也普遍提高。许多人提早上班，练习量布、卷布、打算盘，有空就向老师傅讨教各种衣服的用料尺寸和商品知识。他们觉得自己身强力壮，可以多做些事情，遇到店里大扫除、整理商品时总是干在前头。

店史教育也进一步密切了干部和群众的关系。在回忆对比中，干部和群众一起忆苦，一起思甜，相互受到了教育。中心店副经理、共产党员胡斌，听了许多职工的悲惨经历，很受感动。他也是旧社会棉布店的店员出身，同样受苦受难，这几年当了干部，浮在上面，同群众逐渐疏远了。在提高了阶级觉悟以后，他自觉地检查了缺点，经常下店站柜台和群众一起劳动，而且从思想上、生活上关心群众。新公茂绸布店经理、共产党员马振文，原来对店里比较落后的职工批评多，帮助少，最近主动去找他们进行了自我批评。职工们通过回忆对比，认识到今天的经理同自己是同志式的关系，与当年资本家完全不同，特别是看到马振文态度转变，更受感动，有些职工把自己对领导的心里话讲出来，彼此关系更加融洽。职工之间也相互关怀、相互帮助。商店里出现了一种阶级友爱、紧密团结的新风气。

目前，提篮桥纺织品中心店党支部在总结前一阶段老店员回忆店史的基础上，正组织他们进一步回忆，再讲、再教育，并准备把店史整理出来，作为今后向职工经常进行阶级教育的教材。

### Segment #3

(节选自“别忘记了咱工人阶级的根本 - 老工人李德才教育青年工人常林的故事”；作者：宜勤；《人民日报》；1964071202)

常林是常玉春的二儿子，今年二十三岁，一九五八年进北京广播器材厂学习喷漆技术，一九六一年跟他现在的师傅李德才学习冲床技术。常玉春和全玉芬，跟所有父母一样，有一颗热爱孩子的心。常林二十来岁了，冷暖饥寒，还在爸爸、妈妈的心上。平时，常林嫌不好吃的东西，妈妈拿来就吃；常林穿破了嫌难看的衣服鞋袜，爸爸悄悄地穿上。在解放前吃糠咽菜过了半辈子的常玉春夫妇，对于儿子在日常生活中的过分挑剔，经常触景生情，可又怕儿子“难受”、“扫兴”，始终不愿意跟儿子提及过去艰难的岁月。



一天晚上，妈妈蒸了一锅热腾腾的窝窝头，常林下班回来，一看是窝窝头，撅着嘴：“又吃破窝窝头啦！”一句话，勾起了爸爸痛楚的回忆：那是一九四四年的春天，家里已经有两天锅不动、碗不响了，自己的母亲浑身浮肿……。如果，她老人家那时候一天能吃上一个窝窝头，准能多活几年。常玉春的眼睛润湿了，他多么想和儿子说一说这件事呀！可转念一想：多少年来，自己每当想起这些事情，就眼泪直淌，儿子听了，心里不更加难受吗？好端端的愉快日子不过，却要找那号事伤儿子的心，这不是没事找事吗？一九五八年，常林进广播器材厂当学徒工的第一个月，就领回来十八元工资，爸爸一看，又很自然地联想起自己三十多年前的学徒生活：学艺三年，一个子儿没看见，吃的是酸饭、烂菜，还要挨打、受骂。他不自觉地说出了口：“这真正不能比呀！”可蓦地抬起头，看见儿子那股兴奋劲儿，就连忙改口说：“常林，你要好好工作，听党的话，听毛主席的话呀！”

就这样，在他们生活中，曾经有无数次的的事情，使这位老人感情激动过，想和儿子诉说诉说那苦难的家史和身世。但是，一想到怕孩子“难受”，就再也不忍心开口了，屡屡话到嘴边，又噎了进去。因此，以至二十多岁的常林，除了知道自己是工人家庭出身，父亲当过学徒，拉过洋车以外，对于悲惨的家史，竟一无所知。加上常玉春夫妇平时对儿子过分地娇惯，使得这个工人阶级的子弟，渐渐失去了工人阶级的本色，爱吃、贪玩、好享受，生产、技术却不放在心上，进厂当冲床工两年了，连生产图纸都看不懂。

常林的师傅李德才，是厂里的六级冲床工、共产党员、五好职工。这个在旧社会比常玉春的遭遇更加悲惨的老工人，同样有一颗热爱常林的心；可是他的爱法同常林的父母却不一样。他认为：要把常林这样的人培养成具有革命精神的硬骨头，就要让他们知道旧社会的阶级苦、血泪仇，知道得越多、越具体、越深刻，就越能唤起他们自觉的革命精神，越能激发他们坚强的革命意志。因此，只要碰到生产空隙或假日，他总是一遍又一遍和常林诉说自己的家史和身世。

一天，下班铃响过好久了，他仍旧坐在机器旁边，手拉着常林的手：“常林，我象你这样大的时候，在一家私营工厂里当学徒，那是什么样的学徒生活呀！成天看孩子、烧火……。一天，给掌柜的倒了一杯茶，不留心，大拇指放到碗边上，掌柜劈头就是一巴掌：‘你的爪子干净吗？’直打得鲜血从嘴角流了出来，眼里金星直冒……”。

“师傅为了教育我，夸大事实了吧！我父亲也当过学徒，没听他说过那号事呀！”常林半信半疑。几天后的一个中午，上班铃还没响，李德才又和常林一起坐在车间里，李德才解开衣衫，露出痍痍疮疤的颈部和上胸部。“我当学徒的时候，每天从早上四点干到夜里十二点，又累又饿，终年睡在又潮又脏的地铺上，得了‘鼠疮’，临解放时，都快死了。再不解放，一百个李德才也给埋起来了。”“师傅，你真倒霉，碰到那么个恶毒掌柜的，我父亲怎么不象你那样？”谈话又一次失败了。就这样，无数次谈话，碰到无数次失败。

这件事使李德才困惑不解。是呀！旧社会的阶级压迫，他和许多老工人遭遇到的血泪身世，震动过多少年青的阶级弟兄的心。车间那个外号叫“崔大老爷”的崔双玉，过去谁也不看在眼里，经过李德才和他一起忆苦思甜，现在不是转变过来了吗？模具房里那个不安心模具保管工作的郎振亚，经过李德才的诉苦教育以后，不是下决心当一辈子模具保管员了吗？常林，常林，你这个年青人的心为什么这样难打开？

李德才把这一情况向党支部做了汇报，支部书记金泰秀同意他抓紧对年青人进行阶级教育的做法，同时指出对常林这个人还要了解一下，为什么他总是不能接受教育。李德才循着支部书记指点的路子想问题：自己对常林有哪些不了解的地方呢？是不是历次的阶级教育没有从他的具体情况出发呢？他的具体情况又是怎样的呢？他为什么老和我讲他的父亲不象我那样呢？难道他父亲当学徒的生活真的比我好些？我为什么不对常林一再提起的这件事调查了解一下？

一个细雨迷蒙的黄昏，李德才下班后，直奔常林家里。常林还没有回来，常玉春夫妇怀着喜悦的心情迎接儿子的师傅。阶级感情使得这两位第一次见面的老人，象多年故交一样，互相倾诉衷肠。

李德才首先向常玉春倾诉辛酸的往事，引起了常玉春痛楚的回忆：十二岁时当学徒，学过纳鞋、理发、烧瓷……，走的道多，遭的罪多，干不多久，就给老板打得挺不起腰，伸不直腿，最后不得不学拉洋车。拉洋车，免不了日本人和国民党大官的拳打脚踢，到今天，落得一身残疾。末了，常玉春示意李德才，别跟儿子提这号事。李德才惊奇地问他：“为什么？”常玉春委婉地向李德才说，自己想起来心里难受，怕儿子知道了也难过。

常玉春的心情，李德才理解。他的做法，李德才却不同意。“不，常大哥，在旧社会里，地主、资本家吸我们的血，剥我们的皮，可我们的孩子却不知道谁把他的爸爸、妈妈折磨得不象个人样。我们辛辛苦苦培养了一辈子，却培养出一个敌我不分的糊涂虫、软骨头。再说，一个人如果先吃黄连再吃糖，就觉得糖特别甜，如果从小吃惯了糖，吃蜜也不觉得甜啦！象常林这样的年青人，真是在糖缸里泡大的，可他们不知道我们老一辈过的什么日子，就不会珍惜今天的幸福。这样的人，怎能把社会主义的大旗扛下去呢？”李德才还把常林在厂子里如何不好好生产，如何爱玩等等表现，一五一十告诉了常玉春，最后紧接一句：“不知道阶级苦、血泪仇，就要丢了咱们工人阶级的光荣传统啦！”这些，常玉春感到很亲切，他约李德才常来他家坐坐。

这以后，李德才成了常林家的常客。他对常玉春经常讲一些厂里青年工人经过阶级教育以后转变了的故事。话不说明，灯不拨不亮，受过煎熬的常玉春，本来不是糊涂人，只是因为他身体不怎么好，这些年蹬三轮车，较少参加各种会议和集体活动，对这方面的道理不太清楚。李德才又有道理、又有事实的叙述，使他感到新鲜、在理。儿子不学好的消息，使他震惊，更感到李德才看得比自己正确。他颇有所悟地对李德才说：“你怎么不早来，早来，我这脑袋瓜儿早开窍啦。”

一个星期天，常林和爸爸、妈妈正吃午饭，李德才来了。爸爸首先开了口：“师傅来啦！在旧社会，哪有师傅往徒弟家跑的？我象常林这样大的时候，在一家理发店当学徒，一个下雨天，给老板倒尿盆，摔了一跤，尿盆边上摔掉了一块瓷，被打得昏倒在地上。再看看咱家老一辈吧！常林的老爷爷给地主扛了一辈子长工，最后，给打断了腿，没了腿，讨饭都没法讨呀！以后活活饿死在北京东郊的一所破庙里。”爸爸的泪珠流到了脸上，又落到了碗里。

妈妈接着说：“常林小的时候，全家喜欢他，舍不得他，可也没力量让他不挨饿，一天只能吃一个不到半两粮食的‘螺蛳转’，饿得皮包骨头。五岁了，还不会走路。为着贴补家用，六、七岁就出去捡煤核，拾破烂，挑野菜……”。

提起捡煤核，已经淡忘了的往事，忽地涌上了常林的心头。他依稀记得：一个寒冬腊月的清早，什么也没有下肚，跟着比他大四岁的哥哥出去捡煤核。天上飘着鹅毛大雪，他冷得实在受不住，走到附近一家有钱的亲戚门口，想避避寒，那亲戚直嚷嚷：“野孩子，别弄脏了我家门槛。”对于儿时苦难生活的记忆，使这个多少年来过着饭来张口、衣来伸手生活的小伙子，第一次体会到阶级压迫的苦痛，他的眼圈红了，喉咙里象塞了一个棉花球似的难受。

妈妈提起常林小时候，爸爸的感情更加激动，他再也忍不住，谈起了一件多少年来没有对人们提起的事情：常林一、两岁的时候，饿得奄奄一息，呼吸微弱，妈妈几次横了心，一把眼泪、一把鼻涕地对爸爸说：“咱养不活啦！送到马路上去吧！兴许有个好心肠的人领去，总比在咱家活活饿死好些。”可是，爸爸说：“他是咱的亲骨肉，死也要死在咱身

边，……。”爸爸、妈妈泣不成声了，泪水一次又一次沾湿了衣角。

李德才走过去，拉着常林的手，分外亲切地说：“常林，解放前，天下乌鸦一般黑，咱穷兄弟全是一样受剥削，受压迫呀！”

常林再也忍不住了，他放下碗筷，伏在桌上，抽抽噎噎地哭起来。这是他有生以来第一次这样感情激动。他扑向师傅面前，哽咽地说：“过去，我总以为师傅为了教育我，夸大事实，今天，我全明白啦！”他又对父亲和母亲说：“你们为什么不早告诉我？”师傅抚摸着他的头，安慰他，勉励他说：“现在觉悟并不迟。忘了什么，也别忘了你的根本。不但你自己别忘了，还要教育你的子孙万代别忘了咱工人阶级的这条根本。”李德才要常林到新华书店买一本《中国社会各阶级的分析》，好好地读。最后李德才和常玉春商量，有机会领常林到过去捡煤核的地方看一看。

这以后，不知有多假日和下班后的晚上，李德才或者到常林家去，或者两人一起留在车间里，一人拿着一本《中国社会各阶级的分析》，边念，边讲，边联系他们的亲身经历，分析了一遍又一遍。

一个阴雨的星期天，李德才征得第四车间党支部的同意，带着常林和他另外两个徒弟李长俊、李金涛，一起到常林过去捡煤核的地方。常林一看，过去堆积又脏又臭的垃圾的地方，如今盖起了大楼，修起了柏油马路……。当年那堆得象山一样高的垃圾堆，那一群苦孩子在上边抢着拾破烂的情形，却还历历如在目前。常林对他的师傅和师兄弟诉说着这一切，然后语重心长地说：“这些全刻在我脑子里，今生今世不会忘记！”

慢慢地，常林变了。短短几个月中，常林不仅学会了看生产图纸，还刻苦钻研技术。今年以来他就搞了六项技术革新，用于生产以后，节约一百四十二个工时。一九六三年第四季度，常林被评为车间青年积极分子。一九六四年第一季度，他有了更大的转变，被评为车间优秀职工。

## Segment #4

（节选自“革命硬骨头精神哪里来——记战斗英雄麦贤得的成长”；作者：《解放军报》，《中国青年报》，新华社记者；《人民日报》；1966031902）

伟大的毛泽东时代，是英雄辈出的时代。这个时代的英雄，具有一心为革命、忘我为人民的崇高品质，具有为全中国和全世界人民服务的壮阔胸怀，具有敢于斗争、敢于胜利的坚强战斗意志，具有压倒一切敌人而决不被敌人所屈服的英雄气概。他们在任何时候、任何情况下，都把革命的利益、人民的利益、人类解放的利益放在第一位，既经得起战争烽火的考验，也经得起各种政治风浪的考验，无私而又无畏。战斗英雄麦贤得，也是这样的一位英雄。

麦贤得，年仅二十一岁，走进革命部队只有两年。但他那为革命当“义务兵”的崇高理想，有一口气就要战斗下去的革命硬骨头精神，已在全国人民中激起了强烈的反响。全国亿万青年、全军广大战士都在向他学习，并且热烈讨论：“麦贤得革命硬骨头精神是从哪里来的？我们和麦贤得一样地生活在伟大的毛泽东时代，我们应当从麦贤得的成长中得到什么教益呢？”

麦贤得的战友和领导研究了麦贤得战斗成长的经历，对这些问题的回答是：麦贤得革命硬骨头精神，来源于毛泽东思想。他同我们时代的其他英雄一样，所以成长得比较快，是我军高举毛泽东思想伟大红旗，突出政治、坚持四个第一，大抓狠抓活思想，实现人的思想革命化的结果；也是他带着深厚的阶级感情学习毛主席著作，在“用”字上狠下功夫，老老

实实在按照毛主席指示实践的结果。伟大毛泽东思想武装了他，当代革命深入发展的阶级斗争现实教育了他，人民解放军这座革命大熔炉锻炼了他，他就在革命化的大道上迈开了迅速成长的步伐。

麦贤得生在苦水里，长在红旗下。旧社会的苦吃得不多，新社会的甜体会不深。七岁进了学校，读书不知道用功，因为妈妈没有及时给他买纸买笔甚至发起脾气来。他不知道过去的苦难和艰辛，怎么能理解解放以后的幸福呢！

这事，深深刺痛了妈妈的心。妈妈拉着麦贤得的手在床头坐下，讲起了祖祖辈辈受尽阶级敌人凌辱、剥削和压迫的苦难家史：阿爸十八岁跟着爷爷行船走外海，干的牛马活，吃穿都困难。日本侵略军打进饶平以后，杀人、抢劫、封海、烧船……，一把火烧掉他家和几户穷哥们合用的一条船，断了一家的生路，阿爸阿妈背井离乡逃往福建做工，半年挣下一担地瓜丝，挑回家来爷爷已经饿死了两天，伯父也被地主活埋了。阿爸被迫给地主养蚝，又被国民党土匪抓去打了个死去活来……。阿妈说：“贤得仔，在旧社会，那里有我们穷人的活路！我们一家三代，就你这一代才能上学读书，可是你……。”麦贤得听到这里，满脸泪花，扑到阿妈怀里说：“阿妈我错了，我……。”

苦难家史给童年的麦贤得上了人生的第一课，在他幼小的心灵中，深深地播下了仇恨阶级敌人的火种。打这以后，他好象长大了许多。他不但好好念书了，而且放学回家还积极帮助母亲劳动，不是编织竹篓，就是下海捞蚝……。他在初中读书的时候，还十分注意听老师讲革命先烈的斗争故事，注意学习历史课本上有关阶级的产生和发展的知识，并且在旁边画上圈，打上杠。

一九六一年八月，十六岁的麦贤得参加了渔业生产和民兵队。在这里，他不仅经受了生产斗争的锻炼，而且进一步接受了生动、深刻的阶级教育的熏陶。在忆苦教育中，他听到人们控诉：整个的饶平洲地区，劳动人民几乎家家都有苦难史，户户都有血泪仇。光一个洲镇，被日本侵略军炸死烧死的渔民就有一百九十二人，烧掉渔船二百三十四只。美蒋飞机一次轰炸，就炸死十九人。农民邹林、邹有园，只因为拿了恶霸地主麦名山四块砖，就被逼得家破人亡，九口人不是被打死，就是被饿死，使这两户绝了后……。在阶级教育展览会上，他还看到一张美蒋反动派在饶平洲地区所犯罪恶的调查表，看到两个灾年的鲜明对比：解放前的一九四三年，天旱三月不雨，穷人家挨饿，户户逃荒，光洲北村就饿死三百八十多人口；解放后的一九六三年，大旱八个月，人们在党的领导下，依靠人民公社的威力，奋起抗旱，却创造了丰收的奇迹。

就在这里，他第一次听到民兵营长麦克复讲毛主席写的《中国社会各阶级的分析》。毛主席说：“谁是我们的敌人？谁是我们的朋友？这个问题是革命的首要问题。”这些，对于没有亲身经受过阶级压迫和剥削的麦贤得阶级觉悟的提高，起了重大的作用，使他认清了敌和我，分清了好和坏，懂得了爱和憎。如果说阶级和阶级斗争过去在麦贤得的脑子里还比较抽象的话，那么现在就是具体的、活生生的实际的感觉了；如果说童年的麦贤得只知道一家之仇的话，到了这个时候，他已经把它和本乡本土阶级兄弟的苦难融汇在一起了。他一再地和民兵们互相告诫：“一定要牢牢记住毛主席的教导。我们祖辈受压迫的时代虽然过去了，但是千万不能忘记过去的苦和仇，不能忘记美国佬、蒋介石和被我们打倒的地主阶级，他们是不甘心失败的，敌人存在一天，就有战争的可能。我们一定要握紧枪杆磨好刀，学习军事站好岗，为保卫祖国，同万恶的敌人斗争到底，决不让祖辈的苦难生活重来。”

一九六三年，麦贤得刚刚满十八岁，就一连写了三份申请书，请求参军。他在十一月二十一日的一份申请书里坚定地写道：“今晚，我听了克复叔（民兵营长）的报告，使我进一步认清形势，认识到美帝是经常欺侮我们的。过去日本帝国主义对我们的残害，国民党对我们的残害，我们洲北大队是很惨的，我家的遭遇也是很惨的。我下决心报名参军，这是我

的职责和光荣任务。”

麦贤得来到珠江口海军某学校，正是全军上下活学活用毛主席著作的浪潮更加高涨、军队革命化建设步步深入的时候。他一入伍就受到伟大毛泽东思想的哺育，受到部队光荣革命传统的熏陶，受到火热斗争生活的锤炼，大大加快了他成长的步伐。麦贤得到校不久，和班长谈起了自己的心愿。他说：“将来分配我工作，我希望能回到家乡附近的部队去！”班长诧异地问：“那为什么？”麦贤得激动地说：“我的家乡背山面海，现在是个富足的地方。解放前，可是船船有血泪，家家有哭声。我算想定了，我要亲自守卫自己的家乡，在亲人受害的地方，为亲人报仇，决不让那些豺狼再来害人！”“要说阶级仇，解放前，我们谁家没有？可是，……”“那，反正我这要求也符合革命利益！”……

指导员听到班长汇报，心里很是激动。他想：麦贤得的心里埋藏着阶级仇恨的火种，这是很可贵的。但是，作为一个革命战士，他的心胸还不够宽广，革命理想还不够高，要让他成为一个自觉为中国人民和全世界人民服务的战士，还得做许多艰巨的工作啊！

中队里举行了控诉美蒋罪行大会。来自祖国各地的战士们一个接一个愤怒地控诉了美帝国主义、日本侵略军、蒋匪帮、渔霸、地主欠下的累累血债。麦贤得听着听着，忍不住放声大哭起来。啊！原来这些陌生的战友都跟自己生在同一条苦根上；天南海北，祖国的每一寸土地都有着阶级敌人犯下的罪行啊！他忍不住跳起来说：“同志们，我们大家都有仇！大家的仇就是我的仇。我们一定要牢记阶级仇，誓死革命到底！”

一个星期天，领导上又带领麦贤得和许多新战士登上了著名的虎门要塞。老班长指着远处山顶上古老的炮垒告诉他们：一百二十多年前，帝国主义就是从这里用炮舰轰开中国大门的。这里是鸦片战争的战场，处处有帝国主义屠杀中国人民的罪证，一石一木都浸润着中华儿女不屈的鲜血……。

参观以后，党支部就组织大家精读《中国社会各阶级的分析》、《为人民服务》和《纪念白求恩》，学习毛主席有关阶级和阶级斗争的论述，并且结合经常性的形势教育和天天读报活动，让大家用阶级观点分析形势，引导大家关怀世界人民的革命斗争。麦贤得从这些学习中，心胸进一步开阔起来。他认识到今天全世界还有三分之二的人民过着解放前中国人民的苦难生活，认识到了今天全世界人民最凶恶的敌人是美帝国主义，懂得了作为一个新中国的革命战士，必须立足部队，胸怀全国，放眼世界，“完全”、“彻底”为全中国人民和全世界人民服务，坚决和美帝国主义及其走狗斗争到底。他在笔记里写下了自己的决心：“当好红色接班人五不忘：一、永远不忘过去，永不变质；二、永远不忘革命（果实）来之不易；三、永远不忘有阶级斗争；四、永远不忘干革命；五、永远不忘集体”。他要求自己“接班要接：一、无产阶级的班；二、为革命干到底的班；三、我军优良传统的班；四、阶级斗争、建设社会主义的班；五、为实现共产主义的班。”

## Segment #5

（“把‘忆苦思甜日’制度传下去”；作者：覃中兰，中共广西壮族自治区武鸣县梁同大队总支书记；《人民日报》，1966082106）

前些时候，我们大队的共产党员和贫农下中农，响应党总支委员会的号召，在迎接党的生日的前一天——六月三十日，过了一个有深刻的阶级教育意义的“忆苦思甜日”。我们已把它定为制度，要一年一年地传下去。

这一天，家家户户挂上毛主席像，用大字写着：“忆苦思甜日——念念不忘阶级斗争，念念不忘无产阶级专政，念念不忘突出政治，念念不忘高举毛泽东思想伟大红旗”。白天，大家照常生产。晚饭时，家家都按解放前的样子吃“苦餐”，讲苦史，进行新旧两个社会对比，

教育青年一代牢记旧社会的苦，永远热爱党和毛主席，永远读毛主席的书，照毛主席的指示办事，将社会主义革命进行到底。

我们大队去年就家家都安上了电灯。这天晚上，全大队的电灯都熄灭了。有的社员点上桐油灯，有的家里燃着松明。贫农黄荣本吃“苦餐”时，没有点灯，孩子们吵吵说：“黑麻麻的，不方便！”荣本说：“孩子们，在旧社会，我们世代都没有电灯，连饭也没有吃的，还要上山挖野菜充饥哩。”他的小儿子日新吃着苦菜咽不下去，哭起来了。哥哥继先劝他说：“苦也要吃，不吃就不晓得父母在旧社会过的什么日子，就会忘本。”

第二生产队贫农下中农协会主席黄旭光，当天早上煮了一锅南瓜，上午就吃完了，晚上没有起火做饭，邻居们问他为什么？他说：“我祖上五代打长工，经常有一顿无一顿，今晚这一顿不吃，坐下来想想过去也好。”他还找出在旧社会挖野菜用的“四件宝”：一把破烂锄头，一根烂草绳，一个破竹篓，一个破口袋。一边抚摸，一边忆苦。

谭周生产队的社员集中在一起吃“苦餐”，请七十岁的老农周巨忠讲村史。周巨忠热泪满眶地说：“今天我们吃的‘苦餐’，有南瓜、红薯叶、雷公根（一种野菜），这还是不错的呢！记得庚子年（一九〇〇年）大旱，附近山上的野菜都挖光了，村人四处逃荒讨饭，病死饿死五十多人。现在有共产党和毛主席的英明领导，实现了公社化，水利过了关，旱涝无忧，真是天大的幸福！”贫农女社员黄金兰接着说：“一提起过去的事，我的眼泪就止不住地流。旧社会我家就是因为没有吃的，饿死了一个弟弟、一个妹妹。现在靠党和毛主席的领导，我们的日子过好了。现在，一小撮反党反社会主义的坏蛋，想要我们走回头路，我真恨透了他们。谁要反党反社会主义反毛泽东思想，我们贫下中农就要同他拚到底！”最后，他们振臂高呼：“毛主席万岁！中国共产党万岁！”

第二天——七月一日，是党的生日。全大队的党员和社员都用白求恩同志“毫不利己专门利人”的精神，为集体或者为别人做好事。有的人修桥补路，有的人种树护林，有的人给五保户打柴挑水。晚上，社员们都集中起来读毛主席著作，找人讲党的光荣历史。他们对党、对毛主席无限热爱、无限信赖和无限感激的心情，用壮族民歌唱道：“祖国建设十七年，面貌改变万万千，幸福生活过得好，党的功劳记在先。坚决拥护共产党，万民齐颂毛主席，三面红旗高高举，跃进歌声唱不完。”

我们为什么要举行这个“忆苦思甜日”呢？今年五月里，党总支发动全大队社员学习毛主席著作，为了让领导骨干带头学好、带头用好，总支委员和大队贫农下中农协会委员，在一起忆苦，吃了一次“苦餐”。吃的时候，大队长梁期均、妇代会主任李彩芹想起在旧社会的生活情景，都止不住地哭起来。李彩芹吃了一碗又添一碗，她说：“越吃越觉得今日生活甜。”有些党员、老贫农说：“现在有些青年人，不懂得旧社会的苦日子是怎样过的；有的农民，翻身后对过去的苦日子也逐渐淡漠起来。最好是每年让大家吃一次‘苦餐’，使贫下中农的家谱代代相传，使大家坚定地走社会主义道路。”总支接受了大家的建议，就这样做了。

## Segment #6

（节选自“山花烂漫向阳红—记旅大市十五名女青年落户山村”；作者：本报通讯员，本报记者；人民日报；1968060903）

太阳从东山上升起，朝霞染红了大地。这一天，是姑娘们进山落户整整一年的日子。用什么来纪念这个日子呢？毛主席教导说：“千万不要忘记阶级斗争”，阶级斗争“必须年年讲，月月讲，天天讲”。林彪副主席说：“不懂得什么是阶级，不懂得什么是剥削，就不懂得革命。”班长刘黎娟和战友们商量，决定请贫下中农一起开个忆苦思甜会，狠批中国赫鲁晓夫的反革命修正主义路线，控诉党内一小撮走资派复辟资本主义的滔天罪行。

贫下中农最了解她们的心思。苦大仇深的林大娘，一早就替她们做好了“忆苦饭”。又苦又涩的糠菜饼子一端到桌子上，林大娘就泪水满面地对青年们说：“孩子，这糠菜饼子在旧社会还算好的呢。咱们千万不能忘记过去的苦啊！中国赫鲁晓夫这个大坏蛋，胡说什么‘剥削有功’，要拉咱们走回头路，吃二遍苦，咱们能答应吗？”“不能！”屋子里一片喊声。“打倒中国赫鲁晓夫！”“毛主席的革命路线胜利万岁！”“毛主席万岁，万万岁！”的口号声，震撼山谷。

接着，林大娘泣不成声地讲述了她在旧社会的悲惨遭遇。很小的时候，她就出外讨饭了。一次，她走到一户大地主的门口，可恨的地主不仅不给一粒米，还放出恶狗咬人。林大娘一边说，一边卷起裤脚，让姑娘们看腿上的伤疤。从二队赶来参加忆苦会的贫农徐大婶，也哭诉了她过去的痛苦经历：九岁时，家里穷得丁当响，父亲忍痛把她卖出去做了童养媳。不久，她的大妹妹也卖给了人家，她的小妹妹因为有病无钱治，活活地给折磨死了……

声声血泪，揪住了姑娘们的心。她们含着满眼的泪水，吃着糠菜饼子，喝着苦菜汤。这哪里是菜，明明是旧社会穷人的苦水。副班长邓玉荣和其他几个姑娘也都回忆了自己的苦难家史。她们怀着满腔怒火，痛斥中国赫鲁晓夫复辟资本主义的种种谬论。她们说：“中国赫鲁晓夫要我们走资本主义的黑路，这是痴心妄想！”她们纷纷表示：永远走毛主席指出的知识青年上山下乡的革命道路，接好无产阶级革命事业的班，永保社会主义的江山千秋万代不变色。

## Segment #7

（节选自“扎根在边疆 – 记在吉林省通辽县中包大队插队落户的上海知识青年”；作者：本报通讯员；人民日报；1970031404）

从繁华的城市来到偏僻的农村，由吃大米、白面到小米、高粱，是他们在生活上要过的一关。刚到农村时，他们虽说也有吃苦的精神准备，但慢慢地又流露出“过不惯”的情绪。这情况被贫农赵大叔看在眼里。他想：不帮助他们闯过生活关，真正在农村扎根一辈子还是个问题。他遵照林副主席关于“不弄清过去的苦，就不知道今天的甜，还会把今天的甜也误认为是苦”的指示，用自己的家史给知识青年进行忆苦思甜教育。赵大叔一家在旧社会里少吃无穿。十几岁就给地主扛大活，终日挣扎在死亡线上。解放后，在毛主席的英明领导下，赵大叔一家日子越过越幸福。通过忆苦思甜教育，使青年们认识到：贫下中农忠于毛主席，一心想的是多增产粮食，为国家作出更大的贡献，自己却勤俭节约过日子。而我们长期在旧学校受刘少奇的反革命修正主义教育路线的毒害，过的是衣来伸手，饭来张口的生活，不知道过去的苦，不懂得今天的甜，把今天的甜也误认为苦。今天没有为革命吃苦的精神，就不能建设社会主义。从此，他们自觉地向贫下中农学习，生活往低处比，处处注意勤俭节约，下乡九个多月的时间，就节约了六百多斤原粮。

阳光雨露育青松，毛泽东思想育新人。七名知识青年牢记毛主席关于“我们应该谦虚，谨慎，戒骄，戒躁，全心全意为中国人民服务”的伟大教导，把取得的成绩当作继续革命的起点，把贫下中农的表扬当作是对自己的鼓励和鞭策，朝气蓬勃地在建设社会主义新农村的大道上阔步前进。

## APPENDIX B

### DATA SEGMENTS IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

#### Segment #1

(Excerpt from “On ‘Baiyunshi’ revolution – how the Party Branch at Baiyunshi workshop at Shigang improved its leading style, educated its workers, and changed its production appearance”, by *Xinhua* News Agency journalist stationed in Beijing, *People’s Daily*, 1963073006)

1. “Baiyunshi”<sup>9</sup> is a short name of endearment workers of the Baiyunshi workshop of the
2. Steel Works at Shijingshan Steel and Iron Company used to refer to their own workshop.
3. In the past two years, *fantian fudi de bianhua* (changes as great as the sky and the earth
4. turning upside down) happened here. In the past, the majority of the workers at the
5. workshop *bu anxin gongzuo* (were not settled down to their work) but *sixiang shang ge*
6. *you dasuan* (had their own different minds) and *xingdong shang ziyou sanman* (were
7. indisciplined in terms of behaviors). Now, together with all the workers, they have been
8. trained into a *gongren jieji duiwu* (workers class troop) that has *zuzhi* (organization), *jilu*
9. (discipline) and *juewu* (political awareness); in the past, the working condition of the
10. workshop was poor with smoke and dust filling the air and machineries operated
11. manually. Now it has achieved automatic and semi-automatic operation, significantly
12. changing the *luohou mianmao* (backward appearance) of the workshop. It has been
13. elected as *Xianjin Shengchan Danwei* (Outstanding Production Unit) among the
14. Company for the past two years.
  
15. A little more than two years is not a long time. How did this *bianhua* (transformation or
16. change) take place?
  
17. Built in 1958, this is a supplementary workshop producing lining bricks for converters<sup>10</sup>. At
20. that time, among those who worked here, the *gugan* (core workers) that were transferred here
21. from other mills within the Company accounted for 5%; the majority of the rest were
22. *qingnian* (young men) from countryside and cities, plus some *dianyuan* (store clerks) and *xiao*
23. *shangfan* (small traders) who used to do business. They joined the workforce in this workshop

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<sup>9</sup> A literal translation of this Chinese name is “white cloud stone.”

<sup>10</sup> Rotary furnace in steel making.



24. out of all kinds of thoughts and ideas. Some people thought that “Being a *gongren* (worker) is  
25. better than being a *nongmin* (peasant)” and came to the workshop hoping to learn skills and  
26. technology, or, even better, to make more money. But after they came here, they saw that the  
27. real situation was very different from their imagination. This newly built workshop was low  
28. in mechanization and high in work intensity. Everyday brick-making workers had to carry the  
29. heavy pick hammer and make bricks according to the mold; and mixing workers had to mix  
30. together large amount of white cloud stone and asphalt into worked material. Also, the  
31. workshop didn’t have sufficient ventilation system and dust-disposal equipment. Some *xin*  
32. *gongren* (new workers) who had not been *duanlian* (toughened) regarded here as not their  
33. “ideal work place” because one had to endure *zang* (dirtiness), *lei* (exhaustion) and smoke  
34. irritation to work there. Some of them quit without notice; some dropped off tools and left  
35. immediately regardless of how busy the work was when it was going to be holidays or rest  
36. days; and some hesitated when facing a heavy work. They didn’t know they should *aixi*  
37. (cherish) public property. The workshop provided many protective gears: uniforms, leather  
38. pants, masks, gloves, foot coverings, leather shoes, towels, and soaps, etc. Some *qingnian*  
39. *gongren* (young workers) were still *bu zhizu* (insatiable, ungrateful) and asked for a new pair  
40. of leather shoes when there was a mendable crack on the old pair. Some even *fa piqi* (got  
41. angry) when they received the gloves one day late. *Lao gongren* (senior workers) *kan bu guan*  
42. (couldn’t stand) and said to them, “These were nowhere to be found in *jiu shehui*! *Gongren*  
43. (workers) were so *qiong* (poor) that they didn’t even have a piece of protective cloth to cover  
44. their bodies and had to go to work covered with a cement bag. *Qingnian gongren* (young  
45. workers) burst into laughter upon hearing this. They said, “Stop *dounong* (teasing) us  
46. *nianqingren* (young men)! No one goes to work wearing paper clothes!” Some *lao gongren*  
47. (senior workers) criticized them a little bit, but were *fanbo* (refuted) by them, “You belong to  
48. *jiu shehui* and we belong to *xin shehui*. They are different times. How can we compare with  
49. you.” At the same time, there were also *juewu bugao de ren* (persons who didn’t have high  
50. level of class consciousness) among *lao gongren* (senior workers). They thought that  
51. they “*dao le mei*” (were unfortunate) to have been transferred to work here. What’s more,  
52. *ganbu* (cadres) seldom participated in the work at the workshop; *zhibu shuji* (branch secretary)  
53. was busy attending meetings; the director of the workshop tended to remain in his office;  
54. some section chiefs only say “We’ll look into it” regarding questions posed by *gongren*  
55. (workers) but would not solve any problem. Thus, the *guanxi* (relationship) between *ganbu*  
56. (cadres) and *qunzhong* (mass) became *shuyuan* (estranged). *Ganbu* (the cadres) felt that  
57. *gongren* (the workers) were hard to lead; *gongren* (the workers) felt that *ganbu* (the cadres)  
58. didn’t know their *tian* (sweetness) and *ku* (bitterness). When the *sixiang* (thoughts) of the two  
59. sides didn’t see eye to eye, the production would not be good as a result. The bricks produced  
60. at the workshop were of poor quality but high cost, and the amount was far from enough to

61. meet the needs of steel making, leaving the steel-making workshop constantly waiting for  
62. bricks to prepare the converters.

63. During this period, the workshop and the Party branch also *zuo gongzuo* (tried to work on  
64. this), such as holding meetings, making speeches, talking about the importance of *Baiyunshi*  
65. workshop, having individual talks of *piping* (criticizing) and *jiaoyu* (education) with *xin*  
66. *gongren* (new workers) who had *sixiang wenti* (thought problems), improving the working  
67. condition by adding some ventilating and dust-disposing equipments, and providing material  
68. reward system to encourage them to work well. But, none of these methods could solve the  
69. problem from its *genben* (fundamental root).

70. So what exactly is [the *genben* (root) of] the problem? People kept searching for the answer.

71. In the beginning of 1961, the *lingdao ganbu* (leaders and cadres) of the workshop were  
72. changed and the Party branch of the workshop also had a re-election. The new Party branch  
73. *weiyuanhui* (committee) was made up of five members, all *xuetong gongren* (workers with  
74. proletariat family origin) or *lao gongren* (old workers) with *pinnong chushen* (poor peasant  
75. family origin). Liu Ruitian, the secretary of *zhibu* (the branch), started working as a “juvenile  
76. worker” at *Tangshan* Railroad Factory occupied by *rikou* (Japanese army, Japanese enemies)  
77. since he was twelve years old. *Rikou* (Japanese enemies) called them “juvenile dogs”. *Gao*  
78. *Sheng*, a member of the branch and the new director of the workshop, was a son of a poor  
79. peasants. His father was snatched away by the Japanese enemies and his mother used to bring  
80. him and his brother to *taofan* (beg for food). The other three members were: *Wang Gui*, who  
81. escaped *dizhu* (the landlord)’s beating and became a *jiefang jun* (Liberation Army man);  
82. *Wang Fengyuan*, who started working at *Shigang* since the Japanese enemies occupation  
83. period; and *Wang Cunjin*, who used to survive by crawling in the *Mentougou* coal pit and  
84. carrying coals. They were all *laodong renmin* (working people) who had *shoujin le zhemo*  
85. (suffered enough torture) under the whip of Japanese enemies, *Guomin Dang* (the Nationalist  
86. Party), *dizhu* (landlords) and *zibenjia* (capitalists). Upon arrival, they joined the work, slept at  
87. dormitories, and made efforts to be close to *gongren* (the workers).

88. While working together with the workers, Liu Ruitian noticed there were two obviously  
89. different *laodong taidu* (working attitude) here: when *Fu Wencai*, a *lao gongren* (senior  
90. worker), was making the bricks, if there was raw material spilled on the ground, he would  
91. immediately scoop it up while it was still hot and add it into the brick mold to recycle it. At  
92. the end of the work, he would always clean up the working area and place the pick hammer  
93. securely into its regular location. Yet, the working area of many *qingnian* (young) workers

94. was littered with raw materials for making bricks. Whenever the whistle for the end of the day  
95. was blown, they immediately put down the pick hammer and left. There was a time when the  
96. number of bricks produced by the workshop could not meet the needs of steel making. After  
97. experimenting, *Fu Wencai* suggested that two persons work together on a mold of brick  
98. instead of three so that the total production could be increased by one half. Senior workers all  
99. supported this idea but most young workers didn't like it.

100. These things posed a question to Liu Ruitian: why the working attitude of *xin lao gongren*  
101. (new and old workers) is so drastically different from each other? He *huixiang qi* (recalled)  
102. the time when he worked at another workshop of *Shi Gang*<sup>11</sup> *jiefang chuqi* (soon after the  
103. Liberation). At that time, the working condition was no better than it is now. Their salary was  
104. not more than what *qingnianren* (young men) make now. Yet, at that time, all of them  
105. *ganhuo henhuan* (worked merrily). After work, they did *yiwu laodong* (volunteer work).  
106. Although they sweated all over, their hearts were full of joy. How come now these  
107. young men don't have that *yiguzi ganjin* (particular enthusiasm for work)?

108. Members of the Party Branch Committee had a heated discussion about this issue. A similar  
109. awareness emerged from their exchanges of what they had heard and seen. One said, the  
110. fundamental reason leading to this phenomenon is that we grew up in *jiu shehui* “*chi*  
111. *huanglian* (eating bitter herbs)”, and they grew up in *xin shehui* “*chi tangdou* (eating sugar  
112. balls)”. Those who “*chi tangdou* (eat sugar balls)” had no idea of the *ku* (bitter) of *huanglian*  
113. (bitter herbs). Neither did they know where the *tangdou* (sugar balls) came from. Another said,  
114. even those who grew up “*chi huanglian* (eating bitter herbs)” had gradually forgotten the *ku*  
115. (bitter) taste of *huanglian* (bitter herbs) after “*chi tangdou* (eating sugar balls)” for a long time.

116. Based on these discussions, they gradually came to an agreement about the necessity of  
117. conducting *jieji jiaoyu* (class education) among *gongren duiwu* (the workers' troop). They did  
118. an analysis: among all the one hundred and eighty-four workers, one hundred and thirty of  
119. them are *gongren* (workers) with a *chushen* (class origin, family background) of *chanye*  
120. *gongren* (industrial workers) and *gongren zidi* (children of workers), *zhuanye junren* (retired  
121. soldiers), *dianyuan* (store clerks), and *pinnong* (poor peasants), accounting for 70% of the  
122. total number. In *jiu shehui* these people were *bei boxue* (exploited) and *bei yapo* (oppressed).  
123. They or their families *chi guo* (had eaten) “*huanglian ku* (bitterness like that of *huanglian*)” in  
124. *jiu shehui*. Yet now many of them *wangji le* (have forgotten) *jieji yapo* (class oppression).  
125. *Zhibu weiyuanhui* (the branch committee) decided to choose people who *shouku zuishen*

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<sup>11</sup> *Shi Gang* is an abbreviation for Shijingshan *Gangtie Chang*. Shijingshan is a place name. *Gangtie Chang* means “steel and iron factory” or “steelworks.”

126.(suffered bitterness the deepest) and *juewu zuigao* (having the highest [class] consciousness)  
127.to talk from their own personal experience to promote *yiku sitian* among people and *tigao*  
128.(raise) *jieji juewu* (class consciousness).

129.During the period of eating together, staying together, and working together, *lao gongren*  
130.(senior worker) Lan Binpeng's *biaoxian* (behavior) caught the attention of the branch  
131.committee members first. In his work, whenever he saw *qingnian* (young men) *bu haohao*  
132.*ganhuo* (didn't work well), he would point to them with a *xinqing* (feeling) of *hen tie bu*  
133.*cheng gang* (resentful toward iron for not becoming steel; i.e., resentful toward somebody for  
134.failing to meet the expectations) and said, "If you were like this in *jiu shehui*, you would have  
135.long been beaten flat by the *gongtou* (foreman)!" It turned out that, in *jiu shehui*, *Lan Binpeng*  
136.had been "beaten" black and blue all over his body by *zibenjia* (capitalists) and *batou* (labor  
137.contractors, or foremen). In order to make a living, he began carrying coal in a small coal pit  
138.when he was fourteen years old. At that time, he had witnessed many shocking events with  
139.his own eyes. Among the many fellow coal-carrying workers, some were crushed to death by  
140.the falling coal stone; some got sick badly and were dragged by the *goutuizi* (henchmen) of  
141.the owner of the coal pit to be thrown into a valley to be dog's food before they breathed their  
142.last breathe. Lan Binpeng carried coal with great care and dared not to make any unnecessary  
143.utterance. But there was a time when his back developed severe eczema and the coal basket  
144.happened to be resting right on the top of the opened sore. It was so painful that he could  
145.barely move. The moment he sat down to take a breath, the *batou* (labor contractor, or  
146.foreman) saw him and said, "I can heal this sickness!" While he was speaking, he raised the  
147.club in his hand and beat furiously onto the sore on his back, causing blood and puss dripping  
148.down. Now, one can still easily see the scars from the club wound on Lan Binpeng's back, the  
149.scars from axe wound on his legs, the scars from small pieces of coal that got stuck under the  
150.skin of his face, and traces of damp toxins on his buttocks... *Tidao* (mentioning) these  
151.heartbroken events, he could hardly contain his *jidong de ganqing* (greatly agitated emotion)  
152.and said with *fenhen* (indignation): "*Jiushehui* is a *yanwang dian* (Palace of Hell). Getting  
153.down into the coal pit is like jumping into *huokeng* (fire pit). At that time, we workers *chi de*  
154.*yangjian fan, gan de yinjian huo* (ate meals of this world but did work of the next world).<sup>12</sup>  
155.Now that we have *fan le shen* (turned over our bodies; got liberated), why shouldn't we  
156.*haohao ganhuo* (work hard and well)?" In order to use his experience to *jiaoyu* (educate)  
157. *gongren* (workers), *The Party branch* invited *Lan Binpeng* to start the first lesson: A *diy*  
158.(hell) on earth – the life of a "coal black"<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> This saying implies that the workload at the coal pit was so inhumane that it should only belong to the next world.

<sup>13</sup> The original term that I translated into "coal black" was *mei hei zi* (煤黑子) with *mei* meaning "coal", *hei* meaning "black" and *zi* as a suffix standing for a person that has the feature defined by the words before *zi*.

159. Lan Binpeng *dui jiu shehui de kongsu* (denouncement to *jiu shehui*) caused intense response  
160. among *gongren* (the workers). *Laonianren* (old people) shook their heads and sighed.  
161. *Qingnianren* (young men) *banxin banyi* (half believed and half doubted, i.e., reacted with  
162. skepticism). Then this workshop organized workers to listen to the *suku* (pouring out the  
163. bitterness) of some other old workers in the factory. There is an old worker named Li Huguo.  
164. He and his older brother, Li Humin, were both *tonggong* (child laborers) at *Shi Gang jiefang*  
165. *qian* (before the Liberation). In 1944, Li Huguo got jaundice and his rations of food were held  
166. back. He was dying due to sickness and starvation. One day, a *rikou*<sup>14</sup> (Japanese enemy;  
167. Japanese army man) named *Kanemoto* burst into the shed with his sabre in hand and two men  
168. with ropes and carrying poles. He said that [what Li got] was cholera. Allowing no  
169. explanation, they took him away and were going to follow the routine and throw him into the  
170. *wan ren keng* (mass grave)<sup>15</sup> to be buried alive. His brother Li Humin, who desperately  
171. followed them crying that it was not [cholera], was kicked by Kanemoto and fell to the  
172. ground. Fortunately the two persons carrying Li Huguo were also *qiong ge er men* (poor  
173. fellow persons) seized by force. After carrying *Li Huguo* to the edge of the mass grave and  
174. seeing that *Kanemoto* walked away for other business, they took the opportunity and placed  
175. Li Huguo underneath an elm tree and covered him up with some grass. A few hours later, the  
176. frightened and passed-out Li Huguo regained his consciousness. Realizing that he was lying  
177. next to the mass grave, he was *you pa you pa* (both scared and full of hatred). He propped  
178. himself up with his hands and tried to sit up. But his body felt like one thousand *jin*<sup>16</sup> in  
179. weight and his head was as heavy as one filled with lead. He waited until it was early evening  
180. and then struggled to sit up in the grass and climbed up an earth slope with all his might. He  
181. bumped into his brother there and they cried on each other's shoulders and then fled the  
182. *hukou* (tiger's mouth, i.e., dangerous place) by holding onto each other. The old worker's  
183. *suku* (pouring out the bitterness) struck many people's *gongming* (resonance). Many of them  
184. went to the site of the mass grave for a visit and *buneng pingjing* (couldn't calm down) in  
185. their hearts for a long time.

186. Liu Huaming is a *qingnian* (young) mixer who came from countryside. When he was little,  
187. his father worked as a *changgong* (long-term hired-hand) for *dizhu* (landlord); his sister and  
188. him made a living by singing and begging. *Jiefang hou* (after the Liberation), his family was

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<sup>14</sup> *Rikou* is a denigrating term referring to the Japanese invasion army to China in the 1930s and 1940s. *Ri* means Japan or Japanese and *kou* means enemy.

<sup>15</sup> The literal meaning of this term is "a pit of ten thousand corpses."

<sup>16</sup> *Jin* is a weight measuring unit used in China. 1 lb equals to 0.9 *jin*. 1000 *jin* is about 1111 lbs. Here it is used figuratively to describe the heaviness *Li* felt about the weight of his body.

189.given land and shelter, and their life got better day by day. Both his father and his sister  
190.joined the army. His sister even joined the Chinese Communist Party and went to college. So  
191.he threw *guoqu de ku* (the bitterness of the past) out of his mind. After coming to the factory,  
192.he always wore a big white hat and a pair of black glasses. Many times he simply roams  
193.around in the factory and *gongzuo diao er lang dang* (is very sloppy about his job). He would  
194.not follow orders and becomes a notorious “*tiaopi dawang* (king of mischievousness) in the  
195.workshop.

196.After listening to some *lao gongren* (old workers)’ *suku* (pouring out the bitterness), at first,  
197.he was not interested and said, “It is *xin shehui* now. Why *ti* (mentioning) *zhexie shi* (these  
198.stuff)?” But everybody *su jiu shehui de ku* (poured out the bitterness of *jiu shehui*) and *xiang*  
199.*xin shehui de tian* (thought about the sweetness of *xin shehui*). He started to feel more and  
200.more *bushi ziwei* (uneasy). One day, he said to people, “I have *ku* (bitterness) too.” One  
201.person replied, “You young fellow do not look like a *shouku de ren* (person who suffered  
202.bitterness).” *Zhibu* (the Party branch) heard that he has *ku* (bitterness), so they had a long talk  
203.with him. They also got his sister back to help him *zhuanbian* (turn and change). His sister  
204.asked him to *huiyi* (recall) the *ku* (bitterness) that he *shou* (suffered) when he was little, but he  
205.couldn’t remember clearly. His sister then brought him back home and, at the edge of the  
206.village, sang to villagers the songs that they used to sing while begging. Through this  
207.“review”, scenes of a stick to beat dogs with, of a broken casserole, of *dizhu*’s (landlord’s)  
208.children chasing after him while cursing “Little beggar”... all became alive in front of his  
209.eyes. At this point his father said to him, “These years, *dizhu* (the landlord) often roams in  
210.front of our door. He was very displeased when he saw that a brick was missing on the wall.  
211.We should not *shui zai gu li* (sleep inside a drum)<sup>17</sup> because *dizhu* (the landlord) *shike dianji*  
212.*zhe* (keeps thinking all the time) of *daosuan* (seizing back confiscated properties).” *Xiangqi*  
213.(recalling) the situation of himself *ganxin luohou* (willingly remaining backward) in the  
214.factory, Liu Huaming *shisheng tongku* (burst into crying) and said with *huihen* (remorse and  
215.regret), “*Dizhu* (the landlord) *mei sixin* (has not given up hope), yet I *wang le ben* (have  
216.forgotten about my root)!”

217.From then on, Liu Huaming *biancheng le* (was transformed into) a *jiji fenzi* (activist) who *nuli*  
218.*ganhuo* (worked hard) and *rexin shehui gongzuo* (was passionate about social works). He also  
219.*jiji bangzhu* (actively helped) three other “buddies” who are always with him to *jinbu* (make  
220.improvement). Now, Meng Linzao, who used to *xian zang* (complain about the dirtiness),

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<sup>17</sup> To say that “someone sleeps inside a drum” is to imply that someone is not able to see or hear anything outside. This is similar to the common saying of *meng zai gu li* (being kept hoodwinked inside a drum; completely in the dark).

221. *xianlei* (complain about the exhaustiveness) and *mo yang gong* (always idle) on his work, and  
 222. Cui Zhenjie, who *kuanggong* (was absent from work) to go back home three times, have both  
 223. become “*Wu Hao Qingnian* (Five Good Youth)”<sup>18</sup> in their workshop. He Jinfu, who was *bu*  
 224. *manyi* (not content with) any of the previous thirteen *gangwei* (posts) he was placed onto and  
 225. *chao zhe* (quarreled, or made a great fuss, that) *fei likai Baiyunshi* workshop *buke* ([he] must  
 226. leave the *Baiyunshi* workshop), also *zhuanbian guolai le* (turned and changed). Liu huaming’s  
 227. *wangben huitou* (forgetting about one’s root and yet now having repented) further *tigao*  
 228. (raised) everybody’s *jieji juewu* (class consciousness) and *yinqi le* (caused) a chain of people  
 229. to *zhuanbian* (turn and change). More than ninety percent of people shared their *renshi*  
 230. (knowledge) and *tihui* (understanding) about *xin jiu shehui* (new and old societies) during  
 231. *xiaozu hui* (small group meeting).

## Segment #2

(Excerpt from “*Ku* (bitter) *la* (spicy) *suan* (sour) *tian* (sweet) in fabric stores – On activities of *lao dianyuan* (senior store clerks) *jiang dianshi* (talking about store history)”, by Wang Zuyue and Ye Shitao, *People’s Daily*, 1963092502)

1. *Dang Zhibu* (the Party branch) of Tilanqiao Fabrics Central Store in Shanghai *zuzhi*
2. (organized) *lao dianyuan* (senior store clerks) to *huiyi* (recall) *shangdian shi* (the store history)
3. and to *jinxing* (conduct) *jieji jiaoyu* (class education) to workers, which *qi le xianzhu de*
4. *zuoyong* (played a significant role, or produced significant effect) in *tigao* (raising) *zhigong*
5. (workers’) *jieji juewu* (class consciousness).
  
6. Tilanqiao Fabrics Central Store is in charge of nine silk material stores. Eight of them were
7. opened *jiefang yiqian* (before the Liberation) and some of them have a history of about twenty
8. to thirty years. Among the one hundred and thirty-one workers, more than half are senior store
9. clerks. Others are *qingnian yitu* (young apprentices) recruited in the past two years. In the
10. recent years, *bufen* (portions of) workers *shoudao* (received) *yingxiang* (influence) of *zichan*
11. *jieji sixiang* (capitalistic thoughts) and *zhujian* (gradually) *danwang* (thinned and forgot, or
12. faded from memory) *guoqu de ku rizi* (the bitter life of the past). Those young apprentices all
13. grew up in *xin shehui* and *bu liaojie* (do not know) the *kunan* (bitterness and hardship) of

<sup>18</sup> “Five Good Youth” is literal translation of *Wu Hao Qingnian*. It is a common practice in China to elect among young people those who meet the five stated criteria of goodness to be recognized as *Wu Hao Qingnian*. Although the criteria is not given here, it is mentioned in a report dated March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1961: 一、听党的话，宣传执行政策好；二、带头出勤，劳动态度好；三、克服困难，突击作用好；四、爱护公物，维护集体利益好；五、团结社员，尊重老农，学习技术好。 1. Listen to the Party and good at disseminating and carrying out the Party’s policies; 2. Take the lead to attend to work with good working attitude; 3. Good at overcoming difficulties and solving problems quickly; 4. Good at taking care of public property and protecting collective interest; 5.

14. *laodong renmin* (the working people) in *jiu shehui*. How to fundamentally *bangzhu* (help)  
15. workers to further *tigao* (raise) *jieji juewu* (class consciousness)? In May of this year during  
16. the beginning stage of *kaizhan* (unfolding, conducting) *shehui zhuyi jiaoyu yundong* (socialist  
17. education movement), based on the feature that there are many senior store clerks who are  
18. familiar with *shangdian lishi* (the history of the store), the Party branch *zuzhi* (organized)  
19. senior store clerks to *jinxing* (conduct, carry out) the *huodong* (activity) of *jiang dianshi*  
20. (talking about the history of the store) through the *xingshi* (format) of *taolun hui* (discussion  
21. gatherings) and *zuotan hui* (colloquium). Within one month, sixty-three senior store clerks  
22. *jiang le dianshi* (talked about the history of the store).

23. The *lishi* (history) of these stores *before the Liberation* is a *kunan shi* (bitter and difficult  
24. history) of the workers. Senior store clerks *fennude* (indignantly) *sushuo* (spoke by pouring  
25. out) the various facts in those years of their suffering *canku boxue yapo* (cruel exploitation  
26. and oppression) from *laoban* (the boss). At that time, one had to submit *pubao* (store  
27. guarantee deposit) first when recruited into the store and wrote a “*baozheng shu* (pledge  
28. letter)”, which was like a “*mai shen qi* (indenture by which one sells oneself), to promise that  
29. one would obey the “*diangui* (store regulations)”. The amount of rules specified in “*diangui*  
30. (store regulations)” ranged from dozens of to more than one hundred. For example, “*Buzhun*  
31. (not allowed) to read books or newspapers”; “*Buzhun* (not allowed) to gather together and  
32. chat”; “*Buzhun* (not allowed) to go back home to spend the night”; “Clothing and other  
33. personal items will be checked when taken out”... Workers *bei shufu* (were restricted) to no  
34. *ziyou* (freedom) at all. Stores opened at 6 to 7 o’clock in the morning and would not close  
35. until the boss saw that not many people were still on street. *Dianyuan* (the store clerks) had to  
36. work fourteen to fifteen hours a day without any day off. Therefore, the cloth store workers  
37. were actually “selling their youth” and could not stand the workload after turning forty-years-  
38. old. Fan Jiayang, who stayed at *Chunyu* Silk Material Store for more than twenty years, said,  
39. “Workers of the silk material profession used to suffer from two types of *zhiye bing*  
40. (occupational diseases). One is lung disease resulted from *guodu laolei* (over exhaustion), the  
41. other is swollen feet due to standing behind the counter from morning to night. One dared not  
42. to inform [the boss] when getting sick for fear that one would lose job and had to quietly take  
43. some medicine and *yingting* (endure with all might). From 1935, when I started working at  
44. the store, till the Liberation<sup>19</sup>, I witnessed twelve colleagues of mine *pinbing jiaopo* (plagued  
45. by poverty and ill health) and died. Although workers *maiming* (sacrificed even one’s life) so  
46. much for *zibenjia* (the capitalists), their *zhiye* (jobs) had no *baozhang* (guarantee). Many  
47. senior store clerks said *jidong de* (emotionally), in those years store clerks had to use their

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<sup>19</sup> That is, 1949.



48. *baofu* (bundles wrapped with a piece of cloth) as pillows. Each year when it was *duanwu*<sup>20</sup>,  
49. *zhongqiu*<sup>21</sup>, and *chunjie*<sup>22</sup> they were always *tixin diaodan* (heart suspended and gallbladder  
50. hung; i.e., extremely scared), afraid of business being stopped. Zhu Dexing, a senior store  
51. clerk *fennu de* (indignantly) said, “There was a Spring Festival during which I missed  
52. worshipping the god of wealth and was kicked out by the boss. Because of the *canku boxue*  
53. (cruel exploitation) of *zibenjia* (capitalists), the wages of *store clerks* were very low. Price  
54. inflation made it even harder for them to feed their families. After working hard for a whole  
55. year, some of them still couldn’t afford the cost to travel back home. What about the  
56. capitalists? Workers at *Chunyu Silk Material Store suan boxue zhang* (calculated exploitation  
57. account) for the boss. In 1923 the boss and his partner opened a small store at the end of a  
58. lane. They hired four workers and their capitals are six hundred bolts of cloth. Within three  
59. years, it was expanded into a big store with five bays of the façade. At its peak days they had  
60. more than forty workers and 130,000 bolts of cloth *ziben* (capital). They even gradually  
61. opened chain stores in Ningbo and Wenzhou since 1940. The boss moved into a foreign-style  
62. house, bought a car, married a second wife, and lived in debauchery. Once he bought a  
63. diamond ring, the cost of which equaled to 1,200 bolts of fine cloth, or the total wages of  
64. thirty workers of the whole store working for two and a half years.

65. “Three years of apprenticeship, three years of slavery.” The senior store clerks *manfu xinsuan*  
66. (were full of sadness) when they *huixiang* (thought back, or recollected) situations of being  
67. apprentices. They *shuo* (said), to be an apprentice in *jiu shehui is ku shang jia ku* (bitterness  
68. on top of bitterness). One had to shave one’s head bald to start working there; no visit to home  
69. for three years; got up earlier than others and went to bed later than others. From morning to  
70. night time, one had to cook, buy groceries, babysit, deliver orders, run errands, as well as  
71. empty the chamber pot for the boss and wash the soiled cloth diapers for babies, leaving no  
72. time for one to learn skills. In one colloquium, Liu Siming, a senior store clerk of  
73. Tianbaoxiang Silk Material Store, said, “When I was an apprentice in my youth, *aima aida*  
74. (being scolded and beaten) is *jiachang bianfan* (homey routine meals, i.e., common practice).  
75. It was not gratifying for the boss to beat with a leather belt. Instead, he beat with a two-  
76. *chi*<sup>23</sup> long wooden stick which had the following inscription “*Dasi ren bu changming* (If

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<sup>20</sup> *Duanwu* is A traditional holiday in May (Chinese lunar calendar) to remember a poet named *Qu Yuan*.

<sup>21</sup> *Zhongqiu* is Moon Festival, usually falls in mid August (also Chinese lunar calendar), whose importance is only next to the Spring Festival among Chinese people.

<sup>22</sup> *Chunjie* is Spring Festival, is the most important traditional holiday in China and marks the beginning of a new year of lunar calendar.

<sup>23</sup> *Chi* is Chinese length measuring unit. One meter is three *chi*. So two *chi* is about 2/3 of a meter.

77. beaten to death, no payback with my life. Or, expect no compensation if beaten to death”.

78. The more *Liu Siming* shared, the more *jidong* (agitated and moved) he became. Pointing to a

79. scar on his head, he continued to say that one day, the boss asked him to carry seven bolts of

80. camlet upstairs all one time. He was short, the stairs were steep, and the stuff was heavy. He

81. fell down with the cloth while half way up on the stairs and got *toupo xueliu* (head broken and

82. blood flowing; badly bruised). Not only were the boss not willing to get him treated, he even

83. forced him to work before he was completely healed.

84. Many senior store clerks also *tandao* (mentioned) that, to be a store clerk in *jiu shehui*, not

85. only would one *bei yapo* (be oppressed) by the capitalists, one also *shoudao* (suffered) *wuru*

86. (humiliation) from *diguo zhuyi fenzi* (imperialists), *fandong guanliao* (reactionary

87. bureaucrats), *junjing* (army and police), *dipi liumang* (local ruffians, gangsters) and “*kuo*

88. *taitai* (wealthy madams)”. Some “wealthy madams” purposefully “*bai kuoqi* (put on a

89. wealthy air, i.e., show off) and asked store clerks to deliver the very little amount of cloth

90. purchased. While she sat in a pulled rickshaw in the front, the store clerk had to carry the

91. cloth and follow behind [on foot], and was not allowed to enter the mansion to get the

92. payment upon arrival. Hu Bin, a senior store clerk who has been promoted to be the vice

93. manager of the central store, *zhuishu* (recollected) his own experience, “When I was a store

94. clerk at *Hengyuanxiang*<sup>24</sup>, one day, a wounded *Guomin Dang* (National Party) soldier came

95. and chose a premium quality silk quilt cover and wanted to leave without payment. I was very

96. anxious and, summoning up my courage and putting up a smiling face, tried to collect the

97. payment from him. Astonishingly, this wounded soldier rolled his eyes and cursed, “You

98. want *laozi* (referring to oneself, showing contempt for the spoken to) to pay for the money?!”

99. He tried to leave. I followed him to the door and he slapped me on the face without saying

100. anything more. Yet afterwards the boss blamed me for getting into trouble and asked me to

101. pay for the quilt cover instead. That equaled almost half a month of my wages and I could

102. only swallow the *kushui* (bitter water) into my belly...” Hu Bin *relei yingkuang* (*Hu Bin's*

103. eyes brimmed with warm tears) when *shudao ziji shou qiya* (speaking of himself suffering

104. oppression) from *riben guizi* (Japanese devils)<sup>25</sup> and *fandong pai* (reactionaries), and some

105. listeners couldn't help their tears either.

106. After senior store clerks *huiyi le* (recalled) *guoqu* (the past), they continued naturally to

107. *tandao* (comment on) the various changes since *jiefang yihou* (after the Liberation). In the

108. past ten plus years, especially since the joint public private operation, stores have gone

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<sup>24</sup> The name of a fabric store that later became very famous in China.

<sup>25</sup> This is a war time insulting term for Japanese army by Chinese people.

109.through a series of *shehui zhuyi gaizao* (socialist reformation) and the nature of the enterprise  
110.changed fundamentally, turning into a front serving the vast majority of *Renmin* (the People).  
111.The workers said *xingfen de* (excitedly), “In *jiu shehui we disheng xiaqi* (lowered voice and  
112.made soft of tone), and *zuoniu zuoma* (worked like oxen and horses); today we *yangmei tuqi*  
113.(raise eyebrows and exhale freely), and become *zhuren* (masters) of the state as well as the  
114.stores.” In the recent past years, thirty-nine workers of Tilanqiao Fabrics Central Store were  
115.promoted to be managers of the Central Store or other local stores. Some of them were even  
116.elected to be deputies to People’s Congress or jurymen to participate in the management of  
117.the affairs of the state. There were also seven workers recognized as *xianjin gongzuo*  
118.(advanced workers) of the city or the district. Senior store clerks also felt a significant  
119.difference in terms of the *guanxi* (relationship) between *yingyeyuan* (shop assistants) and *guke*  
120.(customers): “Now *guke* (customers) all call us ‘*tongzhi*’ (comrades) and no more insulting  
121.addressing terms. When we serve well, we receive *biaoyang* (praises) from customers; if  
122.there is any shortcoming in our work, the criticism put forward by customers is also good-  
123.natured.” They also *changtan le* (commented openly, freely, and excitedly on) *wuwei buzhi de*  
124.*guanhuai* (the care that covers every possible area) ) to their life that they received from *Dang*  
125.(the Party) and *Zhengfu* (the government) *jiefang yihou* (after the Liberation): security  
126.over careers; labor insurance when getting sick; and pension after one gets old and retired.  
127.Workers at *Chunyu* Silk Material Store cited the two different types of *mingyun* (fate) of two  
128.senior store clerks in two eras: one of them is called *Fan Xilin*. Before the Liberation, at first  
129.the boss saw that he was young, capable, and good-looking, so he hired him over from  
130.another store with a high salary; but when he turned fifty, the boss started to jeer at him with  
131.cold words and sarcastic comments. One year, Fan Xilin fell sick. *Laoban* (the boss) kicked  
132.him out with an excuse. Later on Fan Xilin died at countryside. His son came to Shanghai to  
133.borrow money for buying a coffin, but the boss would not lend him any money. Another one  
134.is called Zhou Jinhua. This year he retired at the age of sixty. The store hosted a farewell  
135.meeting specially for him, sent him back to the countryside *gaogao xingxing de* (merrily,  
136.happily), and even provided him with pension each month. *Lao Zhou* (Old Zhou) said in his  
137.letter that he lived very *yukuai* (joyful) at home. With this *xinjiu duibi* (comparison between  
138.new and old), *zhigong men* (workers) came to *gandao* (feel) exceptionally the *tian* (sweetness)  
139.of today.

140.On the basis of listening to senior store clerks to *jiang dianshi* (talk about the store history)  
141.and *yiku sitian* (recall the bitterness and reflect on the sweetness), the Party branch then  
142.*yindao* (guided) everybody to *wa kugen* (dig out the bitter root) and *zhao tianyuan* (search for  
143.the sweet origin) *youqian rushen* (from surface level to bottom level). At the same time, it  
144.organized workers to visit the “*Jieji jiaoyu* (class education) *zhanlan hui* (exhibition show)”

145.hosted by the Workers' Palace of Shanghai Municipal City. In the beginning, some workers  
146.only *hen* (hate) boss of his own store and those *dipi* (local ruffians), *liumang* (gangsters), and  
147.“*kuo taitai* (rich madams),” who used to *wuru* (humiliate) them. Seeing the *xuelei shi* (history  
148.of blood and tears) of workers and *nongmin* (peasants) before the Liberation at the *zhanlan*  
149.*hui* (exhibition show), they came to understand that in *jiu shehui*, regardless of trade or  
150.location, *laodong renmin* (the working people) all *shouku* (suffered from bitterness). This is  
151.the *ku* (bitterness) of the whole *jieji* (class) and the *kugen* (bitter root) lies in *boxue jieji* (the  
152.exploiting class) and *boxue zhidu* (the exploiting system). Some used to think that his own  
153.boss was more *heqi* (amiable), hosting feasts for *workers* and giving out bonuses during  
154.holidays. Now their hearts became illuminated and their eyes enlightened. They came to the  
155.realization that the purpose of the boss giving out these *xiao'en xiaohui* (petty favors) is to  
156.make them *sixin tadi* (dead set on) *maiming* (selling one's life, i.e., working very hard) so the  
157.boss could *boxue* (exploit) more. After all “Wool comes from the sheep's back” (i.e., Nothing  
158.comes for free). Fang Yuanlong, a worker from *Hengfengyu* Silk Material Store said, “My  
159.grandpa used to be a store clerk at a Cotton Material Store, and I was a store clerk too. I  
160.always thought that it was all *ming zhong zhuding* (decreed by fate). My *ming* (fate) was not  
161.good. That's why I have to *shouku* (suffer from bitterness). Now it is clear to me. This is *ku*  
162.(bitterness) as a result of *jieji yapo* (class oppression), and the *kugen* (bitter root) lies in *boxue*  
163.*jieji* (the exploiting class) and *boxue zhidu* (the exploiting system). Life has been better and  
164.better since the Liberation, because *Gongchan Dang* (the Communist Party) and Mao *Zhuxi*  
165.(Chairman Mao) have led us in *dadao* (overthrowing) the *San Da Diren* (Three Great  
166.Enemies)<sup>26</sup> that used to sit on the head of *laodong renmin* (the working people).

167.*Huiyi* (recalling) the history of the stores by senior store clerks gave everybody a *shenke de*  
168.(profound) *jieji jiaoyu* (class education). Now, more workers *tan* (talk about) *jieji douzheng*  
169.(class struggle) and *bi* (compare with each other regarding) hard work and simple living; less  
170.workers talk about eating and drinking and compare with each other regarding spending  
171.money and putting on a wealthy air. At the same time, through the *jiaoyu* (education),  
172.workers' *jieji juewu* (class consciousness) and *gongzuo jijixing* (working enthusiasm) has all  
173.been *tigao* (raised). Many senior workers said, “The more we *xiangxiang* (think about) *guoqu*  
174.*de ku* (the bitterness of the past), the more we feel *jinri de tian* (the sweetness of today), and  
175.the more *youjin* (energetic) we become toward our work.” Zhao Mingxin, a senior store clerk  
176.at Xinggongmao Silk Material Store, used to *liulian* (miss) the *xiao'en xiaohui* (petty favors)  
177.and was very sloppy to his work. Now he comes to see the essence of capitalists' exploitation  
178.and works as if he was a different person. Not only does he warmly receive customers when

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<sup>26</sup> This commonly refers to *sanzuo dashan* (the three big mountains): feudalism, capitalism, and bureaucrat capitalism.

179. they come, he even taps into his rich experiences accumulated in the past decades and actively  
180. economize for customers to decide how much material to use based on the measurement. He  
181. also shares some tips regarding various silk material maintenance and wins *haoping* (positive  
182. evaluations) from customers. Recently *Hengfengyu* Silk Material Store needed repairmen  
183. service for their store sign. Workers said that they should really put on a *dangjia de Yangzi*  
184. (the manner of a person in charge) since they now *dangjia* <sup>27</sup>(are in charge). They worked  
185. themselves to remove the old paint and saved more than fifty *yuan* for the business. One after  
186. another, *qingnian yitu* (young apprentices) indicated, “Only after knowing the *ku* associated  
187. with learning the skills in the past can we know the *fu* (fortune) when we were born in the *fu*  
188. (fortune). We would *yiding* (definitely) remember the *beican shenghuo* (tragic life) of *lao*  
189. *yibei* (the older generation), and be *kekao de* (trustworthy) *jieban ren* (successors) for socialist  
190. commerce.” Some people *zhudong* (took initiative to) study “*Selected works of Mao Zedong*”;  
191. some requested to join *Gongqing Tuan* (the Communist Youth League). Young men who  
192. used to *luan huaqian* (spend money carelessly) now save money into the bank; apprentices’  
193. *jintou* (vigor) for *zuanyan yewu* (learning about the business) also increases overall. Many  
194. people come to work earlier to practice measuring cloth, rolling up cloth, and using the abacus.  
195. Whenever there is time, they would learn from experienced workers about the measuring tips  
196. for various kinds of clothes and knowledge about commodities. Regarding themselves as  
197. young and strong and capable of doing more, they always jump into work first whenever it  
198. is time to clean-up or organize commodities in the store.

199. *Dianshi jiaoyu* (the store history education) has also *miqie* (made close) *guanxi* (the  
200. relationship) between *ganbu* (cadres) and *qunzhong* (the mass). During the *huiyi duibi*  
201. (recalling and comparing), cadres and the mass *yiku* (recalled the bitterness) together and  
202. *sitian* (reflected on the sweetness) together and are mutually educated. Hu Bin, vice manager  
203. of the Central Store and a Communist Party member, *hen shou gandong* (was greatly touched)  
204. after listening to many workers’ *beican jingli* (tragic experience). He has a *chushen*  
205. (background) of store clerk for a cotton cloth store in *jiu shehui* and had also *shou ku shou*  
206. *nan* (suffered bitterness and hardship). But, in the past few years, he became a cadre and  
207. “floated” above and was *zhujian de* (gradually) *shuyuan* (estranged) from the mass. After  
208. *tigao* (raising) *jieji juewu* (class consciousness), he *zijue de jianchan le quedian* (consciously  
209. examined his own shortcomings without other people’s reminder), frequently went to stores to

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<sup>27</sup> “*Dangjia de*” is a local term referring to the person in a household who is in charge of everything. This role is usually served by husband in a family. “*Dangjia zuozhu*” is a verb phrase based on “*dangjia de*”, meaning “to be in charge and make decisions”. It is commonly used to describe the new status of Chinese people, especially *gongren* (workers) and *pinnong* (poor peasants), who used to be the lowest in terms of the social rank but now are granted the status of *guojia de zhuren* (masters of the state affairs) and can participate in making public decisions regarding issues that matter to everybody.

210. stand behind the counters and work with the mass together, and cared for the mass *sixiang*  
 211. *shang* (ideologically) and *shenghuo shang* (practically, regarding life). Ma Zhenwen, manager  
 212. of Xingongmao Silk Material Store and a Communist Party member, used to give more  
 213. criticism and less help to *bijiao luohou de* (more backward) workers at store. Recently he  
 214. *zhudong* (took the initiative to) find them and did *ziwo piping* (self criticism). Through *huiyi*  
 215. *duibi* (recalling and comparing), workers came to see that today's manager has a *tongzhi shi*  
 216. *de guanxi* (comrade-like relationship) with themselves, which is completely different from  
 217. capitalists in the past. They were especially *gandou* (touched, moved) to see the *zhuanbian*  
 218. (transformation) of Ma Zhenwen's *taidu* (attitude). Some workers poured out their *xinli hua*  
 219. (words on one's mind) to the leaders and their *guanxi* (relationship) became more *rongqia*  
 220. (harmonious). Workers care mutually and help each other mutually among themselves. A *xin*  
 221. *fengqi* (new atmosphere) of *jieji youai* (class friendliness) and *jinmi tuanjie* (closely united)  
 222. occurred at stores.

223. Currently, based on the summary of senior store clerks' *huiyi* (recalling) of the *dianshi* (store  
 224. history), the Party branch of Tilanqiao Fabrics Central Store is organizing them to *huiyi*  
 225. (recall) further, *jiang* (speak) again, and *jiaoyu* (educate) again, and is getting ready to  
 226. compile the store history and make it teaching material for conducting *jieji jiaoyu* (class  
 227. education) among the workers frequently.

### Segment #3

(Excerpt from "Don't forget the *genben* (fundamental root) of us *gongren jieji* (workers class) –  
 Stories of senior worker Li Decai *jiaoyu* (educating) young worker Chang Lin"; by Yiqin;  
*People's Daily*; 1964071202)

1. Chang Lin is the younger son of Chang Yuchun and is twenty-three years old this year. In
2. 1958 he was admitted into Beijing Broadcasting Equipment Company to learn the skill of
3. paint spraying. In 1961 he started to learn punching skill with his current master, Li Decai.
4. Like all parents, Chang Yuchun and Quan Yufen have loving hearts toward their children.
5. Although Chang Lin is more than twenty years old, they still take good care of him, making
6. sure he is well fed and warmly clothed. When there is food that Chang Lin *xian bu haochi*  
 7. (complains about its taste), Mom would eat it instead; when there are clothes, shoes, and  
 8. socks that he has worn out and *xian bu haokan* (complains about their looks), Dad would wear  
 9. them quietly. Having spent half of their life *chikang yancai* (eating chaff and swallowing wild  
 10. herbs, i.e., surviving on very poor-quality food) *jiefangqian* (before the Liberation), Chang  
 11. Yuchun couple were frequently upset by their son's extreme *tiaoti* (pickiness) in daily life.  
 12. Yet they are unwilling to mention the past *jiannan de sui yue* (hard time) with their son for

13. fear that it would make him “*nanshou*” (heartbroken) and “*saoxing*” (disappointed).

14. One evening, Mom made a pot of steaming hot *wowotou*<sup>28</sup>. When Chang Lin came back  
 15. home from work and saw that it was *wowotou*, he pouted and said, “Rotten *wowotou* again!”  
 16. This single utterance from him *gouqi le* (evoked) *tongchu de huiyi* (painful memory) in Dad:  
 17. It was the spring time of 1944. It had been two days that the pot and bowls had not been  
 18. touched<sup>29</sup> and his mother had had dropsy all over her body... If, as an aged person, she could  
 19. have a *wowotou* every day, she would surely live several more years longer... Chang  
 20. Yuchun’s eyes were moisturized. How he wished to talk about this with his son! But then he  
 21. thought to himself, for many years, whenever I *xiangqi zhexie shiqing* (drew from memories  
 22. and recalled these things), I couldn’t help my tears. If my son learned it, how much more  
 23. *nanshou* (heartbroken) he would feel! Isn’t it to ask for trouble to hurt his heart with this kind  
 24. of stuff when he could have enjoyed the cheerfulness of life? In 1958, the first month after  
 25. Chang Lin became an apprentice at Beijing Broadcasting Equipment Company, he brought  
 26. back home eighteen *yuan* as salary. Upon seeing this, Dad couldn’t help *lianxiangqi* (relating  
 27. to) his own life as an apprentice more than thirty years ago: learning skills for three years  
 28. without making any penny; eating soured rice and rotten veggies; suffering beatings and  
 29. receiving abuses. Without realizing it, he uttered, “This is truly incomparable.” But when he  
 30. suddenly looked up and saw the excitement of his son, he immediately changed what he was  
 31. going to say, “Chang Lin, you ought to work hard, listen to *Dang* (the Party), and listen to  
 32. Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao)!”

33. Therefore, in their daily life, there have been many things that made this old man *ganqing*  
 34. *jidong* (emotional) and wanted to *sushuo* (narrate emotionally) the *kunan de* (bitter and  
 35. difficult) *jiashi* (family history) and *shenshi* (life experience) to his son. But whenever he  
 36. thought that it could make his son *nanshou* (heartbroken), he couldn’t bear to open his mouth  
 37. and repeatedly swallowed his words down after they reached the tip of his tongue. Therefore,  
 38. although Chang Lin is already in his twenties, he knew nothing about their *beican de* (tragic  
 39. and miserable) *jiashi* (family history) except that himself is *gongren jiating chushen* (born in  
 40. a worker’s family), his father used to be an apprentice and a rickshaw driver. What’s more,  
 41. Chang Yuchun couple overly pampered their son in daily life. As a result, this *gongren jieji*  
 42. *de zidi* (younger generation of the workers’ class) gradually lost *gongren jieji de bense*  
 43. (original color or inherent qualities of the working class). Indulging himself in food, fun and  
 44. comfort but paying no attention to production and skill, he didn’t even know how to interpret

<sup>28</sup> Similar to *wowo* in Segment #19, *wowotou* is the name of a kind of steamed bread shaped as a tiny steep dome, usually made of corn meal.

<sup>29</sup> Meaning that there had been no food to be cooked.

45. production diagram paper after working as a puncher in the company for two years.

46. Chang Lin's master Li Decai is a level-six puncher in the factory, a Communist Party member,  
47. and *Wu-Hao zhigong* (Five-Good worker). This senior *gongren* (worker) whose experience in  
48. *jiu shehui* was even more *beican de* (sad and tragic) than that of Chang Yuchun also has a  
49. heart that loves Chang Lin; and yet his way of loving him differs from that of Chang Lin's  
50. parents. He believes that, in order to train persons like Chang Lin to become hard bones<sup>30</sup>  
51. with revolutionary spirit, they ought to know about the *jieji ku* (class bitterness) and *xuelei*  
52. *chou* (blood and tears hatred) of *jiu shehui*. The more, the concrete, and the deeper they know  
53. it, the more it is possible to arouse their conscious revolutionary spirit, and the more it can  
54. inspire their strong revolutionary will. Therefore, he *sushuo* (narrated emotionally) *ziji de*  
55. *jiashi he shenshi* (his family history and life experience) again and again to *Chang Lin* during  
56. work breaks or at rest days.

57. One day, after the bell signaling the end of work has rung quite a while ago, he was still  
58. sitting next to the machine, holding Chang Lin's hand and said, "Chang Lin, when I was your  
59. age, I worked as an apprentice in a private factory. What a life of an apprentice it was like!  
60. Every day I had to do baby-sitting and set up fire... One day, I was asked to bring a cup of tea  
61. to the store owner. Accidentally, my great thumb touched the edge of the cup. And the store  
62. owner immediately slapped me straight on the head, snarling, 'Is your paw<sup>31</sup> clean?' Blood  
63. streamed down from the corner of my mouth, and stars appeared in front of my eyes..."

64. "Master, are you exaggerating the fact in order to *jiaoyu* (educate) me? My father used to be  
65. an apprentice too but I've never heard of this kind of stuff from him." Chang Lin was  
66. disinclined to believe. A few days later, at noon time, before the bell for work rang, Li Decai  
67. was sitting with Chang Lin again in the workshop. He unbuttoned his shirt, and showed his  
68. scar-laden neck and chest. "When I was an apprentice, I had to work from four in the morning  
69. till mid-night, exhausted and hungry, sleeping on wet and dirty shakedown on the floor year  
70. round. Later on I got plague and almost died of it at the verge of *jiefang* (liberation). If not the  
71. *jiefang* (liberation), even one hundred Li Decai would have already been buried." "Master,  
72. you are so *daomei* (unfortunate) and had such an evil store manager. How come my father's  
73. experience was not like yours?" The talk was futile again. And many more similar talks all  
74. failed.

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<sup>30</sup> This is a common way of saying in China, meaning that someone has determination to complete a difficult task, such as the Socialist Construction.

<sup>31</sup> To call someone's hand as a paw is insulting, and is meant to indicate how inhumane the store owner (an exploiter) treated his hired workers (the exploited) in 3.



75. This puzzled Li Decai greatly. Indeed, the *jieji yapo* (class oppression) of *jiu shehui* and the  
76. *xuelei shenshi* (life experiences filled with blood and tears) of him and many other old  
77. *gongren* (workers) have impacted the hearts of numerous young *jieji dixiong* (class brothers).  
78. Cui Shuangyu of the workshop, whose nickname was “Master Cui”, used to look down upon  
79. everybody. Isn’t he changed after Li Decai did *yiku sitian* with him? Isn’t Lang Zhenya in  
80. mold room, who used to be unsettled to the work of mold maintenance, determined to work  
81. his whole life as a mold keeper after Li Decai’s *suku jiaoyu* (pouring-out-the-bitterness  
82. education)? Chang Lin, Chang Lin, why it is so hard to open your, a youngman’s, heart?

83. Li Decai reported this condition to the *Party branch*. Jin Taixiu, the secretary of  
84. the *zhibu* (branch), supported his practice of seizing all opportunities to conduct *jieji jiaoyu*  
85. (class education) to *nianqingren* (young people). At the same time, he suggested to find out  
86. more about Chang Lin. Why he always couldn’t *jieshou jiaoyu* (accept education). Following  
87. the way suggested by the secretary of the *zhibu* (branch), Li Decai contemplated on the issue:  
88. What are some areas that I do not quite know Chang Lin about? Could it be that each time the  
89. *jieji jiaoyu* (class education) didn’t take into consideration of his specific situation? What  
90. exactly is his specific situation? Why he keeps telling me that his father was not like me?  
91. Could his father’s life as an apprentice really better than mine? Why don’t I investigate on  
92. this matter that he has brought up again and again?

93. One late drizzling afternoon, Li Decai went directly to Chang Lin’s home after work. Chang  
94. Lin was not back yet. With cheerful hearts, Chang Yuchun couple welcomed their son’s  
95. master. Although met for the first time, *jieji ganqing* (class feelings) enabled these two old  
96. men to be like old friends for many years and poured out their hearts to each other in their  
97. sharing.

98. Li Decai *qingsu* (poured out completely) the *xinsuan de* (spicy and sour, sad) *wangshi* (past  
99. memories) to Chang Yuchun first, which led to Chang Yuchun’s *tongchu de* (painful) *huiyi*  
100.(recollections): became an apprentice at the age of twelve, learned shoe-making, hair-dressing,  
101.and porcelain-making... The longer one’s been walking on the road, the more *zui* (hardship)  
102.one has to *zao*<sup>32</sup> (suffer). Soon after, he was beaten by the *laoban* (boss) so hard that he  
103.couldn’t even stand straight or stretch his legs straight. At the end he had no way but to learn  
104.to drive rickshaw. It was unavoidable for rickshaw drivers to be beaten up by the Japanese or  
105.higher ranking officers of *Guomindang* (the National Party). By now he has ended up having

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<sup>32</sup> *Zaozui* is a term meaning “suffering hardship”.

106.pains and disabilities all over his body. Finally, Chang Yuchun hinted Li Decai to not mention  
107.these things to his son. Li Decai asked in surprise, “Why?” Chang Yuchun told Li Decai in a  
108.roundabout manner that he felt *xinli nanshou* (heartbroken) when he himself *xiangqilai*  
109.(recalled) these things and he was afraid that his son would also feel *nanguo* (sad, heartbroken)  
110.if he learnt them.

111.Li Decai could understand Chang Yuchun’s *xinqing* (heart and feelings), but he disagreed with  
112.Chang Yuchun’s way of handling this. “No, Elder Brother Chang<sup>33</sup>, in *jiu shehui*, *dizhu*  
113.(landlords) and *zibenjia* (capitalists) sucked on our blood and peeled our skins<sup>34</sup>. But our child  
114.does not know who tortured his father and mother so badly that they almost lost their human  
115.shape. We spent our whole life *xinxin kuku di* (painstakingly) *peiyang* (cultivating), yet we  
116.*peiyang chu* (cultivated as a result) a *hutu chong* (fool worm), who couldn’t tell *di* (enemy)  
117.and *wo* (me, or friend, or comrade), and *ruan gutou* (soft-bone, coward). What’s more, If one  
118.eats *huanglian* first and then eats *tang* (sugar), one feels that *tang* (sugar) is extremely *tian*  
119.(sweet); but if one is used to eating *tang* (sugar) ever since he is little, even *mi* (honey) would  
120.not taste so *tian* (sweet) to him! Young men like Chang Lin truly grew up soaked in a  
121.*tanggang* (sugar water vat). Yet they have no idea what kind of life we the older generation  
122.had had, and they would not cherish the happiness of today. How can we expect this kind of  
123.persons to carry on the flag of Socialism?” Li Decai also told Chang Yuchun in detail how  
124.Chang Lin would not work well in the company and how he indulged himself in playing.  
125.Finally he said, “Not knowing about *jieji ku* (class bitterness) and *xuelei chou* (blood and tears  
126.hatred) would lead to the loss of the *guangrong chuantong* (glorious traditions) of us *gongren*  
127.*jieji* (the workers’ class)!” Chang Yuchun felt very *qinqie* (close) to these words and invited  
128.Li Decai to come to his home often.

129.From then on, Li Decai became a frequent visitor to Chang Lin’s family. He often told Chang  
130.Yuchun stories of some *qingnian gongren* (young workers) in the company changed after  
131.experiencing *jieji jiaoyu* (class education). Words would not be clear without explanation, and  
132.an oil lamp would not be bright without trimming. Chang Yuchun, who had *shouguo jian’ao*  
133.(suffered frying and stewing, that is, hardships), was not a *hutu ren* (fool person) in the first  
134.place. It was only that he had been attending to very few *huiyi* (meetings) and *jiti huodong*  
135.(collective activities) these years due to his poor health and his riding on a tricycle<sup>35</sup>, therefore,

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<sup>33</sup> To call someone who is not related with oneself in blood “elder brother” is to show respect to him.

<sup>34</sup> The original saying in Chinese is *xi women de xue, bo women de pi*, a figurative way of describing the cruelty of *dizhu* (landlords) and *zibenjia* (capitalists) in their treatment to their hired *nongmin* (peasants) or *gongren* (workers).

136.he was not clear about this kind of *daoli* (reasoning). Li Decai’s sharing, which was both  
137.reasonable and factual, sounded fresh and *zaili* (right, reasonable) to him. He was also  
138.shocked about the news of his son *bu xue hao* (not striving to be good). He felt that Li Decai  
139.see things more *zhengque* (correctly) than him. Thoughtfully, he said to Li Decai, “Why you  
140.didn’t come earlier? If [you come] earlier, my mind would have already *kaiqiao* (got  
141.enlightened) earlier.”

142.One Sunday, Chang Lin and his Dad and Mom were having lunch. Li Decai came. Dad  
143.opened his mouth first, “Here comes your master! In *jiu shehui*, a master would never visit his  
144.apprentice’s home. When I was in Chang Lin’s age, I was an apprentice in a barbershop. One  
145.rainy day, I fell down when going to empty the chamber pot<sup>36</sup> for the boss. A piece  
146.of enamel fell off the pot and I was beaten so hard that I fainted and fell to the ground. Now  
147.take a look at our older generation. Chang Lin’s great grandfather worked for *dizhu* (the  
148.landlord) as a hired hand for his entire life. At the end, his legs got broken due to beating.  
149.Without legs, he couldn’t even go to *taofan* (beg for food). Eventually he died of starvation in  
150.a ruined temple in the eastern suburb of Beijing.” Dad’s tears ran down his face and fell into  
151.his bowl.

152.Mom continued and said, “When *Chang Lin* was little, the whole family liked him. But we  
153.were not able to keep him to not go hungry, as his daily meal was a tiny *luoshizhuan*<sup>37</sup> made  
154.with less than half a *liang*<sup>38</sup> of grain. He was so starved that he looked like a bag of bones. He  
155.was still not able to walk when he was already five years old. By six or seven years old, he  
156.had to go to search for coal cinder, scavenge among garbage, and dig up wild herbs...”

157.Upon mentioning searching for coal cinder, those already faded *wangshi* (past memories)  
158.suddenly *yongshang xintou* (flooded his mind). He vaguely *jide* (remembered), one early  
159.morning of a severe winter, without any food in stomach, he went with his four-year-old  
160.brother to search for coal cinder. It was snowing heavily. The cold was so unbearable that he  
161.stopped at the door of a nearby rich relative’s house to try to escape the cold. But that relative  
162.shouted to him, “*Ye haizi* (feral kid), don’t defile our doorsteps.” The memory of his *kunan*

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<sup>35</sup> Here the original report does not give us more information about his riding on a tricycle so we do not know whether this refers to his past job as a rickshaw driver or this is his way of moving around due to his poor health.

<sup>36</sup> Urine container for night time convenience when there was no indoor flushing toilet yet in China.

<sup>37</sup> The report didn’t explain what kind of a food *luoshuzhuan* is. I can only guess that it is a kind of steamed bread made into the shape of a snail.

<sup>38</sup> *Liang* is a measuring unit used in China. 1 *liang* equals to 50 grams. And 1 ounce equals to about 28 grams. So half a *liang* is about 1 ounce.

163. *shenghuo* (bitter and difficult life) during childhood period enabled this young man who has  
164. been living a life *fanlai zhangkou yilai shenshou* (opening one's mouth waiting to be fed and  
165. spreading one's arm waiting to be clothed) to experience the *kutong* (bitterness and  
166. painfulness) of *jieji yapo* (class oppression) for the first time. His eye socket turned pink<sup>39</sup>,  
167. and he felt very *nanshou* (uncomfortable) in his throat as if a cotton ball was stuck there.

168. Dad's *ganqing* (emotion) became even more *jidong* (agitated and moved) when Mom  
169. *Tiqi* (mentioned) *Chang Lin*'s childhood. He couldn't help any more but *tanqi le* (started  
170. talking about) one incident that he had not told people in the past many years: When Chang  
171. Lin was one or two years old, he was so starved that even his breathing became thin as a  
172. thread. For several times, Mom became desperate with tears and nasal mucus<sup>40</sup> and said to  
173. Dad, "We are not able to keep him alive! Let's place him on the road. Maybe a kindhearted  
174. person would pick him up and bring him home, which is better than starved to death at home."  
175. But Dad said, "He is our *qin gurou* (one's own flesh and blood). Even if he died he should die  
176. by our side..." Dad and Mom choked with sobs. Tears wet the corner of their clothes again  
177. and again.

178. Li Decai walked over, held Chang Lin's hands, and said in a very gentle voice, "Chang Lin,  
179. *jiefangqian* (before the Liberation), all crows are equally black. We *qiong xiongdi* (poor  
180. brothers) *shou boxue shou yapo* (suffered exploitation and oppression) all the same!"

181. Chang Lin could not hold himself any longer. He put down the bowl and chopsticks, threw his  
182. face down to the table and started to sob. This is the first time since he was born that he  
183. became so *ganqing jidong* (emotionally agitated and moved). He threw himself to his master  
184. and wept, "In the past, I always thought that you exaggerated facts in order to *jiaoyu* (educate)  
185. me. Today I'm completely clear." He then said to his father and mother, "Why didn't you tell  
186. me these earlier?" The master patted his head to comfort him and said with encouragement,  
187. "It is not late to *juewu* (be awakened) now. You can forget anything but not your *genben*  
188. (fundamental root). Not only you yourself should not forget, you need to also *jiaoyu* (educate)  
189. your children and grandchildren and all your future generations to not forget this *genben*  
190. (fundamental root) of us *gongren jieji* (workers' class)." Li Decai asked Chang Lin to go to  
191. *Xinhua shudian* (new China book store)<sup>41</sup> to buy a copy of the book "Analysis of the Classes

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<sup>39</sup> The original Chinese says "*Ta de yanquan hong le*", which, literally, means "His eye socket turned red", implying that he is on the verge of tears.

<sup>40</sup> The original Chinese says "*yiba biti yiba lei*", which means, literally, "a handful of nasal mucus and a handful of tears."

<sup>41</sup> *Xinhua shudian* used to be the only book store throughout China from 1950s to 1970s.

192.in Chinese Society” and read it carefully. Finally Li Decai and Chang Yuchun discussed about  
193.bringing Chang Lin to the place where he used to search for coal cinders to take a look.

194.From then on, for countless holidays and evening time after work, *Li Decai* either went to  
195.Chang Lin’s home or the two of them stayed in the workshop, each holding a copy of  
196.“Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society” in his hands, reading, explaining, *lianxi qinshen*  
197.*jingli* (connecting to their personal experience), and analyzing again and again.

198.One cloudy and rainy day, with support from *the Party branch* of the #4 workshop, Li Decai  
199.took Chang Lin and his two other apprentices Li Changjun and Li Jintao and went to the place  
200.where Chang Lin used to search for coal cinders. Chang Lin saw that in the place where dirty  
201.and smelly garbage used to pile up now stand tall buildings and runs tarred road... But the  
202.hill-size garbage heap and *na yiqun kuhaizi zai shangmian qiangzhe shi polan de qingxing*  
203.(the scene of a bunch of bitter kids scrambled to scavenge among the garbage) *que hai lili ru*  
204.*zai mu qian* (were still vividly in front of his eyes). Chang Lin *sushuo* (narrated emotionally)  
205.all of these to his master and fellow apprentices and said in a serious tone, “These are all  
206.inscribed in my mind. I will never forget them in my entire life!”

207.Gradually, Chang Lin changed. Within a few short months, not only has Chang Lin learned  
208.to interpret production diagram paper, he also studied diligently of skills and technology. This  
209.year he has accomplished six technical renovations and saved one hundred and forty-two  
210.man-hours after putting into use in production. In the fourth quarter of 1963, Chang Lin was  
211.elected as a *chejian qingnian jiji fenzi* (youth active members of the workshop). In the first  
212.quarter of 1964, he showed even greater changes and was elected as a *chejian youxiu zhigong*  
213.(outstanding worker of the workshop).

## Segment #4

(Excerpt from “Where does the *geming yinggutou jingshen* (revolutionary hard bone spirit) come from – On the growing of combat hero Mai Xiande”; by *People’s Liberation Army Daily, China Youth Daily*, journalist from *Xinhua News Agency; People’s Daily*; 1966031902)

1. The *weida de* (great) Mao Zedong era is a time that *yingxiong* (heroes) come forth in large
2. numbers. Heroes of this era are marked with *chonggao pinzhi* (majestic characters) of [living]
3. whole-heartedly for *geming* (revolution) and selflessly for *Renmin* (the People), with grand
4. mind of serving the People of the whole world and of China the whole country, with
5. unswerving fighting will that dares to struggle and dares to win, with heroic spirit that crushes
6. all enemies yet would never succumb to any enemy. In all time and all circumstances, they

7. prioritize *geming de liyi* (the revolutionary interest), *Renmin de liyi* (the People's interest), and  
8. *renlei jiefang de liyi* (the human liberation interest). They can stand both the test of the flame  
9. of war and the various kinds of political storm. They are selfless and fearless. The combat  
10. hero Mai Xiande is such a kind of hero.

11. Mai Xiande is only twenty-one years old and has been in the revolutionary army for only two  
12. years. Yet his *chonggao lixiang* (majestic ideal) of being a “compulsory serviceman” for the  
13. revolution, and his *ying gutou jingshen* (hard bone spirit) of continuing the battle as long as  
14. one can still breathe, has caused strong reactions among the People of the whole country.  
15. Millions of young men and the vast majority of the army men are learning from him, and  
16. discussing heatedly, “Where does Mai Xiande get that *ying gutou jingshen* (hard bone spirit)?  
17. We, like Mai Xiande, live in this great Mao Zedong era. What lessons can we learn from Mai  
18. Xiande's *chengzhang* (growing in figurative sense)?”

19. Mai Xiande's *zhanyou* (comrades-in-arm) and leaders examined the experience of his fighting  
20. and growing, and their answers to these questions are: Mai Xiande's revolutionary hard bone  
21. spirit is derived from Mao Zedong *Sixiang* (Thoughts). Just like the other heroes of our time,  
22. Mai Xiande grew quickly as a result of our armies holding high the great red flag, giving  
23. prominence to politics, adhering to the four “first”, working hard on the issue of “living  
24. thoughts”, and revolutionizing people's thoughts. It is also the result of him studying Mao  
25. *Zhuxi*'s works with *shenhou de* (deep and profound) *jieji ganqing* (class feeling), making  
26. great effort in stressing the term “*yong* (use, apply, put into practice)”, and faithfully  
27. following Mao *Zhuxi*'s instructions in practice. The great Mao Zedong Thought armed him.  
28. The profoundly evolved *jieji douzheng xianshi* (class struggle reality) of the contemporary  
29. revolution educated him. This great furnace of *renmin jiefangjun* (the People's Liberation  
30. Army) forged him. He was enabled to stride forward and grow quickly on this journey toward  
31. revolutionization.

32. Mai Xiande was born in *kushui* (bitter water) but grew up *hongqixia* (under the red flag)<sup>42</sup>. He  
33. didn't *chiku* (eat bitterness) much in *jiu shehui*, and he hasn't experienced the *tian* (sweetness)  
34. of *xin shehui* much either. He started attending school at seven years old and he doesn't know  
35. that he should study hard. He even became angry when his Mom didn't buy him paper and  
36. pencils on time. Without knowing the *kunan* (bitterness and suffering) and *jianxin* (hardships

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<sup>42</sup> “Grew up under the red flag” is a popular way of saying at that time. “The red flag” refers to the flag of the Chinese Communist Party, which is red in color. This saying means that one grew up under the ruling of the Communist Party in China and is, therefore, a very fortunate person, because CCP and Chairman Mao are regarded as “saviors” of the People.

37. and difficulties) of *jiu shehui*, how can he understand the *xingfu* (happiness) of *xin shehui*!

38. This event deeply hurt his Mom's heart. Holding Mai Xiande's hand, Mom sat down with  
39. him at the head of the bed and *jiangqi le* (started talking about) *kunan* (bitter and miserable)  
40. *jiashi* (family history) of how *zuzubeibei* (generations after generations they) were *lingru*  
41. (bullied and insulted), *boxue* (exploited) and *yapo* (oppressed) by *jieji diren* (class enemies):  
42. At the age of eighteen years old, Daddy went with Grandpa to sail a boat on the open sea. The  
43. work they did was *niumahuo* (workload intended for oxen and horses) and yet still it was very  
44. difficult for them to fill their bellies and clothes their bodies sufficiently. After the Japanese  
45. army invaded into Raoping<sup>43</sup> area, (they committed all kinds of crimes like) killing, robbing,  
46. closing the seashore, and burning boats... They set fire on the boat that his family and a  
47. couple of other poor families shared together and severed their way of survival. Dad and  
48. Mom *beijing lixiang* (left one's native place against one's will) and escaped to Fujian to  
49. work. Half a year later, they returned home with their earning of two bundles of dried sweet  
50. potato slices carried by a shoulder pole, only to learn that Grandpas died of starvation two  
51. days before and Great Uncle was buried alive by the landlord. Dad was forced to raise  
52. clams for the landlord. Then he was seized by the bandit connected with the National Party  
53. and beaten almost to death... Mom said, "Xiande my child, in *jiu shehui*, there is no *huolu*  
54. (path for life) for us *qiongren* (poor people)! Among the three generations of us, you are the  
55. only one that has chance to go to school. But you..." Upon hearing these words, Mai Xiande  
56. couldn't help his tears and threw himself into Mom's arms and said, "Mom, I was wrong..."

57. Their *kunan jiashi* (bitter and difficult family history) gave young Mai Xiande the first lesson  
58. of life, and sowed deeply the kindling of *chouhen jieji diren* (hating class enemies) in his little  
59. heart. From then on, he seemed to have grown up a lot. Not only did he start to study hard, he  
60. also actively helped his Mom with some work, like weaving bamboo baskets or catching  
61. clams in the sea. When he studied in junior high school, he paid great attention listening to  
62. teachers telling about *geming xianlie de douzheng gushi* (revolutionary martyrs' struggling  
63. stories), and studying knowledge regarding the origin and development of *jieji* (class) in  
64. history text books, marking with circles and underlines at the edge.

65. In Aug., 1961, the sixteen-year-old Mai Xiande joined the fishing production and the militia  
66. team. Here, not only did he gain exercise in *shengchan douzheng* (production struggle), he  
67. received further nurturing of lively and profound *jieji jiaoyu* (class education). In *yiku jiaoyu*  
68. (*yiku* education), he heard people *kongsu* (denounce) that, in all *Jingzhou* area in *Raoping*,

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<sup>43</sup> Now Raoping county in Chaozhou city, Guangdong province.

69. almost all the households of *laodong renmin* (working people) had *kunan shi* (bitter and  
70. difficult history) and *xuelei chou* (blood and tears hatred). In just one Jingzhou town, one  
71. hundred and ninety-two fishermen were bombed or burned to death by the Japanese invading  
72. army, and two hundred and thirty-four boats were burned down. One bombing by *meijiang*  
73. (the American-assisted Chiang Kai Shek's) airplane killed nineteen people. *Nongmin*  
74. (peasants) Zou Lin and Zou Youyuan, only because of taking four bricks from *eba dizhu*  
75. (despotic landlord) Mai Mingshan, were forced *jiapo renwang* (home broken and family  
76. members died). The nine members of their households were either beaten to death or starve to  
77. death with no one surviving... In *jieji jiaoyu zhanlanhui* (class education exhibition), he even  
78. saw a chart listing all the crimes committed by *meijiang fandongpai* (the American and  
79. Chiang Kai Shek reactionaries), and a sharp *duibi* (comparison) of two disastrous years:  
80. *jiefangqian* (before the Liberation), in 1943, it had not rained for three months due to the  
81. drought. Each of the *qiongren's* (poor people) household suffered from starvation and had to  
82. flee from the famine. More than three hundred and eighty people died of starvation in just one  
83. *Jingbei* village; *jiefanghou* (after the Liberation), in 1963, the drought lasted for eight months.  
84. Under the leadership of *Dang* (the Party) and relying on the power of *renmin gongshe* (the  
85. People's Commune), people rose up vigorously to resist the drought and won the miracle of  
86. harvest.

87. It was also here that he listened for the first time to Mai Kefu, the militia battalion commander,  
88. talking about *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society* written by Mao Zhuxi (Chairman  
89. Mao). Mao Zhuxi (Chairman Mao) said, "Who are our *diren* (enemies)? Who are our *pengyou*  
90. (friend)? This question is the most fundamental one for *geming* (revolution)." This played a  
91. significant role in *tigao* (raising) the *jieji juewu* (class consciousness) of Mai Xiande, who had  
92. no personal experience of *jieji boxue* (class exploitation) and *yapo* (oppression), and enabled  
93. him to recognize *di* (enemy) and *wo* (me), *hao* (good) and *huai* (bad), and understand *ai* (love)  
94. and *zeng* (hate). If *jieji* (class) and *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) used to be abstract in his  
95. mind, now it felt so concrete, alive, and practical; if childhood Mai Xiande only knew his own  
96. family's *chou* (hatred), by now he had already fused them together with the *kunan* (bitterness  
97. and sufferings) of *jieji xiongdi* (class brothers) of his home town. He and other militiamen  
98. kept reminding each other, "*Yiding yao* (by all means [we] should) *laolao jizhu* (lock in mind)  
99. Mao Zhuxi *de jiaodao* (Chairman Mao's teachings). Although the era during which our *zubei*  
100. (forefathers) *shou yapo* (suffered oppression) is over, but *qianwan buneng wangji* (under no  
101. circumstances should [we] forget) *ku* (bitterness) and *chou* (hatred) of the past, *meiguolao*  
102. (the Yankees), Chiang Kai Shek, and *dizhu jieji* (the landlord class) that have been *dadao*  
103. (overthrown) by us. They are not willing to be defeated. One day *diren* (the enemies) still  
104. exist, *zhanzheng* (war) would still be possible. We *yiding yao* (by all means should) hold on



105.tight to the gun barrel and sharpen the bayonet, study military knowledge and watch closely  
106.as guards, to *douzheng daodi* (fight it out) with *wan'e de diren* (all evil enemies) in order to  
107.protect *zuguo* (homeland). *Jue bu rang* (by no means should [we] allow the *kunan* (bitter and  
108.difficult) life of *zubei* (the forefathers) to come back.”

109.In 1963, immediately after turning eighteen years old, Mai Xiande wrote three application  
110.letters in a row requesting to join the army. In one of the letters dated November 21<sup>st</sup>, he wrote firmly,  
111.“Tonight, I listened to Uncle Kefu (the militia battalion commander)’s speech, which helped me to  
112.know better about the current situation and to know that *meidi* (the American Imperialists) frequently  
113.bullied us. In the past our *Jingbei* brigade was very *can* (tragic) and my family’s experience was very  
114.*can* (tragic) too due to the *canhai* (devastating harm) that *riben diguo zhuyi* (Japanese imperialism)  
115.and *guomin dang* (the National Party) did to us. I am determined to join the army. This is my duty and  
116.glorious task.”

117.When Mai Xiande attended a naval academy in Zhujiangkou, it was when the whole army was  
118.embracing a higher wave of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao’s works and the  
119.revolutioning construction of the army got deepened step by step. After joining the army, he  
120.wasimmediately *buyu* (nursed) by the *weida* (great ) Mao Zedong *sixiang* (thought), *xuntao* (edified)  
121.with the glorious revolutionary traditions of the army, and tested by the fervent *douzheng shenghuo*  
122.(life of struggle), which significantly promoted his growth. Soon after Mai Xiande came to the  
123.academy, he shared with his squad leader about his wish. He said, “In the future when allocating me to  
124.a job location, I hope I can be assigned to the army stationed near my hometown.” The squad leader  
125.asked in surprise, “Why is that?” Mai Xiande *jidong de* (excitedly) said, “My hometown is a place  
126.facing the ocean and leaning against the mountain. Now it is prosperous. Yet *jiefang qian* (before the  
127.Liberation) there were *xuelei* (blood and tears) in each boat and weeping in each household. I have  
128.made up my mind. I want to personally guard my own hometown. Revenge for my loved ones where  
129.they were killed and never allow *chailang* (jackals and wolves, i.e., evil persons) to come to hurt  
130.people any more!” “Speaking of *jieji chou* (class hatred), which household of us didn’t have it *jiefang*  
131.*qian* (before the Liberation)? But...” “No matter what, my request is in line with *geming liyi*  
132.(revolutionaryinterest)!” ...

133.The political instructor heard about this from the squad leader and felt very *jidong* (touched, moved).  
134.He thought, it was very precious that Mai Xiande had the kindle of *jieji chouhen* (class hatred) hidden  
135.in his heart. But, as a *geming zhanshi* (revolutionary soldier), his *xinxiong* (breadth of mind) was not  
136.broad enough, and his *geming lixiang* (revolutionary ideal) was not high enough. A lot of hard work  
137.needed to be done in order to make him into a soldier that consciously serves *zhongguo renmin*  
138.(Chinese people) and *quan shijie renmin* (the people of the whole world).

139. An assembly was held at the lochus to *kongsu* (denounce) *Mei-Chiang's* (American and Chiang Kai-  
140. Shek's) crimes. One after another, soldiers from different areas of China *fennu de* (indignantly)  
141. *kongsu* (denounced) the *leilei xuezhai* (numerous debts of blood) owed by American Imperialism,  
142. Japanese invasion army, the Chiang bandit troops, the fishing despot, and landlords. Mai Xiande burst  
143. into crying after listening for a while. Alas! It turned out that these strange<sup>44</sup> *zhanyou* (comrade-in-  
144. arms) were all born on the same *kugen* (bitter root) with myself! All over the country, every inch of  
145. the homeland is covered with crimes committed by *jieji diren* (class enemies)! He couldn't help to  
146. jump up and said, "*Tongzhi men* (Comrades)! We all have *chou* (hatred)! Your *chou* (hatred) is my  
147. *chou* (hatred)! We *yiding* (absolutely) *yao* (ought) to *laoji* (lock in mind) *jieji chou* (class hatred), and  
148. carry out *geming* (revolution) to the very end till death."

149. One Sunday, leaders brought Mai Xiande and many new soldiers to climb onto the famous Humen  
150. fort<sup>45</sup>. Senior squad leader pointed to the old cannon site on the top of a mountain in a distance and  
151. told them, more than one hundred and twenty years ago, *diguozhuoyi* (imperialism) bombed open the  
152. gate of China from here using gunship. Here was the battlefield of the Opium War. *Zuizheng*  
153. (evidence of crimes) of *diguozhuoyi* (imperialism) slaughtering Chinese people could be found  
154. everywhere. Stones and grass were all saturated with the unyielding blood of *zhonghua ernu* (sons and  
155. daughters of China) ...

156. After the visit, *Dang zhibu* (the Party branch) organized everybody to read intensively "Analysis of  
157. the Classes in Chinese Society", "Serving the People"<sup>46</sup>, and "Remembering *Bai Qiu'en*"<sup>47</sup>, to study

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<sup>44</sup> Unfamiliar, not knowing each other before.

<sup>45</sup> Humen fort is famous because of the Destruction of Opium under the leadership of Lin Zexu, Imperial Commissioner of Qing Dynasty China, on the banks of Pearl River outside of *Human* town in *Guangdong* province for 23 days from June 3<sup>rd</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> in 1839, destroying 1,000 long tons (1,016 t) of illegal opium seized from British traders. Great Britain declared war with China afterwards, which is now known as "the first opium war" (1839-1842), a conflict that initiated China's opening for trade with foreign nations under a series of treaties with the western powers. See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Destruction\\_of\\_opium\\_at\\_Humen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Destruction_of_opium_at_Humen) for more information.

<sup>46</sup> Original title is "*wei renmin fuwu*."

<sup>47</sup> Henry Norman Bethune (March 4, 1890-November 12, 1939), a Canadian physician, medical innovator, and noted anti-fascist. Bethune came to international prominence first for his service as a frontline surgeon supporting the democratically-elected Republican government during the Spanish Civil War. But it was his service with the Communist Eighth Route Army (Ba Lu Jun) during the Second Sino-Japanese War that would earn him enduring acclaim. Dr. Bethune effectively brought modern medicine to rural China and often treated sick villagers as much as wounded soldiers. His selfless commitment to the Chinese people made such an impression on Mao Zedong that he wrote a eulogy to pay homage to Bethune and called all Chinese to learn from him after he died of blood poisoning during a surgery to a soldier in 1939. For more information see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norman\\_Bethune#Bethune\\_in\\_film\\_and\\_literature](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norman_Bethune#Bethune_in_film_and_literature)

158. Chairman Mao's discussion about *jieji* (class) and *jieji douzheng* (class struggle), and to let people  
 159. analyze the situation using *jieji guandian* (class perspective) combined with frequent *xingshi*  
 160. *jiaoyu* (situation education) and daily newspaper reading activities, so as to guide people to care about  
 161. the *geming douzheng* (revolutionary struggle) of people around the world. Through these studies, Mai  
 162. Xiande's mind became significantly broadened. He realized that in today's world two thirds of the  
 163. population was still living the *kunan shenghuo* (bitter and difficult life) that Chinese People lived  
 164. *jiefang qian* (before the Liberation), that the most ferocious enemy threatening people around the  
 165. world is US imperialism. He came to see that as a *geming zhanshi* (revolutionary soldier) of the new  
 166. China, he must *lizu budui* (establish his footing in the army), *xionghuai quanguo* (keep the entire  
 167. motherland in mind), and *fangyan shijie* (keep the whole world in view), so that he can serve the  
 168. people of the whole country and of the whole world *wanquan* (completely) and *chedi* (thoroughly), and  
 169. to unswervingly *douzheng daodi* (struggle to the very end) against US imperialism and its *zougou*  
 170. (running dogs). He wrote down his *juexin* (resolution) in a journal: "Five things to not forget in order  
 171. to be a good *hongse jieban ren* (red successor): (1) never forget the past, never *bianzhi* (deteriorate);  
 172. (2) never forget that *geming guoshi* (revolutionary fruit/result) comes at a great cost; (3) never forget  
 173. the existence of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle); (4) never forget to *gan geming* (do revolution); (5)  
 174. never forget *jiti* (the collective)." He required himself that "To *jieban* (take over a job) is to *jie* (take  
 175. over) (1) *wuchan jieji de ban* (the proletariat job); (2) *wei geming gan daodi de ban* (the job that works  
 176. for revolution forever); (3) the job of the *youliang chuantong* (fine tradition) of our army; (4) the job  
 177. of *jieji douzheng* (class struggle) and socialist construction; (5) the job for the realization of  
 178. Communism."

## Segment #5

("Passing on the 'Yiku Sitian Day' Establishment"; by Qin Zhonglan, Secretary of the Party  
 general branch at Liangtong production brigade, Wuming County, Zhuang autonomous region,  
 Guangxi Province, *People's Daily*; 1966082106)

1. A while ago, on June 30<sup>th</sup>, the day before we welcomed birthday of our *Dang* (Party),
2. *xiangying* (responding to) the *haozhao* (call) from *Dang zongzhi weiyuanhui* (the Party's
3. general branch committee), *Gongchan Dangyuan* (the CCP members), *pinnong* (poor
4. peasants) and *xia zhongnong* (lower-middle peasants)<sup>48</sup> in our brigade had a "Yiku Sitian Ri
5. (Day of recalling the bitterness and reflecting on the sweetness), which had *shenke de jieji*
6. *jiaoyu yiyi* (profound class education meanings). We have set it as a custom and would like
7. to pass it on from year to year.

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<sup>48</sup> "Poor peasants" and "lower-middle peasants" refer to the class origin of one's family and are the best class ranking in that political era.

8. On this particular day, each household hung up a picture of Chairman Mao and wrote in big  
9. words, “*Yiku sitian Ri – Niannian buwang* (Do not forget for a moment) *jieji douzheng* (class  
10. struggle); *Niannian buwang* (Do not forget for a moment) *wuchan jieji zhuanzheng*  
11. (proletariat class dictatorship); *Niannian buwang* (Do not forget for a moment) *tuchu zhengzhi*  
12. (to give prominence to politics); *Niannian buwang* (Do not forget for a moment) *to gaoju* (lift  
13. high) the *weida hongqi* (great red flag) of Mao Zedong *Sixiang* (Thoughts).” During the day  
14. time, everybody went to work as usual. At dinner time, each household *an jiefang qian de*  
15. *yangzi* (followed the way it was before the Liberation) to *chi “kucan* (eat bitter meal)”, *jiang*  
16. (talk about) the *kushi* (bitter history), conduct *xin jiu duibi* (comparison between the new and  
17. the old) of the two societies, and *jiaoyu* (educate) *qingnian yidai* (the younger generation) to  
18. *laoji* (remember firmly) the *ku* (bitterness) from *jiu shehui* (the old society), to *yongyuan*  
19. (forever) *re-ai* (love ardently) *Dang* (the Party) and Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao), to *yongyuan*  
20. (forever) read Chairman Mao’s works, to do things following Mao *Zhuxi*’s (Chairman Mao’s)  
21. *zhishi* (instructions), and to *jinxing daodi* (carry through and through) *shehuizhuyi geming*  
22. (socialist revolution).

23. Our brigade has installed light bulbs for each household since last year. But that night, all the  
24. lights went out. Some *sheyuan* (commune members) lighted up the tung oil lamp. Some put  
25. on pine torch. *Pinnong* (poor peasant) Huang Rongben didn’t put on any light when *chi kucan*  
26. (eating the bitter meal). His children *chaocha* (made a fuss) and said, “It is too dark, *bu*  
27. *fangbian* (not convenient)!” Rongben said, “My children, in *jiu shehui* (the old society), we  
28. *shishi daidai* (from generation to generation) didn’t have electricity. We didn’t even have  
29. enough to eat, and had to go to the mountains to *wa yecai* (dig up wild plants) for food.” His  
30. youngest son couldn’t swallow down the *kucai* (bitter plant) and started to cry. His older  
31. brother, Jixian, *quan* (advised, encouraged, or persuaded) him and said, “*Ku ye yao chi* (We  
32. ought to eat it in spite of the bitterness). If we do not eat it we would not know what kind of a  
33. life our parents had in *jiu shehui* and we could *wangben* (forget about one’s origin).”

34. That morning, Huang Xuguang, the chairperson of *Pinnong XiaZhongnong Xiehui* (the  
35. Association for Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants) of the second production team, cooked a  
36. pot of pumpkin and finished it by noon. He didn’t make a fire to cook food at dinner time. His  
37. neighbors asked him why and he said, “Five generations in my family *da changgong* (worked  
38. as long-term hired hands). Often times they didn’t have food to eat. I think it is good for me to  
39. not eat tonight and to sit down and *xiangxiang guoqu* (think about the past).” He even  
40. searched out “*sijian bao* (the four pieces of treasures)” *liu* He *yiku* (recalled the bitterness)  
41. while touching them.

42. *Sheyuan* (Commune members) of Tanzhou production team gathered together to *chi kucan*  
43. (eat bitter meal) and they invited Zhou Juzhong, a 70-year-old *laonong* (senior peasant), to  
44. *jiang* (talk about) *cunshi* (village history). With tears welling up in his eyes, Zhou Juzhong  
45. said, “The *kucan* (bitter meal) we have for today contains pumpkin, sweet potato leaves, and  
46. *leigong* root (a kind of wild plant). This is actually not bad! I remember during the severe  
47. drought in 1900, all the *yecai* (wild plants) in nearby mountains have been dug up. *Cunmin*  
48. (the villagers) went everywhere to *taohuang* (escape from the famine) and *taofan* (beg for  
49. food). More than fifty persons died of hunger or disease. Now we have *yingming lingdao*  
50. (wise and brilliant leadership) of Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao) and *Gongchan Dang* (the  
51. Communist Party), have accomplished *gongshehua* (the communization) and have a  
52. functional irrigation system so that we do not have to worry about drought or excessive rain.  
53. This is truly *tiandade xingfu* (blessings as big as the sky)!” Huang Jinlan, a *pinnong nu*  
54. *sheyuan* (female poor peasant commune member), continued and said, “*Yi tiqi guoqu de shi*  
55. (Whenever the past things are mentioned), my tears run down unstopably. In *jiu shehui*, in  
56. my family, a *didi* (younger brother) and a *meimei* (younger sister) died of hunger because we  
57. didn’t have food. *Xianzai* (now) *women de rizi guo hao le* (we live a good life) *kao Dang he*  
58. *Mao Zhuxi de lingdao* (depending on, or thanks to, the leadership of the Party and Chairman  
59. Mao). *Xianzai* (now), *yi xiao cuo* (a handful of) *fandang* (anti-the Party) and *fan shehui zhuyi*  
60. *de* (anti-Socialism) *huaidan* (bad eggs, bad guys) wanted us to *zou huitoulu* (walk the road of  
61. retrogression). I truly *hentou le* (hate to the utmost degree) them. We *pinxia zhongnong* (the  
62. poor and lower-middle peasants) will *pin dao di* (fight to the very end) against anyone who is  
63. *fandang* (anti-the Party), *fan shehui zhuyi* (anti-Socialism), and *fan Mao Zedong Sixiang*  
64. (anti-Mao Zedong Thoughts)!” In the end, they raised their arms and shouted loud, “Long live  
65. Chairman Mao! Long live the Chinese Communist Party!”

66. The following day, July 1<sup>st</sup>, was the birthday of *Dang* (the Party). Following Comrade  
67. Bai Qiu’en’s spirit of “*haobu liji zhuanmen liren*” (giving absolutely no consideration to  
68. benefit oneself but working exclusively to benefit others), *dangyuan* (the Party members) and  
69. *sheyuan* (commune members) of the whole brigade *zuo haoshi* (did good deed) *wei jiti* (for  
70. the Collective) or *wei bieren* (for others). Some people repaired bridge and patched up road;  
71. some people planted trees and maintained forests; and some people collected fire woods and  
72. carried water for *wu bao hu* (households enjoying the five guarantees – food, clothing,  
73. medical care, housing, and burial expenses)<sup>49</sup>. In the evening, *sheyuanmen* (commune  
74. members) all gathered together to read *Mao Zhuxi zhuzuo* (Chairman Mao’s works) or find

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<sup>49</sup> The *wu bao hu* system was established in 1956 to help people who are senior, young, sick, or disabled and couldn’t take care of themselves.

75. somebody to *jiang* (talk about) *Dang de guangrong lishi* (the Party's glorious history). With a  
76. *xinqing* (feeling) of *wuxian re-ai* (immeasurably love), *wuxian xinlai* (immeasurably trust),  
77. and *wuxian ganji* (immeasurably grateful toward) *Dang* (the Party) and Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman  
78. Mao), they sang in Zhuang<sup>50</sup> minority folk tune, "It has been seventeen years since *zuguo*  
79. *jianshe* (homeland construction) began, changing its *mianmao* (appearance) in thousands of  
80. ways. *Guo de hao* (living well) our *xingfu shenghuo* (happy life), *Dang de gonglao* (the  
81. Party's merit) counts the first. *Jianjue yonghu* (unswervingly supporting) *Gongchan Dang*  
82. (the Communist Party), all people sing praises of Mao *Zhuxi* (Chairman Mao). Raising  
83. high the three banners<sup>51</sup>, our leaping forward songs will be sung forever."

84. Why did we held this "Yiku Sitian Ri (Yiku Sitian Day)"? This year in May, *Dang zongzhi* (the  
85. Party's general branch) mobilized *sheyuan* (commune members) of the whole brigade to  
86. study Chairman Mao's works. In order to help key leaders to set an example to study well and  
87. practice well, *zongzhi weiyuan* (members of the general branch) and *pinnong xiazhongnong*  
88. *xiehui weiyuan* (members of the Association for Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants) of the  
89. brigade gathered together to *yiku* and *chi kucan* (eat the bitter meal). While they were eating,  
90. Liang Qijun, the brigade leader, and Li Caiqin, the director of Women's Representative  
91. Conference, both couldn't help crying when *xiangqi* (thinking of) life experience in *jiu*  
92. *shehui*. Li Caiqin refilled her bowl after finishing the first portion and said, "The more I eat,  
93. the more I *juede* (feel) the *tian* (sweetness) of today's life." Some *Dangyuan* (Party members)  
94. and *lao pinnong* (senior poor peasants) said, "Xianzai (presently) some *nianqingren* (young  
95. men) do not know how the *ku rizi* (bitter life) in *jiu shehui* was lived. Some *nongmin*  
96. (peasants), after *fanshen* (turning over one's body), gradually became indifferent toward  
97. *guoqu de ku rizi* (the bitter life in the past). It would be better to let everybody *chi kucan* (eat  
98. the bitter meal) once a year to enable the genealogy of *pin xia zhong nong* (poor and lower-  
99. middle peasants) be passed on from generation to generation and enable everybody to  
100. *jianding de* (unswervingly) *zou shehui zhuyi daolu* (take the socialist way)." *Zongzhi* (the  
101. general branch) accepted everybody's suggestion and put it into practice.

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<sup>50</sup> There are fifty-five national minorities besides Han in China and Zhuang is one of them, living mainly in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region in south west China.

<sup>51</sup> *Sanmian Hongqi* (Three Banners) refers to "Zong Luxian (General Guideline), *Da Yuejin* (Great Leap Forward), and *Renmin Gongshe* (People's Commune)," three key policies proposed by Mao at the end of 1950s and the practices of them resulted in the almost collapsed state of China's economy by 1960 and directly led to the great famine and starvation throughout the whole country from 1959 to 1961.

## Segment #6

(Excerpt from “Bright mountain flowers in full bloom: On fifteen female youths from Luda city becoming residents in mountainous villages”; by correspondent and journalist of *Renmin Ribao*; *People’s Daily*; 1968060903)

1. The Sun rose up from the east mountain and the sun glow reddened the whole earth. Today is
2. the one year anniversary of these young women’s coming into the mountain to become local
3. residents there. What to do to commemorate this day? Chairman Mao teaches that “*Qianwan*
4. *buyao wangji jieji douzheng*” (No matter what, never forget class struggle). *Jieji douzheng*
5. (class struggle) “must be talked about every year, every month, and every day.” Vice
6. president Lin Biao said, “One would not understand what *geming* (revolution) is if one does
7. not understand what *jieji* (class) is and what *boxue* (exploitation) is.” Squad leader Liu Lijuan
8. discussed with her *zhanyou* (comrades-in-arm) and decided to invite *pin xia zhong nong* (poor
9. and lower middle peasants) to *kai yiku sitian hui* (hold a yiku sitian meeting) to *henpi*
10. (denounce severely) the *fan geming xiuzheng zhuyi luxian* (reactionary revisionist line) of the
11. Chinese Khrushchev, and *kongsu* (accuse) the *taotian zuixing* (monstrous crimes) of *yi xiao*
12. *cuo* (a small bunch of) *zouzipai* (capitalist roaders) *fubi* (restoring) *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism).
  
13. *Pin xia zhong nong* (the poor and lower middle peasants) knew their minds the best. Grandma
14. Lin, who *kuda choushen* (had suffered bitterly in the old society and had a deep class hatred),
15. *zuo* (made) *yiku fan* (*yiku* meal) for them early in the morning. Upon placing the bitter and
16. astringent *kangcai bingzi* (pancake-shaped food made with chaff and wild herbs) onto the
17. table, with tears running down her cheeks, Grandma Lin said to the young people, “My
18. children, these *kangcai bingzi* were counted as good in *jiu shehui*. By no means shall we
19. forget the *ku* (bitterness) of the past! This *da huaidan* (big bad egg) of the Chinese
20. Khrushchev *hushuo* (talked nonsense) of “*boxue you gong*” (exploitation being meritorious).
21. This is trying to get us to *zou huitou lu* (take the road of retrogression) and *chi erbian ku* (eat
22. bitterness for the second time). Shall we allow him to?” “Of course not!” the room was filled
23. with shouts. “Down with the Chinese Khrushchev!” “Long live the victory of Chairman
24. Mao’s *geming luxian* (revolutionary line)!” “Long live Chairman Mao, long long live!” The
25. sound of the slogans echoed in the valley.
  
26. Next, sobbing heavily, Grandma Lin *jiangshu le* (talked about) her tragic experience in *jiu*
27. *shehui*. When she was very young, she already went to *taofan* (beg for food). Once, she got to
28. the door of a big *dizhu* (landlord). Not only wouldn’t the hateful *dizhu* (landlord) give her one
29. single grain of rice, he even released a fierce dog to bite people. While speaking, Grandma
30. Lin rolled up the bottom of her pants and showed the scars on her legs to the girls. Auntie Xu,

31. a *pinnong* (poor peasant) who came from the second production team to join the *yiku hui* (*yiku*  
32. meeting), also *kusu le* (poured out in crying) her *tongku* (painful) *jingli* (experience) in the  
33. past: at the age of nine, her family was so poor that her father had to endure the pain and  
34. reluctantly sold her away to be a child bride. Soon after that, her first younger sister was also  
35. sold to other people, and her second younger sister got sick and died because there was no  
36. money for her to be treated...

37. These young women's hearts were grabbed by each voicing of *xuelei* (blood and tears). With  
38. tears in their eyes, they ate the *kangcai bingzi* and drank the soup made with bitter herbs. This  
39. is not food at all. This is the *kushui* (bitter water) of *qiongren* (poor people) in *jiu shehui*.  
40. Assistant squad leader Deng Yurong and several other young women also *huiyi le* (recalled)  
41. their own *kunan* (bitter and difficult) *jiashi* (family history). Inflamed with anger, they *tongchi*  
42. (criticize harshly) the various *miulun* (misconceptions) the Chinese Khruhshchev advocated  
43. on *fubi* (restoring) *ziben zhuyi* (capitalism). They said, "The Chinese Khruhshchev wanted us  
44. to *zou* (take) *ziben zhuyi de heilu* (the capitalist black road). This is to labor under a delusion!"  
45. They expressed one after another that they will *yongyuan* (forever) *zou* (take) the *geming*  
46. *daolu* (revolutionary road) of *shangshan xiaxiang* (going up to the mountains and down to the  
47. countryside) pointed out by Chairman Mao for *zhishi qingnian* (intellectual youths), take over  
48. well the post of *wuchan jieji* (proletariat) *geming shiye* (revolutionary cause), and make sure  
49. forever that *shehui zhuyi de jiangshan* (the socialist rivers and mountains, the socialist  
50. territories or state power) not *bianse* (change color) for *qianqiu wandai* (generation after  
51. generation).

## Segment #7

(Excerpt from "Taking root in the frontiers – On Shanghai *zhishi qingnian* (intellectual youths) that *chadui luohu* (went down to the countryside and became members of production teams) in Zhongbao Brigade, Tongliao County, Jilin Province"; by correspondent of *Renmin Ribao*; *People's Daily*; 1970031404)

1. Coming to remote countryside from prosperous city and eating millet and sorghum instead of
2. rice and refined flour is a *guan* (check point, i.e., challenge) they need to pass in daily life.
3. Although they had prepared themselves mentally for *chiku* (eating bitterness), soon after they
4. arrived at *nongcun* (the rural village), they gradually showed mood of *guo bu guan*
5. (unaccustomedness). *Pinnong* (poor peasant) Uncle Zhao noticed this situation. He thought to
6. himself that if they were not helped to pass this *shenghuo guan* (life challenge), it would still
7. be a question whether they can truly *zhagen* (take root) in *nongcun* (rural village) for their
8. whole life. Following the *zhishi* (instructions) from Vice President *Lin* about "If one is not



9. clear about the *ku* (bitterness) in the past, one will not know the *tian* (sweetness) of today, and  
10. will even mistake the *tian* (sweetness) of today as *ku* (bitterness)”, he gave *yiku sitian jiaoyu*  
11. (education) to the youths with his own *jiashi* (family history). In *jiu shehui*, Uncle Zhao’s  
12. family was short of food and clothing. He began to *kang dahuo* (do labor-intense work) for  
13. *dizhu* (the landlord) from teenage time and everyday was a struggle between life and death.  
14. *Jiefang hou* (after the Liberation), under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, Uncle Zhao  
15. and his family’s life gets happier and happier. *Yiku sitian jiaoyu* (education) enabled the  
16. youths to come to see that, *pin xia zhong nong* (poor and lower middle peasants) *zhongyu*  
17. (were loyal to) Chairman Mao. All they had in mind was how to increase the total amount of  
18. crop production and make greater contribution to the country. Yet they themselves lived a life  
19. marked with *qinjian jieyue* (diligence and thriftiness). We had been *duhai* (poisoned) in *jiu*  
20. *xuexiao* (old schools) by Liu Shaoqi’s *fan geming* (reactionary) *xiuzheng zhuyi* (revisionist)  
21. *jiaoyu luxian* (educational line) and lived like a parasite. We don’t know the *ku* (bitterness) in  
22. the past, and we don’t understand the *tian* (sweetness) of today. We even mistake today’s *tian*  
23. (sweetness) as *ku* (bitterness). We would not be able to construct socialism if we didn’t have  
24. the *jingshen* (spirit) of *wei geming chiku* (eating bitterness for the sake of revolution). From  
25. then on, they actively learned from *pin xia zhong nong* (poor and lower middle peasants) and  
26. compared their life downwardly<sup>52</sup>. They paid great attention to *qinjian jieyue* (diligence and  
27. thriftiness) and saved about six hundred *jin*<sup>53</sup> raw grain during the nine months period since  
28. *xiaxiang* (coming down to the countryside).

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<sup>52</sup> That is, to compare their life with those that is even worse materially.

<sup>53</sup> *Jin* is a weight measuring unit used in China. 1 lb equals to 0.9 *jin*. So 600 *jin* is about 667 lb.

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People’s comments and reactions to Weiguang Wang’s article can be seen at the following website: <http://comment5.news.sina.com.cn/comment/skin/default.html?channel=gn&newsid=1-1-30907684>