

CHINESE FILMS IN FOCUS II

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33 *Yellow Earth*: Hesitant Apprenticeship and Bitter Agency

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Writers and artists concentrate everyday phenomena, typify the contradictions and struggles within them and produce works which awaken the masses, fire them with enthusiasm and impel them to unite and struggle to transform their own situation ... To sum up, the creative labour of revolutionary cultural workers transforms the raw material of everyday life into literature and art that serve the people.

Mao Zedong, 'Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Art and Literature' (1942)

The sun has gone down behind the clouds, My mouth says nothing but my heart is grieving. Green grass and cow stool cannot put out a fire, So these mountain songs cannot save Cuiqiao. Me, Cuiqiao! Ah, the lot of a woman!

Folk song in *Yellow Earth* (Chen Kaige, 1984)

If Mao were to have his cultural workers 'transform' Cuiqiao's song, the bitter assertion that 'these mountain songs cannot save Cuiqiao' would probably be the first line to attract their editorial attention. The suggestion that folk songs may be useless for the improvement of one's material situation is surely not the best way to 'awaken the masses, fire them with enthusiasm and impel them to unite and struggle to transform their own situation'.¹ Yet, the very 'uselessness' of Cuiqiao's songs, which call attention to the limits of the singer's agency, offers other kinds of transformative possibilities. Chen Kaige's remarkable first film tells the story of an encounter between Gu Qing, a cultural worker from the Eighth Route Army, and the peasants whose songs he is supposed to collect and transform. The film is at once a critique of Mao's dysfunctional political project and an embodiment of the desire such a project inspires but is unable to fulfil.

Since its controversial release in 1984, followed by a critically acclaimed reception at the Hong Kong International Film Festival in 1985, *Yellow Earth* has sparked a number of important debates, not only in the study of Chinese cinema, but more generally in the consideration of Chinese culture, nationalism and the ambivalent legacy of the Communist Revolution. The initial critical reaction to the film in China largely comprises of literal interpretations that focus on questions of historical accuracy and the image of the peasantry.² By contrast, critics in the West seem much more interested in the film's figurative aspects, which appear to conceal far more than they reveal. For many critics, the elusive character of the film's symbolism creates a rupture in the text: a dimension of otherness that resists the film's dominant structure and ideology. Esther Yau locates this otherness in the 'non-perspectival presentation of landscapes' which decentres the gaze and instigates a Daoist aesthetic contemplation that undercuts the narrative strands of the text and resists her own 'Western analysis'.³ Mary Ann Farquhar develops this argument further and argues that the film's 'blank' shots of nature and sounds of silence are figures for the repressed and ignored Daoist principle of *yin*, the dearth of which results in a cosmic and seasonal disorder.⁴ Wary of attributing too hastily a 'Chinese difference' to the film, Rey Chow calls attention to the scene of the film's own dilemma: how to represent China through the arguably non-Chinese technology of the cinema.⁵ Chow suggests that the film stages conflicting notions of reform: the filmic image is aligned with a politics of identity while music, which 'empties out' rather than anchors the image's signification, alludes to a politics of difference.⁶ In a more recent article, Stephanie Donald also seeks to locate 'points of disruption' in *Yellow Earth* by analysing the film's landscape as a 'demon lover' that devours 'the object of its passion and the agency of its rivals'.⁷

These figures of otherness, whether interpreted as blank spaces, silence, music or the landscape, are pitched against the ideological rigidity of the Maoist project, apparently signified by Gu Qing. Chow characterises the soldier's presence in the village as symbolic of a 'politics of record' that 'signifies the thorough nature of political intervention in civilian life'.⁸

Donald also understands Gu Qing to be an 'agent of the Party' whose agency disappears as he becomes integrated into nature, because he 'cannot move forward as a successful agent of the Party' when he 'occupies a

harmonious position in the circulation of the natural world’.⁹ The Maoist project is thus perceived to be absolutely incompatible with the film’s trope of alterity: an outmoded historical moment that is superseded and displaced by the film’s new aesthetic.

While my reading of *Yellow Earth* owes a great deal to these insightful analyses, I wish to address the relative inattention they pay to the proximity between the desire of the Maoist project and that of the film itself. Chen Kaige, like most of the intellectuals, writers and artists of his generation, had spent parts of his early adulthood in the countryside as a sent-down youth. Mao’s injunction in this campaign to ‘apprentice’ urban youths to the peasantry was driven by ideological assumptions very similar to those behind Gu Qing’s assignment. Like many of his contemporary film-makers and writers, Chen often returns to the scene of this early ‘class apprenticeship’ in his works, most explicitly in *King of the Children* (1987). In fact, Chen’s description of how he and his cinematographer Zhang Yimou prepared for the filming of *Yellow Earth* is curiously reminiscent of Gu Qing’s sojourn in the village: ‘We went to the area where we were going to shoot for a month. We stayed with the peasants, lived with them, ate with them. We didn’t have a car or a bus. We walked.’¹⁰ The actual practice of making *Yellow Earth*, which involves the film-maker’s apprenticeship to his film’s subjects, thus *repeats* the soldier’s narrative. Like Gu Qing, the film-maker wrestles with the problematic but utopian desire to undo the fixity of one’s class origins through a radical cultural practice. Throughout the history of Communist China, such desire has haunted the lives of many intellectuals (who in the Party’s eyes are as likely to hold on to their class privilege as they are to ‘defect’ to the side of the masses) as they struggle to live up to the demands of the revolution. Yet, the film neither documents nor instantiates the fulfilment of this desire for what Gayatri Spivak has, in another context, provocatively termed ‘class deconstruction’.¹¹ Rather, the film’s elusive tropes of otherness, i.e. of what remains *persistently* desired, marks the impossibility of fulfilment. I will show that the failure of both Gu Qing’s and the film’s enterprise is a necessary corollary – and precisely the radical implication – of the logic of the enterprise itself.

MUTUAL APPRENTICESHIP AND THE MASS LINE

Yellow Earth begins with an encounter between sound and image. We hear a short folk tune, followed by the sound of wind blowing, as a short description of the film's setting scrolls down the screen. The archaic script of the text recalls the immense historical significance of the Shaan-Gan-Ning border region as the cradle of early Chinese civilisation and, subsequently, the heartland of an imperial culture. While this 'four-thousand-year-old culture' provides a powerful ideological symbol for a 'national culture', the resolute iconoclasm in Chinese nationalism also condemns it as a burden of tradition that stands in the way of modernity. The very incongruity of an archaic calligraphy scripting a story about the Communist Revolution ironically recalls the charge Chen Duxiu levied on the ideographic script as a 'home of rotten and poisonous thought' which is 'incapable of communicating modern ideas'.¹² In this opening scene, folk culture (the musical tune) is associated with nature (the sound of wind) and orality. It remains marginal to the image of the written text and functions as a possible resolution to the contradiction exemplified by the image.

Gu Qing's assignment is an example of Mao's attempt to create a national and modern culture that is at the same time revolutionary in character. Mao does not advocate the abandonment of all traditions, but rather an 'assimilation' of the 'democratic' aspect of traditional culture:

A splendid old culture was created during the long period of Chinese feudal society. To study the development of this old culture, to reject its feudal dross and assimilate its democratic essence is a necessary condition for developing our new national culture and increasing our national self-confidence, but we should never swallow anything and everything uncritically. It is imperative to separate the fine old culture of the people which had a more or less democratic and revolutionary character from all the decadence of the old feudal ruling class.¹³

The injunction to separate the 'fine old culture of the people' from the 'decadence of the old feudal ruling class' would privilege Shaanbei folk songs over Tang poetry (which is arguably also 'indigenous' to the region) as the defining ingredient of a national culture. Unlike Tang poetry, which is the fruit of imperial glory, this 'fine old culture of the people' has in fact been nurtured by adversity and oppression. When Gu Qing naively asks the old peasant how it is possible for people to remember so many folk songs, the peasant replies that one remembers 'when life is hard'. The unique character and the most dynamic radicalism of the Communist Revolution was also fostered in dire material conditions, exemplifying Mao's belief that

backwardness is an asset, rather than an obstacle, to the building of socialism. Yan'an politics, which deviated from more orthodox Comintern principles, was characterised by an emphasis on the revolutionary potential of the spontaneous consciousness of the masses and a deep suspicion of the rigid organisational structure of the Leninist vanguard party. The notion of the 'mass line' – which provides the motive for the Gu Qing's assignment in the film – was developed at this time. Mark Selden describes the 'mass line' in these terms:

Mass line conceptions of leadership brought honour and status within the grasp of every youth or adult who was prepared to devote himself wholeheartedly to the revolutionary cause, regardless of his class, formal training, or family background. If peasants could 'rise' to leadership through struggle and self-education, students, bureaucrats, and traditional elite elements could 'descend' by means of 'to the village' and production campaigns to unite with and lead the people within the confines of the village. In either case, leadership implied a break with the elitism of the past and the acceptance of a multiplicity of roles which traditionally had been separate and distinct.¹⁴

Gu Qing's assignment is thus supposed to serve a double purpose: to create a new national culture by 'assimilating' the 'democratic essence' of the culture of the region, as well as to foster the 'mass line' through cultural workers' efforts to 'unite with and lead' the peasants. The collection of folk songs is important both in and of itself, and as a process through which a community may be built on 'the acceptance of a multiplicity of roles which traditionally had been separate and distinct'.

The insistence on *mutuality* presents some suggestive problems. In a talk delivered to the cultural workers of the Shaan-Gan-Ning region in 1944, Mao refers to a dilemma Gu faces in the film:

Our culture is a people's culture; our cultural workers ... must act in accordance with the needs and wishes of the masses. All work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual, however well-intentioned. It often happens that objectively the masses need a certain change, but subjectively they are not yet conscious of the need, not yet willing or determined to make the change. In such cases, we should wait patiently. We should not make the change until, through our work, most of the masses have become conscious of the need and are willing and determined to carry it out.¹⁵

For Mao, consciousness-raising is necessary because class location and class identification do not necessarily – or even usually – coincide. The

Party collects and transforms folk songs as a means to instil a ‘subjective consciousness’ in the peasantry. At the same time, Mao realises that class identification cannot be imposed from without, least of all by members of another class.

In the film, Gu Qing follows this demand faithfully as he constantly engages the peasant on issues of revolution and women’s emancipation, but refrains from actively intervening in Cuiqiao’s situation. Gu is committed to learning from the peasants at the same time that he tries to educate them. The most provocative lesson arises, however, when what Gu learns actually disproves the fundamental assumptions of his enterprise. What if the peasants are ‘subjectively’ thoroughly conscious of their ‘objective’ needs but are still not impelled to follow the ‘objective’ solutions prescribed by the Party? What if the Party’s solutions do not always satisfy the masses’ needs, but merely instigate their desire to find other solutions? What if the truly radical implication of a ‘mutual apprenticeship’ between the Party and the masses demands that the Party relinquish its own authority as a representative of the masses?

BITTERNESS AND AGENCY

These questions are most clearly raised by the following scene, which takes place when Gu eats with the peasant’s family after ploughing the fields together:

Peasant: Young officer, what was it you said last night that you came here to collect?

Gu: I’m collecting folk songs [*min’ge*] from Shaanbei.

Peasant: (laughs) What folk songs, they’re just bitter tunes [*suan qu’er*]!

Gu: Do you know how to sing them, Uncle?

Peasant: I’m neither happy nor sad, what’s the point of singing?

Gu: There are so many folk songs in the region. Tell me, how do people remember them all?

Peasant: When life is difficult, you’d remember ...Why are you collecting bitter tunes?

Gu: To put new words to them, so that soldiers of Cuiqiao’s age can sing them. When people hear them, they’ll know why they’re suffering, why women are beaten, why workers and peasants should rise up. When our army hears them, they’ll fight the rich and the Japanese even more bravely. Chairman Mao and Commander Zhu both love listening to folk songs. Chairman Mao doesn’t just want us to learn how to sing, but also to learn to read and write. He wants all the people of China to eat properly.

The ordering of Gu's wants implies that consciousness-raising (through singing, reading and writing) is the precondition for material well-being (eating properly). This belief assumes that when people's consciousness is raised, agency follows. It is, however, a 'directed' agency. The songs should spur people's will to participate in a political movement organised by the Party, which would, in turn, ensure the material well-being of the people it represents. The insistence on such 'direction' means that any undirected (i.e. unintended and unforeseen) consequences of the consciousness-raising project must be eradicated at all costs.

The peasant's response to Gu's questions illustrates a different understanding of the relation between consciousness and agency. He does not understand why the soldier is so interested in folk songs, which to him are 'just bitter tunes'. The soldier uses the term *min'ge*, which refers to 'folk songs' or 'songs of the people'. By contrast, the peasant refers to the songs as *suan qu'er*: bitter tunes. This term drops out any mention of the 'folk', privileges the songs' melody over their lyric, and draws attention to the element of lament (bitterness). To the peasant, these songs are not important as part of a folk tradition or as raw material to be revolutionised by the Party. They are simply to be sung spontaneously, when one is happy or sad, and are remembered when 'life is difficult'. Folk songs are, according to the peasant's understanding, affective responses to one's lived experience. They exist solely within, and not a moment beyond, the immediate context of their spontaneous production. It would thus make no sense to 'collect' them. The film presents many moments of folk singing to illustrate this understanding of 'bitter tunes' and its critical implications for the soldier's project.

Worried that the soldier may be reprimanded by his leaders for not having collected enough folk songs, the peasant sings for him for the first and only time. This compassionate 'performance' on the eve of the soldier's departure suggests, in two distinct ways, that the peasant's understanding of the world far exceeds the assumptions behind the soldier's project. First, the composition of the shot that shows this performance draws attention to the peasant's 'bitter' compassion for his daughter. A close-up of the peasant's face is juxtaposed with a blurred image of Cuiqiao in the background, listening while she works. The song is a lament for the suicide of a young widow. Prior to this scene, we have learned that the peasant has arranged a marriage for Cuiqiao to a much older man. Between her mother's funeral

and savings for his little brother's future bride-price, there is little money left for a dowry and hence the prospect of a good match. In Gu Qing's eyes, the peasant is an unenlightened patriarch who does not understand his daughter's oppression. Yet, this song, ostensibly a performance for the soldier, also functions as a lament for his daughter, whose future is likely to be similarly tragic. It shows that, contrary to the soldier's belief, the peasant is neither unconscious of nor unsympathetic to his daughter's situation, even though such awareness and empathy do not in themselves lead to any action or change. The 'bitterness' of these songs thus derives not only from the sentimental music or the tragic scenario depicted by the lyric, but more fundamentally from an awareness of a discontinuity between subjective awareness and objective change. Second, the peasant sings for the soldier even though, as the scene discussed above clearly shows, he does not believe in the soldier's project. In fact, it is because the peasant does not believe that the collection of folk songs for revolutionary use is tenable that he stages this performance for the soldier. The peasant understands with insight that the project will fail. Out of empathy and compassion, he sings for the soldier so that he would have something in his 'collection' and not be reprimanded by his superiors. The actual moment of 'collection' thus belies the logic of the project. Yet, it should be valued precisely because it could facilitate the 'mutual apprenticeship' Mao envisions.



Yellow Earth: Cuiqiao

Cuiqiao's songs also question the relation between consciousness and agency. Her songs depict the condition of her oppression, yet they fail to articulate any possibility for change. Bitterness in song is not even considered an articulation in and of itself: thus Cuiqiao sings, 'I wish to speak my mind but I don't know how', even when she has just spoken her mind in a song. However, Cuiqiao's desire to sing prompts her to search for something beyond both the songs and the soldier's promise. Gu Qing's political ideals initially appeal to Cuiqiao because they propose equality for women. Gu argues with her father that women shouldn't be forced into arranged marriages and should be given educational opportunities. He 'shows off' his sewing skill to Cuiqiao to demonstrate that men in the Communist Party share responsibilities that are traditionally designated to be women's concerns. However, these apparently feminist principles actually marginalise Cuiqiao in their own ways. The rhetoric of equality is

underwritten by a process of masculinisation that inscribes the ideology of masculinity as the norm in which everyone may 'equally' participate. The film illustrates this process by contrasting the cinematic representation of Cuiqiao's singing with that of the waist-drum dance at Yan'an. Cuiqiao's songs – as yet 'unassimilated' by the revolution – are sung to sentimental orchestral accompaniment and linked, by means of parallel editing, to images of nature which are filmed in natural lighting and extreme long shots, minimally edited in slow panning long takes. Combined with the shadowy images of Cuiqiao's solitary figure and markers of her feminised labour (a water-bucket, a spinning-wheel, a bellows), these sequences reinforce the association of 'pre-revolutionary' folk culture with femininity, which is in turn associated with emotions and nature. By contrast, the waist-drum dance is filmed in a well-lit open space, edited at a frenzied pace, and foregrounds the male dancers' expressionless faces and highly co-ordinated movement. The image of disciplined and masculine collectivity bears a resemblance to the rain dance performed by male peasants at the end of the film. The parallel suggests that the 'revolutionary transformation' of folk songs marginalises feminine 'bitterness' in the same way that the rural patriarchal order, in a desperate bid for survival (during a famine), also substitutes 'bitterness' with collective discipline. The particular feminist rhetoric of Gu Qing's assignment is thus unwittingly complicit with a suppression of femininity in the interest of organisational discipline and ideological certainty.

There is, however, one very important and suggestive difference between the two scenes I compared above. In contrast to the high-angled long shots which film the rain dance as a spectacular upsurge of mass energy, the waist-drum dance is filmed in the style of hand-held motion photography. The systematic and co-ordinated movement of the dancers is incongruously represented in erratic and jerky shots. A shot/counter-shot links this agitated perspective to a close-up of the hesitant and anxious expression of Gu Qing watching as an onlooker. When the waist-drum dance becomes the object of Gu Qing's gaze – in short, the gaze of someone who has submitted himself to the Maoist pursuit of the 'mass line' – its status as 'revolutionary culture' becomes extremely unstable. Uncertainty and anxiety lurk beneath revolutionary ardour and discipline. What has the soldier learned from (the failure of) his assignment that produces this moment of anxiety? What is the relation between his lesson and Cuiqiao's?

I shall consider this question by discussing the most prominent figure of elusiveness in the film: nature.

RESPECT

Images of nature abound not only in the film, but also in Cuiqiao's folk songs, the aesthetic of which is related to the film's cinematography. Cuiqiao's songs always juxtapose a natural imagery (the frozen yellow river in June) with a social situation (being forced by one's father to get married). There is, however, no semantic link that would compel the listener to make a specific correspondence between the two. It is thus impossible to establish whether the frozen river resembles the situation of forced marriage or the girl's sorrow, or whether it is simply the scenery in front of her eyes when she sings. Similarly, the film's cinematography uses jump-cuts to juxtapose images of Cuiqiao's singing to that of the natural landscape, without diegetically connecting the two. Images of nature are thus not exhaustively assimilated to the narrative movement of both Cuiqiao's songs and the film's plot.

The film thus suggests that nature cannot be assimilated to the soldier's assignment and, by extension, the revolutionary project of the Chinese Communist Party that, like all other great revolutions of its time, is tied to the ideology of modernisation. One of the soldier's biggest blunders during his visit is his failure to understand the peasant's reverence for the natural landscape. In response to Gu's disrespectful laughter when he ritually sprinkles grains onto the ground before eating, the peasant says: 'You young people would not understand. This piece of yellow earth – you tread on it, step after step; you plough it, mile after mile. How can you not respect it?' What appears to the soldier to be merely a superstitious ritual signifies the peasant's particular lived relation to the land. Unlike the soldier's 'revolutionary' attitude towards rural life, the peasant does not regard nature simply as raw material. The yellow earth enables his livelihood but is not reducible to that function. The 'respect' it demands from him is a marker of this irreducibility.

The film also pays respect to nature precisely by its refusal to assimilate it, visually or diegetically, to an exhaustive signifying function. The dramatic sequence of Cuiqiao's departure illustrates the critical import of this gesture of respect. The camera cuts from a long shot of Cuiqiao rowing

her little boat into the Yellow River to extreme long shots of the natural landscape wherein the human figure has disappeared from sight. The significance of the editing remains unclear. Has nature ‘swallowed’ her boat, thus rendering her desire and agency irrelevant? Or has it carried her to the other side, thus providing a bridge between her desire and concrete changes? There is nothing in the cinematography or the subsequent narrative to supply the link between these images. The fate of Cuiqiao – as well as the role nature plays in it – remains ambiguous. As Cuiqiao sets out into the river, we hear her sing the revolutionary song that the soldier taught her brother. The last line of the song is, however, not completed: ‘The salvation of the people/Depends on (the) Communist –.’ Curiously overlooked by many critics, it is only the word ‘Party’ and not the word ‘Communist’ that has been silenced by the sounds of wind and water. Just as Cuiqiao may have survived, so the salvation of the people may depend, not on the Party – which is shown to have failed to live up to its promise, a failure ironically caused by its own ideological rigidity – but the utopian ideal (communism) it claims to serve. In contrast to the project of the Party, which seeks to suppress feminised figures of uncertainty, the film respectfully gives in to the irreducibility of nature. Images of nature are irreducible to the limits of signification imposed by the act of filming/reading, in the same way that folk songs are not reducible to their function as raw material in the service of the revolution.

This strategy of editing is used again at the very end of the film, in a similarly respectful act of refusal to assimilate the figure of the peasantry. This sequence shows the soldier’s return to the village. It is unclear if he has come to continue his unfinished project, to (belatedly) fulfil his promise to Cuiqiao, or to start something new. The film cross-cuts between shots showing the soldier walking away from the horizon, and that of the peasants performing the rain dance. Hanhan stands out among the peasants as he waves to the soldier and desperately tries to run against the crowd to meet him. At the end of the sequence, the soldier has disappeared from view and the final shot simply shows an image of the infertile earth. Does the soldier finally meet up with Hanhan or does the frenzied crowd keep them separate? Echoing the uncertainty of Cuiqiao’s fate, the film again refuses to supply the answer. This closing image of the earth is accompanied by Cuiqiao’s voice singing the words of the revolutionary song, not to the original melody, but to the melody of her bitter tune. This song does not

belong to the scene of that frame because Cuiqiao is either dead or has joined the army and is nowhere near the village during the drought. The song signifies the fulfilment of the soldier's assignment: a harmonious and mutual assimilation between the folk and the revolutionary. It remains an impossible utterance under the circumstances presented to us in the film, and thus exists in this last shot only as a ghostly echo, recalling the truncated song (and the as yet undelivered promise of communism) that circulates over the natural landscape after Cuiqiao has disappeared from the scene.

These ambiguous 'openings' in the film – Cuiqiao's departure and the soldier's questioning gaze and return to the village – are products of the Party's initial project, even though they are not its intended results. They are accidental corollaries of the revolutionary project, unaccounted for by its projections and subversive of its authority. Historically, such openings were consistently and ruthlessly shut down so that the authority and ideological certitude of the Party could be maintained.¹⁶ The film poses the challenging question: What if these openings were pursued rather than suppressed? It critiques the revolutionary history of the People's Republic of China on its own terms, while revealing the unrealised utopian potential of that history. What is impossible to articulate, and remains ambiguous within the diegetic logic of the film, becomes figures for what may be possible elsewhere, outside the medium of film and under different historical conditions.

NOTES

1. Mao Zedong, 'Zai Yan'an wenyi zuotanhui shan de jianghua' ('Talk at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art'), in *Mao Zedong Xuanji (Selected Works of Mao Zedong)*, vol. 3 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1991), 866. English translation in *Mao Zedong on Art and Literature* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1960), 19.
2. For a summary of the film's critical reception at the time of its release, see Geremie Barmé and John Milford, eds, *Seeds of Fire: Chinese Voices of Conscience* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1988), 251–269.
3. Esther Yau, 'Yellow Earth: Western Analysis and a Non-western Text', *Wide Angle*, 11, no. 2 (1989): 22–33.
4. Mary Ann Farquhar, 'The "Hidden" Gender in *Yellow Earth*', *Screen*, 33, no. 2 (1992): 154–164.
5. Rey Chow, 'Silent is the Ancient Plain: Music, Filmmaking and the Conception of Reform in China's New Cinema', *Discourse*, 12, no. 2 (1990): 87–89.
6. *Ibid.*, 96–99.
7. Stephanie Donald, 'Landscape and Agency: *Yellow Earth* and *Demon Lover*', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 14, no. 1 (1997): 97–112.

8. Chow, 'Silent is the Ancient Plain', 94.
9. Donald, 'Landscape and Agency', 110–111.
10. Chen Kaige, 'Breaking the Circle: The Cinema and Cultural Change in China', *Cineaste*, 17, no. 3 (1990): 29.
11. Gayatri Spivak, *In Other Worlds* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 182.
12. Cited in Lin Yu-sheng, *Crisis of Chinese Consciousness* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), 77.
13. Mao, 'Xin minzu zhuyi de wenhua' ('The Culture of New Democracy'), *Xuanji*, 2 (January 1940): 707–708; Mao, *On Art and Literature*, 75.
14. Mark Selden, *The Yen'an Way in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 276.
15. Mao, 'Yan'an zuotanhui' ('Yan'an forum'), *Xuanji*, 1012; Mao, *On Art and Literature*, 117.
16. See Merle Goldman, *Literary Dissent in Communist China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967) for an account of the consequence of dissent within the Chinese Communist Party (especially from cultural workers) during the revolutionary period; and her *China's Intellectuals: Advise and Dissent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981) for the post-revolutionary period under Mao's regime.