Successful posters of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China
Zhao Xuan

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Dissertação realizada no âmbito do Mestrado em Ciência de Comunicação, orientada pelo Professor Doutor Vasco Ribeiro

Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto

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Resumo

Como sabemos, o Partido Comunista Chinês foi, e continua a ser, forte em propaganda. Sucesso iniciado aquando da Revolução Cultura, em particular com o recurso ao cartaz como uma das mais fortes ferramentas de propaganda.

Esta dissertação centra-se, justamente, no estudo dos cartazes usados pela propaganda da Revolução Cultural chinesa. Através de análise de conteúdo, a nível qualitativo e quantitativo, propõem-se encontrar e tipificar o tipo de imagens e mensagens usadas nestes mesmos cartazes, assim como tentar perceber que informações o governo queria massificar. Parte-se para este estudo o eles mostraram suas informações nestes cartazes, se existe qualquer símbolo. Ao responder a estas perguntas, esta dissertação visa descobrir como o regime conseguiu lançar propaganda bem-sucedido usando cartazes.

**Palavras-chave:** Comunicação Política, Propaganda, Revolução Cultural Chinesa, Mao Zedong
Abstract

As we know, Communist China is good at propaganda. Successful propaganda was launched during the Culture Revolution, and the poster is one of the most important propaganda tool during the CR.

This dissertation focuses on propaganda posters during the Chinese Cultural Revolution. By adopting process tracing, also through content analysis and quantitative technique, this dissertation finds the characteristics of images and slogans of posters. By analyzing these posters, we can figure out what information the government wanted to spread to the masses, how they showed their information in these posters, and if there any symbol exists. By answering these questions, this dissertation aims to find out how the regime managed to launch successful propaganda by using posters.

Keywords: Political Communication, Propaganda, Poster, Chinese Cultural Revolution, Mao Zedong
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Introduction

The Cultural Revolution is a huge event happened after the establishment of new China and has influenced generations of Chinese people until today.

Chinese posters are very famous. The following two experts, Stefan R. Landsberger (1955) from Leiden University and Yang Peimin, the owner of Shanghai propaganda poster center, are famous of Chinese poster collection. Landsberger also does lots of researches on Chinese posters.

Poster, as a tool of propaganda, plays an important role in the history of political communication. The use of poster as a weapon for propaganda has a long history, especially during the two world wars poster was used as the main tool of propaganda. The recruitment poster of US “I want you”, the Hilter’s cult poster of Nazi Germany, even during the cold war, the constructivism posters of Soviet and, Communist China, then and another countries have their own characteristics. Posters of Communist China have its unique characteristics, and the Chinese government achieved huge successes through the use of poster, with the poster of the Culture Revolution as a particular example.

There already exists lots of literatures on poster analysis, but most of them only focus on one or several posters, therefore their scopes are quite narrow. Though my thesis is also about poster analysis, my range is much wider than many other studies. My research is based on mass data. I’ve collected 842 posters which are all produced in period of the Culture Revolution, so the outcome can be more representative.

My thesis is mainly a single-case study, in which I used process tracing as my main research method. Content analysis and quantitative methods are also used to reach conclusion.

The thesis consists of two chapters. Chapter one is the literature review, and I separated it into two sections, the literature review of propaganda, and the historical review of China and Culture Revolution.

Chapter two is the body of my study. In this part, I divided it into three steps:
My research is divided into three steps, **Step 1** and **Step 2** are about the image of poster, and **Step 3** is about slogan. Summaries are made at the end of each steps, and a general conclusion reached towards the end.

In **step 1**, according to the topic of these posters, I divided them into five categories with elaborations respectively: Friendship Maintaining, Model Following, Struggle Keeping, Masses Educating and Beautiful Life. After that, I divided each categories of posters into two parts: image dominant and slogan dominant. I summarized the common characteristics of images, including the characteristics of characters and the characteristics of the color the image use.

In **step 2**, I classified these posters through the lens of the different status of characters. I analyzed three groups of people or symbols: women and children; army, Red Guard and Reactionaries; and Mao’s badges, little red book and Mao’s sun-like image. I point out that how many posters have these people or symbol, find the proportion in total; also, summarize the characteristics of these images.

**Step 3** is focused on slogan, and all my slogans are derived from each “slogan dominant” part. I analyzed the characteristics of the slogan, and divided this research into two parts, sentence and word. Firstly, these slogans are categorized according to the different sentential forms, and then I found the proportion of each part. Secondly, I analyzed the words of the slogans, including verb, noun and adjective, in order to find the 10 high-frequency words.

The above research methods are applied to find the characteristics of the poster, and to see how the regime managed to launch successful propaganda by using posters.
Chapter I - Literature review

1.1. Propaganda

1.1.1. To Manipulate our Consciousness

Human beings were a new creature in the living nature. They living together in the society, sharing information with similar like ant, thinking abstractly, using words and language. Language and thinking are too huge and complex system, human beings use it and program their action or behavior effectively (Kala-Muerzh, Kara-Murza, & Changhan, 2004, p.9).

Consciousness, a psychological condition defined by the English philosopher John Locke as “the perception of what passes in a man’s own mind” (The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, 2015).

The word “manipulate” is come from Latin word manipulus, manus is hand, and ple means full in, in modern society, manipulate always used by metaphor, programming human beings’ opinion, emotion even mentation, in order to create the “correct” behavior that the manipulator needs (Kala-Muerzha, Kara-Murza, & Changhan, 2004, p.19). A modern dictionary of sociology (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969, p. 241) described manipulation as a type of exercise of power in which the power-holder “influences the behaviour of other without making explicit the behaviour which he thereby wants them to perform.

As Edward Bernays (1928, p.9) said:

The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in democratic society. Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country.
1.1.2. What is propaganda

According to early scholars, propaganda is government-led mechanism, which can be performed in many forms, to influence the way of thinking of its citizens (subjects) and their actions (Bernays, 1928, p.20; Russell 1941, p.35; Lasswell, 1935, p.189, 1950, pp.521-522; Albig, 1956, p.293; Ellul, Kellen & Lerner, 1973, p.63). Others emphasise its communicative nature, while still maintaining its importance of manipulating people (Barnouw&Barnouw, 1998, p.374; Kiad, 2008, p.658).

In essence, propaganda is a pejorative term and also anti-rational according to them (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009, p.804; O’Donnell, 2011, p.7). Propaganda appeals to feelings and emotions, to elemental drives and motives (Henderson, 1943, pp.72-73), it’s an invisible government (Bernays, 1928, p.20), also it some techniques, manipulate attitudes by the use of significant symbols (words, pictures, tunes) rather than violence, it addressed to feelings and passions, control our emotion, like love and hate (Lasswell, 1935, p.189; Ellul, 1973, p.84).

Propaganda is a continuous dialogue between sender and receiver, through persuasion, reasoning or suggestion, in order to change target audience’s emotion. Rational propaganda is the privilege of democracy, and the irrational one is the tool of totalitarian regimes, such as communism and Nazism. Propaganda is not only used in the political field, but also used widely in commercial field (Bryder, 2008, p.112; Moore, 2010, p.8; Vlăduţescu, 2014, p.42; "Power to the pictures: The evolution of propaganda", 2010).

Sometimes, propaganda is unconscious, but most of the times, it is a conscious thing, for specific goals, it can be defined as a deliberate attempt to influence the public opinions of the masses. Sharing ideas and values, serve for a specific persuasive purpose (Welch, 2013, p.2). How to do a great propaganda, Hitler (1943, p.165) said,” the receptivity of the great masses is very limited, their intelligence is small, but their power of forgetting is enormous. In consequence, all effective propaganda must be limited to a few points and must harp on these in slogans until
the last member of the public understands what you want him to understand by your slogan.”

1.1.3. The development of propaganda

Propaganda does exist on all sides of us, and it does change our mental picture of the world (Bernays, 1928, p.26).

O’Donnell (2011, p.52) emphasize that the history of propaganda is based on the increasing of three requirements, the increasing of need, the dominators ask for more ‘hearts and minds’; the increasing of sophistication of the means of communication and the increasing of understanding of the psychology of propaganda and the commensurate application, the history of propaganda, we can trace back to the ancient Greece.

Propaganda used effectively in about 500 BC, it used by rulers to support the war or religious persuasion, while the first systematic application of propaganda was founded after about 800 BC, and we found the deliberate uses of disinformation as a propaganda ploy in the battle between the Persians King Darius and his son Xerxes. The Great Alexander (356 BC-323 BC) studied the “psychology” of his enemies, and he was the first person realized that the power of cohesion and the power of control is important, he use these as a symbol to maintain his country and populations, these strategies are still widely used today (O’Donnell, 2011, p.53).

The origin of actual word ‘propaganda’ can be traced back to Reformation, Propaganda Fide created in 1622, and the collegian urban established in 1627, this agency is serve as a college training the young priest to convincing people to convert without the sword, the word is derived from Latin word propagate, it means “to spread out, to enlarge” (Welch, 2013, p.6; Kaid, 2008, p.659; Littlejohn&Foss, 2009, pp.804-806). propaganda means to disseminate or promote specific ideas, but most of the people concerned it negatively, it’s a synonym of lies, lies, distortions, deceit,

The employment of propaganda increased steadily throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, strong power showed in American revolutionary war and the French revolutionary war, because of the French revolutionary war, propaganda transmitted widely in Continental Europe as a technique, which could universally be employed for all political goal (Welch, 2013, pp.11-12; Kaid, 2008, p.659).

Propaganda became one of the most important weapons in the WW1, media developed quickly, and the mass audience was created (Welch, 2013, p.12).

### 1.1.4. The classification of propaganda


1) Political propaganda and sociological propaganda;

He summarized that there are two kinds of propaganda, political propaganda and sociological propaganda, political one represented by Hitler’s and Stalin’s. And the sociological one demonstrated by Christianity.

2) Propaganda of agitation and propaganda of integration;

Propaganda of agitation, which is always led by the party, in order to destroy the old political power and establish a new one, like Hitler’s propaganda is the typical one. The propaganda of integration is gentler than the former one, its aims to stabilize the social body.

3) Vertical propaganda and horizontal propaganda;

The vertical propaganda is a classical propaganda, and the horizontal one is much more recent development. Lasswell’s direct propaganda and effect propaganda
were all vertical propaganda, and the Chinese propaganda and group dynamics in human relations were all horizontal propaganda.

4) Rational propaganda and irrational propaganda.

Huxley (1958) said there are two kinds of propaganda-rational propaganda in favor of action that is consonant with the enlightened self-interest of those who make it and those to whom it is addressed, and non-rational propaganda that is not consonant with anybody’s enlightened self-interest, but is dictated by, and appeals to passion.

Kaid (2008, pp.658-661) thought exist three major types of propaganda in modern society:

1) War propaganda, which is always performed by the military, is used in both democracies and authoritarian systems;

2) Sociological propaganda in totalitarian regimes;

3) Political propaganda in democracy countries.

According to properties of the attributed source, propaganda could be classified into white, gray or black. The sources of white propaganda are identified correctly, the sources of black propaganda are totally false, and the fray one is somewhere between these two (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009, p.804; O’Donnell, 2011, pp.17-23).

1.1.5. Propaganda and education

Propaganda is always compared with education, and different scholars give different definitions.

Lasswell (1935, p.188) focus on what they spread, propaganda spread controversial attitudes, and education spread accepted attitudes and skills. Littlejohn and Foss (2009, p.804) considered that based on one’s point, what other people does is propaganda and what I do is education. Propaganda isn’t education, the core difference the purpose, education is trying to teach people how to think and how to
make up their minds, but propaganda is trying to tell people what to think (Martin, 1932, p.29, Welch, 2013, p.2). Doob (1935, p.80) added, through the use of suggestion, propagandist wants to control other’s mind, and educator just helps others to what they want.

Through Barnouw and Barnouw’s (1998) research, they concluded three major characteristics of propaganda:

1) Propaganda is attempt to influence is described as biased;

2) Propaganda is attempt to influence is considered to be motivated by personal gain;

3) Propaganda is attempt to influence is portrayed as intentional.

1.2. Advertising

1.2.1. What is advertising

The word “advertising” means catch people’s attention (Dyer, 1988, p.2), the advertising can cover all types of publicity, and advertising industry makes the words more special (Fletcher, 2010, p.1). Advertising can affect all kind of people, it can change people’s attitudes, behaviors even values, is a tool of promotion and persuasion (Sheinkopf, Atkin & Bowen, p.401, 1972; Lambin, 1975, p.144; Dyer, 1988, p.61; Gibbons, 2005, p.158; Tymorek, 2010, p.vii; Welukar & Harichandan, p.101, 2011). It can impact people’s emotion, and the general goal of it is to sell products or ideology (Brierley, 1995, p.55).

1.2.2. Tools and classification of advertising

Exist many kinds of advertising (Dyer, 1988, p.3), different authors have classified advertising in different ways, Welukar and Harichandan (2011, p.35) classified the advertising through 5 respects: Area Covered, Audience, Media, Functions, and Advertising Stages.
And they also concluded Philip Kotler opinion; Philip Kotler classified the advertising in more details (Welukar & Harichandan, 2011, pp.22-23),

a) Geographical Area: National, Regional or Local.


c) Type of Appeal: Factual and Emotional.

d) Audience: Consumer, Industrial, Trade.

e) Level of Demand Influence: Primary Product Level, Selective Brand Level.

According to the function and role, scholars (Welukar & Harichandan, 2011, pp.27-31) thought that there exist distinctions between public relation advertising and political advertising, the former one is focused on establishing cordial and healthy relations with the general public, and the latter one is the tool for political parties to share their ideology and motivate the public.

Some author classifies the advertising through the different media, newspaper, magazine, radio, television, directories, outdoor and transit, direct mail, catalogues and leaflets, and online ("Types of advertising | Queensland Government", 2014).

1.2.3. Advertising in politics

Advertising can be used in several of filed, political, economic, legal, ethical areas (Rodgers & Thorson, 2012).

Modern advertising impacts society more than hundreds of years, early advertising rhetoric should be considered as a part of developing process of propaganda and persuasion (Dyer, 1988, pp.11-12), according to Rutherford (2000, p.3), advertising equals propaganda, as “all of this publicity and promotion is part of propaganda today though it is rarely recognized as such.”

Political advertising is one of an important type of advertising, it uses widely in politics, Rutherford (2000, p.8) called it “civic advocacy”. Holtz-Bacha and Kaid
(2006, pp.3-13) define political advertising as “any controlled message communicated through any channel designed to promote the political interest of individuals, parties, groups, government, or other organizations.”

Political advertising can be seen as the most important genre of advertising (Wedding, 1975, p.7; Welukar & Harichandan, 2011, p.87), some maintains that advertising is a tool that enables politicians to send their messages to a large number of masses who tend to be apolitical, who are not particularly interested in political campaigns ("POLITICAL ADVERTISING", n.d., P.87).

1.2.4. Slogans

Advertising language usually are unusual or stylish phrase or sentence, these words can present communicator’s idea, catch our attention and imagination, aid our memory even affect our mind, these words not only describe things but also communicate feelings, associations, and attitudes (Dyer,1988, pp.111-112; Welukar & Harichandan, 2011, p.101).

The original word of the slogan is “slaughghairm”, which means “army cry” or “war cry”, as Lu (1999, pp.490-492) said, “The manifestation and practice of ideology are revealed through political language characterized by slogans”.

Lu (1999, p.493) considered slogan as a particular form of public discourse which aims to unify public thoughts and agitate public actions and reactions, it is powerful means of disseminating propaganda during times of war. Likewise, slogan plays a vital role in inspiring people; it is one of the most convenient tools to mobilize people (Xia, 2009, pp.109; Al-Sowaidi, Banda & Mansour, 2015, p.2).

In the Chinese case, the English word “slogan” is comprised of two part, poster, and slogan, posters aimed to catch people’s attention, slogans are designed to be shouted in the public area (Xia, 2009, p.109). Like other totalitarian country, slogans act as a powerful tool of persuasion in communist China (Lu, 1999, pp.502-504).
1.3. Visual propaganda

1.3.1. Visual Propaganda, poster, and its effects

The first prints were produced at about A.D.200, and the first press appeared at about A.D.600 (Moore, 2010, p.37), in the history, the art served for propaganda for a long time (Weitz, 2000, p.43).

Visual imagery also used as a tool of persuasion for a long time, from the B.C. to A.D., but until the WW1, people started to conside the use political poster as a major form of visual propaganda ("Power to the pictures: The evolution of propaganda", 2010). The art of visual propaganda is powerful; potentate can convert non-believers through it (Moore, 2010, p.30). Visual propaganda always catches people’s attention through touch emotions (Bryder, 2008, p.112). Visual propaganda is as important as the verbal message, compared with words; the image is much easier to catch receiver’s attention Goldstein (2009, p.2).

1.3.2. Poster

As a medium of communication, advertising is a major tool to bring the organizations’ idea to the public, advertising poster is one of the most common means of advertising, it plays an important role in promoting (Sifaki & Papadopoulou, 2015, p.458).

Posters have been used to inform and persuade heavily in the 1800s and early 1900s, in the nineteenth century, they were the predominant means of communication (Seidman, 2007, p.207). While in the 20 century, they became a tool of political communication, until the 1950s, they represented the spirit of the corporate product and became a significant part of advertising (Littlejohn, 2009).

As an outcome of words and image (Littlejohn, 2009), poster is one of the most important visual messages at a time before the television exist and newsreels and the press censored (Weitz, 2000, p.43), it works as a diachronic component of
communication (Sifaki & Papadopoulou, 2015, p.461), it is a mass-produced graphic presentation, aim to propagate and persuade (Witkowski, 2003, p.70).

The significance of using posters was illustrated by Dymarczyk (2014, p.7) said, i.e. “A poster was a vanguard of “image communication” that dominates nowadays”. As a tool of propaganda, posters impact public opinion and gain widespread influence (Rider, 1983; "World War Two Government Posters: How did Britain encourage people at home to help win the war?", 2008). As Rider (1983) said, through illustrating and marked text, posters have a strong psychological effect. Like In the same vain, which can evoke deep memories which can be very powerful spiritual and mobilize masses (Davis, n.d.; James, 2009; "The Art of War: WWI and WWII Posters", 2016).

One of the advantages of the poster is they are cheap to make, easy to transport and they can be distributing wider quickly (Kenez, 1985; Fox, 2009, p.77), it is a useful tool to promote companies (Seidman, 2007, p.215).

“Political posters are visual means of communicating political messages to large audiences (Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 2008, p.626)”. According to Hitler and Manheim (1943, p.147), “The art of the advertisement poster consists in the ability of the designer to attract the attention of the crowd through the form and colors he chooses. The advertisement poster announcing an exhibition of art has no other aim than to convince the public of the importance of the exhibition. The better it does that, the better is the art of the poster as such”. Nice posters capture audiences’ attention through powerful imagery, prominent text, and strong color (Seidman, 2007, p.207). As scholars mentioned above, symbols and colors are a key part of the posters.

Color always has significant effects (Seidman, 2007, p.217). Hilter (1943) said after their careful consideration, they choose particular Bolshevism red to arise people’s attention, strong red, white, and blue pattern echoes the US flag, shows patriotic (Ryan, 2012, p.250), in Muslim poster, green used widely (Dabbous, Nasser, & Dabbous, 2010, p.608).

Compared with the US poster, the tone of German poster was much darker (Kaminski, 2014, p.76), and the images were more negative ("World War II Posters: Powers of Persuasion", 2001).

1.3.3. Wartime poster

Lasswell (1938) identified four major propaganda objectives in his famous book Propaganda technique in the World War:

1) To mobilize hatred against the enemy;

2) To preserve the friendship of allies;

3) To preserve the friendship and, if possible, to procure the cooperation of neutrals;

4) To demoralize the enemy.

Monger (2016) identified posters as the most familiar elements of wartime propaganda. Two World Wars and the following Cold War were the heyday of political posters, as posters became served as a crucial strategic tool of war propaganda on all sides (Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 2008, pp.658-661).

During this first “total war”, propaganda works as a significant weapon, it mobilized and controlled people’s ideology, and evoked strong emotions (David, 2013, p.95; Badsey, 2016, n/p; Ther, 2016, n/p). Posters became ubiquitous sense the WW1 began (Witkowski, 2003, p.71), it acts as a mature advertising tool and artistic medium (James, 2009, p.19). During the two world wars, the First World War and the Second World War, organizations used posters for recruitment, to
raise money through bond sales for equipment, and provide aid overseas for the
troops and refugees, which arouse people’s patriotic fervor effectively (Rider,

Posters were a major part of the overall propaganda effort during World War
II (Ryan, 2012, p.250). Countries used poster during the WW1. Britain brings
poster into modern form, no matter in Britain or Ireland, the most recognizable
propaganda materials during the first word war were posters (Monger, 2016); with
the heavy Britain propaganda impact, Australian use British template to create
their recruiting posters and provide the fundamental just war defense for the
conflict through the medium of atrocity propaganda (Robertson, 2016); the
American propaganda posters of the World War I also fulfilled these conditions
for effective modern propaganda. (Kazeckl & Liblang, 2009); because of their
history, French poster was full of heroic and romantic (Fogarty, 2009).

During the World War II, governments created their own propaganda agency.
For example, the, British government established Ministry of Information (MOI);
the, US government set up Office of War Information (OWI) Office of Strategic
Services (OSS); Soviets created Directorate of Propaganda and Agitation of the
Central Committee and the Political Warfare Executive (PWE) dealt with enemy
territory Germany (David, 2013, pp.95-100).

1.4. Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

1.4.1. The idea of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The term “Culture Revolution” is best known as a huge upheaval in China in
the 1960s, but the first person who rises this term is Lenin, and Stalin launched it
in Soviet latter. Lenin (1923, w/p) mentioned the term “culture revolution” in his
early work On Cooperation.

(…) This Cultural Revolution would now suffice to
make our country a completely socialist country (…)
And in his (1923, w/p) last work *better fewer, but better*, he highlight the importance of culture again.

(...) I say culture deliberately, because in these matters we can only regard as achieved what has become part and parcel of our culture, of our social life, our habits

(...) As Lux (2012, p.42) said, “Lenin’s treatment of ‘cultural revolution’ presupposed an organic relation between culture and education of the masses whereby socialist culture would supplant residual values of ‘bourgeois culture.’”

After Stalin seized power, Stalin launched soviet culture revolution during the soviet First Five-Year Plan, during this period, old Russian intelligentsia suffered a huge hit, they were overthrown by so-called cultural revolutionaries, they were alleged guilty, in order to refresh their old capitalist ideology, they were been watched and forced to stop their academic research instead of went to do physical effort, and these so-called cultural revolutionaries had a military-sounding name, "light cavalry" (Fitzpatrick, 1978, p.1). It was a class war" (Fitzpatrick, 1978, p.8).

1.4.2. Revolution, culture, education and civilization

To understand “cultural revolution”, we need to understand the definitions of both words first of all. It’s easy to understand the word “revolution”. According to the dictionary (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.), revolution, in social and science, major, sudden, and hence typically violent alteration in government and related associations and structures.

Culture, is comes from the Latin word *cultura*, Kluckhohn and Kroeber (1952, p.155) think it is a product; a historical; includes ideas, patterns, and values; is selective; is learned; is based upon symbols; and is an abstraction from behavior and the products of behavior. For ruling class, culture is a mechanism of social control, while for ruled class, culture gives a feeling of what’s right and what’s wrong (Carde, 2015, 99.18-19). And,
“it (culture) functions as a building block for account of the foundations, scope and validity of knowledge (Bye, Rosness & Røyrvik, 2016, p.73).”

Culture is superstructural, produced from felling; it works toward no immanent end; its oriducts are unique, plural, non-additive. Weber distinguishes three components: social process, civilizational process, and cultural movement (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p.17).

1.4.3. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China

The ‘Cultural Revolution’, which lasted from May 1966 to October 1976, was responsible for the most severe setback and the heaviest losses suffered by the Party, the state and the people since the founding of the People’s Republic. It was initiated and led by Comrade Mao Zedong (Literature Research Office of the CPC Central Committee, 1981)

In 20th centuries, one of the biggest political events in the People’s Republic of China must be The Great Proletarian Culture Revolution (1966–1976). Guo Jian, Yongyi Song and Yuan Zhou (2006) pointed out that, it wasn’t a revolution, it was a civil war, came closer to a free-for-all. Is a conflict between ruling class and old ruling class, between have-nots and haves, young and elders, uneducated and educated, countryside and city.

1.4.4. Why the Great Proletarian Culture Revolution happen

After Anti-Japanese War, The Civil War, China dropped into 10 years’ chaos again, the great proletarian Culture Revolution is a political mass movement, it was held by the chairman of Communist party, the upper leader of China, Mao Zedong (Fitzpatrick, 1978, p.107).

Mao though he lost the top power since the Great Leap Forward and the gap between him and the others party leaders became wider, he though bourgeois and ‘counterrevolutionary revisionists’ had sneaked into the party, in order to take over the top power again and purify the communist party, Mao launched the so-called Culture
Chapter II. – Case study

2.1. Objective

As we know, communist China launched successful propaganda especially since they seized power in 1949. Mao launched Culture Revolution in 1966, which lasted for more than 10 years; during these years, propaganda was everywhere, and the cult of Mao also reached the peak. Communist China used various tools to do their propaganda during the CR, like radio, magazine, journal, and one of the most visible ones is the poster.

Through the research, I want to know the propaganda history of Culture Revolution, especially the propaganda poster of this 10 years, what topic the government focused on, which part they paid more attention and which part they just paid little attention. How they share their idea to the people through the poster, what is the characteristic of image and slogan? What are the characteristics of Culture Revolution propaganda poster, who is the major figure of the image, their gender, age even occupation, what characteristics the major figure has? As the top leader of China, during these 10 years, what is the distinguish feature of the image of Mao.

2.2. Data

I collected 842 posters, and all of them were downloaded from Professor Stefan R. Landsberger’s Flicker. All the posters were created between 1966 and 1976.

2.3. Methodology

This case study is focused on the CR poster, using process tracing (Collier, 2011) and content analyze (Krippendorff, 2004) as the main research method, aiming to answer how communist China propagandize masses through posters during the CR.

As my major research method is process tracing and content analyze, I divided my research into three steps, in order to find the result that how the communist party does their propaganda poster, what are the characteristics of these propaganda posters. Step 1
and Step 2 is about the image of the poster, and Step 3 is the slogan. After I analyze these three steps, I will make a conclusion about the characteristic of Culture Revolution poster.

**Step 1**

First, according to different topics, I divided these posters into five categories; second, according to different focuses of the topic of each category, I classified these categories into several small sections.

Then, I divided each of small sections into two parts: image dominant and slogan dominant. If have, I will classify the image dominant or slogan dominant poster in details through the common character.

And then I summarize the common characteristics of images, including the characteristics of characters and the characteristics of the color the image use(Figure 1).

**Step 2**

After analyzing these posters according to different topics, I’d like to analyze these posters through the lens of the different status of characters. I will analyze several groups of people: women, children.

Then, I will analyze the image of army, Red Guards and reactionaries.

Finally, I will analyze the symbol of the Culture Revolution which showed in posters, including Mao’s badges, quotations of Mao, also, analyses Mao’s sun-like image.

I will analyze how many posters have these images and the proportion in the total of posters, then, I will give the example posters of each group of peoples.

**Step 3**

I will employ content analysis to figure out my research in this step, in order to analyze the characteristics of the slogan.

Firstly, I’d like to divide these slogans into several parts according to the different sentential forms, and I will find the proportion of each part.
Secondly, I will analyze these words of the slogan, including verb, none, and adjective, based on these, find the 10 high-frequency words.

![Figure1: The main classification of posters](image)

2.4. Results

2.4.1. Step 1

According to different topics, I classified these posters into five types: Friendship Maintaining, Model Following, Struggle Keeping, Masses Educating and Beautiful Life (Table 1 and Graphic 1).

From Table 1 and Graphic 1, you can see that 37 posters are about the Friendship Maintaining which accounts for only 5% of the total, and the proportion of other types is almost at equal level: 229 posters about Masses Educating (27%); 222 posters about Model Following (26%); 185 (22%) posters about Beautiful Life and 169 (20%) posters about Struggle Keeping.
Table 1: Main classification

In order to do the detailed analysis of the posters, I divided each topic into several small topics according to the distinction of the themes of posters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friendship Maintaining</th>
<th>Model Following</th>
<th>Struggle Keeping</th>
<th>Masses Educating</th>
<th>Beautiful Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graphic 1: Main classification

2.4.1.1. Friendship maintaining

The category FRIENDSHIP MAINTAINING can be categorized into three small topics: [the friendship] with Taiwan; [the friendship] with foreign countries; the civil-military relations and [the friendship] with minorities (Table 2 and Graphic 2).

2.4.1.1.1. Civil-military relations
There are 25 posters about civil-military relations, and these posters can be divided into two parts: slogan dominant and image dominant. In this section, 13 posters are image dominant and 12 posters are slogan dominant (Graphic 3).

In slogan dominant posters, the images aren’t about specific events or specific scenes. These images were just used to enhance the visual impact, while the core is a slogan. In this part the civil and military showed the close relationship and deep friendship through some action, for example, hands together, body close together, or civil faces to a group of militaries and shows their affection in their face. The character is the center of the image and the figure is great, most of them look serious (8/12). The background is abstract. The main color of these posters is red (9/12), red used widely as the background, and the tone of the image is warm.
On the contrary, image dominant poster always showed specific events or actions, and the words are just used to describe the action or event; the core is an image. The image is describing the normal daily life. Both civil and military showed their happiness on the faces (11/13). We can see that the civil and the military were in a close relationship in daily life; civil learned from the military, and the military helped the civil; the civil adores the military, and the relationship between civil and military was like the one between relatives. The background is concrete. These 13 image dominant posters were colorful and bright.

2.4.1.1.2. The relationship with foreign countries

There’re only eight posters in this section, two slogan dominant, and six image dominant (Graphic 4).

In these two slogan dominant, one shows a group of Red Guards welcoming oversea friends, they take specific CR symbol things with them, like the little red book, armbands, and badge, they look happy. In another poster, people also look happy and most of them
were wearing badges. The image of characters occupied most part of the poster, the background is not concrete. The color of two posters are warning and bright.

**Graphic 4:** The proportion of the relationship with foreign countries

The image dominant posters showed the deep friendship between Chinese people and Africans, [North] Koreans, and Latin-Americans, and the heart between all the oppressed groups was linked. Among these posters, one poster showed the friendship between leaders; the main color of this poster is red, and the leaders were smiling to each other and held hand in hand. Others were about the civil level, and the image is colorful and bright. And people looked happy; Chinese people teach foreigners several techniques, and they communicate about various subjects.

2.4.1.1.3. The relationship with Taiwan

Both of the two posters in this section were slogan dominant (**Graphic 5**) which showed Taiwanese are mainland people’s relatives, and Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits are of the same bloodline. In these posters, both sides are happy, but the clothing was different, with the Taiwanese more western wearing suit and leather shoes,
while the mainland people more “revolutionary”. The background is concrete and the tone of posters is colorful and bright.

**Graphic 5**: The proportion of the relationship with Taiwan

2.4.1.4. The relationship with the minorities

Only two posters in this section and they are all image dominant posters (Graphic 6). These posters showed a close relationship between the majority Han Chinese and minorities, no matter in daily life or during working hours, they looked pleased. The image is bright and colorful and the background is concrete.

2.4.1.2. Model following

According to the **table 3** and the **graphic 7**, in this category, 41 posters are about the unknown model following, and in 46 posters, the leading role is famous, 135 posters are about cult of Mao, as the principal architects of the Culture Revolution, cult of Mao showed everywhere, in this section, 135 posters showed the adoration directly, but and other symbols of Mao, like Mao’s badge, like the little red book, also showed widely in posters with different topics as an important symbol, which I will analyze in **Step 2**.
**Graphic 6:** The proportion of the relationship with minorities

**Graphic 7:** Main classification of model following
2.4.1.2.1. Unknown model following

In this part, six (15%) posters are slogan dominant and 35 (85%) posters were image dominant (Graphic 8).

In these six posters, the figures are less important, and slogans praise them directly. But in the image, these major figures are in the center, and they look great and lofty. The background is abstract but magnificent, which render the major figures more majestic. The color is a bit single, but the background color is matched with the major figure’s color.

Graphic 8: The proportion of unknown model following

Thirty-five (35) posters are image dominant, and the slogan is used to describe the image. These posters can be divided into two types, common civil and soldier. In the
common civil part, 19 posters in the construction and production part, nine posters are setting ideological and moral model. These posters depict people working hard or learning hard or helping others, in the common civil part, if the topic is connected with setting ideological model, the expression will be more serious, but if the topic is connected with setting moral model or working hard, they look happier.

And on the poster, we can see that they wear different clothes, which represent their job types, and also showed they come from the lower level. This unknown model can be used to depict anyone who is working hard or having advanced ideas. In other seven posters, the leading role is soldiers, these soldiers look serious, these posters make a hero of the soldier. The color of soldier leading poster is a bit drabber than the common civil leading poster. Most of the background is concrete.

2.4.1.2.2. Famous model following

![Pie Chart]

**Graphic 9:** The proportion of famous model following

In this section, the government called the civil to learn from these models. This type has 46 posters, including 21 image dominant posters and 25 slogan dominant posters (**Graphic 9**).
The figure’s image, or the scene that people learning his story were showed in the image dominant poster, and the figure’s image is isolated in the center with the specific background which made him looks greater, the figure is doing something, like working hard, helping others, or learning hard. And in other posters, teacher or other person is telling the people the story of the figure as they considered the figure a model.

In the slogan dominant posters, the information that the governments want to spread is clearer. “To learn from these people” is the common topic of every slogan, most of the figures are happy, the figure is the center, and the background is abstract. The tone of the image is warm.

These two categories including 87 posters, no matter the model is unknown or famous, these models can be classified into three types: a model of construction, model of revolution and model of moral. Thirty posters are about the model of construction, 39 posters are about the model of revolution and 18 posters are a model of moral.

2.4.1.2.3. Cult of Mao

As the principal architects of the Culture Revolution, he has an important position in this event, as the chairman of the country. During the CR, the cult of Mao reached the top. It is an important part of Communist propaganda; during CR, people showed their idolatry in various ways, also, Mao’s great image spread through all channels of the mass media, the poster is one of the important components.

I collected 135 posters, among which, 51 are image dominant, and 84 are slogan dominant, these posters are praising Mao directly (Graphic 10).
Fifty-one (51) posters are image dominant poster, most of them are Mao surrounded by a group of people, both of them are quite happy, in these images, Mao is friendly and affability. And in these posters, the background is concrete, the image is colorful and bright.

Eight-four (84) posters are slogan dominant, these posters are warm and red, some of the posters are without Mao, if the poster within Mao, Mao must the major figure of the poster, in this poster, Mao is acted as a great leader.

In order to analyze these posters in details, according to the Mao’s figure, we can divide them into three part: without Mao’s figure, with a picture of Mao’s head, with Mao’s half-length or full-length picture.

Only 25 posters were without Mao’s figure, and all of the “without Mao’s figure” posters are slogan dominant posters except four posters, these four posters are about the landscape which significant to Mao, and other 21 posters are based on characters. Mao does not appear in these posters, but some symbols showed, people holding up Mao’s
little red book, wearing Mao’s badge, and with the strong and direct slogan. the tone of the image is dark and warm, and the main color is red and army green.

Twenty-five (25) posters are “with the picture of Mao’s head”, in this part, Mao acted as a spiritual leader; some people hold Mao’s picture, which encouraged them to go forward. and in others image, Mao is the sun, and he is in the upper center of image, rays of light shooting up from the image of his head. In all of these images, Mao is depicted with an old age, except one is young.

Mao’s half-length or full-length images showed in other 84 posters, in these poster Mao is majestic, and he is at the center of the image, if he isn’t isolated, his image must be bigger than all of other people.

We can also divide the posters of with Mao’s half-length or full-length picture into two parts, Only Mao and Mao with a group of characters.

Twenty-eight (28) posters are only Mao, in these posters, Mao is the center, either smiling or being serious. Mao wears the military uniform, standing on the top, and considering the development of the country. These posters showed Mao as a great leader with ambition.

Fifty-six (56) posters are Mao with others, and 11 posters especially with Lin Biao. In these posters, Lin is behind of Mao or beside Mao, but his images are smaller than Mao. These posters showed that Lin enjoyed a close relationship with Mao during Culture Revolution until Lin escaped, and before that time, Lin is the second great leader.

Forty-five (45) posters are Mao with others. in these posters, Mao is surrounded by people, and Mao talk with them, work with them, teach them, even praise them, and all the people look happy. In these posters, Mao acts as a talented teacher, a close friend, delighted in a fostered man-of-the-people image.

2.4.1.3. Struggle keeping

This topic including three topics: on though, overthrow the reactionaries; in action, keep class struggle; against imperialism (Table 4 and Graphic 11).
Table 4: Main classification of struggle keeping

According to the table 4 and graphic 11, we can see that “overthrow the revolutionaries” almost occupied 50%, and other two parts are equal, 44 posters, 26%.

2.4.1.3.1. Against imperialism

Forty-four (44) Posters in this section, 39 posters are slogan dominant and only five posters are image dominant (Graphic 12).

In the slogan dominant part, two posters are simply based on words, without any image. one of the posters is a quotation of Mao, which is used to encourage people to fight with imperialism, and another one is language teaching, teaching people how to propaganda directed to the enemy at the front line.
In other 37 slogan dominant posters, image is used to modify the atmosphere. In the picture, characters look dignified, with the weapon or the little red book in their hands, expressing their belief. Raising the hand above the head or in front of the chest shows their strong will. 25 posters emphasized the arm, in these images, the sleeve is rolled up and the strong arm showed, with strong muscles and clenched fist meaning that they have high combat effectiveness. The tone of the image is dark and warm, and the major color is red and army-green.

Five posters are image dominant, these image are describing events, three of them are people fighting enemies, one is the skill of fighting, and another one shows that people keep a wary eye on the enemy.

In these images, people looks serious, the tone of the image is colorful and brighter than the slogan dominant one.
2.4.1.3.2. Overthrow the reactionaries

Sixty-four (64) posters are slogan dominant and 17 are image dominant, image dominant is less than slogan dominant (Graphic 13).

![Graphic 13: The proportion of overthrow the reactionaries](image)

In the slogan dominant poster, characters are very serious, weapon held in their hands. Some of the weapons are pen, which means to fight the reactionaries by writing an article to criticize and expose their ugly behavior; some of the weapons are the hammer, which means break the old ideas.

In most of the images, the character rolls up their sleeves, showing their muscle and their fist, which means that they are strong and powerful enough to fight these reactionaries.

The main weapon is different from the ones against imperialism and this section. in the former one, the weapon is the gun, and in this one, the weapon is the pen, which emphasizes overcoming the enemy in ideology. And not only the Red Guards are showed
in the image, but also people of another status, like a peasant, student, soldier, and worker, which means this is a struggle of the whole society.

Seventeen (17) posters are image dominant; most of the posters are images of a group of characters. 10 posters display the image the reactionaries, and seven posters are shows how people react to them.

2.4.1.3.3. Keep class struggle

In this part, 10 posters are image dominant, and 34 are slogan dominant (Graphic 14).

In image dominant posters, one poster’s basic color is black and red, with only one character, others posters are colorful, and are the image of group characters, these posters show that people are willing to join the revolution, and shows common high revolutionary zeal.

The color of slogan dominant posters is drabber than former one, with the main color red and black, full of color lump. And compared with the image dominant, masses’ expression is more serious.
2.4.1.4. Masses educating

This category includes four topics: common sense prompting, revolutionary ideas educating, production calling and policy spreading (Table 5 and Graphic 15).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Sense Promoting</th>
<th>Revolutionary Ideals Educating</th>
<th>Production Calling</th>
<th>Policy Spreading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Main classification of masses educating

2.4.1.4.1. Common sense promoting

In this part, most of the posters are image dominant; only four posters are slogan dominant. Fifty-four (54) posters are image dominant (Graphic 16). In this four slogan dominant posters, two are about military educations, and others are related to daily life. In military education poster, the expression of characters is serious, and the main color of the image is red and army green, while in the daily life poster, the character looks more relaxed and the color of the image are brighter.
Fifry-four (54) posters are image dominant. Most of posters are combined by several small images, through these series of small images, people can learn common sense from
the poster, with words only used to explain these small images. The images are realistic with a single color.

2.4.1.4.2. Revolutionary ideals educating

In these parts, 28 posters are image dominant which including nine non-character poster and 19 posters are character poster. And 54 are slogan dominant poster (Graphic 17).

![Graphic 17: The proportion of revolutionary ideals educating](image)

Nine posters are the non-character poster, they are landscape poster, and these landscapes are the scared to a place of revolution of the red army. Some of these place the red army once camping, and some of that the red army met danger. Through describing these place, the government tried to remind people of revolutionary ideology.

In the image, people engaged in different posts, different ethnic and different age get together and learn revolutionary ideas, and they look happy and relaxed, with the background realistic and matching the real life. The image is colorful and bright. All of these showed us that, “we [masses] love to study revolutionary ideas and it's good for us”.
2.4.1.4.3. Production calling

In this section, 10 posters are image dominant and 32 posters are slogan dominant (Graphic 18).

Graphic 18: The proportion of production calling

Thirty-two (32) posters are slogan dominant, in which the characters of seven posters look serious, they wear coverall. In the picture, we can see that they paid all attention to their work and they work hard. The tone of the image is dark, and the main color is dark green and dark blue.

Characters in other 25 posters look happier, which shows their enthusiasm for production. But the color of the image is still dull, the tone of color is earth tone, with the significant background, the character looks greater.

Ten (10) posters are image dominant, nine are groups characters and one is a single character. In these posters, characters are performing agricultural production or industrial production hard; these characters are work with high enthusiasm. The image showed they working busily. The tone of color is bright and the image is realistic.
2.4.1.4.4. Policy spreading

In this section, six posters are image dominant and 41 posters are slogan dominant (Graphic 19).

**Graphic 19:** The proportion of policy spreading

In this part, six posters are image dominant. The image is describing an event, in the posters, a group of characters gets close together, they look happy, and the image is colorful and bright.

Forty-one (41) posters are slogan dominant, these posters, emphasize the character, and the significant background provides an outstanding figure image. The character is at the center, and they look happy.
2.4.1.5. Beautiful life

The last category is Beautiful life, this category combined with small small section: constructing and developing, life dreaming and unity is victory (Graphic 20 and Table 6).

![Graphic 20: The proportion of beautiful life](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constructing and Developing</th>
<th>Life Dreaming</th>
<th>Unity is Victory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Main classification of beautiful life

2.4.1.5.1. Constructing and developing

In this section, most of the posters are image dominant, 86 posters are image dominant and only four posters are slogan dominant (Graphic 21). And among the 86 image dominant posters, 37 are non-character posters and 49 are character poster.
These 37 posters are describing the beautiful life after the construction and developments. Some of the images represent the scene of a bumper harvest, and some represent the scene of industrial developments, some represent the construction of public facilities, dams, bridges, ships, trains, factories, farmland…all represent in the poster. Through describing these, they showed us the development of society and people live a rich life. The color of image is bright and the scene is colorful.

Forty-nine (49) posters are character poster. The images are describing some specific events, like farmers receiving a new agriculture machine, masses receiving new books, people walking on the new wide road, people using the new machine to do their work…In these posters, people looks happy which reflect the betterment of their lives. The image is colorful and tone of color is bright. All showed a bright future.

Only four posters are slogan dominant, in which one poster is an announcement of activity, other three showed a great expectation of developments.
2.4.1.5.2. Life dreaming

Most of the posters are image dominant, 82 posters are image dominant, and only four posters are slogan dominant (Graphic 22)

Graphic 22: The proportion of life dreaming

In the image dominant part, 10 posters are the non-character poster, with one poster showing the night of Shanghai, and others showing the rural view. Through describing the beautiful natural scenery and the new rural, they showed the life of Chinese people is fulfilling. The image is fresh and elegant with bright color.

Seventy-two (72) posters are character poster, including eight New Year paintings, in these posters, the characters are the child, they smiled and surrounded by fish, peach and other things with the symbol of good luck.

Other 64 character dominant posters are focused on describing the scene of people’s daily lives. the image shows that people live with happiness and rich in both spiritual level and material level. The image is colorful and vivid.
2.4.1.5.3. Unity is victory

This part is composed of one image dominant poster and eight slogans dominant poster (Graphic 23).

**Graphic 23**: The proportion of unity is victory

Image of this nine poster is group characters. The image is colorful but the main color is red; in the picture, people from different races are all get together, and they are close to each other with smiles on their faces, which means unity is the victory, and they will reach bright future together.

2.4.2. Step 2

2.4.2.1. Children and teenager

Little boys and girls were a favorite ingredient and recurring theme of the propaganda directed at adults and the whole of society. Since the WW1, the image of children was already widely used in wartime poster, children are the symbol of innocence and needing protection and their images can evoke adult’s great emotional resonance (Gibelli, 2016)
Young boys and girls are the future of the country, stated in Mao’s speech, they are the sun at eight or nine in the morning, the hope of future is placed on them, and the whole world will belong to them.

The images of children and teenager are widely used in CR posters. In all of my poster collection, 156 posters have children or teenagers’ images, including 66 posters using their images as a leading role and 90 posters using their image as a supporting role.

In these 90 posters, children and teenager are not at the center of the image, and they all showed on the poster as a support role instead, or “a part of background”. Most of these posters are group character posters, and in these posters, characters come from different age groups and different professions, with the children and teenager belonging to the group of characters. In these posters, they stand or sit closely with the adult, or showed in front of the image, they all look cheerful and ebullient; the image is quite beaming and colorful.

Twenty (20) among these 90 posters showed teenagers wearing red scarves, and the red scarf is a significant embodiment of socialist successor (Figure 2).

![Image](image.png)

Figure 2: Make the motherland green - it is everybody's responsibility to take good care of trees!: The designer unknown

In some posters, the adults crushed children in their arms. in these posters, the adults are studying revolutionary ideals and the children also showed their curiosity, which all showed that both of them have the huge passion for the revolution (Figure 3).
Children showed their happiness in some celebrating scene; they are welcoming heroes or new things (like new agriculture machine), the former one showing that people, even innocent children, love heroes, and the later one demonstrating the development of society.

Some of the images show public utilities, these public utilities are new and bright, and children are learning or having fun there (Figure 4).

And in some other posters, children and teenagers helped the adults to do something (Figure 5).

This entire scene showed that children living in a good condition in both material and spiritual aspects.
Figure 5: Posters showing measures against atomic, chemical and bacterial warfare: General Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army

In other 66 posters, children are the leading role, with 38 posters in which teenagers wearing red scarves (Figure 6), except the eight new year painting doll posters (Figure 7), the proportion is bigger than the former one.

Figure 6: Study Uncle Lei Feng, to become good proletarian boys and girls: Shou Lunjian
In these posters, teenagers are the major role, and these posters focused on showing us the next generation have revolutionary ideas. In most of the scenes, they are learning revolutionary knowledge or they are helping others, which showed their good moral character. These posters all emphasized they are socialist successors.

![Image](image_url)

**Figure 7**: The fish is fat and big: The designer unknown

2.4.2.2. Women

Women’s images are widely used in wartime posters, not only considered a leading role of the fatherland but also considered a leading role of the frontline. For example, women’s images are widely used in American recruitment posters, in which they are beautiful and wearing significant army uniforms, they calling people to join the army and save the country (Ryan, 2012, pp.252-257).

In traditional Chinese culture, women occupied a subordinate position in a society, as Chinese are influenced by Confucianism for more than 2000 years. Chinese considered that men are superior to women. Most of Chinese think that women should stay at home, do the housework and take care of children.
But after the founding of PRC, the government started to advocate the sex equality, especially during the beginning of first three decades, as some of the scholars said that disappearing the difference of gender, all the things that male do that the female also can do (Wu, 2003, w/p).

Under such policy, women start to break the ranks of family and traditional culture. In all of my collection, 404 posters have women’s images, they are supporting role in 298 posters and leading role in 106 posters.

In the 298 posters, the images of 18 posters are of little girls. In these posters, the author focused on age instead of gender, and in these posters, females and males don’t have a big difference, but which also showed the equality between sexes (Figure 8).

![Figure 8: Hitting the scoundrel: Ren Jixue](image)

![Figure 9: Our nation's millions of Red Guards resolutely support the patriotic compatriots of Hong Kong and Kowloon in their anti-English struggle against violent repression!](image)

Our nation's millions of Red Guards resolutely support the patriotic compatriots of Hong Kong and Kowloon in their anti-English struggle against violent repression! : The designer unknown
Other 280 are group character posters, and the figure is the adult female. In this poster, female works or live with the male, there is no difference between what female and male wearing, they all wear as worker, peasant or soldier, and no women wear the dress, they all wear pants (Figure 9).

And the other 104 posters showed female are taking up productive labor or doing revolutionary struggle.

In the former part, most of the females are happy; they also wearing uniform, this uniformly is drab and no different from those of male. These female not only work in a textile mill and other logistics but also work in heavy industry. They’re increasingly taking on jobs that have traditionally gone to men (Figure 10).

![Figure 10: Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, protect vegetables and increase foodstuffs: Propaganda Station of Haidian District collective work](image)

In the later part, most of the females look serious, as they wear army green uniform pants and clothing which are the same as men, the color is drab and dark. And in these posters, women also showed muscles of their arm (Figure 11).

All of these posters intended to tell us no difference between male and female; what males can do that the females also can do. In these posters, we can only distinguish the gender from their faces, no posters showing the feminine physical characteristics; unlike US posters, no female wearing dresses or high-heeled shoes. What the government
wanted to do is not promoting gender equality, but wiping out the difference between genders.

**Figure 11**: Thoroughly criticize the "theory of human nature" of the landlord and capitalist classes: Revolutionary committee of the Shanghai national cotton factory Nr. 21

2.4.2.3. Army

Army has a great position in the Culture Revolution. During the CR, army group, and revolutionary committee took over the power from all level of party committees, and lots of state agency was under military control. And army group’s elevated position also showed in some slogan, like “Yongjun Aiming”, which means supporting the army and cherishing the people.

The image of soldier showed in 219 posters, with 17 posters showing Mao (**Figure 12**) and others leaders’ soldier images.

In the rest of 202 posters, soldier’s image showed in various kinds of scenes. Ninety-five (95) posters, in which soldiers looked serious and attentive, with weapons or little
red book on their hand, showed that in action, they are ready to fight and in thoughts, they are true to Chairman Mao and Mao’s thought (Figure 13).

Figure 12: Chairman Mao will always connect his heart with ours: The designer unknown

Figure 13: Warriors love reading Chairman Mao's books most: People's Liberation Army Daily Agency

Seventy-six (76) posters showed that soldiers are getting along with masses. in these posters, they looked peaceful or friendly, they serve the people in daily life, which showed good civil-army relations and showed that soldiers are quite trustworthy and are models of the society (Figure 14).

In other 30 posters, we can’t see their exact expressions, but through their body movement, we can see that they are working or participating in social activities; these posters also showed that the government wants soldiers to be a model (Figure 15).
2.4.2.4. Red Guard

The Red Guard is a special group of people during the Culture Revolution. This group was composed of students; they were not national army troops but were troops in ideology and culture filed. Its main function was criticizing and fighting with so-called "capitalist roaders”, and they defaulted. Throughout the CR which lasts for 10 years, Mao Zedong inspected his Red Guards about 8 times.

What is interesting is that only 66 posters have the image of Red Guard with significant symbols despite that I collected more than 800 posters. The common feature of these posters is that the main color is red, and Red Guards wear red sleeve badges, with
“Hongweibing” (Red Guard) or “Zaofanpai” (rebels) written on the sleeve badges which revealed their identity.

Figure 16: Resolutely smash the new counterattack by the capitalist reactionary line!: Propaganda group of the Shanghai Workers Revolutionary Rebels General Headquarters

Figure 17: Stop the armed struggle at once!: Qingdao Municipal General Command of the Revolutionary Trade Unions

In most of these posters, these figures looked serious, and they were performing revolutionary criticism. Some of them wearing badge with Mao’s face on it, which showed that Mao is in their heart, Little Red Book on their hands, which means they use Mao redoing though as a main weapon to overthrow the "capitalist roaders” (Figure 16).
And in the posters which describe the fight between Red Guard and "capitalist roaders", Red Guards are seen as a towering figure, their arms are powerful with strong muscle. All of these showed their infinite force (Figure 17).

In these posters, some of children also wear the symbol of Red Guards, which showed that the Red Guard is a good example (Figure 18).

![Figure 18: The tea-stall of the Little Red Guard: Xin Liliang](image)

2.4.2.5. Reactionaries

As one of the most important figures of the CR, 49 posters have the reactionaries’ image, in these posters, three used the photos (Figure 19), and in other 46 posters, the image of reactionaries are cartoon figures (Figure 20). In these posters, the image of reactionaries is westernized, as they have a roman nose and deep eyehole, and they wear western-style clothes and leather shoes, which is totally different with laboring people. With fear on their faces, they huddled up their body which also showed they are terrified.

2.4.2.6. Little Red Book and Mao’s badge

In the 1960s, cult of Mao was certainly promoted by the state, and elevated to extreme heights by fanatical and competitive supporters (Wang, 2008, p.7), to pull himself [Mao] out of depression, he decided to launch the “Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution” (Feldman & Valenty, 2001, p.134), during which Mao’s personality cult reached its peak, and this kind of crazy cult of personality become the main content of Culture Revolution (Wang, 1995, p.125).
During the culture Revolution, people showed their worship through various ways: early referrals, night reporting (Qi, 2013), the dance of loyalty, reciting the little red book, and wearing the chairman Mao badge (News.takungpao.com, 2013).

Little red book and chairman Mao badge are the most significant features of the Cultural Revolution. Leese (2007, p.623) called The Little Red Book as the “Mao Bible”, and statistics has that works by Chairman Mao has been translated into more than 50
languages, published in over 500 versions and between 1966 and 1976, sold about five billion copies, and the total number might over 10 billion (Sang, 1991, P.68).

And chairman Mao badge also has been in mass production during the Cultural Revolution. Although Mao badge already exists before the CR, it rises quickly during the CR, as scholars (Xu & Wu, 2010) estimated, about 2.5 to three billion badges produced during the CR (Lu, 1993; Leese, 2006, p.623; Wang, 2008, p.117).

In my collection, 220 posters have the image of the little red book and Chairman Mao badge, including 103 posters only having the little red book, 28 posters only having chairman Mao badge, and 89 posters having both of them (Graphic 24).

![Graphic 24: Posters with little red book and Chairman Mao badge](image)

These two symbols showed in every topic, Red Guards wearing these, people with another status also wearing these.

Mao badges were clearly visible on the character’s jacket in 117 posters; they wear badges on their left bosom, which showed that chairman Mao is in their heart (Figure 21).
Figure 21: If people don’t attack us, we will not attack them, if they do attack us, we will surely attack them: The designer unknown

And in 192 posters, Little Red Book appeared in two ways: some of the characters hold the book in front of their chest, which showed that Mao thought is in their heart; some of the characters hold the book over their heads, which means they use Mao thought as a powerful weapon (Figure 22).

Figure 22: Chairman Mao is the red sun in our hearts: Hu Zhenyu

2.4.2.7. Mao is red sun

With the cult of personality development, Mao became the godlike figure of China. Wang (1995, pp.125-127) explained it using the primitive culture theory. He considered
that the god making was rigorously obeyed the fundamental principal and inner logic of primitive culture, one of the important function of primitive worship is that the original totem worship, and during the CR, Mao acts as a red sun, and all of the new culture systems were surrounded by the red sun.

Twenty-six (26) posters showed Mao’s image as the red sun, and in these posters, Mao’s head is right above the image, like the sun in the sky, golden and red rays of light shedding from his head, like the glowing sun warming up people and giving them hope. In people’s heart, Mao is the red sun which can indicate the path of revolution and lead them to victory (Figure 23)

![Figure 23: Long live the victory of the proletariats Great Cultural Revolution: The designer unknown](image)

2.4.3. Step 3

2.4.3.1. Sentences

The slogan is used widely invisible propaganda. According to the different mood and function of sentences, the sentence pattern of modern Chinese language can be divided into 4 types: declarative sentence; interrogative sentences; imperative sentence and exclamatory sentence (Li 1991; Cheng,1992; Liu, 1996; Liu, 1998; Shao, 1999).
To distinguish these sentence from others, government offers a basic definition: declarative sentence is used to state the neutral Information; interrogative sentences is used to asks or suggests somebody do something; imperative sentence is used to express our emotion and the exclamatory sentence is used to ask the question (Use of punctuation marks of PRC, 1996, p.1).

According to my former analysis, I divided each of the 5 categories into 2 parts, image dominant, and slogan dominant, as you see the proportion of each category are different.

Most of these slogans are sentences, based on the mood and function, I divided these slogans into different sentence pattern, I found no interrogative type slogan, and in different categories, the proportion of each sentence pattern is different (Table 7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exclamatory Sentences</th>
<th>Declarative Sentences</th>
<th>Imperative Sentences</th>
<th>Sum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: The proportion of sentence pattern

As you see on the above, most of slogans are declarative sentences, the government and party are just trying to send some information to the masses or just to describe a beautiful landscape, and also some of the slogans are exclamatory sentences, with strong emotion and aimed to agitate people’s mood and raise resonation. Fewer slogans are imperative sentences, in these sentences, the government called people to join the fight, to learn revolutionary spirit or to work hard more directly.

2.4.3.1.1. Slogan dominant poster of friendship maintaining

Sixteen (16) slogan dominant posters in the category of friendship maintaining, in these slogans, three sentences are exclamatory sentences, 12 are declarative sentences, and only one imperative sentence (Graphic 25).
Graphic 25: The proportion of sentence pattern of friendship maintaining

Graphic 26: The proportion of sentence pattern of model following
Graphic 27: The proportion of sentence pattern of struggle keeping

Graphic 28: The proportion of sentence pattern of masses educating
2.4.3.1.2. Slogan dominant poster of model following

One hundred and fifteen (115) slogan dominant posters in the category of model following, in these slogans, 40 sentences are exclamatory sentences, 64 are declarative sentences, and only 11 imperative sentences (Graphic 26).

2.4.3.1.3. Slogan dominant poster of struggle keeping

One hundred and thirty-seven (137) slogan dominant posters in the category of struggle keeping, in these slogans, 43 sentences are exclamatory sentence, 75 are declarative sentence, and only 19 imperative sentence (Graphic 27).

2.4.3.1.4. Slogan dominant poster of masses educating

One hundred and thirty-one (131) slogan dominant posters in the category of masses educating, in these slogans, eight sentences are exclamatory sentence, 100 are declarative sentence, and 23 imperative sentence (Graphic 28).

Graphic 29: The proportion of sentence pattern of beautiful life
2.4.3.1.5. Slogan dominant poster of beautiful life

Sixteen (16) slogan dominant posters in the category of beautiful life, in these slogans, one sentence is exclamatory sentences, 12 are declarative sentences, and three imperative sentences (Graphic 29).

2.4.3.2. Words

After I analyzed these sentences, I begin to analyze the words of the slogan, and I found top 10 high-frequency words (Table 8):

These words can be divided into three types through the part of speech,

1) Noun: Revolution, Chairman Mao, People, Thought, Mao Zedong, Victory;
2) Verb: Learn;
3) Adjective: Great, Good, Long Live

2.4.3.2.1. Revolution

The word “Revolution” was showed 101 times, as a noun, it always connected with another adjective. During culture revolution, all the socialism-related word and phrases are positive and all the capitalism-related words are negative. the word “Revolution” showed in both positive and negative phrases, but most of the time, it combined with positive words.

Revolutionary line (which is always connected with Chairman Mao), Counterrevolutionary, the revolutionary committee, The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution these four phrases always showed in the slogan.

And the slogans with word “Revolution” are always like these:

Long live the proletarian revolutionary line with Chairman Mao as its representative! [yi Mao zhuxi wei daibiao de wuchan jieji geming luxian wansui! 以毛主席为代表的无产阶级革命路线万岁！];
Table 8: Top 10 high frequency words

*We must ferret out the counterrevolutionary elements within the party* [Women yiding yao ba dang nei fan geming fenzi jiuchulai 我们一定要把党内反革命分子揪出来];

*Warmly hail the formation of the revolutionary committee of Beijing* [Relie huanhu Beijingshi geming weiyuanhui dansheng 热烈欢呼北京市革命委员会诞生];

*The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution must be waged to the end* [Yao ba wuchan jieji wenhua dageming jinxing daodi 要把无产阶级文化大革命进行到底].
2.4.3.2.2. Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong

As an icon of Culture Revolution, “Chairman Mao” and “Mao Zedong” are both high-frequency words, the first one showed 78 times and the second one showed 43 times. But these two nouns used in different ways.

In these slogans, “Chairman Mao” is a very subjective phrase, people use this phrase which showed their love respect. The phrase “Chairman Mao” is used widely when people praise him, and if people mentioned Mao, no one called his full name “Mao Zedong”, but all the people call him “Chairman Mao”, it always connected with “the great leader”, “the great general”, And “Chairman Mao” is always used in slogans of cult of Mao:

Chairman Mao is the red sun in our hearts [Mao zhuxi shi women xinzhongde hong taiyang 毛主席是我们心中的红太阳]

Down with whoever opposes Chairman Mao! [Shei fandui Mao zhuxi jiu dadao shei! 谁反对毛主席就打倒谁!]

Closely following chairman Mao is a victory [Jingen Mao zhuxi jiu shi shengli 紧跟毛主席就是胜利].

And “Chairman Mao” always connected with “Thought”, “Revolutionary line”,

Use and study Chairman Mao's glorious philosophical thought in a big way [Daxue dayong Mao zhuxi guanghui zhexue sixiang 大学大用毛主席光辉哲学思想].

The slogans always call everyone to work or study hard for Chaiman Mao:

Win honor for our great leader Chairman Mao, bring credit to our socialist motherland [Wei weida lingxiu Mao zhuxi zhengguang, wei weida shehui zhuyi zuguo zhengguang 为伟大领袖毛主席争光，为伟大社会主义祖国争光].

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Struggle to realize Chairman Mao’s great call that “agriculture studies Dazhai”!
[Wei shixian Mao zhuxi “nongye xue Dazhai” de weida haozhao er fendou! 为实现毛主席“农业学大寨”的伟大号召而奋斗！].

Lots of slogans are quotation of Mao, at the beginning of the slogan, they always sign that “Quotation from Chairman Mao”:

*Quotation from Chairman Mao: If you don't strike against reactionary things, they won't fall. This is the same as sweeping the floor, if the broom is not being moved, the dust will not go away by itself. [Mao zhuxi yulu, fanshi fandong de dongxi, ni bu da, ta jiu bu dao. Zhe ye he saodi yiyang, saozhou bu dao, huichen zhaoli bu hui ziji paodiao 毛主席语录，凡是反动的东西，你不打，他就不倒。这也和扫地一样，扫帚不倒，灰尘照例不会自己跑进来].

Compared with the former one, the word “Mao Zedong” is always used at the end of slogan when the slogan is directly cited from Quotation of Mao:

*The unification of the country, the unity of the people, the unity of every minority in the country, these are the basic guarantees we definitely have to conquer in our undertakings. Mao Zedong [Guojia de Tongyi, Renmin de Tuanjie, Guonei geminzu de Tuanjie, zheshi women de Shiye Biding yao Shengli de Jibenbaozheng - Mao Zedong 国家的统一，人民的团结，国内各民族的团结，这是我们的事业必定要胜利的基本保证 - 毛泽东].

And most of the time, it linked with “thought”:

*Hold high the red banner of great Mao Zedong Thought and advance courageously [Gaoju Mao Zedong sixiang weida hongqi fenyong qianjin 高举毛泽东思想伟大红旗 奋勇前进];
'Mao Zedong Thought is the magic weapon to victoriously combat all enemies at home and abroad!' [Mao Zedong sixiang shi zhansheng guonei wai yiqie dirende fabao!]

'Down with Liu Shaoqi! Down with Deng Xiaoping! Hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought - Great Meeting to thoroughly criticize the reactionary capitalist line of Liu and Deng' [Dadao Liu Shaoqi! Dadao Deng Xiaoping! Gaoju Mao Zedong sixiang weida hongqi - Chedi pipan Liu, Deng zichan jieji fandong luxian dahui]

2.4.3.2.3. People

As a normal word, people (Renmin 人民) was used in all kind of slogans, most of the time, when this word appears, the slogan is always used to agitate. And in these slogans, people always equal with working people, all of them are proletarian and most of them are oppressed by the capitalist class:

'Prepare for struggle, prepare for famine, for the people' [Bei zhan, bei huang, wei renmin 备战、备荒、为人民]

'The Chinese people have high aspirations' [Zhongguo renmin you zhiqi 中国人民有志气]

And in this slogan, the propagator not only ask Chinese people to fight for their future but also ask for people from all around the world to fight for their liberty.

'All peoples of the world, unite, to overthrow American imperialism! To overthrow Soviet revisionism! To overthrow the reactionaries of all nations!' [Quan shijie renmin tuanjie qilai, dadao Meidi! Dadao Suxiu! Dadao geguo fandongpai! 全世界人民团结起来，打倒美帝！打倒苏修！打倒各国反动派！]
The nation must be (made) independent, the population must be liberated, the people must be revolutionized [Guojia yao duli minzu yao jiefang renmin yao geming 国家要独立民族要解放人民要革命].

2.4.3.2.4. Learn/Study

In Chinese, Xue is equal with Xuexi, they all means learn/study. In order to heighten the sense of mission, governments always ask people to learn from the model or learn the official documents, “learn/study” used frequently in the slogans.

Use and study Chairman Mao's glorious philosophical thought in a big way [Daxue dayong Mao zhuxi guanghui zhexue sixiang 大用毛主席光辉哲学思想];

Earnestly read books and study, get a good grasp of Marxism [Renzhen kan shu xuexi, nongtong makesi zhuyi 认真看书学习 弄通马克思主义];

Read revolutionary books, study revolutionary persons, to become revolutionary successors [Du geming shu xue geming ren dang geming jieban ren 读革命书学革命人 当革命接班人].

2.4.3.2.5. Great

This adjective is always used to describe Mao Zedong, and it always used to build a strong and lofty image.

When the word used to describe Mao Zedong, it always combined with “leader”, people always called Mao “the great leader Chairman Mao” or “Great leader Mao Zedong”,

Forging ahead courageously while following the great leader Chairman Mao! [Jingen weida lingxiu Mao zhuxi fenyong qianjin! 紧跟伟大领袖毛主席奋勇前进!].

When governments want people to follow Mao Zedong Thought, and Mao Zedong revolutionary line, “great red banner” also showed in this kind of slogans.
Hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong to wage the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to the end - Revolution is no crime, to rebel is justified [Gaoju Mao Zedong sixiang weida hongqi ba wuchan jieji wenhua dageming jinxing daodi - geming wuzui, zaofan youli 高举毛泽东思想伟大红旗把无产阶级文化大革命进行到底-革命无罪，造反有理];

Hold high the red banner of great Mao Zedong Thought and advance courageously [Gaoju Mao Zedong sixiang weida hongqi fenyong qianjin 高举毛泽东思想伟大红旗奋勇前进].

In order to emphasis the importance of socialist construction, this adjective also used to describe the socialist things:

Take physical excercise to build a great socialist fatherland [Wei jianshe weidade shehui zhuyi zuguo er duanlian 为建设伟大的社会主义祖国而锻炼];

Pledge to realise the great communist ideal and bravely strive for it [Shi wei shixian gongchan zhuyi weida lixiang yinggan beidou 誓为实现共产主义伟大英勇奋].

2.4.3.2.6. Thought

Most of the time, this word is connected with Mao Zedong, “Mao Zedong Thought” is a very important part of Culture Revolution, and Culture Revolution is a reflection of Mao Zedong Thought.

Thoroughly criticize the bureaus of the industry of the Shanghai city, region and district and the reactionary line of the capitalist class. Oath taking rally. Hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought.

Mao Zedong Thought gives birth to the New Man [Mao Zedong sixiang yu xinren 毛泽东思想育新人];
The sunlight of Mao Zedong Thought illuminates the road of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution [Mao Zedong sixiangde yangguang zhaoliang wuchan jieji wenhua dagemingde daolu 毛泽东思想的阳光照亮无产阶级文化大革命的道路];

Forge ahead under the command of Mao Zedong thought! [Zai Mao Zedong sixiang tongshuai xia fenyong qianjin! 在毛泽东思想统率下奋勇前进!].

2.4.3.2.7. Victory

This word is always used as “…victory of…” and “…is victory”, this word shows people’s good will.

Long live the victory of the proletariats Great Cultural Revolution [Wuchan jieji wenhua da geming shengli wan sui 无产阶级文化的革命胜利万岁];

Long live the victory of people's war! [Renmin zhanzheng shengli wansui! 人民战争胜利万岁!];

Closely following chairman Mao is a victory [Jingen Mao zhuxi jiu shi shengli 紧跟毛主席就是胜利].

2.4.3.2.8. Good

In the slogans, this word is always used to determine the nature, through that, ask people to learn from the positive things or enhance people’s confidence, use a single word to define the nature of somebody or something is powerful.

Revolutionary committees are good [Geming weiyuanhui hao 革命委员会好];

The "Eight character charter" for agriculture is good [Nongye "bazi xianfa" hao 农业“八字宪法”好];

Study Chairman Mao's good student comrade Jiao Yulu [Xiang Mao zhuxide hao xuesheng Jiao Yulu tongzhi xuexi 向毛主席的好学生焦裕禄同志学习].

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2.4.3.2.9. Long live

This is a typical Chinese style phase, Chinese people use “long live” to expressed their blessings and respect for the king, afterward, long live became the synonym for king. “Long live” only can be used to expressed the blessings for the king, and besides the king, no one can be called “long live”.

In Culture Revolution, long live used widely to expressed the blessings for Mao Zedong and the victory of the socialist revolution.

Long live the great leader chairman Mao! Long live! Long long live! [Weida de lingxiu Mao zhuxi wan sui! Wan sui! Wan wan sui! 伟大的领袖毛主席万岁！万岁！万万岁!]:

Great teacher, Great leader, Great commander, Great helmsman - Long live chairman Mao [Weidade daoshi, weidade lingxiu, weidade tongshuai, weidade duoshou - Mao zhuxi wansui 伟大的导师 伟大的领袖 伟大的统帅 伟大的舵手 毛主席万岁];

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line [Mao zhuxi geming luxian shengli wansui 毛主席革命路线胜利万岁];

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat! [wuhan jieji zhuangzheng wansui 无产阶级专政万岁];

Long live the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line with Chairman Mao as its representative! Long live the victory of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution! [Yi Mao zhuxi wei daibiaode wuchan jieji geming luxian shengli wansui! Wuchan jieji wenhua dageming shengli wansui! 以毛主席为代表的无产阶级革命路线胜利万岁！无产阶级文化大革命胜利万岁!].
Final consideration

Emperors of China established a massive and complicated civil official system and this system trained amount of propagandist. Propaganda exists in China more than thousands of years. The poster also exists in China for more than thousands of years. In ancient China, in order to inform the public, the feudal rulers used to put up the notice in every city; some of the notices are words, some are pictures, and some are mixed with both. When the Chinese Nationalist Party governing China, the party, and the government did strong propaganda which continued until the end of the second Chinese Civil War. In 1949, when Chinese Communist Party assumed power in China, China became a socialist state, in order to spread the socialist revolutionary idea, the government launched a huge propaganda. They use radio, newspaper, magazine… everything can be a tool of propaganda. This was a time when there was few TV or cinema; the poster became one of the most useful tools of propaganda, vivid image and simple slogan, which is easy to understand, and the poster could be put up everywhere.

The study of Step 1 is based on 842 posters. I classified these posters into five categories and each of them is focused on a different aspect. These five categories are friendship maintaining, model following, struggle keeping, masses educating and beautiful life. I found out that only 37 posters are about friendship maintaining. It only occupied 5% in total. And 229 posters are about masses educating, which occupied 27% in total. We can say that in this time, the propagandist paid more attention in people educating. They mostly wanted to educate people, to change their mind, or to enhance their revolutionary idea and socialist idea. I classified every category in detail. The category of friendship maintaining has 37 posters, and this category can be divided into four topics. One of the small section is civil-military relations. There are 25 posters in this section, which occupied about 67.5% in total. In this section, the 25 posters have been divided into two parts, slogan dominant, and image dominant. The former one has 12 posters and the later one has 13 posters. The ratio of these two is almost the same. Besides these 25 posters, the rest belongs to other 3 different parts: with minority, with Taiwan and with foreign. Both minority and Taiwan has two posters. The two posters with
minority are all image dominant poster, but the two posters with Taiwan are all slogan dominant poster. Eight posters are from the foreign country, six are image dominant and two are slogan dominant. In the category of friendship maintaining, 21 posters are image dominant and 16 posters are slogan dominant. The category masses educating has 229 posters. I divided these posters into four sections: production calling, policy spreading, common sense promoting, and revolutionary idea educating. Forty-two (42) posters (about 18%) are in section production calling, in this section, all the posters are calling people to working hard, 10 of 42 are image dominant posters, 32 are slogan dominant poster, in the slogan dominant one, people are serious and in the image dominant one, the figure shows high enthusiasm. The section of policy spreading has 47 posters, and most of the posters (41) are slogan dominant, only six posters (about 12.7%) are image dominant, in the slogan dominant, the background is abstract, which is different from the image dominant poster. Fifty-eight (58) posters are in section common of sense promoting, in this section, propagandist wants to tell people some living skills and life-saving skills, because during the Culture Revolution the world was in the cold war, and the party was preparing to fight for socialist country and defense the enemy, 54 posters are image dominant and four are slogan dominant, in this part, most of the slogan is the guidance slogan not an agitation one. And 82 posters are revolutionary idea educating. This section is more important than others. It occupied about 35.8% in total. In this part, 54 posters are slogan dominant and 28 are image dominant, all of them are focus on changing people’s opinion, attitude and value, which is the top leader want--to purify people’s thought. In the category of masses educating, 98 posters are image dominant and 131 posters are slogan dominant. The scale almost the same.

And other three categories, model following occupied 26% (222 posters) in total, struggle keeping occupied 20% (169 posters) in total and beautiful life occupied 22% (185) posters in total. In category model following, 41 posters are belonging to the unknown model following, 35 are image dominant and six are slogan dominant, 46 posters are belonging to the famous model following, 21 are image dominant and 25 are slogan dominant. These two sections occupied about 39% (87) in total. The rest of 135 posters are a cult of Mao, which shows Mao’s important status, in this section, 51 are
image dominant and 84 are slogan dominant. The main content of these posters is praising Mao, and people showed their respect from all sides. This category has 107 image dominant poster and 115 slogan dominant poster, and the tone of most of the image dominant poster is brighter than most of the slogan dominant poster. One hundred and sixty-nine (169) of posters belonging to the section of struggle keeping, I divided this category into three section: against imperialism, overthrow the reactionaries and keep class struggle. In the against imperialism part, only five posters are image dominant and 39 are slogan dominant posters, and in the keep class struggle part, 10 posters are image dominant and 34 are slogan dominant, 81 posters belong to the part of overthrow the reactionaries, 17 are image dominant and 64 are slogan dominant, overthrow the reactionaries is one of the most important aims of Culture Revolution. Through down with the “reactionaries”, Mao can purify the party and catch the power. In the category of struggle keeping, more than 81% of a poster is slogan dominant. This category is focused on the terms of ideology, and compared with another category, this category is more radical. The last category is the beautiful life, to describe a beautiful future is very important especially when nothing people has. I divided this category into three sections: construction and developing, life dreaming and unity is the victory. In the first section, 86 posters are image dominant and four are slogan dominant. In the section of life dreaming, 82 posters are image dominant and only four are slogan dominant. In this two sections, propagandist uses the bright image to motivate people’s enthusiasm, and in the final section, one poster is image dominant and eight posters are slogan dominant. In this category, most of the poster is image dominant (169/91%), propagandist wants to be trusted through paint a rich and happy material life. The expression of most of the slogan dominant poster are serious and the expression of most of the image dominant poster are happy and relax. The background of most of the slogan dominant poster is abstract, and the background of most of the image dominant poster are concrete. The image of most of the slogan dominant poster is drab and the image of most of the image dominant poster are colorful.

**Step 2** also focuses on images, and this step is especially focused on three group of people and things. As we know, in war poster, the children and women’s images are used
widely, because these two features always can evoke people’s emotion. Based on this, I also analysis the image of children and women’s image. Like other countries, children and women’s images are used in propaganda posters commonly. The children’s image doesn't exist the big discongruity between the foreign country and communist China. But the women’s image is totally different. Children is the symbol of innocent, in the posters that I collected, 156 posters have children’s image. In this image, both little children and teenagers showed their revolutionary spirit. In 90 posters (57.6%), Children’s image used as a support role, these posters reveal a fact that adults are studied revolutionary knowledge hard. And from their happy face, we can see the life is beautiful, or even shows that they know they need to be a revolutionary fighter since they are young. And in 66 posters, in these posters, they are teenagers, propagandist used children’s image as a leading role, most of these posters want to tell people that teenagers are the revolutionary successor. The tone of these posters are bright and colorful. In the poster, most of the children wearing the red scarf, which is another symbol of revolution. I collected 842 posters, and 404 posters have women’s image, which occupied 47.5% in total. In these posters, women’s image is totally different with the women’s image of the western country. In these posters, women acts like a man, and this is what the propagandist want to share with people. Women’s image used as a supporting role and in 106 posters, they are leading role. In this posters, women work in a factory, in the field, even fight in the frontline, no different with the man because the government wants to wipe out the difference of gender. Army’s image showed in 219 posters, even Mao showed as an army, in 17 posters, Mao wearing a military uniform. He is the top leader of the military and all the soldiers adore him. In other 202 posters, ninety-five (95) posters showed soldiers learn the Mao Zedong thought, 76 showed they are together with masses, and 30 posters showed they are in the frontline, through show these aspects of the soldiers. The propagandist wants to tell us that soldier is the advanced of China. Red Guard is a special group of Culture Revolution, they effect the developments of the Culture Revolution, but only 66 posters (7.7%) has their image. In these posters, the main color is red and tone is warm, the Red Guards wear red sleeve badges which showed their identity. Reactionaries is another special group of Culture Revolution. This group is the main target of the attack,
but only 44 posters showed the image of reactionaries. The reactionaries’ image is uglified, and the ugly image is equal to the western bourgeoisie. All of the reactionaries are western look, and they showed their fear in the poster. Less poster has the image of Red Guard and reactionaries do not means they are not important during that decade, on the contrary, these two roles are very important and sensitive, these posters may have been wiped out after the end of Culture Revolution. In these posters, two symbols are important, the little red book and Mao’s badge. The little red book showed in 192 posters and the Mao’s badge showed in 117 posters, and 89 posters showed people wear Mao’s badge and take the little red book with them. This two symbol show the loyalty to Chairman Mao and remember Mao’s thought every time and that is what the propagandist want people to do. Twenty-six (26) posters showed Mao’s head image, in this image, Mao is the red sun, the red sun warm people’s heart and lighten the Chinese road. All of this showed Mao’s supremacy, he is the god of China. And the propagandist uses an exaggerated way to show Mao’s great and his respect.

I was focused on the slogan in Step 3. I analysis all the slogan dominant posters (415 posters) and I find the slogan can be divided into three part through the different sentences pattern. Different sentences of pattern show different emotions. And I found that most of the slogan are the declarative sentence; 263 sentences are declarative sentence, which occupied about 63% in total; 95 slogans are exclamatory sentence and 57 slogans are imperative sentence. And in each of categories, the proportion is almost the same. In the category of friendship maintaining, three sentences are an exclamatory sentence, 11 are declarative sentence and only one sentence is imperative sentence. In the category of the model following, 40 sentences are exclamatory sentence, 64 are declarative sentence and 12 sentences are imperative sentence. In the category of struggle keeping, 43 sentences are exclamatory sentence, 75 are declarative sentence and 19 sentences are imperative sentence. In the category of masses educating, eight sentences are exclamatory sentence, 100 are declarative sentence and 23 sentences are imperative sentence. In the category of beautiful life, only one sentence is exclamatory sentence, 12 are declarative sentence and three sentences is imperative sentence. After that, I find the top 10 high frequency words, they are : revolution, Chairman Mao, people, thought, Mao Zedong, victory, learn great,
good and long live, six nouns, one verb and three adjectives. All of these words are very straightforward, and Mao shows twice, from these 10 words, we can get some information: Mao is great, we [people] need to learn revolutionary thought [Mao Zedong thought], and we [people] will get the final victory. Through the content analysis, I found out that almost all of these slogans are pretty straightforward, easy to understand, focusing on the core goal. With the image, even people with lower education level can understand it without any explanation. Words also are radical and straightforward, which is very easy for low educated people to understand, and a number of phrases are quite similar, and it has been repeating frequently in lots of posters, which kept this slogan deep in people’s mind.

In brief, the image of the poster, the characters come from every profession and trade, all ages. The content of image covered everyone’s daily life. Cult of Mao showed in both image and slogans. Slogans are popular and easy to understand, which can reach a larger audience, no matter from which social hierarchy and what educational status. Image of posters are quite percussive, combined with the radical slogans, the poster can impact people deeply.

Poster propaganda is an interesting topic and a lot of scholars already studied propaganda poster. Some of the scholars focus on the poster of two world war, some of the scholar focus on Nazi poster or Soviet poster study. These studies could give us lots of knowledge that still useful until today. Also, some scholar interested in propaganda during culture revolution, however, owing to the details lacking and the language and not to mention the study of a poster of Culture Revolution. Although I am interested in propaganda poster and this history, based on this condition, my study still has lots of imperfection. First, the poster is hard to find and collected, all my data has come from a single channel; second, as a postgraduate student, I can’t analysis these posters deeply; third, as a Chinese-speaking student, some of my expression might hard to understand; finally, people can understand the poster in a different way, all my classification is based on my comprehension, other people may disagree with my classification, but I’d like to offer a simple model to study poster and to find the answer.
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Use of punctuation marks of PRC. (1996)


