

The Politics of What to Read: Cultural Conflict in the Reform Era of China

Haruka Higo
Graduate School of Education, Kyoto University

1. Introduction

“In those days [of the Cultural Revolution], almost all books became illegal at one time, disappeared from bookstores. Book collectors were treated as if they were harboring bandits, people broke into their house and made investigations..... In 1978, when spring was about to turn into summer, an unordinary phenomenon occurred. Unpopular bookstores became the most prosperous markets all of a sudden, overwhelming good restaurants and fashionable clothes shops. People formed lines stretching around corners. From *Chronicles of Eastern Zhou Kingdoms* to *The Song of Youth*, from *Les Misérables* to *Anna Karenina*, tens of classic literature, both foreign and domestic, were liberated, readers were able to meet them again. That long line was to welcome spiritual food.”¹

This is an excerpt from an influential article entitled “No Forbidden Zone in Reading,” which was on the first issue of *Reading* magazine published in April 1979. The author was Li Honglin, an enlightened executive of the Publicity Department of the Communist Party (CCPPD). By calling for the abolition of existing taboos on reading, this article worked as a catalyst for thought liberation in post-Mao China, and *Reading* became an authoritative medium for intellectuals. In the middle of the 1980s, China experienced an unprecedented movement toward studying Western thought, often known as the “Cultural Fever,” and *Reading* was no doubt the center of it.

However, there was counteraction on the eve of the Cultural Fever. About five years after the declaration of the “No Forbidden Zone in Reading,” Li Honglin was fired from his post in 1983 during the so-called Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign. Then, in January 1984, *Reading* carried an interview with Xu Liyi, the head of the Bureau of Publishing of the CCPPD. Xu appreciated the ongoing Rejuvenating China Reading Campaign, and at the same time, stated that young people should not read harmful books, such as low-quality science fiction and mystery novels, saying, “we should seriously treat spiritual pollution in publications, sincerely eradicate them.”²

What does this change mean? How did leftist backlash in the early 1980s affect *Reading*, and, more broadly, reading culture at that time? This is precisely the topic of this paper. There is some research on the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign, but it is mainly an analysis of elite-level politics and tends to neglect its cultural impact.³ I attempt to overcome this shortcoming, mainly focusing on people’s reading practices.

When tackling this question, I pay attention to two aspects. One, as already explained, is *Reading* magazine, through which we can observe the typical reaction of intellectual circles.⁴ The other is the Rejuvenating China Reading Campaign, which is rarely featured in academic works⁵ but still has important meaning when considering the political movement at that time.

Contributions to existing literature can be summarized with the following three points. First, the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign is often only explained as a conflict between conservative politicians and reformists who advocated for Western styles; although this is correct in general, the reality was somewhat more complicated. Second, although the political life of the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign was quite short—officially beginning in October 1983 and ending after three months at the latest—its cultural impact was more persistent. Third, the long-lasting conservative tide in the cultural field had a dual meaning for intellectuals. It was, of course, repressive for liberal intellectuals but was not necessarily negative for the entire publishing industry.

2. No Forbidden Zone in Reading?

Soon after the first issue of *Reading* was published, the magazine prepared 50,000 copies, which sold out, and additionally printed another 50,000 copies.⁶ This was partly because people were starving for reading books and felt deep sympathy for the appeal to diminish the “forbidden zone.” As we can see from **Figure 1**, book publishing was heavily restricted during the Cultural Revolution, and it was still difficult for ordinary citizens to buy books freely, even at the end of the 1970s. This plight was widely called “Book Shortage” in those days.

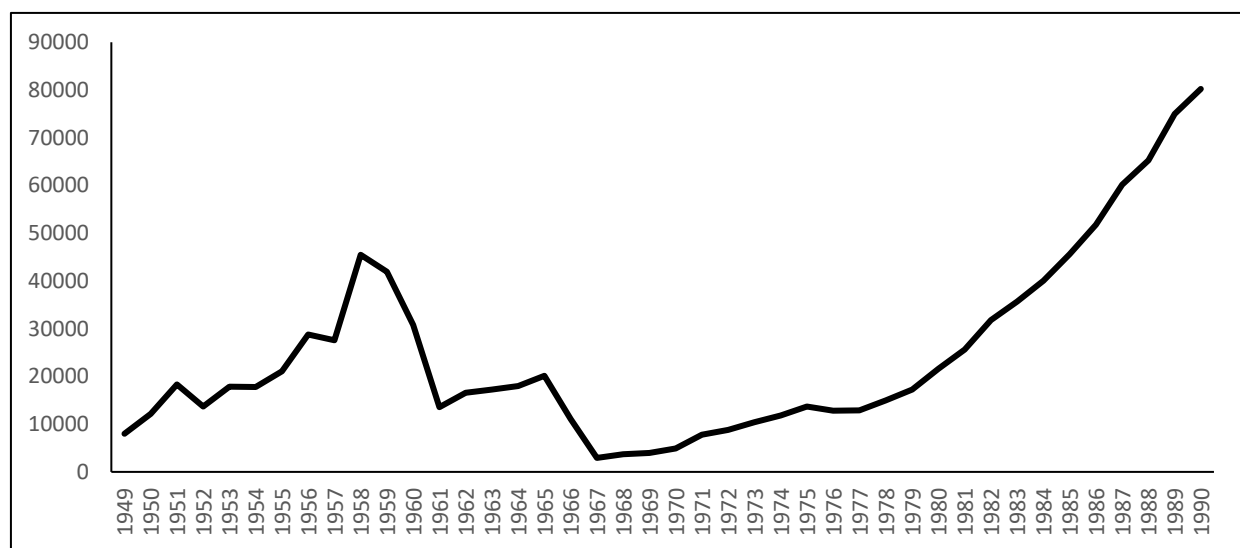


Figure 1 Number of book titles published each year

Source: *Zhongguo Chuban Shiliao: Xiandai Bufen* (China Publishing Source Book: Modern Era), vol.3-2, pp.523-525.

However, the reaction to the article was not necessarily positive. Rather, Li’s proposal appeared to be too radical for many people and became the subject of much controversy. We will analyze some related articles published in *Reading* to clarify these issues. From 1979 to 1980,

Reading carried at least eight articles on this topic, including Li's first one, and these can be classified into three categories based on their positions. Four articles (Li Honglin, Fan Yumin, Ziqi, Wang Yan) were in favor of "No Forbidden Zone in Reading," three articles (Bai Xiancai, Zhang Shoubai, Lu Chuntian) were against it, and one article (Wu Yue) was relatively neutral.⁷

To summarize their discussion, we can find at least four genres of books examined and can list them as follows, from the most easily acceptable to the least: (1) classical literature; (2) Western thought; (3) "reactionary" books; and (4) "yellow" books.

Zhang Shoubai, seemingly the most conservative of the eight debaters, still argued, "We oppose confiscating *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, oppose arresting people who read *The Lady of the Camellias* [a novel by Alexandre Dumas fils], oppose regarding *Collected Works of Qu Qiubai* [a leftist writer in the Republic era] as harmful." There was virtually a consensus that the prior restriction was too extreme.

On the contrary, all debaters agreed that "yellow," or pornographic, books were harmful, especially for the youth, and some extent of limitation was necessary. The scope of "yellow" books was, however, quite ambiguous. Ziqi gave an interesting example, *Romance of the Western Chamber*, which was written by the Yuan dynasty playwright Wang Shifu. This drama was not allowed to be read in premodern China because a part of it contains sexual expressions. However, Ziqi thought it was inappropriate because the work is highly artistic as a whole.

Still, even Ziqi took an ambiguous stance toward *The Golden Lotus*. This well-known novel, written during the Ming dynasty, is an erotic parody of *Water Margin*. Ziqi's idea was to publish a "clean version" (*jieben*) that eliminated all obscene words and to let only experts and scholars read the complete version. Actually, in China, the "clean version" of *The Golden Lotus* was published in 1983, but the complete one is still not allowed to be published.

As we can see from this, for authorities, "yellow" books are the easiest choice to restrict, and naturally, the definition tends to get broader. In 1989, after the Tiananmen Crisis, the Chinese government banned wide varieties of books under the name of "sweeping away yellow."

Among the four genres of books that I proposed earlier, the most controversial were "reactionary" books, such as the Nationalist leaders' books like *Selections from Chiang Kai-shek*. The logic for prohibiting these books was quite simple. As Bai Xiancai said, "from ancient times to the present, from Qin Shi Huang to Chiang Kai-shek, they all banned some books" in order to "consolidate their power." So, we "must ban bad books, which is harmful to the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism."

What is more interesting is how these books were justified to be published. Li Honglin pointed out that if some books were banned, people became more eager to read those books, so the books would circulate secretly in the end. Thus, it is more reasonable to let people read these books under "the leadership of the party" and to teach them how they are feudalistic.

Li reference to the necessity of "the leadership of the party" here may sound a bit strange considering his liberal stance. However, this was not something like an excuse. Li genuinely believed in the legitimacy of the Communist Party rule, and his position was different from Western liberalism. To be precise, Chinese intellectuals at that time, especially old ones, were all Marxists and communists, at least superficially, and in many cases sincerely, regardless of their

political stance. Li, in another article, emphasized how important it was for communists to read Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Zedong.⁸ This fact is important when we consider the meaning of the conservative movement later.

Finally, how about Western thought? Zhang Shoubai clearly asserted, "most of the publications in capitalist countries are vilifying our policy, most of them are distorting our policy, if they were circulated in our country, many people would be poisoned!" However, supporters of "No Forbidden Zone in Reading" did not speak much on this topic, partly because evaluation toward Western thought was not so solid, even among progressive elements, in contrast with Chiang Kai-shek's books, which were undoubtedly "bad." For example, Li quoted Mao's statement that "Kant and Hegel's books, Confucius and Chiang Kai-shek's books, they are all negative example, you must read once." Although Mao was critical of Kant and Hegel, some other articles in *Reading* reevaluated them.⁹ As such, scholars at that time cautiously began revisiting Western thinkers who had once been denied. This clearly was a prelude to the Cultural Fever. Other than Kant and Hegel, John Stuart Mill and Jean-Paul Sartre were also reevaluated.¹⁰ In particular, Sartre became a theoretical basis of humanism, which would be heavily criticized during the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign.

3. The Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign

The Second Plenum of the Twelfth Central Committee was held in October 1983, and in it, "The Decision of the Central Committee of the CPC on Party Consolidation" was released, which marked the official commencement of the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign.

As discussed earlier, theoretically, humanism was attacked as the opposite of materialism. In addition to Sartre's books, humanist novels such as *Stones of the Wall (Ren Ah, Ren!)*, written by Dai Houying, were also denounced.¹¹ However, its influence was not limited there and even affected mass culture. According to an article in the party's official journal *Red Flag*, "spiritual pollution" could be found in five areas¹²: (1) obsession with money; (2) low-quality publications, including detective stories and martial heroes' novels; (3) feudal superstitions, such as fortune telling; (4) "yellow" photos, videos, and stories; and (5) Western bourgeois thought.

The logic to attack pornography (i.e., harmful to the youth) was also used in other fields, including, for example, science fiction. One article in *People's Daily*, the official newspaper of the party, argued that many science fiction novels distort science reality by, for instance, "using advanced science technology, not for people's happiness, but for brutal activity like robbery or murder," which was clear evidence that "spiritual pollution" was prevailing.¹³

However, only months after it began, the campaign rapidly declined. For example, on December 9, an article titled "Eliminate Spiritual Pollution, Clarify the Limitation of the Policy" was released in *People's Daily*. It reads:

Don't extend the scope of spiritual pollution..... If you didn't place limitations and blamed everything as spiritual pollution, eventually you couldn't read this book, and couldn't read that either, you couldn't wear this clothes, and couldn't wear that either, finally people couldn't have a proper hobby, and couldn't enjoy proper spiritual life, also it

would become difficult to proceed with theoretical inquiry and academic research.¹⁴

Each scholar has different ideas on how long the campaign lasted—the shortest for less than a month and the longest for about three months; in any case, it was much shorter than any campaigns in the Mao era.

This does not mean, however, that the impact on cultural activities was limited because the official commencement of the campaign was only a climax of the entire leftist backlash. Skeptical feelings toward opening-up policy was deep-rooted among the party cadres. Thus, in order to resist against Western influence, calls for “socialist spiritual civilization” were repeatedly written in official documents soon after the rule of Deng Xiaoping began.

The head of CCPPD changed from in 1980 from liberal Hu Yaobang to conservative Wang Renzhong and then Deng Liqun. The term “spiritual pollution” was widely used at the latest in spring of 1983, as we can see from **Figure 2**, which indicates the number of articles that included “spiritual pollution” per month, according to the Chinese periodical database of CNKI.

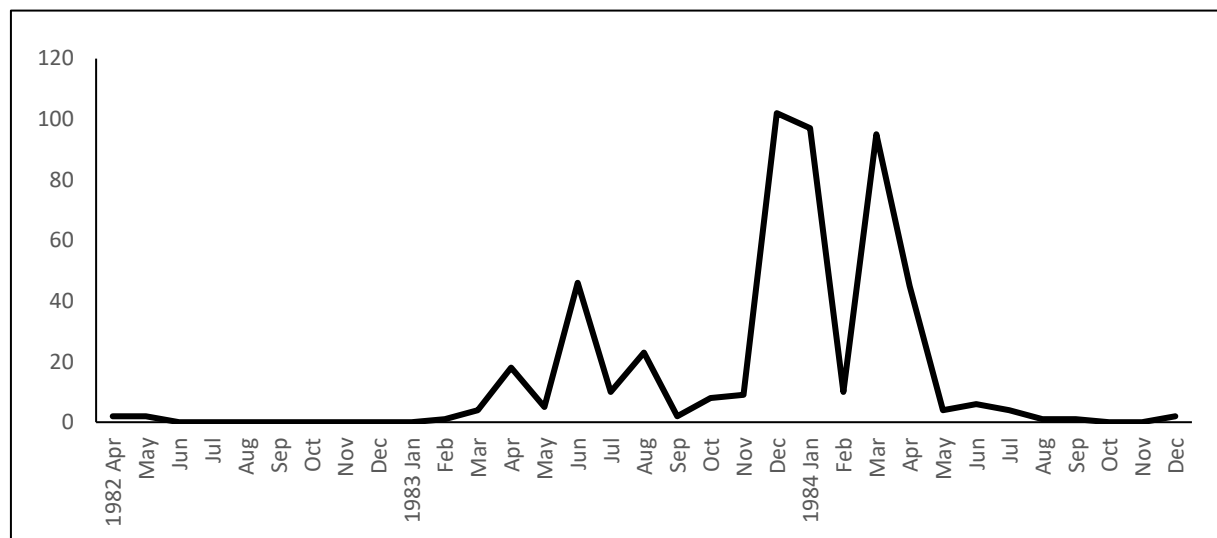


Figure 2 Number of articles that included “spiritual pollution” per month

Source: CNKI (<http://www.cnki.net/>)

Let us verify to what extent this political movement affected cultural production in the private sector, taking *Reading* as an example. According to memoirs, at least in 1981 and 1983, members of the editorial board were repeatedly summoned to “self-criticism sessions” but were barely overlooked.¹⁵ Although some people argued that *Reading* should be banned, Hu Qiaomu, the most influential ideologue of the conservative group, defended *Reading*, which worked as huge political support for the magazine.

Nevertheless, this does not mean *Reading* was able to maintain its original style. This magazine was able to survive because it was flexible and clever enough to voluntarily adjust the political trend. Just for an example, **Figure 3** indicates the number of articles with titles including “freedom” (*ziyou*) and/or “democracy” (*minzhu*), which showed a sharp drop until 1983. A few years after its launch, *Reading* released articles that glorified academic freedom or freedom of speech and the May Fourth slogan of “democracy and science.” As times went on,

however, this obscured that the liberal tone and cover stories were almost always occupied with socialism-related articles. An interview article with Xu Liyi, a CCPPD cadre, was the most prominent. The spirit of “No Forbidden Zone in Reading” seemed to have disappeared.

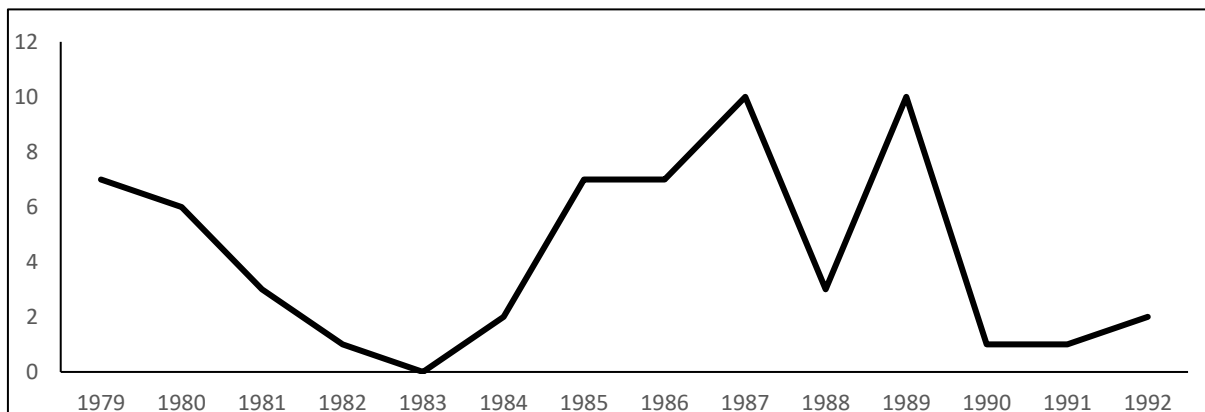


Figure 3 Number of articles with title including “freedom” and/or “democracy” in *Reading* annually

However, we cannot simply say that *Reading* was a "victim" of the leftist trend, in which the spring of reading returned to winter. Let me introduce an article in *People's Daily* titled “Reading and Spiritual Pollution.” It reads:

To tell the truth, even if you don't read books, you can't escape from spiritual pollution, the reality is the opposite. What's more important is how to read, you must read critically and analytically.¹⁶

In addition to attacking “bad” books, it recommended reading “good” books during the campaign, and thus publishing work was highly esteemed. One important fact that shows this is “The Decision of the Central Committee of the CPC and State Council to Strengthen Publishing Work,”¹⁷ promulgated on June 6, 1983. This is the only official statement ever jointly released about publication by the party central and the state council, which confirms its political importance. Its ideological background was obvious, pointing out that one of the current problems in publishing work is that "under the influence of bourgeois liberation, some books and articles are far from the basic principle of Marxism and Mao Zedong thought, are far from the way of socialism, only pursuit profit, tend to commercialize spiritual products." At the same time, it also admitted that publishers were having difficulty publishing books due to the lack of monetary and technological resources promised to provide effective support.

One might argue that even if it became easier to read books because of this, what to read was highly controlled by the party, still far from the ideal of “No Forbidden Zone in Reading.” This is true, but considering that even Li and his supporters agreed with the “leadership” of the party, it is possible to say that the difference is merely a matter of degree.

4. Rejuvenating the China Reading Campaign

Another piece of evidence to show the ambivalent relationships between the conservatives

and reading is the Rejuvenating China Reading Campaign, which Xu Liyi praised in his interview with *Reading*. The beginning of this campaign was an article on *Liberation Daily*, the official paper of the Shanghai municipal party committee, on March 27, 1982. Its headline said, “Read wholesome and useful books; Promote constructing spiritual civilization.”¹⁸ According to the article, the *Liberation Daily* Press, together, the Shanghai Municipal Federation of Trade Unions, the Shanghai municipal committee of the Communist Youth League (CYL), and the Publication Bureau of Shanghai city would initiate the campaign in May. The theme for the first year was “three loves”—that is, love for the country, the Communist Party, and socialism. To achieve this goal, people were mainly encouraged to read Chinese modern history. Those who wanted to join the campaign would voluntarily organize reading circles in their workplaces, and a “workers’ reading prize” would be given to citizens who exhibited model activities.

The list of recommended books was released on April 8, with 33 books altogether from four categories: ideology, political theory, history, and literature.¹⁹ For example, the list included *On Protracted War*, written by Mao Zedong, and *From Opium War to May Fourth Movement*, written by Hu Sheng. Based on 2,066 letters from both inside and outside Shanghai, the campaign was named “Rejuvenating China” at the end of April.²⁰ “Read to rejuvenate China” is a famous phrase of Zhou Enlai, a former leader of the country.

In the campaign, 200,000 people participated altogether that year, and simultaneously, many other areas, such as Hubei, Shanxi, and Zhejiang, also initiated similar campaigns.²¹ The following year, in April 1983, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU) convened at a conference in Shanghai to exchange their experiences and decided to expand the campaign nationally. According to an article in *Workers’ Daily*, the official paper of the ACFTU, the “workers’ reading campaign must closely combine with systematic communism thought education, current policies and ideological education campaign including ‘Five Disciplines, Four Graces and Three Loves.’”

On May 22, the ACFTU officially resolved “The Decision to Launch Reading Campaign for Workers All Over the Country.”²² A contingent of the campaign from Shanghai visited Beijing in the same month and met conservative ideologues Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun, gaining their support for the nationwide expansion of the reading campaign.²³ *People’s Daily* also carried an editorial in support of the campaign the following month.²⁴

We can observe what the campaign meant for each participant from a speech of Ding Lanying, a member of the contingent.²⁵ She was a 49-year-old party branch secretary of a spinning factory, and because she had gone to school for only a few years, she often teased by some young workers. She could speak about how hard it was prior to Communist rule based on her own experience but actually did not know much about modern Chinese history. On the other hand, the young workers had not experienced enough political education during the chaos of the Cultural Revolution either, so their loyalty to the party was not necessarily solid. The reading campaign changed the situation, however. She and the young workers studied modern history and discussed it together. The young workers had a better memory, so they voluntarily studied a lot and asked her questions, which strengthened their mutual interaction.

One might argue that this was merely exaggerated propaganda, not a reflection of reality. To be sure, we cannot literally believe the official statement, which claimed, for instance, that

originally young people were not interested in politics, but it solidified “no Communist Party, no China” through the campaign.²⁶ Nevertheless, it is worth noting the fact that reading was regarded as the most efficient way for propaganda to work at that time. Although books had been used as tools of propaganda from the beginning of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), they were not so effective due to the difficulty of motivating people to read, so the information was often neglected.²⁷ As discussed earlier, people were desperate to read after the chaos of the Cultural Revolution, and the party utilized that motivation.

After the official commencement of the nationwide “Rejuvenating China Reading Campaign” in May, *Workers’ Daily* constantly reported on reading activities across the country.²⁸ As of October, 10 million workers joined the campaign, and 13 local governments launched committees of instruction for reading.²⁹

During the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign, it is no wonder the two campaigns were linked (**Figure 4**). “We have to read good books, don’t read harmful books” was a headline for an article on the front page of *Workers’ Daily* on November 7.³⁰ According to this, a leading group for the reading campaign in a textile mill in Changsha decided not to recommend humanist novels. The article concludes, “It became fashionable for young workers to read revolutionary books now, books with spiritual pollution lost their market.”



Figure 4 A reading group in a local bank, with a slogan of “Read revolutionary books, resist spiritual pollution”

Source: *Gongren Ribao*, Nov. 26, 1983, p.3.

In order to motivate young workers to read more books, competitive events were often held, such as speech contests, in each factory.³¹ The Rejuvenating China Workers’ Reading Campaign Knowledge Contest was a nationwide event organized by *Workers’ Daily*. On August 2, the newspaper announced the list of 18 books from four categories: (1) history and geography; (2) Marxism; (3) current politics; and (4) science and technology.³² Of the readers, 1.02 million answered the questions, and those who got high scores won prizes.³³ For instance, 33 people who were excellent in all four categories received portable radio-cassette players and all the books recommended.

The CYL, together with the All-China Youth Federation (ACYF) and the All-China Students’ Federation (ACSF), also initiated the “Youth Reading Campaign” in October 1983,

which opened the door for young people other than workers.³⁴ In an article in *China Youth Daily*, an official paper of the CYL, Hu Jintao, the leader of the office of this reading campaign at the time, argued that it was inappropriate to apply “No Forbidden Zone in Reading” to immature young people, and they must be educated in patriotism and then communism.

5. Conclusion

We have been looked at how political intention was imprinted on reading practice in the early 1980s. Leftist influence was much more long-lasting than some other scholars argue, but it is not accurate to assume simple dichotomy; the liberals called for the liberation of books, and the conservatives called for the repression of books. In fact, the liberals also agreed with the leadership of the party, and the conservatives also noticed the importance of reading. Passion for reading books after the Cultural Revolution increased during this conservative period.

Then how did the conservative trend, which peaked with the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign in the early 1980s, affect the Cultural Fever? This can be considered from both positive and negative perspective. As far as the negative one, as a previous study points out, it distinguished politics and economy while allowing the economy to Westernize and kept other fields from Western influence.³⁵ Nevertheless, the period of the harsh campaign was too short to achieve this, and Western influence soon spread to the cultural field and then to the political field, which led to the democratization movement of 1989. For the positive aspect, as we discussed in this paper, it increased motivation to read, enlarged readership, and improved the publishing environment, which can be considered part of the infrastructure of the Cultural Fever.

This continuity is best described in two caricatures in *Reading* that were painted by Ding Cong (**Figures 5, 6**). In the first picture from September 1984 entitled “Praise for Rejuvenating China Reading Campaign,” a young man is reading books inside a room and refusing the temptation of a seemingly Western man and woman, saying “I don’t play with you anymore!” The following month, however, he (if the same man) then writes “Construct Four Modernization” on white paper, saying to an old man, “Please leave your hands!” This time, books like *Advanced Experiences in Foreign Countries* are on the desk.

Finally, before closing this paper, I would like to briefly explain about the Rejuvenating China Reading Campaign after the end of the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign. The number of participants in the reading campaign continued to increase until 1987, but the ideological tendency somehow weakened, with more emphasis placed on other fields, such as natural science and technology.³⁶ The *China Publication Yearbook* introduced information about the campaign until 1987 but not afterwards. With the growth of the market economy, people’s desire for reading declined, and thus the campaign was no longer effective for propaganda. The campaign still continues in Shanghai locally, but it is no longer a national movement.



颂“振兴中华读书活动”

丁聪作

Figure 5 “Praise for Rejuvenating China Reading Campaign”

Source: *Dushu*, 1984, no.9.



请放手!

丁聪作

Figure 6 “Please leave your hand!”

Source: *Dushu*, 1984, no.10.

Notes

¹ Li Honglin. “Dushu wu jinqu.” (No forbidden zone in reading), *Dushu*, 1979, no.1.

² Xu Liyi. “Kaizhan dushu huodong he chuban gongzuo.” (To develop reading campaign and publishing work), *Dushu*, 1984, no.1.

³ On the political process of Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign, see, for example, Thomas B. Gold. “Just in Time!: China Battles Spiritual Pollution on the Eve of 1984.” *Asian Survey*, vol. 24, no.9, 1984. The work of Chin Fong-Ching and Jin Guantao is the most complete document of cultural movement in the 1980s, but still illustrate Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign as temporal backlash in 1983 (Chen Fong-Ching & Jin Guantao. *From Youthful Manuscripts to River Elegy: The Chinese Popular Cultural Movement and Political Transformation 1979-1989*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1997).

⁴ I already argued how and why *Reading* can create an intellectual public sphere in the 1980s, see Haruka Higo “Media History of *Reading* Magazine: Intellectual Public Sphere from Cultural Revolution to Tiananmen Crisis.” *Kyoto Journal of Media History*, vol.5, 2019. Note

that part of this paper is overlapped with the previous one, but most arguments are completely new one.

⁵ A few exceptions are those in the context of adult education, but they only describe brief outline (Xu Linyao “From Shanghai Labour Movement on Reading in 1982 to Reading Promotion for All in 2012.” a dissertation submitted to Nanjing University for the academic degree of Master of Management, 2013).

⁶ “Fan Yong gei Renmin Chubanshe lile junlingzhuang ban Dushu zazhi.” (Fan Yong made a pledge with People's Publishing House to publish *Reading*), *Nanfang Dushibao* (online edition), Sep. 15, 2010, http://book.ifeng.com/culture/3/detail_2010_09/15/2517717_0.shtml.

⁷ Fan Yumin. “Shu bixu simen dakai.” (Libraries should open their four gates), *Dushu*, 1979, no.2. Ziqi. “Dushu yingdang wujinqu.” (Reading should be no forbidden zone), *Dushu*, 1979, no.7. Wang Yan. “Ye tan dushu yu ‘jinqu’.” (Reading and forbidden zone revisited), *Dushu*, 1980, no.2. Bai Xiancai “Zheyang de tifa bu qiadang.” (This kind of expression is inappropriate), *Dushu*, 1979, no.6. Zhang Shoubai. “Dushu buneng ‘wujinqu’.” (Reading cannot be no forbidden zone), *Reading*, 1979, no.6. Lu Chuntian. “‘Jinqu’ bukewu, chuzhi yao shenzhong.” (Forbidden zone should not be abolished, cautious attitude is needed) *Dushu*, 1980, no.2. Wu Yue “Jingu buhao, wanquan kaifang ye xingbutong.” (Closing is bad, complete opening is also bad), *Dushu*, 1979, no.6.

⁸ Li Honglin. “Gongchandangyuan yinggai jiang xiuyang.” (Communists must study) *Dushu*, 1979, no.4.

⁹ Wang Shuren. “Tantan Kangde de Daolun.” (Talk on Kant’s *Prolegomena*), *Dushu*, 1979, no.3. Gao Song & Bo You. “Mantan Heigeer de Jingji Jingshen Xue.” (Random talk on Hegel’s *The Phenomenology of Spirit*), *Dushu*, 1980, no.8.

¹⁰ He Xin. “Wei Lun Ziyou shengbian.” (To justify *On Liberty*), *Dushu*, 1981, no.2. Liu Mingjiu. “Gei Sate yi Lishi diwei.” (Give Sartre historical position), *Dushu*, 1980, no.7.

¹¹ *Renmin Ribao*, Nov. 1, 1983, p.3, Nov. 10, 1983, p.4.

¹² Shi Youxin. “Sixiang zhanxian buneng gao jingshen wuran.” (We can’t have spiritual pollution on the front lines of the ideological war), *Hongqi*, 1983, no.20.

¹³ *Renmin Ribao*, Nov. 5, 1983, p.3.

¹⁴ *Renmin Ribao*, Dec. 2, 1983, p.1.

¹⁵ Chen Xiao. “Dushu wujinqu chupeng ‘jinqu’.” (“No forbidden zone in reading” was “forbidden zone”), *Zhongguo Xinwen Zhoukan*, 2009, no.7. Li Jing. “Dushu wujinqu fengbo.” (Disturbance from “no forbidden zone in reading”), *Sanlian Shenghuo Zhoukan* (online edition), Jun. 2, 2016, http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_470bf2570102wmba.html.

¹⁶ *Renmin Ribao*, Dec. 13, 1983, p.3.

¹⁷ Song Yuanfang. (eds.) *Zhongguo Chuban Shiliao (Xiandai Bufen)* (China Publishing Source Book: Modern Era), vol.3-1, Shandong/Hubei Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2001, pp. 371-382.

¹⁸ *Jiefang Ribao*, Mar. 27, 1982, p.1.

¹⁹ *Jiefang Ribao*, Apr. 8, 1982, p.1-2.

²⁰ *Jiefang Ribao*, Apr. 30, 1982, p.1.

²¹ *Gongren Ribao*, Apr. 25, 1983, p.1.

²² *Gongren Ribao*, May 22, 1983, p.1.

²³ *Gongren Ribao*, Jun. 1, 1983, p.1.

²⁴ *Renmin Ribao*, Jun. 9, 1983, p.1.

²⁵ *Gongren Ribao*, May 28, 1983, pp.1-2.

²⁶ *Gongren Ribao*, Jun. 15, 1983, p.1.

²⁷ Alan P. L. Liu. *Communications and National Integration in Communist China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971, chapter 8.

²⁸ *Gongren Ribao*, Jul. 14, 1983, p.1, Jul. 16, 1983, p.1, Jul. 26, 1983, p.1.

²⁹ *Renmin Ribao*, Oct. 15, p.1.

³⁰ *Gongren Ribao*, Nov. 7, p.1.

³¹ *Gongren Ribao*, Jul. 26, 1983, p.1.

³² *Gongren Ribao*, Aug. 2, 1983, p.1.

³³ *Gongren Ribao*, Dec. 26, p.2.

³⁴ *Zhongguo Qingnianbao*, Nov. 17, 1983, p.1.

³⁵ Kevin Carrico. "Eliminating Spiritual Pollution: A Genealogy of Closed Political Thought in China's Era of Opening." *The China Journal*, no.78, 2017.

³⁶ *Shanghai Gongyunzhi* Bianzuan Weiyuanhui. *Shanghai Gongyunzhi*. (Annals of the Shanghai Labor Movement), Shanghai Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1997, Chapter 20-5-4, <http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node4471/node56291/node56305/node56307/userobject1ai42889.html>.