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Abigail Holst April 12, 2016

“Chinese Propaganda Posters in Mao’s Patriotic Health Movements: From Four Pests to SARS”

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Abstract

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Chinese propaganda posters from the Mao era (1949-76) serve as a window into the politics of public health and the history of medicine. Throughout the 20th century, propaganda posters functioned as powerful tools to explain ideological and scientific concepts to a largely illiterate population in mainland China. In 1958, Mao Zedong launched the "four pests" campaign, a hygiene campaign that mobilized the masses to exterminate the country's "four evils:" rats, flies, mosquitoes, and sparrows. The campaign was one of China's first "Patriotic Health Movements" that took place during the Great Leap Forward (1958-62), when propaganda poster production reached its heyday. While there is extensive literature on printed materials from the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), there is a dearth of scholarship on propaganda from the "four pests" campaign. In my research, I analyzed the visual, rhetorical, and ideological elements in propaganda posters from the "four pests" campaign. I also identified the continuities and discontinuities in these elements in propaganda posters used prior to and following the "four pests" campaign (i.e., the 1952 Anti-Germ Warfare Incident, Barefoot Doctors Programme, and 2003 SARS outbreak). To this end, I developed three schema to highlight the posters' salient characteristics: Chinese New Year prints (*nianhua*), the militarization of pest control and disease prevention, and children and women as political messengers. My findings indicate that these posters not only disseminated health-related information, but also channelled political, nationalistic, and militaristic rhetoric, ideology, and imagery to assemble the masses and promote sociopolitical change. These observations showcase the enduring legacy of Maoist public health campaigns and the power of propaganda as an instrument for mass mobilization and didacticism.

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Abbreviations

CCP Chinese Communist Party (*Zhongguo Gongchandang*) 中国共产党

PLA People's Liberation Army (*Zhongguo Renmin Jiefangjun*) 中国人民解放军

PRC People's Republic of China (*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo*) 中华人民共和国

RMRB People's Daily (*Renmin Ribao*) 人民日报

Figure 1: Song Buyun (宋步云), *Everyone Lends a Hand to Wipe Out the Four Pests* (*Renren dongshou chu sihai* 人人动手除四害), November 1957, Red Cross and the Health Propaganda Office of the Health Department of Beijing (*Beijingshi Hongshizihui*, *Beijingshi Weisheng Jiaoyusuo*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

CHAPTER ONE:

Introduction

1.1 The Great Leap Forward and the "Four Pests" Campaign

In 1958, Mao Zedong (founding father of the People's Republic of China) launched his infamous "four pests" campaign, ordering the killing of the country's so-called "four evils:" rats, flies, mosquitoes, and sparrows.[1] The "four pests" campaign was one of China's first "Patriotic Health Movements" that took place during the Great Leap Forward (1958-1962), Mao's disastrous attempt to transform the nation from a predominantly rural, agrarian society to a modern, industrial society in just a few years. Central to the Leap's vision was a utopian socialist society in which hygiene and cleanliness were the norm.[2] A concerted, highly coordinated, and foolhardy assault against nature, the "four pests" campaign is infamously known for its militaristic mobilization of human energy and unintended toll on the environment and human population. Indeed, many scholars of Chinese environmental history have bemoaned the unintended consequences of the "four pests" campaign, deeming it "China's worse self-inflicted environmental disaster."[3]

Shapiro's (2001) description of the "four pests" campaign as a product of "self-inflicted disaster" is apt given the multifarious consequences of the hygiene campaign. For example, Mao's rallying cry for the masses to eradicate sparrows enabled crop-eating insects (e.g.

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[1] Sparrows were designated as one of the "four pests" because it was believed that they were eating too much grain, thereby robbing people of food. Judith Shapiro, *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 75.

[2] *Ibid*., 88.

[3] George Dvorsky, "China's Worst Self-Inflicted Environmental Disaster: The Campaign to Wipe Out the Common Sparrow," *i09*, September 18, 2012. http://io9.com/5927112/chinas-worst-self-inflicted-disaster-the-campaign-to-wipe-out-the-common-sparrow.

locusts) to proliferate, exacerbating the Great Chinese Famine (1959-1961). The Great Chinese Famine resulted from a multitude of factors stemming from the Great Leap Forward: its policies inflicted unprecedented damage on agriculture, industry, and trade; social pressure, coercion, violence, and an egregious misallocation of resources also contributed to the Famine. By April 1960, farmers learned that sparrows played an important role in insect control.[4] Mao then ordered the end of the campaign against sparrows, substituting them with bed bugs in the ongoing fight against the "four pests." However, by this time, the countermanding of orders to kill sparrows was too late. Dikötter (2010) states that the insect infestations resulting from the compulsory mass slaughter of sparrows during the "four pests" campaign in China resulted in large-scale crop losses with devastating consequences for humans and threw off the "ecological balance."[5] Dikötter (2010) tallied the total number of casualties between the years 1958-62 at 45 million.[6] Due to its legacy of wreaking unintended havoc on the environment and human population, coupled with the staggering volume of surviving material culture and paper ephemera from the People's Republic era (1950s-70s), the "four pests" campaign endures both in memory and historical study as a parable of the consequences of humans violating the laws of the natural world.

While much work has been done on Maoist iconography in printed materials from the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976),[7] there is a dearth of scholarship on the body of public health

[4] Shapiro, *Mao's War against Nature*, 88.
[5] Frank Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-62* (New York: Walker Publishing Company, 2010).
[6] *Ibid*., ix-x.
[7] See, for example, Lincoln Cushing and Ann Tompkins, *Chinese Posters: Art from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books LLC, 2007) and Harriet Evans and Stephanie Donald, eds. *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999).

propaganda posters used during the “four pests” campaign. In this paper, I sought to fill this gap in the literature by examining a portion of the surviving material culture from the “four pests” campaign. Using the Chinese propaganda poster as a lens, I analyzed the rhetorical, visual, and ideological content in propaganda produced during the “four pests” campaign. I also contextualized “four pests” campaign propaganda by identifying the continuities and discontinuities in the rhetorical, visual, and ideological elements in propaganda posters produced for public health purposes prior to and following the campaign (i.e. the 1952 Anti Germ Warfare Incident, Barefoot Doctors Programme, and 2003 SARS outbreak). For example, I in chapter 4, I draw connections between the use of metaphors of war and militaristic language in posters from the “four pests” campaign and the 1952 Anti Germ-Warfare Incident. In my analysis, I elucidated the myriad functions that propaganda posters served in the context of the “four pests” campaign and more broadly speaking, the Mao era (1949-76) and the People’s Republic of China (PRC).

My findings reveal that propaganda posters used in Maoist public health campaigns not only disseminated health-related information, but also channeled nationalistic, political, and militaristic rhetoric, imagery, and ideology to mobilize the masses and promote sociopolitical change. This demonstrates the myriad functions of propaganda posters produced in the PRC throughout the 1950s-2003 as instruments of the state, didactic materials that disseminated health-related information, and integral components of broader economic and sociopolitical agendas. The visual, rhetorical, and ideological elements in propaganda posters merit investigation because they illuminate the power of rhetoric and art as vehicles to mobilize the masses and achieve political ends. Indeed, numerous studies to date have demonstrated the

salience of visual media in China's social, economic, health-related, political, and cultural activities throughout the 1900s.[8]

The concern with the mass mobilization of China's citizenry throughout Mao's Patriotic Health Movements and the 2003 SARS outbreak involves an analysis of the structural forces of power, i.e. the role of the state in public health initiatives. In other words, in a historical analysis of propaganda posters designed for public health initiatives, we must consider the role of the state in propaganda production, as the Chinese propaganda posters analyzed in this thesis were, in fact, crafted as tools of the state. Many historians of public health have noted that propaganda produced by political states for public health purposes have not always been entirely altruistic; rather, such materials have also served the aims of various governing bodies, whether economic, political, militaristic, or social in nature.[9] Accordingly, intellectual developments in the history of public health in the past century have vastly expanded the academic discourse in historical research to encompass the economic, political, and social relations of health and society. In the following sections and chapters, I describe the ways in which propaganda posters from Mao's Patriotic Health Movements and the 2003 SARS outbreak not only spread health-related information, but also - in varying degrees - served the state's political, economic, social, and even militaristic agendas.

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[8] See, for example, Ellen Laing, *Selling Happiness: Calendar Posters and Visual Culture in Early-Twentieth-Century Shanghai*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004); James Flath, *The Cult of Happiness: Nianhua, Art, and History in Rural North China* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2004); Stefan Landsberger, *Chinese Propaganda Posters: From Revolutionization to Modernization* (Amsterdam: The Pepin Press, 1995); and Liping Bu, "The Patriotic Health Movement and China's Socialist Reconstruction: Fighting Disease and Transforming Society, 1950-80," in *Public Health and National Reconstruction in Post-War Asia: International influences, local transformations.* eds. Liping Bu and Ka-che Yip. (New York: Routledge, 2015), 34-51.

[9] See, for example, Mahito Fukuda, "Public Health in Modern Japan: From Regimen to Hygiene," *Clio Medica* 26, (1994): 385-402., which investigates the role of public health reforms in Japan under the Meiji Restoration as part of major government initiatives to increase production, strengthen the army, and promote industry; and Dorothy Porter, ed, *The History of Public Health and the Modern State* (Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi B. V., 1994).

The structure of this thesis is as follows: sections 1.2 and 1.3 detail the emergence and significance of propaganda posters by exploring precursors of the propaganda poster, the use of visual arts as an instrument of propaganda under the CCP, and the concept of "linguistic engineering" as it relates to rhetorical analysis. Chapter two describes the methodology by delineating the various primary and secondary sources that were consulted. Chapter three analyzes propaganda posters produced during the "four pests" campaign, which are organized into three categories: (1) Chinese New Year prints (*nianhua*), (2) the militarization of pest control and disease eradication, and (3) children and women as political messengers. Chapter four identifies the continuities and changes in rhetorical, visual, and ideological elements in propaganda from the "four pests" campaign by analyzing propaganda produced prior to and following the Great Leap Forward, i.e. during the 1952 Anti-Germ Warfare Incident, Barefoot Doctors Programme, and the 2003 SARS outbreak. Finally, chapter five concludes the paper with a reiteration of the main findings and implications.

1.2: Visual Propaganda in China

In the 1900s, propaganda posters represented powerful tools to explain ideological and scientific concepts to a largely illiterate population in mainland China.[10] In 1950, China's population numbered over 563 million people, with an illiteracy rate of over 80 percent, and the vast majority of the population (approximately 88 percent) lived in rural villages.[11] First introduced in the early 20th century in China, the Chinese propaganda poster reached its

[10] T.J. Hinrichs and Linda Barnes, *Chinese Medicine and Healing: An Illustrated History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2013), 243.
[11] Liping Bu, "Anti-Malaria Campaigns and the Socialist Reconstruction of China, 1950-80," *East Asian History* 39, (2014): 121.

heydey during the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution.[12] Throughout the 20th century, propaganda posters constituted integral components of political agendas designed to engender a sense of conformity and patriotism among the masses, agitate political movements, promote health campaigns, and ostracize enemies of the PRC. The Chinese propaganda poster can be defined as a mobilizational and educational tool designed to express abstract ideologies of the Party, providing spectators with the specific knowledge needed to achieve political, economic, and public health-related goals. Phrased differently,

> [p]ropaganda posters, with their simple, lively forms and bright, powerful images, as well as their high volume printing and circulation throughout the whole nation, publicize the principles and policies of the party and government to the multitude of the masses. This unique form of art ... enables the policies of the party and the government to open the door to the hearts of the people and inspire their utmost efforts.[13]

As Hanson (2008) stated, "public-health posters are a window into the history of medicine and the politics of public health."[14] Propaganda posters present a vibrant means to explore the visual representations of public health campaigns in the past and present. The use of propaganda posters in the 20th century harkens back to a long history of propaganda use in Chinese politics. Myriad art forms - including literature, poetry, painting, plays, songs, and folktales, among others - have functioned throughout China's long history as forms of entertainment and didacticism.[15] In imperial China, art forms such as ink painting and

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[12] The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) (*Wenhua da geming* 文化大革命) was a ten-year period swept up by a revolutionary high-tide, catalyzed by factional struggles within the CCP, and punctuated by bursts of violence, public condemnation, and the persecution of leaders. A sociopolitical campaign, the Cultural Revolution sought to preserve Communist ideology by purging remnants of capitalism and Chinese traditions through class struggle and other means.

[13] "Editor's Words," *Shinian xuanchuanhua xuan* [Ten years of propaganda posters] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1960), quoted in Kuiyi Shen, "Publishing Posters Before the Cultural Revolution," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 12, no. 2 (Fall 2000): 177.

[14] Marta Hanson, "The Art of Medicine: Maoist Public-Health Campaigns, Chinese Medicine, and SARS," *The Lancet* 372, (2008): 1457.

[15] Stefan Landsberger, Min Anchee, and Duo Duo, *Chinese Propaganda Posters* (Cologne: Taschen, 2011), 19.

calligraphy were part of the Confucian scholarly tradition, and proficiency in these elite art forms was considered indispensable for those who aspired to become "cultivated gentlemen" (*junzi* 文化大革命), or Confucian exemplars.

Since the 20th century, visual arts have been used as instruments of propaganda to convey political messages.[16] In 1942, the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art (*Yan'an Wen Yi Zuotanhui* 延安文艺座谈会) set the parameters for art production under Mao, eschewing bourgeois individualism and self-expression for art that served the masses: the workers, peasants, and soldiers (*gong*, *nong*, *bing* 工农兵), i.e. the proletariat. Above all, art was to be transformed into a vessel for disseminating political messages and achieving goals of socialist reconstruction. Mao used this workshop as an opportunity to broadcast his ideas about the role of art under the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Simply put, Mao's speeches discussed two main points: (1) all art should reflect the lives of the working class, and (2) art should serve political aims, specifically the advancement of socialism. In the following excerpt from the Yan'an Forum, Mao explains the important role of visual arts in promoting revolutionary goals:

> [Our purpose is] to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind.[17]

Following in the footsteps of Stalin and alluding to Lenin's famous metaphor of the arts as 'cogs and screws in the whole [revolutionary] machine,' Mao thus established a roadmap for artists

[16] Robert Thorp and Richard Vinograd, *Chinese Art & Culture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2001), 390.
[17] Zedong Mao, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung.* 1st ed, trans. Lin Piao (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1966), 301.

to adhere to under the CCP.[18,19] Not unlike the public art used in postrevolutionary Soviet Union, propaganda posters were designed to serve the people at large.[20] After Mao's pronouncements at the Yan'an Forum, the propaganda poster was singled out as a tool to promote Maoist political and social reconstruction. Propaganda posters served as a means to spread utilitarian, utopian, and abstract goals: they glorified work and the ideal of sacrificing oneself for a "greater cause." As Dal Lago (2009) explains, the institutionalization of the propaganda poster (*xuanchuan hua* 宣传画) reflected Mao's conviction in the power of mass communication's critical role in agitating political and social change among the masses. Dal Lago (2009) also notes how Maoist propaganda appropriated traditional elements of visual culture to appeal to the masses:

> Mao's anti-intellectualism and his faith in the power of direct propaganda inspired him to choose visual forms of indoctrination and political education diametrically opposed to the tradition of Chinese elite cultural practices, which he considered inadequate to reach the illiterate masses. Given the importance of the ideological strategy during the Cultural Revolution to inculcate new behaviors, communication had to be ubiquitous and powerfully expressive: traditional forms of popular visual culture were adopted for the new political strategy.[21]

During the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution[22] in China, poster propaganda became a fixture in daily life. Indeed, due to their wide availability and cheap production costs,

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[18] In the early 1950s, socialist realism - a style of realistic art that was developed in the Soviet Union - became the preferred official style of art in China. Socialist realism was the predominant art form in the Soviet Union from the 1920s-1960s, and is characterized by glorified depictions of communist values in a realistic style. In the 1950s, many Chinese artists were sent to Russia to learn the techniques of socialist realism. Melissa Chiu and Zheng Shengtian, *Art and China's Revolution* (New York: Yale University Press, 2008), 5.

[19] Richard King and Jan Walls, "Introduction," in *Art in Turmoil*, ed. Richard King (UBC Press, 2010), 5.

[20] Lincoln Cushing and Ann Tompkins, *Chinese Posters: Art from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books LLC, 2007): 7.

[21] Franscesca Dal Lago, "Activating Images: The Ideological Use of Metapictures and Visualized Metatexts in the Iconography of the Cultural Revolution" *Modern Chinese Language and Literature* 21, no. 2 (2009): 169.

[22] As Pang (2014) writes, "The Cultural Revolution was a particularly visual period, partly because of the strong influence of the propaganda culture of the Soviet Union that had already taken root in the 1950s, and partly because of the effectiveness of visual representations - particularly propaganda posters - in molding subjectivities."

propaganda posters could be seen at "every level of social organization and cohabitation," adorning the walls in offices, factories, neighborhood houses, and even dormitories.[23] Thus, following the Yan'an Forum, the popularization of visual arts coincided with the manipulation of propaganda posters as political tools.[24] Numerous illustrative examples of the use of propaganda to promote social reform and political reconstruction can be seen in public health posters from the "four pests" campaign during the Great Leap Forward, which I will introduce in chapter three.

Also of importance are the media institutions and processes that drove the production of artwork during the "four pests" campaign. Between 1949 and the start of the Cultural Revolution, propaganda policies were determined by the CCP Central Committee and the Propaganda Department of the CCP.[25] Following the establishment of the PRC, the CCP seized control of the commercial publishing industry, which had previously been based mainly in Shanghai. After 1949, the CCP acquired the necessary resources to mass-produce full-color pictures for the general public, representing a major step forward in the popularization of the propaganda poster across China.[26] The Great Leap Forward represented the peak production period for propaganda posters in China: between the twelve months from 1958-1959, Beijing People's Fine Arts Publishing House (*Beijing Renmin Meishu Chubanshe* 北京人民美术出版社) published 241 poster designs and printed 11,340,000 copies, and the Tianjin Fine Arts Publishing House (*Tianjin Renmin Meishu Chubanshe* 天津人民美术出版社) published 130

Laikwan Pang, "The Visual Representations of the Barefoot Doctor: Between Medical Policy and Political Struggles," *Positions: asia critique* 22, no. 4 (fall 2014), 844.

[23] Stefan Landsberger, Min Anchee, and Duo Duo, *Chinese Propaganda Posters* (Cologne: Taschen, 2011), 19.

[24] Kuiyi Shen, "Publishing Posters Before the Cultural Revolution" *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 12, no. 2 (2000): 179.

[25] Landsberger, Anchee, and Duo, *Chinese Propaganda Posters*, 8.

[26] Shen, "Publishing Posters Before the Cultural Revolution," 179.

poster designs and around 13,200,000 copies, which was nearly one hundred times greater than the amount of copies produced in 1957.[27] Apart from the impressive scale of poster production under Mao, another critical component of propaganda production under the CCP was the massive program of "linguistic engineering."

1.3: "Linguistic Engineering" Under the Chinese Communist Party

After the CCP won power in 1949, "linguistic engineering" constituted one of the Party's most effective instruments of ideological transformation.[28] As Ji (2004) explains, "linguistic engineering" was designed to transform people's minds by engendering revolutionary values and beliefs through various mechanisms, including the use of sloganeering and the control of propaganda through the CCP Propaganda Department. The success of "linguistic engineering" under Mao was predicated on traditional beliefs and practices dating back to imperial China.

The traditional Chinese emphasis on rote learning was evident in common practices in imperial China, such as teaching children how to recite moral maxims based on the belief that "repeated memorization and chanting aloud would, with time, imprint the moral message indelibly in the mind."[29] This emphasis placed on the memorization of texts was also apparent during the Tang Dynasty (618-907), when civil service examinations came to play an important role in selecting men fit for public office. This system of recruitment demanded that candidates had to devote more time and effort to studying and practicing literary composition to be competitive. Those who passed the civil service examinations became "presented scholars"

[27] *Ibid*., 193, 195.
[28] See Fengyuan Ji, *Linguistic Engineering: Language and Politics in Mao's China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).
[29] Anita Chan, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Unger, *Chen Village: The Recent History of a Peasant Community in Mao's China* (California: University of California Press, 1984), 76.

(*jinshi* 进士) and acquired coveted governmental positions.[30] However, as Ji (2004) notes, while there are links between the emergence of a "formulaic, dogmatic Maoist Newspeak" in the mid-20th century and Chinese cultural values on learning and morality, the latter cannot fully explain the phenomenon of "linguistic engineering."[31] Rather, a more convincing explanation for the emergence of a common linguistic form under Mao was the fact that China was ruled by a totalitarian leader who aspired to subordinate individuals and social institutions to Maoist ideology.[32]

Like other Communist intellectuals at the time, Mao held a strong conviction in the power of language as a revolutionary tool used to inculcate political ideologies and values among the masses. Mao firmly believed that literature and art were "cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine" and "part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause,"[33] while Stalin held that a writer was "an engineer of human souls."[34] The Soviet belief in the power of language as an instrument of thought-engineering "arrived in China primarily in the 1950s, when it merged with assumptions that were deep in Chinese tradition about speech as moral performance."[35] Ji (2004) maintains that the term "linguistic engineering" is "singularly appropriate" to describe Marxist intellectuals' beliefs in the power of language as a tool to

[30] Patricia Ebrey, *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook.* 2nd ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1993), 128.
[31] Ji, *Linguistic Engineering*, 44.
[32] *Ibid*., 45.
[33] Zedong Mao, *Mao Zhuxi Yulu* [*Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung*], trans. Lin Piao (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin jiefangjun zong zheng tai bu, 1964), 299.;
[34] Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1891-1924* (London: Pimlico, 1997), 737.
[35] Perry Link, *An Anatomy of Chinese: Rhythm, Metaphor, Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 300.

spread political ideologies, due to the mechanical metaphors they used to describe its potential (as indicated above).[36]

Indeed, Mao's emphasis on sloganeering can be traced back to his 1927 "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," in which he attributed the successes of Communist-organized peasants' associations to the use of simple slogans:

> "Down with imperialism!" "Down with the warlords!" "Down with the corrupt officials!" "Down with the local tyrants and evil gentry!"-these political slogans have grown wings, they have found their way to the young, to the middle-aged and the old, to the women and children in countless villages, they have penetrated into their minds and are on their lips … From now on care should be taken to use every opportunity gradually to enrich the content and clarify the meaning of those simple slogans.[37]

In the above quote, Mao's conviction in the power of political slogans to further social reconstruction is evident. In chapters 3-4, I devote close attention to slogans featured in propaganda posters, for slogans constituted important instruments of popular persuasion in Maoist political and public health campaigns. Denton (1980) states that political slogans function to convey group ideology and aspirations, simplify abstract ideas, promote conformity and group identification, agitate assaults against common enemies, and provide hope for the future.[38] In this sense, an analysis of political slogans in propaganda posters can be used to illuminate the politics of public health campaigns under Mao.

In addition, asserting and monopolizing control through the apparatuses of language and media were essential to Mao's reign. In 1949, Mao gained control over myriad media institutions and outlets; newspapers, journals, books, radio, cultural productions, propaganda posters, and even the educational system were supervised by the central Propaganda

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[36] Ji, *Linguistic Engineering*, 46.
[37] Zedong Mao, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. I.* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1954), 47-48.
[38] Robert Denton, "The Rhetorical Functions of Slogans: Classifications and Characteristics," *Communication Quarterly* 28, no.2 (spring 1980): 10-18.

Department in Beijing, overseen by Lu Dingyi (陆定一).[39] As many scholars have documented, propaganda and indoctrination were key mechanisms for Mao and the CCP's attempts to transform Chinese society post-1949.[40] Mass mobilization campaigns (e.g. the "four pests" campaign), the construction of hyperbolic "models" deemed worthy of emulation (e.g. Lei Feng 雷锋), control of the content of newspaper articles, editorials, and educational curricula, and the use of propaganda posters to promulgate specific health-related, political, and ideological messages constitute merely a few of the "thought control" techniques exercised by the Maoist state.[41] The power of rhetoric was perhaps best illustrated during the Cultural Revolution - as Huang (1996) argues, the Cultural Revolution was "a rhetorical movement during which both leaders and the participants moved and were moved by words."[42] The control over propaganda and language was the product of a highly coordinated, systematic, and bureaucratically controlled program of "linguistic engineering" under the CCP.

The central Propaganda Department, under the auspices of the Party's Central Committee, was the "apex of a massive propaganda hierarchy that was integrated with the Party organization at every level."[43] The Party Committee extended its reach into every

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[39] Ji, *Linguistic Engineering*, 52.

[40] See Richard Soloman, *Mao's Revolution and the Chinese Political Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); Frederick Teiwes, *Politics and Purges in China: Rectification and the Decline of Party Norms, 1950-1965* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1993); Franz Schurmann, *Ideology and Organization in Communist China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); Fengyuan Ji, *Linguistic Engineering: Language and Politics in Mao's China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004); Chalmers Johnson, ed. *Ideology and Politics in Contemporary China*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973); and 3. Julian Chang, "The Mechanics of State Propaganda: The People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union in the 1950s," in *New Perspectives on State Socialism in China*, eds. Timothy Cheek and Tony Saich (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), 76-124.

[41] David Shambaugh, "China's Propaganda System: Institutions, Processes and Efficacy" *The China Journal* 57 (2007): 26-27.

[42] Shaorong Huang, *To Rebel Is Justified: A Rhetorical Study of China's Cultural Revolution, 1966-1969* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996), 28.

[43] Fengyuan Ji, *Linguistic Engineering: Language and Politics in Mao's China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 52.

province with propaganda departments at the provincial, county, and city levels. Propaganda committees controlled by each Party branch were positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy of propaganda production. Linguistic directives promulgated by the Propaganda Department, especially those regarding major campaigns, were issued from a top-down level, and lower levels on the totem pole - such as Local Party branches - had "no freedom to deviate from them."[44] Cao (1992) explains the breadth of scope of the CCP's "linguistic engineering" as follows:

> The most distinctive feature in the ideological project of the Communist Party of China is its language. The Party mobilizes not only its propaganda organs but all state organs to spread and implement its language system, the purpose of which is to influence, mold and manipulate the language and thought processes of ordinary people in order to control how they think about certain questions and what they say about them.[45]

As Schoenhals (1992) described, "uniformity of expression" in Mao's China was largely "achieved by bureaucratic means."[46] However, other scholars such as Johnson (2015) have pointed out that state-sponsored cultural production was by no means wholly uncontested or uniform at the grassroots level - rather, Communist and non-Communist members of society - particularly in the period following the Great Leap Forward - "modified, subverted, challenged, and criticized local systems of state cultural dominance and information control."[47] Aside from the systemization and bureaucratic control the CCP exercised over "linguistic engineering," the coding of information in CCP-approved propaganda is also important to consider. To minimize

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[44] *Ibid*., 52.
[45] Changqing Cao, "Yuyan baoli: Jiquan tongzhi de weishe liliang" [Linguistic Violence: the power of intimidation in authoritarian rule] *Zhongguo Zhi Chun* [China Spring] (1992), 46.
[46] Michael Schoenhals, *Doing Things with Words in Chinese Politics: Five Studies* (Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1992), 51-52.
[47] 8. Michael Johnson, "Beneath the Propaganda State: Official and Unofficial Cultural Landscapes in Shanghai, 1949-1965," in *Maoism at the Grassroots*, eds. Jeremy Brown and Matthew D. Johnson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 200.

the effort of processing information disseminated to a largely illiterate Chinese society, specific formulae were employed to make communication both swift and economical. Ji (2004) outlines two types of formulae that were fostered under Mao: numerical terms and keyword slogans.[48] As shown in succeeding chapters, the use of numerical terms and keyword slogans were prominent in propaganda posters from the 1952 Anti Germ-Warfare Incident, "four pests" campaign, Barefoot Doctors Programme, and 2003 SARS outbreak.

The use of numerical terms dates back before the Qin Dynasty (221-207 BCE) in the third century B.C.[49] For example, the Four Books (*Sishu* 四书) and the Five Classics (*Wujing* 五经) were essential components of the imperial civil service examinations. Confucian ethics prescribed the Five Relationships (*Wulun* 五伦, i.e. requisite components of social harmony), and the Three Obediences and Four Virtues (*Sancong Side* 三从四德), which even the "uneducated" had committed to heart.[50] Numerical terms were useful in that they facilitated memory recall by having a quantity associated with a central concept; once numerical terms were committed to memory, they served as an "aid to communication," as they coded a list of terms or ideas into just two or three words.[51] Under the CCP, numerical formulae were often devised by Party leaders to achieve goals of national campaigns, such as the "four pests" campaign. Numerical formulae were also deployed in the years preceding and following the Great Leap Forward. In 1952, the CCP launched a campaign called the "Five Annihilations"

[48] Ji, *Linguistic Engineering*.
[49] *Ibid.*, 63.
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] *Ibid.*

against the "Five Pests:" flies, mosquitoes, mice and rats, lice, and bedbugs.[52] In the Socialist Education Movement (1963-66), the Party promoted the Four Cleanups (*siqing* 四清) to "clean accounting procedures, granary supplies, accumulation of private property, and abuses of the work-points system."[53] As Ji (2004) explains, linked to the Four Cleanups were the:

> Three Threes, which were the focus of sub-campaigns: promote the Three "Isms" (*san zhuyi*): collectivism, patriotism, socialism; oppose the Three Bad Styles (*san zhong huai zuofeng*): the capitalist, the feudal, the extravagants; and implement the Three Necessities (*san buxi*): building socialism, loving the collective, running communes democratically and frugally.[54]

Although it may seem daunting and counterproductive to memorize these formulae, the coding was in fact an effective means to communicate concepts to millions of peasants, most of whom were illiterate. As Lu (2004) points out, "the use of numbered phrases, or *chengyu* (four-character idioms), is common in Chinese spoken language. Not coincidentally, most political ideographs and symbols, vague and ambiguous as they seem to be, are associated with numerical references that give them a false air of specificity and precision."[55] The creation of numerated slogans by the CCP is seen in Pre-Cultural Revolution years, such as the "Four Pests" and "Three-anti and Five-anti" Campaigns (*Sanfan Wufan* 三反五反), Cultural Revolution years with slogans like "Destroy the Four Olds and Cultivate the Four News" (*Po Sijiu Li Sixin* 破四旧立四新), and Post-Cultural Revolution years such as the "Four Modernizations" (*Sige Xiandaihua* 四个现代化) under late Premier Zhou Enlai (周恩来, 1898-1976) and the recent "Four Comprehensives" (*Sige Quanmian* 四个全面) under Chinese President Xi Jinping (习近平, 1953-

[52] Ruth Rogaski, "Nature, Annihilation, and Modernity: China's Korean War Germ-Warfare Experience Reconsidered" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 2 (2002): 389.
[53] Ji, *Linguistic Engineering*, 64.
[54] *Ibid*.
[55] Xing Lu, *Rhetoric of the Chinese Cultural Revolution: The Impact on Chinese Thought, Culture, and Communication* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2004), 161.

), unveiled in 2015.[56] Smith (1983) states that Confucius' sayings - in particular the four-character idioms - helped connect the intelligentsia and the common people.[57] Clearly, numerated slogans have been a mainstay in political rhetoric used to illustrate and simplify complex ideas spanning across hundreds of years, from imperial China to the PRC.

[56] *Ibid.*, 161-162 and Josh Chin, "Xi Jinping Hopes to Count in Chinese Political History with 'Four Comprehensives,'" *Wall Street Journal*, February 25, 2015, accessed March 1, 2016, http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2015/02/25/chinese-media-go-gangbusters-for-xi-jinpings-four-comprehensives/.

[57] Richard Smith, *China's Cultural Heritage: The Ching Dynasty 1644-1912* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1983).

CHAPTER TWO:

Methodology

2.1: Analytical Approach:

A critical approach to analyzing visual culture examines the following: the agency of the image, the social practices and effects of its viewing, and the ways in which spectators observe images.[58] Visual representations actively construct and negotiate social dynamics; thus, it is necessary to consider the ways in which hierarchies and social subjects are created. Fyfe and Law (1988) describe this critical approach as follows: "To understand a visualization is thus to enquire into its provenance and into the social work that it does. It is to note its principle of inclusion and exclusion, to detect the roles that it makes available, to understand the way in which they are distributed, and to decode the hierarchies and differences that it naturalizes."[59] Images work by eliciting a response from the viewer. A critical analysis thus considers how the viewer is positioned vis-à-vis the image. Further, images are observed in particular social contexts, which invariably mediates its impact. For example, it is important to consider the physical location of an image (is it pasted inside a classroom, or in a People's Commune?) in a critical approach to analyzing visual culture. Finally, in the search for an image's meaning, one must inquire not only how an image "looks," but what it can "do."[60] For example, as Armstrong (1996) puts it, an image is "at least potentially a site of resistance and recalcitrance, of the

[58] Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials.* 3rd ed. (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2012), 17.
[59] Gordon Fyfe and John Law, *Picturing Power: Visual Depiction and Social Relations* (London: Routledge, 1988), 1.
[60] Christopher Pinney, *'Photos of the Gods': The Printed Image and Political Struggle in India*" (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 8.

irreducibly particular, and of the subversively strange and pleasurable."[61] In other words, the researcher must take into account the agency of an image. Furthermore, understanding the state-manipulated institutionalization of propaganda posters, their manufacturing, distribution, and popularity are key to tracing the creation of a mass culture during the Maoist period, and by extension, the rhetorical and symbolic weight undergirding the ideologies of extermination that typified the "four pests" campaign.

2.2: Primary and Secondary Sources:

Chinese propaganda posters produced during throughout Mao's Patriotic Health Campaigns and the 2003 SARS outbreak constitute the majority of the primary sources analyzed in this paper. The bulk of the Chinese propaganda posters used in my analysis were sourced from the "Chinese Public Health Posters" collection at the National Library of Medicine (NLM) in Bethesda, Maryland.[62] The collection is comprised of approximately seven thousand items produced from the early 20th century to the 2003 SARS outbreak, and includes a broad range of materials, such as "posters, health newsletters, health newspapers, paintings, pharmaceutical advertisements, calendars, children's chess games, jigsaw puzzles on health topics, playing cards on SARS, lantern slides, negatives, photographs, and health award certificates, as well as books and journals."[63] While the collection does have an accompanying online exhibition[64] that

[61] Carol Armstrong, "Visual Culture Questionnaire" *October* 77, (1996): 28.
[62] In 2010, Dr. Paul Theerman, chief of Images and Archives in the History of Medicine Division at the NLM, described the collection as likely "the largest collection of Chinese public health posters outside of China." "Introducing "Health for the People," An NLM Online Exhibition of Chinese Public Health Poster, Transparencies, and Pharmaceutical Ads," *NIH.gov*, last modified May 4, 2010. https://www.nlm.nih.gov/news/chinese_posters.html.
[63] *Ibid*.
[64] The online exhibition was based on Dr. Liping Bu's presentation, "Public Health and Chinese Society from 1930s to SARS" at the Seminar in the History of Medicine, National Library of Medicine, August 15, 2006. *Ibid*.

showcases a portion of the materials, the majority of the collection has yet to be digitized. In January 2016, I visited the NLM poster collection as a Scholarly Inquiry and Research at Emory (SIRE) Independent Research Grant Recipient and documented over five hundred images of archival materials spanning from the Great Leap Forward to the 2003 SARS outbreak. The majority of the materials I documented have not been digitized; thus, many of the propaganda posters analyzed in this thesis were heretofore only accessible by visiting the archive in person. Additional propaganda posters were cited from the "Gallery of Chinese propaganda posters" via *Chineseposters.net*. *Chineseposters.net* is a website that presents Chinese propaganda posters with virtual exhibitions, theme presentations, and a web-database, complete with biographical and publication information for the posters. Most of the posters featured on this website are available courtesy of the collections of Stefan Landsberger and the International Institute of Social History (IISH, Amsterdam, Netherlands), which contains over 5,000 materials.[65]

Due to the multitude of Chinese propaganda posters available online, I used key phrases such as "Chinese public health posters," "Chinese mass mobilization campaign posters," "Chinese New Year Prints," "Chinese Barefoot Doctors posters," and "Chinese SARS posters," to help limit my search. After amassing a total of approximately 550 images of posters from the NLM and online sources, I narrowed down my selection to those that fit into the following schema: "Patriotic Health Campaign," "Patriotic Health Movement," "Great Leap Forward," "anti-germ warfare," "Chinese New Year prints," "militaristic imagery and rhetoric," "Soviet social realism," and "women and children," among others. After organizing the images into

[65] "About chineseposters.net," *Chineseposters.net*, last modified January 23, 2016, http://chineseposters.net/about/index.php.

their respective categories, I began my qualitative analysis. In my analysis of propaganda posters from Mao's Patriotic Health Movements and the 2003 SARS outbreak, I developed three schema to highlight the salient characteristics in artistic styles, rhetoric, and ideology. The three categories are: *nianhua* (Chinese New Year prints), the militarization of pest control and disease prevention, and women and children as political messengers. While these categories are not mutually exclusive, they function to capture the continuities in visual, rhetorical, and ideological elements in propaganda produced across various Maoist public health campaigns. In the analyses provided in chapters three and four, I identify various differences and similarities in propaganda posters, such as: visual motifs, artistic stylization, slogans, and militaristic rhetoric and imagery.

In addition to propaganda posters, I compiled other primary and secondary sources for my analysis. Additional primary sources used to synthesize information gleaned from the propaganda posters include CCP directives, Mao's speeches and essays, and articles and editorials in *People's Daily,* the CCP's flagship newspaper. A portion of these materials are available in their original Chinese texts and English translations (i.e. CCP directives and Mao's speeches and essays), although the majority were translated by the author of this paper. Numerous references have been made throughout the paper to secondary sources that span topics ranging from visual methodologies to rhetorical analysis to propaganda studies (see bibliography). By combining literature on the history of Maoist public health campaigns and propaganda posters in China, my research illuminates the ways in which Chinese propaganda posters not only disseminated messages pertinent to pest control and disease prevention, but

also promoted sociopolitical change by transferring nationalistic and patriotic values into the activities of pest control and sanitation.

CHAPTER THREE:

The "Four Pests" Campaign: A Typology of Pest Extermination Propaganda

In this chapter, I undertake analyses of the visual, rhetorical, and ideological elements in propaganda posters produced during the "four pests" campaign. The posters are divided into three categories: *nianhua* (Chinese New Year Prints), the militarization of pest control and disease eradication, and children and women as political messengers. In each section, I identify major rhetorical and ideological messages, analyze visual motifs, and provide historical and cultural context when necessary.

3.1: *Nianhua*: Chinese New Year Prints

Chinese New Year prints (*nianhua* 年画), have a long history in China, and constituted one of the most important visual genres found in propaganda posters produced by the CCP during the 20th century. Up until the mid-20th century, *nianhua* prints were the most popular form of household decorations in China.[66] As the name suggests, this art form was used in Chinese New Year celebrations; once pasted to the front doors of homes, *nianhua* prints would often remain in place throughout the year. Well before the PRC was established, this folk art form enjoyed widespread popularity among people of all walks of life, especially villagers. The exact origins of *nianhua* are unclear, although early records of *nianhua* use date back as early as the Eastern Han dynasty (2nd century B.C.), when the tradition of glueing images of benevolent

[66] James Flath, "The Nianhua Gallery," *History.uwo.ca/nianhua*, last modified 2003, http://history.uwo.ca/nianhua/.

deities on front doors of homes on New Year's Eve was first recorded.[67] During the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1912) dynasties, several major *nianhua*-producing centers were established in China, including: Yangliuqing near Tianjin in Hebei province; Yangjiabu in Shandong province; Taohuawu in Suzhou, Jiangsu; and Mianzhu in Sichuan province.[68] Although *nianhua* prints were popular among all social classes, they were better received among villagers than urbanites. As Hung (2011) writes, during the Ming and Qing dynasties, many *nianhua* prints were designed and printed by illiterate peasant artists in village homes, particularly in Yangjiabu.[69] Their widespread popularity among peasants was due in part to the content: *nianhua* prints commonly featured villagers engaging in everyday activities and other salient visual motifs replete with cultural and religious meaning.

The roots of the CCP's endorsement of the use of "peasant cultural forms" such as *nianhua* can be traced back to a 1926 document titled, "The Central Committee Resolutions on the Peasant Movement," in which the use of folk art was described as "the best method to get close to and organise [the peasants]."[70] However, Flath (2004) notes that there is no convincing evidence of a communist folk-art movement until after the CCP's pronouncement in Yan'an, where "peasant forms" of art - and *nianhua* in particular - were unambiguously cherry-picked as integral components of the grassroots political campaign that "helped to establish the CCP as a revolutionary force in rural China."[71] At the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art in 1942 (Yan'an was the revolutionary capital of the CCP), China's elite in the CCP vaulted *nianhua* and

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[67] Chang-Tai Hung, *Mao's New World: Political Culture in the Early People's Republic* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2011), 183.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] James Flath, *The Cult of Happiness: Nianhua, Art, and History in Rural North China* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2004), 134.
[71] *Ibid.*

other forms of "folk art" as key components of the government's new arts policy.[72] The Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Arts and Literature set the parameters for art production under the CCP by stating that art could no longer function as "art for art's sake," but rather had to aspire towards broader, more public goals. As Evans and Donald (1999) explain, Chinese people became "accustomed to reading visual images as carriers of political meaning."[73] Mao's proclamations about the importance of "peasant forms" of artwork and the communist folk-art movement at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art represented the most compelling force behind the promotion of the *nianhua* art form. The Mao talks at Yan'an signified the shift from an "author-centered culture" of art production to a "mass- or audience-centered culture" in which the product was created with its "perceived receptivity" in mind.[74]

After the establishment of the PRC, Mao instructed that intellectuals and cadres should learn from the masses to build a socialist regime. Mao understood that China was predominantly agrarian, with eighty-nine percent of the population of over five hundred million in 1949 being peasants - the majority of whom were illiterate and impoverished.[75] Given that *nianhua* historically constituted a beloved art medium among peasants, the *nianhua* art form presented an opportune vehicle to connect different tiers of society under Mao. Once the CCP gained control of the commercial publishing industry in 1949, revolutionary New Year prints (*nianhua*) were promoted heavily by the party. For example, in November 1949, the CCP Ministry of Culture announced its interest in using *nianhua* as a vehicle for cultural reform in

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[72] James Flath, "The Nianhua Gallery," *History.uwo.ca/nianhua*, last modified 2003, http://history.uwo.ca/nianhua/.
[73] Harriet Evans and Stephanie Donald, eds. *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 64.
[74] Flath, *The Cult of* Happiness, 139.
[75] Chang-Tai Hung, "Repainting China: New Year Prints (*Nianhua*) and Peasant Resistance in the Early Years of the People's Republic" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 4 (2000): 772.

"Directive Concerning the Development of New *Nianhua* Work." In this document, the CCP stated that "*nianhua* should emphasize labouring people's new, happy and hard-fought lives and their appearance of health and heroism. In art we must fully utilize folk styles, and strive to capture the customs of the masses."[76] The directive both outlines the historical and cultural importance of *nianhua* and describes a new era of *nianhua*:

> Nianhua are one of the most popular types of Chinese folk art. Under the feudal rule in the past, it was employed as a vehicle to spread archaic ideas. After Chairman Mao delivered his "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art" in 1942, in which he called on writers and artists to use old artistic forms to promote popularization of literature and art, artists in various old liberated areas began to use reformed nianhua with considerable success to disseminate the idea of people's democracy. New nianhua prints have proven to be a beloved art medium, rich in educational value. With Chinese Lunar New Year fast approaching - the first since the founding of the PRC - local cultural and educational organizations should look on the development and spread of nianhua as one of their most essential tasks during this New Year's propaganda activities. The new prints should convey the following messages: the grand victory of the Chinese people's war for liberation and the people's great revolution, the establishment of the People's Republic, the Common Program, and the recovery and progress of industrial and agricultural production … To launch a widespread nianhua movement, regional cultural and educational agencies, and art organizations, should mobilize artists to produce new prints, letting them know that this is an important artistic undertaking with wide impact.[77]

As Flath (2004) writes, "In reaching out to the vast reserves of Chinese peasants, the newly founded arts establishment of the CCP devoted unprecedented resources to developing *nianhua* as a medium of propaganda."[78] In fact, many other scholars have made similar observations to support the claim that the CCP appropriated folk art forms to legitimate and

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[76] *Ibid*., 146.
[77] Chang-Tai Hung, *Mao's New World: Political Culture in the Early People's Republic* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2011), 182.
[78] James Flath, *The Cult of Happiness: Nianhua, Art, and History in Rural North China* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2004), 126.

enforce its own authority.[79] The growing popularization of "folk art" under the CCP reflected an increasing desire among the intellectual elite to appropriate popular art forms to propagate political messages and advance social reform among a "previously disenfranchised people."[80] In the early 1950s, the Ministry of Culture sponsored New Year picture competitions for artists.[81] At the time, artists who specialized in myriad media - such as oil painting, woodcutting, traditional-style painting, cartoons, and illustrations - joined forces to create New Year pictures. The marked increases in the mass production of New Year prints from 1950-52 reflect the growing popularity of this style: "in 1950, 400 New Year picture designs were published; in 1952, 570 new pictures were released in 40 million copies."[82]

Clearly, *nianhua* was adopted as a form of visual propaganda to achieve the CCP's nationalistic and political goals. Its success was predicated on the salience of visual motifs commonly found in the *nianhua* genre, which ran the gamut from religious to cultural to literary. Which defining elements were prominent in *nianhua* prints before the CCP launched its "*nianhua* campaign"? And which ones were present in the posters used during the "four pests campaign?" Did "four pests" posters feature modern motifs and messages alongside more traditional elements?

Before Communist propagandists appropriated the *nianhua* art form, *nianhua* folk prints were primarily known for featuring recurring motifs of deities, bumper harvests, rosy-cheeked

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[79] See David Holm, "Art and Ideology during the Yan'an Period" (PhD diss., Corpus Christie College, Oxford University, 1979); Ellen Judd, "Cultural Articulation in the Chinese Countryside, 1937-47" *Modern China* 16 (1990): 269-308; and Chang-Tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
[80] Flath, *The Cult of Happiness*, 148.
[81] Kuiyi Shen, "Publishing Posters Before the Cultural Revolution" *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 12, no. 2 (2000): 179.
[82] *Ibid*.

and chubby children, and other distinctly New Year-related objects, such as red paper lanterns.[83] Hung (2011) divided common themes found in *nianhua* prints produced prior to 1949 into several categories, including, but not limited to: "protective deities who bring good fortune and drive away malicious spirits (door deities and the Stove God);" the daily lives of peasants, "deities and spirits connected with the agrarian world;" and flowers and birds.[84] Throughout the course of analyzing my body of primary sources, I found that there was a demonstrable continuity in myriad visual motifs from the time before the CCP launched its "*nianhua* campaign" to the "four pests campaign." While *nianhua* prints were traditionally made using woodblock printing - a technology invented in China - the new prints produced starting in 1949 were painted by artists and then mass-produced by machines to permit greater flexibility with design and color variation, as well as expedite the production process.[85] Below, I will introduce posters from the "four pests" campaign that fall under the *nianhua* genre, and analyze the visual motifs and rhetoric therein.

[83] Hung, *Mao's New World*, 183.
[84] *Ibid*., 183-184.
[85] *Ibid*., 184.

Figure 2: Lin Hongzhu (林鴻翥), *Long-lived People and Rich Harvests* (*Renshou nianfeng* 人寿年丰), December 1962, Fujian Provincial Health and Epidemic Prevention Station (*Fujiansheng Weisheng Fangbingzhan*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 2 features youth engaged in various forms of pest control. Pictured are some of the unfortunate casualties of the "four pests" campaign, including among them a few rats and a fly. A young boy standing in the middle exhibits a sizeable peach, which bears the stylized character for longevity, *shou*. The peach - a symbol of longevity - is one of the most popular motifs found in the *nianhua* genre, along with the God of Longevity, (*Shou Xing* 寿星). Directly behind the boy appears the Chinese character, "double happiness" (*shuangxi* 双喜). The character for "double happiness" is a ligature, or polysyllabic Chinese character, which is comprised of multiple parts or wholes of other Chinese characters. "Double happiness" is

composed of two copies of the Chinese characters*, xi*, meaning “happiness.” A traditional Chinese ornamental design, “double happiness” is often used as a decoration for wedding ceremonies and Chinese New Year. Another New Year motif featured in the poster is the string of red lanterns suspended above the youth; read from left to right, the characters translate to “eradicate pests and disease, long-lived people and rich harvest” (*chuhai miebing, renshou nianfeng* 除害灭病，人寿年丰). Chinese New Year lanterns are typically red and embellished with characters of auspicious import, such as “double happiness,” longevity (*shou* 寿), and good fortune (*fu* 福). Importantly, by featuring traditional motifs associated with happiness and auspiciousness, *nianhua* prints intertwined ideas of health and happiness. Apart from the red lanterns and peach, other characteristic *nianhua* motifs featured here are of the agricultural variety, ears of wheat and a bumper harvest.

Figure 3: *Long-lived People and Rich Harvests, Eradicate Pests and Diseases* (*Renshou nianfeng, chuhai miebing* 人寿年丰，除害灭病), January 1963, Luoyang City (Henan Province) Office of Health Education (*Luoyangshi Weisheng Xuanchuan Jiaoyusuo*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

A print from 1963, figure 3 follows the established *nianhua* theme. The print depicts children in dual roles: on the left, they are agriculturalists displaying the fruits of a bumper harvest. On the right, the same children are shown brandishing the weapons of pest control: a manual pesticide sprayer, a fly swatter, a backpack sprayer, and so forth. The boy sitting atop the peach on the left dons a hat fashioned out of a leaf, while his mirror image on the right is depicted as a healthcare worker beating a drum used for New Year festivities. The other two boys in the right half are pictured exterminating three of the "four pests:" a rat, fly, and pair of mosquitoes. The Chinese characters draped around the peach read an idiom that translates to "long-lived people and rich harvest" (*renshou nianfeng* 人寿年丰), while the ones on the right are pertinent to the hygiene campaign: "eradicate pests and diseases" (*chuhai miebing* 除害灭病). The children on the left side of the poster display the bounty of an agricultural harvest, a common element in *nianhua* posters: a large sheaf of wheat, corn on the cob, a cotton boll, a pumpkin, and a peach, an emblem of springtime.[86] Here, it is important to emphasize the juxtaposition of the visualization of agricultural production on the left and images of hygiene and pest control on the right. By combining these two images - with the same children nonetheless - in the same poster, it is implied that agricultural production and economic stability are predicated on the elimination of the "four pests." In other words, the *production* of

[86] The importance of the peach as a symbol of spring is evidenced by its use during Chinese New Year, when the "peach charm" (*taofu* 桃符) is placed at the front doors of homes to "prevent evil from entering." C.A.S. Williams, *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs: A Comprehensive Handbook on Symbolism in Chinese Art Through the Ages*. 4th ed. (North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 2006), 306.

what is desired (i.e. bumper harvests) is contingent upon the *elimination* of something undesirable (i.e. disease vectors). Thus, the immediate goals of the "four pests" campaign - the elimination of pests and improved hygiene in general - are linked to the broader aims of the Great Leap Forward: increased agricultural production and economic prosperity. As Bu (2015) notes, "the government regarded the improvement of public health not only an obligation of the state to the well-being of citizens but also a vital requirement for economic productivity and national development."[87] The juxtaposition of these traditional elements associated with Chinese New Year - children, agricultural bounty, the peach, the drum, and the use of red - and more modern images of pest control showcase how the New Year print was appropriated to propagate messages of disease and pest control to a predominantly agrarian society.

[87] Liping Bu, "The Patriotic Health Movement and China's Socialist Reconstruction: Fighting Disease and Transforming Society, 1950-80," in *Public Health and National Reconstruction in Post-War Asia: International influences, local transformations*, eds. Liping Bu and Ka-che Yip (New York: Routledge, 2015), 34.

Figure 4: *Wipe Out Pests, Eliminate Diseases, and Guarantee the People's Health, Pay Attention to Health and Promote Agricultural Production* (*Chuhai, miebing, baozhang renmin jiankang, jiangjiu weisheng, cujin nongye fengchan* 除害，灭病，保障人民健康，讲究卫生，促进农业丰产), December 1963, Health Department of Guizhou Province (*Guizhousheng Weisheng Jiaoyusuo*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

The juxtaposition of individuals performing distinct tasks and wearing different outfits was a common theme I identified in the body of poster propaganda I collected from the "four pests" campaign. Figure 4 is another telling example. In this image, children are pictured busily performing different hygienic activities. On the left, we see the phrase, "Wipe out pests, eliminate diseases, and guarantee the people's health." On the right, the phrase, "Pay attention to health and promote agricultural production" appears. The left-hand side displays children as agents of change following the aims of the "four pests" campaign. The boy swats down at a fly with a fly swatter, while his rosy-cheeked counterpart pumps a manual pesticide sprayer.

Framing the two children is a red border with an ornamental red Chinese paper-cut design, a traditional *nianhua* motif.[88] Also pictured is a bottle of DDT (dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane), a chemical insecticide that enjoyed widespread popularity and production during and following World War II, especially in the United States. It was frequently used to control malaria, a disease transmitted by one of the "four pests," the mosquito. Here, it is evident that cleanliness and hygiene are not only beneficial in the eradication of the "four pests" and diseases, but also help promote agricultural production, one of the stated goals of the Great Leap Forward. The rendering of the two children pictured here carries an emotional appeal to the adult spectator. They appear to be healthy, chubby, and are clad in bright colors, and the children are engaged in activities that are considered beneficial for the larger society and country. In the *nianhua* genre, images of youth, wealth, and good fortune are prominent, and children constitute a key part of that nexus.[89]

[88] The art of Chinese paper-cutting (*jianzhi* 剪纸) dates back to the second century C.E., when paper was invented in the Eastern Han Dynasty. Gradually, as paper-cutting became more affordable and accessible, the art form became embedded in folk culture and emerged as one of the most ubiquitous and popular art forms in China, rife with symbolic meaning. As Crystal Hui-Shu Yang (2012) explains, calligraphy represented Chinese intellectual culture and written history, while paper-cutting reflected the illiterate culture and tradition of oral history. Historically, Chinese paper-cuttings have been popular during New Year celebrations, especially among rural women who would decorate their homes both inside and out with paper-cuttings; in fact, they are often still used today for occasions of childbirth, festivals, and weddings, among other celebrations. Crystal Hui-Shu Yang, "Cross-Cultural Experiences through an Exhibition in China and Switzerland: The Art of Paper-cutting: East Meets West," *Notes in the History of Art* 31, no. 3 (2012): 29.

[89] Harriet Evans and Stephanie Donald, eds. *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 84.

Figure 5: *Wipe Out the Four Pests and Pay Attention to Health* (*Chu sihai, jiang weisheng* 除四害，讲卫生), n.d., Red Cross and the Patriotic Health Movement Committee Office of Jiangmen City (Guangdong Province) (*Jiangmenshi Hongshizihui*, *Jiangmenshi Aiguo Weisheng Yundong Weiyuanhui*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 5, like figures 3 and 4, displays two sets of characters dressed in different clothes and performing distinct actions. On the left is what appears to be a family of four: a mother, father, boy, and girl. They, unlike the figures in the right, are agricultural workers. Their accessories serve utilitarian purposes: the woman sports a headscarf and the man wears a straw hat, which both serve to keep the sun and sweat out of their eyes while tending to agricultural work. The woman displays a scroll with the phrase, "wipe out the four pests" (*chu sihai* 除四害); the children at the bottom carry a net, fly swatter, and what appears to be a mousetrap or cage, in the spirit of killing the "four pests." Adorning the top of their house is the character for "plentiful" or "abundant" (*feng* 丰). Also decorating the house is a four-character

banner that states, “increase production year after year” (*niannian zengchan* 年年增产), which fits in appropriately with the immediate historical context: the Great Leap Forward’s emphasis on increased agricultural output. On the right, the woman has a flower tucked behind her ear, while the man wears a prototypical worker’s uniform and cap. Rather than carrying tools for pest control, the children on the right wield more standard cleaning tools, a mop, a bucket of water, and a scrubbing brush. The man grasps a scroll with the phrase, “promote health” (*jiang weisheng* 讲卫生), which distinguishes the right half of the poster from the left. The emphasis on the left half is on pest control and eliminating the “four pests” while the image on the right promotes general standards of hygiene and cleanliness in the interest of health. The characters that embellish the home on the right, not unlike the characters decorating the opposite home, fit in with the established *nianhua* theme: the character for “happiness” or “good fortune” (*fu* 福) is at the top, while the phrase, “may you have peace year after year” (*suisui ping’an* 岁岁平安) adorns the bottom. Another popular New Year phrase, pictured at the top in the lanterns, unifies the two halves of the poster: “long-lived people and rich harvests” (*renshou nianfeng* 人寿年丰). Other *nianhua* motifs include images of a bumper harvest and New Year lanterns. Interestingly, the traditional phrases typically associated with Chinese New Year (i.e. “increase production year after year” (*niannian zengchan*); “long-lived people and rich harvests” (*renshou nianfeng*); and “may you have peace year after year” (*suisui ping’an*)) appear to be smaller and less prominent than the more modern messages of pest control and hygiene: “wipe out the four pests” (*chu sihai*) and “promote health” (*jiang weisheng*). The new slogans, unlike the more traditional phrases, serve political and ideological aims in relation to the “four pests” campaign. The appearance of political and ideological messages in this traditional art form

accord with Hung's (2000) observation that Chinese New Year prints in the PRC differed linguistically from their predecessors. Titles alluding to mythological deities such as "Stove God" and "God of Wealth" were replaced by unfamiliar socialist slogans, such as: "Learn From Our Soviet Elder Brothers" and "Long Live the Great Friendship Between the Chinese and the Koreans!"[90]

Figure 6: *Wipe Out Pests, Eliminate Diseases, and Build Happiness for Ten Thousand Generations (Chuhai miebing, zaofu wandai* 除害灭病，造福万代), September 1960, Red Cross and the Health Propaganda Office of the Health Department of Fujian Province (*Fujiansheng Hongshizihui*, *Fujiansheng Weishengting Weisheng Xuanchuan Jiaoyusuo*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

In Figure 6, we see traditional elements of the *nianhua* genre, including a Chinese New Year drum and firecrackers, the character for "good fortune" (*fu* 福), and a crop of vegetables in

[90] Chang-Tai Hung, "Repainting China: New Year Prints (*Nianhua*) and Peasant Resistance in the Early Years of the People's Republic," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 4 (2000): 795.

the center of the poster. An energized crowd of young and old is seen behind the two subjects in the front, celebrating the festivities of Chinese New Year. Pictured in the bottom of the poster are three of the original "four pests:" a rat, mosquito, and fly. However, instead of a sparrow displayed as the fourth pest, we see a bedbug. This poster was produced just five months after Chinese leaders realized that sparrows were farmers' allies in insect control.[91] Afterwards, Mao ordered the end of the campaign against sparrows, replacing them with bedbugs in the ongoing fight against the "four pests."[92] The positioning of the broom and manual insecticide sprayer in the female and male's arms connotes military strength and vigilance against the "four pests." The industrial skyline and row of golden wheat insinuate a utopian message: by virtue of exterminating unwanted pests and eradicating diseases, the people can help achieve socialist goals and improve the lives of "ten thousand generations" (*zaofu wandai* 造福万代). Hygienic habits that might otherwise seem mundane are thus transformed into revolutionary acts that benefit the "common good."

[91] Judith Shapiro. *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 88.
[92] *Ibid*.

Figure 7 (Left): *Long-lived People and Rich Harvests, Promote Good Health* (*Renshou nianfeng, jiangjiu weisheng* 人寿年丰，讲究卫生), December 1959, Red Cross and the Health Propaganda Office of the Health Department of Guangdong Province, Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 8 (Right): Zhao Shuli (趙樹啟), *Wipe Out the Four Pests and Protect Health* (*Chu sihai bao jiankang* 除四害保健康), December 1956, Health Propaganda Office of the Health Department of Tianjin, Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figures 7 and 8 display idealized visual representations of commune life during the Great Leap Forward. The Great Leap Forward hinged on the concept of the People's communes.[93] In Figure 7, *nianhua* motifs - such as the phoenix, New Year lanterns, and the

[93] The commune system of collectivised agriculture was a social experiment of staggering proportions carried out by Mao Zedong. Communes were self-supporting amalgamations of collective farms that served governmental, political, and economic purposes; the communes were communities for agriculture, small-scale industries, and centers for schooling, administration, and local security (overseen by militia organizations). Communes were

fruits of an agricultural harvest - embellish the poster. The characters on the lanterns read, "celebrate Chinese New Year" (*qingzhu Chunjie*). In the People's Communes (*renmin gongshe* 人民公社) during the Great Leap Forward, all resources were shared. Pictured in figures 7 and 8, we see people of all walks of life contributing to the life in the commune. In figure 7, a soldier helps a young girl sweep debris into a dustpan, a healthcare worker sprays the exterior of a house with insecticide, middle-aged women and an elderly man clean dirty clothes and dishes, and so forth. In other words, the poster both romanticizes commune life and prescribes preventative measures for people to imitate and practice in their communities. Figure 8 provides a more realistic representation of the range of community projects and labor in the People's Commune: farmers work in animal husbandry fields, workers dig water irrigation canals, and people use a variety of pest control devices (e.g. a mouse trap, manual insecticide sprayer, fly swatter, net, and slingshot). Mao believed that eliciting people's active participation in the Patriotic Health Movement would "not only educate and change attitudes but also make

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subdivided into production brigades, which were divided into production teams, the smallest working units. The land in communes was owned and tended to collectively, and income was shared "according to the amount of labor performed." Philip Jones and Thomas Poleman, "Communes and the Agricultural Crisis in Communist China," *Food Research Institute Studies* 3, no. 1 (1962): 5. Communes began as 'cooperatives,' or groups of collective ownership in which land from the landlords was redistributed to "the peasants who worked and lived on it" in the early 1950s. This constituted one of the PLA's first major acts in liberated areas that sought to put an end to the despotic rule of warlords and landlords, which often deprived peasants of food, income, and even their lives. By the late 1950s-early 1960s, many 'cooperatives' were converted into communes, which entailed the collective ownership of land and other resources. Victor Sidel, "The Barefoot Doctors of the People's Republic of China," *The New England Journal of Medicine* 286, no. 24 (1972): 1294. The scale of communes was staggering: in the late fall of 1958, people's communes had been set up in most areas, collectivising 99 percent of China's peasants. Julia Andrews, *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 203. The underlying premise of the Great Leap Forward was that China's enormous and rapidly growing population should be considered an economic asset, rather than a liability. Philip Jones and Thomas Poleman, "Communes and the Agricultural Crisis in Communist China," *Food Research Institute Studies* 3, no. 1 (1962): 6. Thus, the commune was borne, and all vestiges of personal property disappeared in the countryside. The People's Commune was officially sanctioned by the Central Committee on August 29, 1958 in a resolution titled, "On the Establishment of People's Communes in Rural Areas." Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, "Resolution on the Establishment of People's Communes in the Rural Areas," *Peking Review*, September 16, 1958. Mao conceived the People's Commune as a means to exploit the underemployed labor force in China's countryside in the Leap's quest toward modern industrialization.

the health habits that were being promoted part of the people's lives."[94] Both figures 7 and 8 depict idealized representations of commune life: people working harmoniously and collectively to build a prosperous and disease-free society.

In essence, these visual representations of commune life serve dual purposes: they aim to help the spectator visualize him/herself participating in mass health campaigns in their respective communities, while also glorifying the recent formation of the People's Communes, which were established to facilitate the political and economic goals of the Great Leap Forward. These posters display images that ordinary people could relate to in their daily lives, depicting their roles as active agents in pest control, disease eradication, and nation-building. In this regard, the posters continue an active element of appeal for rural people that had also been a characteristic of *nianhua*, i.e., the visual incorporation of everyday life and activities. Thus, the Patriotic Health Movement was part and parcel of a broader movement devoted to national strengthening and modernization, objectives that hinged upon people's willingness and preparedness (in terms of physical health) to mobilize and devote their energies to health campaigns.

[94] Ka-che Yip, *Disease, Colonialism, and the State: Malaria in Modern East Asian History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 107.

Figure 9: Zhang Leping (張乐平), *Health and Longevity* (*Weisheng changshou* 卫生长寿), September 1959, Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House (*Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Nianhua prints sanctioned by the CCP were known to appropriate symbols, phrases, and motifs traditionally interpreted as auspicious, such as those promoting longevity, wealth, and a good harvest. Mythological personages, such as the Kitchen God (*Zaoshen* 灶神) and Door God (*Menshen* 门神), were often featured in New Year prints.[95] Pictured here, we see the God of Longevity (*Shou Xing* 寿星) standing alongside two beaming children who appear prepared for hygienic duties. In *nianhua* prints, the God of Longevity is often pictured holding the fruit of the

[95] Stefan Landsberger, *Chinese Propaganda Posters: From Revolutionization to Modernization*. (Amsterdam: The Pepin Press, 1995), 23.

pantao[96] (蟠桃) tree (i.e. peaches consumed due to the belief that they confer immortality in Chinese mythology).[97] The benevolent deity gives the children a "thumbs up," approving of the children's readiness to take part in the Patriotic Health Movement. The God of Longevity is shown holding a staff of hard, knotty wood carved into the shape of a dragon's head; hanging from the staff are a pair of immortal peaches and a scroll titled, "Health" (*weisheng* 卫生). On his gown, a stylized version of the character for longevity (*shou* 寿) is displayed. On the exterior of his orange gown are red circular designs, which are other forms of conventional artistic variants of the character for longevity.[98] Both children don red scarves, while the boy wears a red armband with the phrase, "Patriotic Health Movement" (*Aiguo Weisheng Yundong* 爱国卫生运动). The red scarf is a symbol of a corner of the national flag, "stained red by the blood of revolutionary martyrs."[99] Here, we see how elements of the *nianhua* genre - such as the image of healthy children and traditional motifs and figures such as the peach and God of Longevity - are appropriated to send a clear message of hygiene as it relates to ideas of well-being, patriotism, and longevity.

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[96] The peach of longevity is featured in the popular 16th century fantasy novel, *Journey to the West* (*Xiyou Ji* 西游记), one of the Four Great Classical Novels of Chinese literature (*Sidamingzhu* 四大名著). In one famous scene, the mischievous Monkey King (*Sun Wukong* 孙悟空) is appointed as the guardian of the heavenly peach garden, which bears fruit every 3,000 years. The peaches were believed to bestow immortality to those who were fortunate enough to eat them. The peach tree of immortality had bloomed, and preparations were underway for a heavenly feast for the Gods, hosted by the Queen Mother of the West (*Xiwangmu* 西王母). Angered that he did not receive an invitation to attend the royal banquet, the Monkey King stole the entire feast by eating all the immortal peaches. Unsurprisingly, the Monkey King then became immortal.

[97] C.A.S. Williams, *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs: A Comprehensive Handbook on Symbolism in Chinese Art Through the Ages*. 4th ed. (North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 2006), 215.

[98] David Jordan, "Chinese Symbols of Happiness," *David K. Jordan*, accessed March 1, 2016, http://pages.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan/chin/happiness/HappinessSymbols.html and Wolfram Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols* (New York: Routledge, 1986), 168.

[99] Stephanie Donald, "Children as Political Messengers: Art, Childhood, and Continuity," in *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution*, eds. Harriet Evans and Stephanie Donald (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1999), 85.

In summary, the propaganda posters above illustrate how the traditional art form of *nianhua* was adapted to promulgate messages of disease eradication, pest control, patriotism, and ambitious projects launched during the Great Leap Forward such as the establishment of the People's Communes. *Nianhua* posters produced during the "four pests" campaign featured motifs, symbols, and phrases replete with cultural, literary, and religious meaning. These traditional elements of *nianhua* posters were juxtaposed with more modern messages of disease eradication and pest control, with underlying messages of social reconstruction, national development, and economic production. These findings support the notion that the Patriotic Health Movement was a vital component of a broader sociopolitical movement under Mao. Yet, the medium of *nianhua* constitutes but one of many visual genres used in propaganda posters to mobilize the masses during the "four pests" campaign. Another prominent theme that emerged in the posters I analyzed from the "four pests" campaign was the militarization of pest control and disease eradication. In following section, I will demonstrate how posters from the "four pests" campaign employed militaristic rhetoric and imagery to mobilize the masses to exterminate the designated enemies of the CCP.

3.2: The Militarization of Pest Control and Disease Eradication

Shapiro (2001) contends that Mao's veritable "war against nature" was depicted in the militaristic rhetoric and actions of the Great Leap Forward, in stark contrast to the reigning monistic cosmology in traditional Chinese philosophy in which heaven (*Tian* 天), earth (*di* 地), and human beings (*ren* 人) were conceived as mutually interdependent entities. This idealistic cosmological view gave way to the dichotomous view of the human-nature relationship during

the Maoist period, as exemplified in Mao's four-character slogan, "humans must conquer nature" (*ren ding sheng tian* 人定胜天). This was an era in which political campaigns to mobilize the masses and agitate social change came at the expense of the environment and humans. Shapiro (2001) corroborates this statement in her historical overview of the dynamics of the "anthropogenic environmental degradation" that took place during the Maoist period: as evidenced by the ambitious and poorly executed economic programmes of the Great Leap Forward, the "abuse of people and abuse of nature are often interrelated."[100] Shapiro (2001) describes how, during the Great Leap Forward and "four pests" campaign, nature was configured both as "a target for transformation, like farmlands" and "an enemy to be destroyed."[101] Mao's "declaration of war" on the natural world, Shapiro (2001) argues, represented a revolutionary and novel mode of thinking about humans' relationship with nature, which resulted in dire consequences for humans and the environment alike.

Mao's conviction in humans' ability to force nature into compliance was clearly articulated in much of his rhetoric in both speeches and propaganda posters. The adversarial human-nature dynamic was a key feature in propaganda - particularly for the purposes of Maoist public health campaigns - produced during the Great Leap Forward. In particular, propaganda from the "four pests" campaign compelled the masses to action with militaristic, utopian, and patriotic rhetoric, with the underlying assumption that humans can conquer natural forces. In May 1958, Mao proclaimed, "'Make the high mountain bow its head; make the river yield the way.' It is an excellent sentence. When we ask the high mountain to bow its

[100] Judith Shapiro, *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), xiv.
[101] *Ibid.*, 86.

head, it has to do so! When we ask the river to yield the way, it must yield!"[102] The specific demands in this quote illuminate the significance of the "us versus nature" sensibility conveyed in propaganda from the Great Leap Forward. Making a mountain "bow its head" and a river "yield the way" refer to building mountain passes and roads and creating dams and large-scale irrigation projects. These were large-scale projects that necessitated the involvement of many, many people. The underlying ideology and use of militaristic rhetoric in Maoist public health campaigns was integral to their ability to spur popular participation to implement large-scale projects during the Great Leap Forward, such as the "four pests" campaign.

The war metaphors found in Mao's speeches and propaganda posters from the "four pests" campaign help shed light on the adversarial human-nature dynamic during the Great Leap Forward. As Shapiro (2001) writes, the Great Leap Forward constituted one of many Maoist political campaigns (*yundong* 运动) during the Mao years. One of the defining characteristics of the Great Leap Forward was speed; at the time, the Leap vaulted participants to a sense of urgency in numerous areas, such as: reorganizing society, catching up with Britain in industry, raising agricultural yields, ridding China of the four pests, and so on.[103] Another prominent feature of the Great Leap Forward was the use of slogans, or short, easily memorized phrases that propagated political goals, health messages, generated enthusiasm, and fostered conformity. For instance, the slogan, "Wipe out the Four Pests" (*Chu Sihai* 除四害) was printed in many propaganda posters as a means to craft a concerted, synchronized, and

[102] Zedong Mao, "Speeches at the Second Session of the Eighth Party Congress (8-23 May 1958)," The First Speech (8 May 1958), in Joint Publications Research Service, *Miscellany of Mao Zedong Thought (1949-1968). Part I* (Arlington, VA: 1974), 96.
[103] Judith Shapiro, *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 71.

highly coordinated campaign to eliminate the "four pests."[104] Maoist political campaigns ensured compliance and participation through fear-mongering and utopian urgency, among other tactics.[105] Schoenhals (1992) comments that such campaigns often involved the destruction of social classes as a means to provide a dialectic of unperturbed revolution in China's pursuit of socialism.[106] Campaigns also compelled participants to expend great amounts of energy to achieve rapid transformation, as seen in the use of militaristic rhetoric during the "four pests campaign."

During the Great Leap Forward, a vast vocabulary of militaristic terms permeated the national discourse. As Ji (2004) writes, "at no time before the Cultural Revolution was military language more all-pervasive than during the Great Leap Forward,"[107] For example, Tsi-an Hsia (1961) catalogues and translates some of the military metaphors used during this period: *zhanshi* ("a fighter" - a production worker), *zhandou* ("to fight a battle" - to work hard in production), *zhanxian* ("a battle line" - a workplace), *gangwei* ("a sentry post" - a revolutionary's appointed position in society), *da jun* (" a great army" - a large group of people organized for some project of socialist construction), and *qianmiezhan* ("a battle of annihilation" - an important productive undertaking assured of complete success).[108] The military metaphors used during the Great Leap Forward were accompanied by "a degree of actual military organization of society:" approximately 280 million people were organized into a

[104] *Ibid*., 86.
[105] *Ibid*., 71.
[106] See Michael Schoenhals, *Doing Things with Words in Chinese Politics: Five Studies* (Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1992).
[107] Fengyuan Ji, *Linguistic Engineering: Language and Politics in Mao's China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 87.
[108] *Ibid*., 87-88.

people's militia, 30 million of them armed.[109] Indeed, particularly burdensome posts were designated 'frontlines' (*qianxian* 前线), and tackling a new problem involved 'staging an offensive' (*faqi jingong* 发起进攻).[110] The militarization of language and social organization during the Great Leap Forward was intended to "transfer the urgency, the discipline, and the heroism of wartime struggle to the task of building socialism in a time of peace" and subordinate individuals to heed commands from leaders.[111] The assault on sparrows (one of the "four pests") was one of the most direct, militant attacks on nature evidenced during the Great Leap Forward.

Militaristic organization and terminology were employed in the great "battle of annihilation" to exterminate sparrows in China during the "four pests" campaign. According to an April 24, 1958 article in the *People's Daily* (*Renmin Ribao* 人民日报), the battle was fought by "three million brave warriors with a single heart" (*san baiwan yongshi yitiaoxin* 三百万勇士一条心) and "everywhere you could find slogans that called for poisoning, banging, and explosions to cause sparrows to go extinct" (*jietou xiangwei daochu keyi kandao "hong, da, du, tao, shi maque duan zi jue sun" deng biaoyu kouhao* 街头巷尾到处可以看到"轰、打、毒、掏，使麻雀断子绝孙"等标语口号).[112]

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[109] *Ibid*., 89 and Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China*. 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, W. W. & Company, Inc.: 1999), 581.
[110] Elizabeth Perry and Xun Li, "Revolutionary Rudeness: The Language of Red Guards and Rebel Workers in China's Cultural Revolution," *Indiana East Asian Working Papers Series on Language and Politics in Modern China* 2 (July 1993): 8.
[111] Fengyuan Ji, *Linguistic Engineering: Language and Politics in Mao's China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 89.
[112] Zhonghuang An [仲皇安], "一场轰轰烈烈的歼灭战," *Renmin Ribao* [*People's Daily*], April 24, 1958, 7.

列宁主义是为共产主义的胜利而斗争的不可战胜的旗帜

苏共中央书记波斯列洛夫在列宁诞辰八十八周年纪念大会上的报告（摘要）

看花三日　耳目一新

广东六百科学家到农村"上大课"

中国科学院副院长竺可桢说,科学工作者必须到群众中去,到生产中去,实践再实践

一场轰轰烈烈的歼灭战

全国健将级体操赛开始

河南全省广播网形成

中国纪念世界文化名人委员会成立

六月下旬将举行关汉卿纪念活动

作家周立波在农村

粤剧演员到农村落户

Figure 10: Coverage of the attack against sparrows is seen in the article on the bottom right of the page from the *People's Daily* newspaper. An, Zhonghuang (仲皇安). "一场轰轰烈烈的歼灭战," *People's Daily* (*Renmin Ribao* 人民日报) 24 Apr. 1958: 7. Print.

As Ji (2004) explains, people who partook in the assault against sparrows were led by President Liu Shaoqi (刘少奇) and "formed shock brigades (*tujidui*), mobile units (*jidongdui*), scattering and chasing units (*honggandui*), slingshot units (*dangongdui*), noise-making units (*yinxiangdui*), and searching and capturing units (*soupudui*)."[113] With such a highly coordinated and formidable military organization, the sparrows stood no chance. As Shapiro (2001) describes, "the degree of synchronicity achieved [in the battle against sparrows] is almost as striking as

[113] Fengyuan Ji, *Linguistic Engineering: Language and Politics in Mao's China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 88.

the campaign's self-destructiveness."[114] The unintended consequences of the all-out assault against sparrows were plagues of insects and devastating losses in grain. Shapiro (2001) remarks that it is difficult to quantify the amount of grain lost due to the insect infestations, "especially considering other factors influencing grain harvest figures such as the state's neglect of the 1958 crop because of the steel production drive and excessive levying of grain for the cities."[115] Nonetheless, the loss of grain was significant enough for Chinese to blame the "four pests" campaign as one of the contributing factors to a "lasting ecological imbalance" that ultimately contributed to and exacerbated the effects of Mao's Great Famine.[116]

Mao's Great Famine was the product of environmental and human disaster: the Great Leap Forward (and the "four pests" campaign) threw off the ecological balance in China's rural areas; insect infestations destroyed crops; deforestation, soil erosion, and water loss resulted from the steel campaign; grandiose irrigation projects exacerbated the ecological disturbance; and local political leaders mismanaged and manipulated farmers out of food, among other factors.[117] Estimates of the number of fatalities resulting from Mao's Great Famine vary widely, from the Chinese government's estimate of 15 million to Chinese journalist Yang Jisheng's estimate of 36 million to Frank Dikötter's estimate of 45 million.[118] Apart from their devastating impacts on the Great Famine, the unrealistic demands of the Great Leap Forward also had

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[114] Judith Shapiro, *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 87.
[115] *Ibid*., 88.
[116] *Ibid*.
[117] *Ibid*., 90 and Frank Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-62* (New York: Walker Publishing Company, 2010), 188.
[118] See Cormac Ó Gráda, *Famine: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 95); Frank Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-62* (New York: Walker Publishing Company, 2010) and Jisheng Yang, *Tombstone: The Great Chinese Famine 1958-1962* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012).

negative consequences for anti-malaria efforts in China, as Yip (2009) points out.[119] Analyzing the visual and rhetorical representations of the "four pests" campaign in propaganda posters from the Great Leap Forward helps shed light on how messages about the adversarial human-nature relationship were codified and circulated to the masses.

Figure 11: *The Life Cycle and Danger of the Four Pests* (*Sihai fanzhi nengli he weihai* 四害繁殖能力和危害), n.d., Wenzhou City (Zhejiang province) Patriotic Health Movement Committee Office (*Wenzhoushi Aiguo Weisheng Yundong Weiyuanhui Bangongshi*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 11 displays a mass of people lined up to annihilate the "four pests," which are all pictured perishing in a cloud of pesticide spray. Leading the crowd of citizens is a man dressed in a blue worker's uniform, wielding a manual pesticide sprayer (which is an auspicious color,

[119] Ka-che Yip, *Disease, Colonialism, and the State: Malaria in Modern East Asian History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 108.

red), and a young girl by his side maliciously swinging down a fly swatter, dressed in school clothes with a red scarf and hair in pigtails. Behind them, the "pest control army" holds up a large red banner, which boldly exhorts, "exterminate the four pests" (*xiaomie sihai* 消灭四害). This poster bears striking resemblances to Cultural Revolution wall posters, which frequently included militaristic language and imagery. The use of war metaphors and militaristic imagery gave people the license to kill the targeted enemies (the "four pests") with the same degree of vigilance as wartime soldiers and promoted group efforts to ensure the success of the campaign. To illustrate the imperative of eradicating the "four pests," this poster also serves didactic aims, as half is occupied by an infographic detailing the life cycle and dangers of each of the "four pests." For example, the rat is described (at times, erroneously) as a vector for the following diseases: the plague, schistosomiasis (snail fever), scrub typhus (mite-borne typhus fever), typhoid, and rat-bite fever. Also listed are diseases transmitted by the fly, including: dysentery, hepatitis, typhoid, cholera, etc. The mosquito is described as a vector for meningitis and malaria. While the upper portion of the poster compels the viewer to an instantaneous reaction, the bottom portion of the poster requires closer examination to fully process the contents. The infographic assumes that the viewer is literate and can comprehend rather technical information about the life cycle and human health hazards of various pests. The upper visual, on the other hand, delivers a straight-forward message: mobilize to kill the "four pests."

This tension between the two halves of this poster raises a critical question: how comprehensible was this information to the average person in rural areas such as Zhejiang province? Bu (2014) addresses this question by providing an overview of the national illiteracy elimination movement (*saomang yundong* 扫盲运动), which began in the 1950s as an effort to

reduce illiteracy rates in rural villages through a curriculum that emphasized lessons on agricultural production, government laws and policies, and epidemic diseases.[120] As Bu (2014) explains, visual materials were helpful pedagogical materials that achieved "immediate impact" among illiterate peasants in the early phases of the Patriotic Health Movement, when the national illiteracy elimination movement was launched.[121] The scale of the national illiteracy elimination movement was expansive: between 1949-1956, around 294 million people attended literacy classes - the majority of whom were peasants - and 20.76 million became literate.[122] From 1949 to 1964, the illiteracy rate dropped from over 80 percent to a mere 37 percent, a dramatic improvement overall.[123]

[120] Liping Bu, "Anti-Malaria Campaigns and the Socialist Reconstruction of China, 1950-80," *East Asian History* 39 (2014): 121.
[121] *Ibid*., 123.
[122] Liping Bu, "The Patriotic Health Movement and China's Socialist Reconstruction: Fighting Disease and Transforming Society, 1950-80," in *Public Health and National Reconstruction in Post-War Asia: International influences, local transformations.* eds. Liping Bu and Ka-che Yip. (New York: Routledge, 2015), 38.
[123] *Ibid*.

Figure 12: *In the Great Spirit of Changing Customs and Transforming the World, We Vigorously Take Part in the Health Campaign* (*Yi yifeng yisu gaizao shijie de weida qigai dagao weisheng yundong* 以移风易俗改造世界的伟大气概大搞卫生运动), n.d., Health Propaganda Office of Heilongjiang Province (*Heilongjiangsheng Weisheng Jiaoyusuo*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

In Figure 12, a diverse crowd of people of various ethnicities, professions, and ages marches in what is comparable to a martial procession to exterminate the "four pests." Tools used to exterminate the pests include shovels, manual insecticide sprayers, fly swatters, and a broom. In the cloud of insecticide spray we see rats, flies, mosquitoes, and bedbugs. The crowd is shown facing the same direction as the ship in the background, which is symbolic for "forging onward" and conquering obstacles. The man outstretches his hand toward a backdrop of citizens engaged in a variety of tasks: an intellectual carries a book, a woman operates some form of machinery, people are exercising, and one individual is showering. Further in the

distance, an industrial skyline is visible, alluding to the nationwide efforts of industrialization and modernization which occurred during the Great Leap Forward. A rather lengthy slogan appears at the top of the figure on a red flag: “In the great spirit of changing customs and transforming the world, we vigorously take part in the health campaign.” This poster connects the particular goals of the “four pests” campaign with loftier, national goals of “changing customs and transforming the world.” Here, the images of industry, production, and hygiene converge to advance a narrative of social change, modernization, and improved standards of hygiene.

Figure 13: *Untitled*, June 1960, Red Cross and the Health Propaganda Office of the Health Department of Chongqing City (Sichuan Province) (*Chongqingshi Hongshizihui*, *Chongqingshi Weisheng Jiaoyusuo*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

After 1949, the CCP co-opted the Chinese New Year print (*nianhua* 年画) as a vessel of state-sponsored propaganda to send myriad health-related, political, and social messages in relation to the "four pests" campaign. Not unlike the manner in which traditional *nianhua* motifs and phrases were appropriated to send messages of pest control and disease eradication, posters displaying militaristic imagery and language also drew upon traditional motifs/figures, such as the Gods of Pestilence (*wenshen* 瘟神).[124] References to the God of Plague were also made in Mao's famous poem written in 1958, *Farewell to the God of Plague*.[125] In figure 13, a troupe consisting of workers, medical professionals, a PLA soldier, and young and old bid farewell to one of the retreating Gods of Pestilence, waving various weapons and tools in the air (e.g. a mousetrap with a dead mouse, a manual insecticide sprayer, a fly swatter, a gun, a broom, and a net capturing a mosquito). The man leading the procession holds up a flag with the phrase, "Farewell, God of Pestilence" (*Song wenshen* 送瘟神). The group effort depicted in this image conceptually recalls People's Communes from the Great Leap Forward: efforts such as disease control and hygiene require the labor and cooperation of a collective, as was the case in People's Communes.

[124] The '*wen*' is *wenshen* can be translated to 'plague, pestilence, or epidemic;' '*shen*' translates to a 'spirit, god, or supernatural being.'

[125] Written on July 1, 1958, *Farewell to the God of Plague* celebrated the alleged eradication of schistosomiasis (snail disease) from Yukiang Valley. For more on Mao's campaign against schistosomiasis, see Miriam Gross, *Farewell to the God of Plague* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

Figure 14: *Wipe Out the Four Pests, Promote Health, Change Traditions and Customs, and Transform the World!* (*Dachu sihai, dajiang weisheng, yifeng yisu, gaizao shijie* 大除四害，大讲卫生，移风易俗，改造世界), June 1960, Red Cross and the Health Propaganda Office of the Health Department of Chongqing City (Sichuan Province) (*Chongqingshi Hongshizihui*, *Chongqingshi Weisheng Jiaoyusuo*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 15: *Mobilize Every Household, Everyone Lends a Hand and Wipes Out the Four Pests!* (*Huhu dongyuan, renren dongshou, xiaomie sihai* 户户动员，人人动手，消灭四害), c. 1958-1960, Red Cross and the Health Propaganda Office of the Health Department of Shandong Province (*Shandongsheng Hongshizihui*, *Shandongsheng Aiguo Weisheng Yundong Weiyuanhui*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

The imagery and language in figures 14 and 15 are strikingly similar: a crowd of people - including young and old, peasant and healthcare personnel, and PLA soldier and blue-collar worker - strike their respective tools of trade to exterminate the "four pests." The slogan, "change traditions and customs" (*yifeng yisu* 移风易俗) appears in both posters, although in different locations (in figure 14, the slogan appears in the caption, whereas figure 15 shows the message in a banner held up by members of the crowd). Both posters equate the mass mobilization of people to kill the "four pests" to a socialist and revolutionary duty that has the capacity to "transform the world" (*gaizao shijie* 改造世界). Figure 14 closely resembles depictions of cadres in Cultural Revolution propaganda posters.[126] In figure 15, a child aims a slingshot, a farmer sweeps with a broom, a healthcare worker pumps a manual insecticide sprayer, an old man swings a fly swatter, and a blue-collar worker digs with a shovel. The "four pests" appear cornered; although figure 15 does not list a date of publication, we can deduce

[126] In late 1968, Mao established the May 7 Cadre Schools (*wu qi gan xiao* 五七干校) in accordance with a directive he gave on May 7, 1966, in which he proposed the establishment of cadres in rural areas where intellectuals and cadres from the city would convene to perform manual labor and "undergo ideological reeducation" to attain proper socialist thought. Gucheng Li, *A Glossary of Political Terms of the People's Republic of China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1995), 484. According to Gucheng Li (1995), "The Central Committee and the State Council built 106 May 7 cadre schools" in 18 provinces, and "over 100,000 officials from the central government, 30,000 family members, and 5,000 educated youths were sent to these places" (*Ibid*). The process was immensely difficult for intellectuals and city-goers who were not accustomed to the strenuous demands of agricultural work. Many peasants living in areas with cadres resented the presence of intellectuals and in general, their inexperience with manual labor. In practice, the May 7 Cadre Schools were like forced labor camps with poor living conditions; many intellectuals starved and died in the May 7 Cadre Schools. Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China*. 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, W. W. & Company, Inc.: 1999), 582.

that the poster was printed sometime between 1958 and April 1960, when sparrows were still targeted as one of the “four pests.”

Figure 16: *Combat Drought and Increase Production, Conquer Nature, Wipe Out Pests and Eradicate Disease, Man Can Conquer Nature* (*Kanghan shengchan, zhengfu ziran, chuhai miebing, ren ding sheng tian* 抗旱生产，征服自然，除害灭病，人定胜天), n.d., Health Office of Gansu (*Gansusheng Weishengting*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

The underlying premise of the Great Leap Forward was that the willpower and labor of the masses would enable people to transform the material world and subdue nature in the interest of development, industrialization, and modernization. Mao famously declared, “Man Must Conquer Nature” [*Ren Ding Sheng Tian* 人定胜天] and “Great Courage Brings Forth Great

Yields" [*Ren You Duo Da Dan, Di You Duo Da Chan* 人有多大胆，地有多大产].[127] Mao's conviction that nature must yield to human willpower constituted one of the most egregious fallacies in his ideology; Becker (1996) describes Mao's perception of scientific knowledge as follows:

> Mao wanted to modernize China but could not grasp the basis of modern thought, the scientific method: that the way in which the natural universe behaves can be proved or disproved by objective tests, independent of ideology or individual will.[128]

In figure 16, two of Mao's quotes appear at the bottom: "Conquer Nature" (*Zhengfu Ziran* 征服自然) and "Man must conquer Nature" (*Ren ding sheng Tian* 人定胜天). The main figure in the poster appears to be holding a river - depicted as a dragon - in a chokehold as he delivers a deathblow to the "four pests" with a shovel. The message is that human willpower can indeed subdue nature, with the implication that people can successfully exterminate the "four pests" if they invest their time and energy into the task. The militaristic and triumphalist rhetoric served to transfer the demands, vigilance, and heroism of wartime struggles to the tasks of improving hygiene and building a socialist nation during peacetime.[129]

To summarize, militaristic, utopian, and patriotic rhetoric and imagery were prominent components of propaganda posters produced during the "four pests" campaign. Mao's views on the adversarial relationship between humans and nature motivated the "four pests" campaign, and the ends of achieving greater economic stability, industrialization, higher standards of hygiene and public health, and social reconstruction justified the means. The

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[127] Judith Shapiro, *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 67-68.
[128] Jasper Becker, *Hungry Ghosts: Mao's Secret Famine* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 308.
[129] Fengyuan Ji, *Linguistic Engineering: Language and Politics in Mao's China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 89.

martial rhetoric and imagery described in the posters above was also a reflection of the militaristic organization of society during the "four pests" campaign - this was particularly the case in the all-out assault against sparrows. Images of pest control devices alongside military weapons and hordes of people killing the "four pests" were common elements in these posters. In the final section of this chapter, I will introduce the pivotal roles children and women played as political messengers in the "four pests" campaign.

3.3: Children and Women As Political Messengers

As I will illustrate below, women and children were depicted as key participants in propaganda posters from the "four pests" campaign. Exploring the imagery of children in these posters enables us to consider how images of children both signified broader social and political meanings and sought to inspire youths and adults in the formulation of their self-identities. This section aims to explore how images of youth and women were consciously composed during the "four pests" campaign, oftentimes using political and militaristic rhetoric. As seen in the following posters, the image of the child emerged to serve public health-related, political, and nationalistic concerns. In propaganda posters from the "four pests" campaign, women were often depicted performing hygienic and patriotic duties inside domestic environments, often attending to children or appearing alongside men. On the other hand, as I will demonstrate in section 4.2, in barefoot doctors posters, women's roles undergo a significant transformation - they are pictured in wide, open fields, riding horseback, and atop mountains. In these posters, women's mobility and social status are elevated in transformative ways. Visually, women are no

longer confined to domestic spaces - rather, they emerge as autonomous caregivers and disseminators of health knowledge.

Why are children pictured in propaganda posters used during the "four pests" campaign in the first place? Is the representation of children "as symbols in political and social systems of iconography" distinct from the representation of women, men, and other adults in the context of the "four pests" campaign?[130] Was this simply a means to address the child spectator and attract him/her to take part in the "four pests" campaign, or does the image of children serve to satisfy the emotional affect that images of childhood stir in the public imagination by appealing to adult nostalgia? Is the depiction of children in these images realistic or do they operate to legitimate the aims of the CCP in recruiting young children as participants in the attack against the "four pests"? I will strive to answer these questions in the analyses provided below.

[130] Stephanie Donald, "Children as Political Messengers: Art, Childhood, and Continuity," in *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution*, eds. Harriet Evans and Stephanie Donald (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1999), 79.

Figure 17: Bi Cheng (毕成), *Everybody Comes to Beat Sparrows* (*Dajia dou lai da maque* 大家都来打麻雀), September 1956, n.p., *Chineseposters.net.* <http://chineseposters.net/posters/e12-901.php>.

During the "four pests" campaign, children played a pivotal role, both literally and visually (in propaganda posters). In Mao's speech at the Second Session of the Eighth Party Congress on May 18, 1958, Mao proclaimed: "The whole people, including five-year-old children, must be mobilized to eliminate the four pests."[131] As evidenced by Mao's rallying cry for a nationwide assault against sparrows, children were not only consumers of the posters, but also agents of destruction. To enlist more children in the attack against sparrows, propaganda

[131] "Speech at the Conference of Heads of Delegations to the Second Session of the 8th Party Congress," *Marxists Internet Archive*, last modified 2004, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-8/mswv8_11.htm.

posters featured children prominently carrying out hygienic and patriotic duties. As Shapiro (2001) describes, the attack against sparrows "enlisted child-soldiers in the war against nature, for schoolchildren were among the main participants in the anti-pest drive."[132] In Figure 17, two children focus their attention on killing a sparrow. The girl, pictured holding a dead sparrow, stares intently as the boy stands with his arm outstretched, poised to shoot down another unfortunate sparrow with his toy slingshot. The slogan across the bottom reads, "Everybody comes to beat sparrows" (*Dajia dou lai da maque* 大家都来打麻雀). This phrase illustrates the degree of coordination and synchronization achieved in the assault against sparrows, as propaganda posters cajoled everyone - including children - to partake in the campaign.

Figure 18: *Wipe Out the Four Pests and Promote Health* (*Chu sihai jiang weisheng* 除四害讲卫生), n.d., Handan (Hebei Province) City Sanitation and Epidemic Prevention Station, Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

[132] Judith Shapiro, *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 88.

Many posters I encountered from the "four pests" campaign featured brightly colored images with children, songs, rhymes, comics, and even crossword puzzles. Posters featuring children as the primary figures were designed to serve multiple aims: entertain and visually appeal to children, convey educational information about pest control and disease eradication (e.g. in the form of rhymes, songs, and poems), and mobilize the young spectator to take part in the Patriotic Health Movement as a change agent. In figure 18, "Wipe out the four pests and promote health," we see an image of a cartoon child waving to the photographs of children that occupy the majority of the poster. Across the top, a slogan reads, "Everyone get together, promote health, reduce disease, and improve standards of health" (*Dongyuan qilai, jiangjiu weisheng, jianshao jibing, tigao jiankang shuiping* 动员起来，讲究卫生，减少疾病，提高健康水平). The photographs of toddlers in the top row are shown killing the "four pests" - a mosquito, fly, bedbug, and rat - with various pest control devices, including manual insecticide sprayers, a fly swatter, and mouse trap. The phrases underneath the images provide information specific to each of the "four pests," such as where it resides, the diseases it transmits, and how to effectively kill it. The scenes beneath display more general hygienic and sanitary practices, such as washing hands and hair, cleaning clothes, sweeping dust, and cleaning surfaces and windows. In the bottom right of the poster is a children's song titled, "Take Part in the Patriotic Health Movement" (*Aiguo Weisheng Yundong gao qilai* 爱国卫生运动搞起来). The song verses are reproduced and translated below:

> 1. 行动起来，行动起来，*Xingdong qilai, xingdong qilai,*
> Let's do it, let's do it,
> 爱国卫生运动搞起来，*Aiguo Weisheng Yundong gao qilai,*
> Let's participate in the Patriotic Health Movement,

人人讲卫生，个个除四害，*Renren jiangweisheng, gege chu sihai,*
Everyone promotes health, everyone kills the four pests,
移风易俗，改造世界，*Yifeng yisu, gaizao shijie,*
Change customs and traditions, transform the world,
革命新风尚树呀树起来。*Geming xin feng shang shu ya shu qilai.*
We establish a new revolutionary atmosphere.

2. 行动起来，行动起来，*Xingdong qilai, xingdong qilai,*
Let's do it, let's do it,
爱国卫生运动搞起来，*Aiguo Weisheng Yundong gao qilai,*
Let's participate in the Patriotic Health Movement,
人人齐动手，个个勤宣传，*Renren qi dongshou, gege qin xuanchuan,*
Everyone lends a hand, everyone propagates the message,
除害灭病立新功，*Chuhai miebing li xin gong,*
Everyone exterminates the pests, eradicates diseases, and does a marvelous job,
革命人民乐呀乐开怀。*Geming renmin le ya le kaihuai.*
People of the revolution are very happy and cheerful.

The lyrics exhort the young spectator to "partake in the Patriotic Health Movement" and "kill the four pests" in order to "change customs and traditions," and "transform the world," thus equating the seemingly simple acts of pest control and hygiene to patriotic duties capable of fulfilling goals of social reconstruction. The rhyming schemes in the poem facilitate memorization due to the repetition therein: for example, the phrase, "let's do it, let's do it" (*xingdong qilai, xingdong qilai*) appears in the first lines of sections one and two. The last characters in nearly every line rhyme with one another (e.g. "*lai*, *hai*, and *huai*.") Further, parallelism is also shown in the third lines in sections one and two: *renren*-A, *gege*-A, and *renren*-B, *gege*-B. Link (2013) explains that parallelism in Chinese, just like rhythm, can "produce senses of naturalness, authority, or "fit"."[133] These linguistic techniques of rhythm and parallelism have been shown to aid recall and memorization, and are particularly effective

[133] Perry Link, *An Anatomy of Chinese: Rhythm, Metaphor, Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 103.

for children's language development.[134] In imperial China, children were often taught to recite classical poems from memory, even before their formal education began.[135] To facilitate memorization, much early childhood educational material was written in parallel prose or verse.[136] The rote memorization of classics such as the Three Character Classic (*Sanzijing* 三字经) and The Book of Family Names (*Baijiaxing* 百家姓) began as early as when children entered school.[137] Given China's rich history of poetry and the educational emphasis on the memorization of literary classics, we can appreciate the intent behind the rhythm and parallelism in the song in figure 18. The verses were meticulously written in order to ease memorization and promote mass mobilization in the assault against the "four pests." In summary, the usage of vivid primary colors, a song about the Patriotic Health Movement replete with rhyming and parallelism, and images of pest control and disease prevention all converge in figure 18 to educate, entice, and exhort the young spectator to partake in the fight against the "four pests" and thereby contribute to broader nationalistic aims of socialist reconstruction.

[134] See Susan Kenney. "Nursery Rhymes: Foundation for Learning," *General Music Today* 19 (2005): 28-31.
[135] Anne McLaren, "Constructing New Reading Publics in Late Ming China," in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, eds. Cynthia Brokaw and Kai-Wing Chow (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 167.
[136] *Ibid*.
[137] *Ibid*.

Figure 19: A series of posters depicting people exterminating the four pests (pictured from left to right: flies, sparrows, rats, and mosquitos). *Untitled*, January 1960, Red Cross and Health Propaganda Office of the Health Department of Fujian Province (*Fujiansheng Hongshizihui*, *Fujiansheng Weishengting Weisheng Xuanchuan Jiaoyusuo*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 19 further demonstrates the creative arsenal of rhetorical and visual techniques used to attract young spectators to join the "four pests" campaign. This poster series shows children and women busily eradicating the "four pests:" flies, sparrows, rats, and mosquitoes (pictured from left to right). The posters are didactic in that they display specific actions and tools needed for pest control, including: fly swatters, a gun, a mousetrap, and a mosquito net. For example, the image on the far left displays two children swatting at a pair of flies with fly swatters. From left to right, the poems are transcribed and translated below:

苍蝇拍子长又方，时时刻刻带身旁，见到一只打一只，人人动手消灭光。
Cangying paizi chang you fang, shishi keke dai shenpang, jiandao yizhi da yizhi, renren dongshou xiaomie guang.
Fly swatters are long and square, carry one by your side at all times, swat flies whenever you see them, everyone participates in extermination.

不怕麻雀飞得高，只怕英雄本领好，毒打轰掏齐出动，誓叫麻雀无处逃。
Bupa maque fei de gao, zhipa yingxiong benling hao, du da hong tao qi chudong, shi jiao maque wuchu tao.
Don't be afraid of how high the sparrow flies, rather, the sparrow should be afraid of the hero's ability, poison, beat, chase, scoop, we use all methods, vow that the sparrow will have nowhere to hide.

老鼠嘴尖尾巴长，偷粮啃箱咬衣裳，传染鼠疫是祸首，不灭彻底心不甘。
Laoshu zuijian weiba chang, tou liang ken xiang yao yishang, chuanran shuyi shi huoshou, bu mie chedi xin bugan.
The mouse has a pointy mouth with a long tail, it steals grain, gnaws boxes, and shakes clothes, it is the main culprit in spreading plague, we will not stop until they are thoroughly exterminated.

蚊子嘴巴象钢针，传染疟疾和脑炎，丝虫这病它传播，消灭蚊虫断病根。
Wenzi zuiba xiang gangzhen, chuanran nueji he naoyan, sichong zhebing ta chuanbo, xiaomie wenchong duan binggen.
The mosquito's mouth is like an iron needle, it transmits malaria and encephalitis, it spreads filariasis, exterminate mosquitoes and cut off the root of the problem.

The two posters on the right are distinct from the posters on the left in that they highlight the diseases and nuisances of the pests, the mouse and mosquito. The mouse is implicated as the vector for the plague and the mosquito is attributed to malaria, encephalitis, and filariasis. The descriptions of the pests are clearly intended for a young audience; for example, the mouse is described as having a "pointy mouth with a long tail" and the mosquito's mouth is compared to "an iron needle." The descriptions are accompanied by exhortations to "thoroughly exterminate" the mouse and "cut off the root of the problem" by killing the mosquito. The two posters on the left, however, do nothing to specify the dangers of the two pests, the fly and

sparrow. Instead, they merely appeal to the spectator to "carry a fly swatter by your side at all times" and "poison, beat, chase, scoop, and use all the methods" to exterminate flies and sparrows. Nonetheless, the posters are all unified by images of village life and agricultural harvest (motifs that recall the *nianhua* genre), the use of tools to kill the "four pests," and the preponderance of children and women carrying out the tasks of exterminating the pests. Further, the rhyming schemes in the posters are the same: there are four seven-character lines in each image, with rhyming syllables at the end of the first, second, and fourth lines (i.e. end rhyme). As Link (2013) notes, seven-character (*qiyan* 七言) rhythmic patterns have been a mainstay in Chinese poetry and folksongs for a long time.[138] From the 20th-21st centuries, *qiyan* patterns have been overwhelmingly used to convey "strong feelings about partings, death, or political events," showing their continued relevance.[139] Indeed, Mao favored rhythmic patterns in his personal speech, and patterns such as *qiyan* were often used during the Cultural Revolution,[140] especially in "big-character posters" (*dazibao* 大字报).[141] In sum, the poster series in figure 19 displays poems and images about exterminating the "four pests" designed to educate, entertain, and mobilize the reader into action. Another appeal to children to partake in the Patriotic Health Movement is seen below in figure 20 with a depiction of child's play.

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[138] Perry Link, *An Anatomy of Chinese: Rhythm, Metaphor, Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 25.
[139] *Ibid*.
[140] Perry Link provides numerous examples of seven-character (*qiyan*) rhythmic patterns used during the Cultural Revolution in the Introduction of *An Anatomy of Chinese* (2013). The following are just a few of the seven-character phrases Link showcases from the Cultural Revolution: "Women can hold up half the sky" (*Funu neng ding banbiantian* 妇女能顶半边天), "Make revolution in the depths of your soul!" (*Linghun shenchu gan geming!* 灵魂深处干革命!), and "Sailing on the seas relies on the helmsman" (*Dahai hangxing kao duoshou* 大海航行靠舵手) (5). Link explains that *qiyan* patterns were omnipresent during the Cultural Revolution, appearing in national campaign slogans, the political rhetoric of struggles in everyday life, the names of model operas, and so forth (41-42).
[141] *Ibid*., 33.

Figure 20: *Wipe Out the Four Pests* (*Chu sihai* 除四害), 1956, n.p., Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

At first glance, figure 20 displays children playing an ostensibly innocuous game. Upon closer examination, however, we see that four of the children are dressed as the "four pests:" a fly, mosquito, rat, and a sparrow. A few children wield pest control devices, such as a fly swatter, manual insecticide sprayer, and a net. Others are brandishing more malicious weapons, including a spear, sword, bat, and rifle. In the nationwide mobilization to eliminate the "four pests," children were given a real and important role. This poster attempts to convey that message to children - that they too can be active players in the fight against the "four pests." The anthropomorphization of the "four pests" here is designed to enable young spectators to picture themselves partaking in the "four pests" campaign, using imagery children can relate to. This figure embodies a classic example of how the romance and "mischief" of

childhood are used to "mitigate the brutality of the visual narrative."[142] The theatrical image of child's play draws the spectator in with the underlying subtext that child's play is no longer entirely innocent, but rather feeds into national concerns of revolution, such as fulfilling one's patriotic duty to vigilantly fight the "four pests." Here, the militaristic language of "annihilating the four pests" is eschewed for a more innocent visualization of "child's play," although the end goal is the same: to appeal to spectators - adult and children alike (*renren* 人人) - to set about the task (*dongshou* 动手) of wiping out the "four pests" (*chu sihai* 除四害). The positioning of the "four pests" in this image is worth noting: the rat and fly have been knocked down to the floor, each with one arm outstretched in an attempt to evade their attackers, many of whom appear ready to strike. The other two pests - the sparrow and mosquito - are cornered by their attackers, no doubt subject to the same fate that the other two pests will likely experience. The "four pests" are helpless in the face of the band of small children, implying that children do indeed possess the ability to conquer the "four pests."

[142] Stephanie Donald, "Children as Political Messengers: Art, Childhood, and Continuity," in *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution*, eds. Harriet Evans and Stephanie Donald (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1999), 82.

Figure 21 (Left): *To Be Healthy Is Glorious, to Be Unhealthy Is Shameful* (*Yi weisheng wei guangrong, yi bu weisheng wei chiru* 以卫生为光荣，以不卫生为耻辱), n.d., Hangzhou City (Zhejiang Province) Patriotic Health Movement Committee Office and Red Cross (*Hangzhoushi Aiguo Weisheng Yundong Weiyuanhui, Hangzhoushi Hongshizihui*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 22 (Middle): *Wash Your Hands Before Eating and After Using the Bathroom* (*Fanqian shihou yao xishou* 饭前便后要洗手), n.d., Hangzhou City (Zhejiang Province) Patriotic Health Movement Committee Office and Red Cross (*Hangzhoushi Aiguo Weisheng Yundong Weiyuanhui, Hangzhoushi Hongshizihui*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 23 (Right): *When You See a Pest, Exterminate It* (*Jian hai jiu da* 见害就打), n.d., Hangzhou City (Zhejiang Province) Patriotic Health Movement Committee Office and Red Cross (*Hangzhoushi Aiguo Weisheng Yundong Weiyuanhui, Hangzhoushi Hongshizihui*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

In figures 21-23, we see how hygienic duties and pest control permeate various everyday activities. In figure 21, a mother sweeps the floor with her children pictured in the

foreground and background. The daughter runs over to assist her mother with a dustpan in hand, while the boy rides a toy house and provides moral support, holding a flag above his head that reads a typical slogan from the Patriotic Health Movement, "glorious health" (*weisheng guangrong* 卫生光荣). The image of the young boy holding up a banner recalls images of children in "propaganda troupes" (*xuanchuan dui* 宣传队) during the Patriotic Health Movement (see figure 24 for an image of a small propaganda troupe called, the "fly-catching team," or *buyingdui* 捕蝇队). Figure 22 depicts another idyllic domestic scene: a mother carries a pot of food to the dinner table as her children wash their hands before eating. On the table, we see a food cover that protects the food from one of the "four pests," the fly. The calligraphic script in figure 23 reads, "when you see a pest, exterminate it" (*jian hai jiu da* 见害就打), another classic slogan from the Patriotic Health Movement. The boy and girl in the image are shown in the act of capturing flies and mosquitoes. The boy swings down a fly swatter towards an unsuspecting fly, with his red scarf swept up by his movement. The girl is pictured in the moment before she captures a pair of flying mosquitoes with what appears to be a bowl. Notably, above the yellow flowers in the bottom right corner of the image lies a glass jar. Inside the jar are a few dead flies and mosquitoes, which the children placed inside with a pair of chopsticks upon capturing. To mobilize participants in the "four pests" campaign, enterprises, government agencies, and schools held contests to see who could hand in the most rat tails, dead flies, mosquitoes, or sparrows (see figures 25 and 26 for images of women tallying the number of dead mice caught in mouse traps and boys holding up a string with dead sparrows).[143] These images showcase how participation in the "four pests" campaign became

[143] "Eliminate the four pests (1958)," *Chineseposters.net*, last modified December 6, 2015,

something of a sport, especially among children. Another example of the incorporation of hygiene into everyday activities is shown in figures 27-30.

Figure 24: Page for the month of July in a 1958 calendar about exterminating the "four pests." Here, we see a classic example of a propaganda troupe (*xuanchuandui* 宣传队) from the "four pests" campaign. *Everyone Lends a Hand to Wipe Out the Four Pests* (*Renren dongshou xiao chu si hai* 人人动手消除四害), July 1958, Beijing Patriotic Health Movement Committee Office (*Beijing Aiguo Weisheng Yundong Weiyuanhui*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 25: In the photograph for November, two women hold mouse traps while an older woman tallies the total number of dead mice they have collected. *Everyone Lends a Hand to Wipe Out the Four Pests* (*Renren dongshou xiao chu si hai* 人人动手消除四害), November 1958, Beijing Patriotic Health Movement Committee Office (*Beijing Aiguo Weisheng Yundong Weiyuanhui*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 26: In the December image, a boy grins and shows off a string of dead sparrows he has shot (likely with a slingshot). *Everyone Lends a Hand to Wipe Out the Four Pests* (*Renren dongshou xiao chu si hai* 人人动手消除四害), December 1958, Beijing Patriotic Health Movement Committee Office (*Beijing Aiguo Weisheng Yundong Weiyuanhui*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 27 (Far left): *Exterminate Bed Bugs* (*Xiaomie chouchong* 消灭臭虫), n.d., *Henansheng Weisheng Xuanjiao Xiezuo Qu Xuan*, Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 28 (Middle left): *Exterminate Rats* (*Xiaomie laoshu* 消灭老鼠), n.d., *Henansheng Weisheng Xuanjiao Xiezuo Qu Xuan*, Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 29 (Middle right): *Exterminate Flies* (*Xiaomie cangying* 消灭苍蝇), n.d., *Henansheng Weisheng Xuanjiao Xiezuo Qu Xuan*, Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 30 (Far right): *Exterminate Mosquitoes* (*Xiaomie wenzi* 消灭蚊子), n.d., *Henansheng Weisheng Xuanjiao Xiezuo Qu Xuan*, Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

In figures 27-30, hygienic activities and pest control are incorporated into daily activities. The figures feature mostly women and children, with the exception of figure 29, which displays a man and boy, and figure 30, which pictures a man and a woman side by side. In figure 27, an elderly woman disinfects a bed frame with boiling water to rid of bed bugs. Figure 28 features a smiling girl who has just caught a rat - by her side, a woman prepares to collect the rat with a tool. The woman is also holding a notebook, which she likely uses to count the number of pests caught. Figure 29 also illustrates the competitive nature of the “four pests” campaign - a boy swats at a fly with one hand, while his other hand holds a small bucket used to collect the dead flies. In figure 30, a woman sprays insecticide while a man empties stagnant water from a pot to prevent the growth of mosquito larvae.

Figure 31 (Left): *Vigorously Mobilize to Exterminate the Four Pests!* (*Jiji xingdong qilai xiaomie sihai* 积极行动起来消灭四害), c. 1960-2, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Health Department (*Neimenggu Zizhiqu Weishengting*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 32 (Right): *Thoroughly Exterminate the Four Pests!* (*Chedi xiaomie sihai* 彻底消灭四害), c. 1960-2, Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (Jilin Province) Health Department and Patriotic Health Movement Committee Office (*Yanbian Weisheng Jiaoyusuo*, *Yanbian Aiguo Weisheng Yundong Weiyuanhui*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

In figures 31 and 32, we see obvious appeals to women and children to participate in the campaign against the "four pests." Prominently featured at the top of figure 31 is a striking slogan - "vigorously mobilize to exterminate the four pests" - in both Chinese and Mongolian. The three figures in the poster - a woman wearing traditional Mongolian clothing, an elderly woman, and a young schoolboy - have joined forces to annihilate the loathsome "four pests"

(the bedbug, rather than the sparrow, is pictured here). This image delivers a key message that seeks to mobilize a diverse group of people in the fight against the "four pests:" three generations and both majority (*Hanzu* 汉族) and minority (Mongolians, *Mengguzu* 蒙古族) ethnic groups are represented. As the poster implies, the "four pests" campaign is a universalizing force that crosses age and ethnic lines in the interest of public health, patriotism (in the Patriotic Health Movement), and mass mobilization. Here, women and children are the only figures represented in the "four pests" campaign, pointing to their influential role as key participants. Appealing to women to join in the fight against the "four pests," as this poster implies, has inter-generational impacts.

Figure 32 features a "united front" of four individuals - including a schoolboy - in the act of exterminating the "four pests." Although this poster does not include a date of publication, we can presume that it was printed in the early 1960s, after the bedbug replaced the sparrow as one of the "four pests." Similar to figure 11, the poster consists of two segments: the upper portion compels the spectator to immediate action (i.e. to kill the "four pests"), while the bottom portion requires closer examination to fully process the material. Written in the red 'X'-shaped figure at the bottom is a call to action: Thoroughly exterminate the four pests!" (*Chedi xiaomie sihai* 彻底消灭四害!), written in both Chinese and Korean. The red text in the middle provides clarification on what the "four pests" are: "Four pests? Fly, mouse, bedbug, and mosquito" (*Sihai? Cangying, laoshu, chouchong, wenzi* 四害？苍蝇、老鼠、臭虫、蚊子). The smaller text in the yellow background details the nuisances and myriad diseases caused by each of the "four pests:" mice spread the plague, ruin food, and destroy clothes and homes; bedbugs

transmit typhus and cause fevers; flies are responsible for diarrhea, cholera, typhoid, and hepatitis; and mosquitoes transmit meningitis and malaria.

The type of dress worn by the individuals in figures 31 and 32 is also noteworthy. Figure 31 displays the woman on the left wearing traditional Mongolian clothes, while her counterparts - a grandmother and boy - are representative of the Han (*Hanzu* 汉族) ethnic group. In figure 32, which was published in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture in Jilin Province (Northeastern China), members of the (majority) Han and (minority) Korean (*Chaoxianzu* 朝鲜族) ethnic groups are featured. The woman appears to be the only figure wearing traditional Korean clothing, which here consists of a *jeogori* (a blouse-like upper garment) and *chima* (an outer skirt).[144] Figures 31 and 32 are printed in the vernacular languages of Mongolian in Inner Mongolia and Korean in Jilin province, respectively.

Above, I have demonstrated the vital roles of children and women as political messengers and change agents during the "four pests" campaign. Many of the posters above declare, both visually and in the captions, that children and women constitute active members of the body politic, with the implication that they need to be instructed - through the use of media such as the propaganda poster - to act accordingly.[145] Some posters featured only children and conspicuously lacked authority figures. The absence of parents in these images is filled by the watchful eye of the state. As Donald (1999) writes, "When parents are absent in the posters, then adult spectators, as well as the authority of the captions, take their place in

[144] "Traditional Clothing," *Web.archive.org*, last modified 2006, http://web.archive.org/web/20080317124313/http://english.kbs.co.kr/korea/culture/clothing/ink_clt.html.
[145] Harriet Evans and Stephanie Donald, eds. *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 80.

the act of public spectatorship."[146] For example, in figure 17, the state functions as the authoritative voice in the command: "Everybody Comes to Beat Sparrows." In other words, the children in these posters are no longer "mediated by intermediate figures in their ideological appropriation … [instead] the apparent freedom of childhood is channeled into national concerns, "revolution," "fighting for the country," under the watchful eyes of those looking at the image."[147] These propaganda posters also utilized techniques to visually attract young spectators, including bright primary colors, cartoons, songs, rhymes, and activities such as crossword puzzles. Messages of social reconstruction, patriotism, and nationalistic goals conveyed the far-reaching effects of pest control and disease eradication. Spectators were called upon to "wipe out the four pests" (*chu sihai* 除四害) in order to "change customs and traditions" (*yifeng yisu* 移风易俗) and "transform the world" (*gaizao shijie* 改造世界).

[146] *Ibid*., 82.
[147] Stephanie Donald, "Children as Political Messengers: Art, Childhood, and Continuity," in *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution*, eds. Harriet Evans and Stephanie Donald (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1999), 82.

CHAPTER FOUR:

Continuities Prior to and Following the "Four Pests" Campaign

The aim of this chapter is to situate the "four pests" campaign in a broader historical, ideological, and artistic context to both trace its beginnings and legacy in the history of Chinese propaganda art. In section 4.1, I will trace the continuities in the visual, rhetorical, and ideological content of propaganda posters from the Anti Germ-Warfare Incident of 1952 (i.e. the same year the Patriotic Health Movement was borne) to the "four pests" campaign launched during the Great Leap Forward. In section 4.2, I analyze the similarities and differences between propaganda posters from the "four pests" campaign and Barefoot Doctors Programme. Finally, in section 4.3, I will delineate the legacy of Maoist political ideology from the Patriotic Health Movements by analyzing propaganda posters produced during the 2003 SARS outbreak in postsocialist China.

4.1: The Anti Germ-Warfare Incident of 1952 and the Birth of the 'Patriotic Health Movement'

In the spring of 1952, the People's Republic of China and North Korea accused the United States of initiating germ warfare during the Korean War (1950-1953). While much scholarship has been directed to the question of whether or not germ warfare was actually initiated by the U.S., there is no consensus on the matter due to the lack of reliable evidence to prove or discharge the allegations made by the PRC and North Korea.[148] In this chapter, the veracity of these accusations is not as important as how these charges were utilized by the CCP

[148] Nianqun Yang, "Disease Prevention, Social Mobilization and Spatial Politics: The Anti Germ-Warfare Incident of 1952 and the 'Patriotic Health Campaign,'" *The Chinese Historical Review* [*Zhongguo Lishi Pinglun*] 11, no. 2 (2004): 155.

as an impetus for the highly politicized "Patriotic Health Movement" (*Aiguo Weisheng Yundong* 爱国卫生运动). As Rogaski (2002) explains, the CCP's immediate reaction following the allegations of germ warfare was to order citizens to join forces in a fight against the "American aggressor" by partaking in the Patriotic Health Movement, with the stated goal of "nothing less than the annihilation (*xiaomie* 消灭) of all the flies, mosquitoes, rats, and fleas in the entire country."[149] The Committee on Patriotic Health Movements in the State Council was established in December 1952 to oversee the Patriotic Health Movement committees that were being dispatched to various administrative levels.[150] Yip (2009) notes that the Committee worked alongside sanitation and anti-epidemic stations, eventually merging with the Sanitation and Epidemic Prevention Department in 1961.[151] In essence, the Patriotic Health Movement called for the unification of health work and mass movements (*weisheng gongzuo yu qunzhong yundong xiang jiehe* 卫生工作与群众运动相结合) and served as a rallying cry to unite the people against common enemies.[152]

The germ-warfare allegations made by the PRC combined two motifs that were central to the vision of a New China in 1952: "China as a victim of imperialism, and China as a victim of nature."[153] The Patriotic Health Movement sought to combat "China's dual victimization: the imperative of eradicating, exterminating, and annihilating (*chu*, *xiaomie* 除，消灭) perceived enemies, whether political or natural" embodied a means for the nation to attain a state of

[149] Ruth Rogaski, "Nature, Annihilation, and Modernity: China's Korean War Germ-Warfare Experience Reconsidered" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 2 (2002): 381-382.
[150] Ka-che Yip, *Disease, Colonialism, and the State: Malaria in Modern East Asian History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 108.
[151] *Ibid*.
[152] Liping Bu, "The Patriotic Health Movement and China's Socialist Reconstruction: Fighting Disease and Transforming Society, 1950-80," in *Public Health and National Reconstruction in Post-War Asia: International influences, local transformations.* eds. Liping Bu and Ka-che Yip. (New York: Routledge, 2015), 34.
[153] Rogaski, "Nature, Annihilation, and Modernity," 382.

modernity.[154] Not unlike during the Great Leap Forward, mass mobilizations, suspicions of nature, and militaristic language converged under the birth of China's Patriotic Health Movement in 1952.[155] Rogaski (2002) states, "the Korean War mobilizations to exterminate pests and germs can … be seen as the beginning of Mao's "War against Nature," a battle that was waged in tandem with devastating campaigns against human enemies."[156] This section aims to showcase the continuities in the militaristic language, imagery, and ideologies portrayed in propaganda posters from the infancy of the Patriotic Health Movement (i.e., the Anti Germ-Warfare Incident of 1952) to the "four pests" campaign during the Great Leap Forward. As I will demonstrate below, the propaganda posters from the Anti Germ-Warfare Incident of 1952 and "four pests" campaign injected national pride and revolutionary values into the activities of disease prevention and pest control. Before drawing connections between the 1952 Anti Germ-Warfare Incident and the "four pests" campaign, it is necessary to gain an understanding of Mao's views on war and class struggle.

In the realm of war philosophy, Mao looked to his Communist predecessors, Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924). Marxism-Leninism adherents supported the development of socialist republic states through the dialectic of class struggle. The crux of Marxism-Leninism war philosophy maintains that the origins of modern war can be attributed to class struggle. Lenin argued that "war is, and will be invariably caused by private property."[157] Due to the central premise underlying Marxism-Leninism - that class struggle inevitably leads to war - Mao believed that war and politics were identical. In May 1938, Mao

[154] *Ibid*.
[155] *Ibid*.
[156] *Ibid*., 382-383.
[157] Zhennan Xia, "On the Relationship Between War and Politics," *Mao Zedong Sixiang Yanjiu* [Studies of Mao Zedong thought] 3 (1987): 48-49.

stated that "war is the continuation of politics," adding that "war is politics and war itself is a political action; since ancient times, there has never been a war that did not have a political character."[158] Mao argued that "political mobilization" (i.e. a means of articulating the political aims and significance of war to the army and general public) was indispensable to national revolutionary war.[159] Propaganda posters constituted a crucial component of Mao's "political programme," which was designed to communicate the political aims and significance of war to the body politic. Mao believed that a successful propaganda program "must link the political mobilization for the war … with the life of soldiers and the people, and make it a continuous movement."[160]

The first official news report accusing the United States of germ warfare was published in an editorial on the front page of the *Renmin Ribao* on February 24, 1952, which denounced America's alleged use of "bacteriological warfare" (see figure 33). In March 1952, Zhou Enlai released an official statement urging the people of New China to form an alliance in the fight against germ warfare, the first of a long succession of Patriotic Health Movements in China.[161] Millions of citizens from rural and poor urban regions were educated about personal hygiene and mobilized to kill pests (e.g. flies), eradicate endemic diseases, and collect garbage, for these tasks were suddenly elevated from the realm of mundane sanitation to the lofty status of patriotic duties. The 1952 anti-germ mass mobilizations and first Patriotic Health Movement can be seen as historical moments in time in which millions of Chinese were instructed that

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[158] Shu Guang Zhang, *Mao's Military Romanticism: China and the Korean War, 1950-1953* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 13.
[159] *Ibid*.
[160] *Ibid*., 14.
[161] Ruth Rogaski, "Nature, Annihilation, and Modernity: China's Korean War Germ-Warfare Experience Reconsidered" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 2 (2002): 387.

annihilation constituted a means to overcome both "conflicts between the state and its enemies as well as conflicts between humans and nature."[162]

人民日報

全國各民主黨派抗議侵朝美軍撒佈細菌

全世界人民起來，制止美國侵略者進行細菌戰爭的滔天罪行！

慶祝蘇聯軍隊建軍三十四週年

毛主席致斯大林大元帥賀電

周總理兼外長致維辛斯基外長賀電

朱總司令致華西列夫斯基元帥賀電

蘇聯應該參加中立國監察委員會

Figure 33: "People of the World Rise to Put a Stop to American Aggressors' Heinous Crimes of Germ Warfare!" (*Quan shijie renmin qilai, zhizhi Meiguo qianluezhe jinxing xijun zhanzheng de taotian zuixing* 全世界人民起来，制止美国侵略者进行细菌战争的滔天罪行!), *People's Daily* (*Renmin Ribao* 人民日报) 23 Feb. 1952: 1. Print.

According to Rogaski (2002), in 1952, the CCP called upon the Chinese people to attack the "Five Pests:" flies, mosquitoes, mice and rats, lice, and bedbugs.[163] As discussed in the preceding chapter, the fight against four of these "Five Pests" continued to be waged into the late 1950s-early 1960s. The Five Annihilations (*wu mie* 五灭) movement was part of the

[162] *Ibid*., 388.
[163] *Ibid*., 296.

Patriotic Health Movement in 1952 and resulted in "mass armies arrayed against nature's tiny vectors of imperialism."[164] The rhetoric in the poster below exemplifies how slogans were used to engender patriotic, anti-imperialist, and anti-American sentiments in the spectator to compel him/her to partake in the fight against the "Five Pests."

Figure 34: Sha Gengsi (沙更思), *To Kill a Fly Is to Annihilate an Enemy!* (*Dasi yizhi cangying, jiushi xiaomie yige diren!* 打死一隻蒼蠅，就是消滅一個敵人!), May 1952, People's Fine Arts Publishing House (*Renmin Meishu Chubanshe*), Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

In this poster, the simple act of swatting a fly is compared to killing an enemy (*diren* 敌人). The child, with one hand clenched in a fist and the other holding a fly swatter (a device that

[164] *Ibid*., 389.

could just as easily be replaced with a more menacing weapon of warfare), appears triumphant over the image of the prostrate, dead fly. The poster thus equates a simple act of pest control to a revolutionary act comparable to fighting for one's country on the battlefield. Through the use of triumphant and militaristic rhetoric, the poster aims to both recruit new members in the assault against the "five pests" as well as generate a sense of pride and enthusiasm among existing participants in the hygiene campaign. In the Patriotic Health Movement, the health of the individual was commensurate to the health of the nation writ large, which Rogaski (2004) terms a "vision of hygienic modernity." These connections were made explicit through the use of language: "the consciousness of dirt and germs became manifest through an official language that became part of daily life, and health (*weisheng* 卫生) became inextricably locked into association with cleanliness."[165]

During the Patriotic Health Movement, the vision of "hygienic modernity" compelled the individual to maintain the integrity of the nation's health in order to counter the specter of common enemies - both of the human and insect/pest variety. Although the threat of germ warfare had dissipated by June 1952, Mao wanted to ensure that the temporary anti germ-warfare campaign had long-lasting effects as a mass mobilization public health effort.[166] The CCP mandated for all propaganda materials to show no differentiation between epidemics and the germ-warfare in the interest of sustaining a long-term, nationwide public health movement (i.e., the Patriotic Health Movement). As Yang (2004) writes:

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[165] Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 286.

[166] Nianqun Yang, "Disease Prevention, Social Mobilization and Spatial Politics: The Anti Germ-Warfare Incident of 1952 and the 'Patriotic Health Campaign,'" *The Chinese Historical Review* [*Zhongguo Lishi Pinglun*] 11, no. 2 (2004): 171.

> By 1953, a complete institution of disease prevention had been constructed from the top to bottom. Modeled after the Central Committee of Diseases Prevention, established on March 14 1952 by the State Council, all subordinate governments had established corresponding committees. In 1953, the names of such committees were changed from "patriotic disease prevention committee" into "patriotic health committee," a strong indication that disease prevention had been transformed from a wartime activity into a routine social movement.[167]

These appeals to mobilize the masses to achieve social change are seen in propaganda posters produced in the early 1950s, when the first Patriotic Health Movement was initiated. Below I will showcase how the militaristic language, imagery, and ideological messages in these posters compare to the "militarization of pest control and disease eradication" in propaganda posters from the "four pests" campaign, as described in chapter three.

[167] *Ibid*., 172-173.

Figure 35: Zhang Wenxin (张文新), *To Do a Good Job in Epidemic Prevention and Hygiene Work Is Concrete Patriotic Behavior in the Battle to Smash American Imperialist Germ Warfare!* (*Zuohao fangyi weisheng gongzuo, jiushi fensui Mei diguozhuyi xijunzhan de juti aiguo xingdong!* 作好防疫衛生工作，就是粉碎美帝國主義細菌戰的具體愛國行動!), June 1952, People's Fine Arts Publishing House (*Renmin Meishu Chubanshe*), *Chineseposters.net.* <http://chineseposters.net/posters/pc-1952-004.php>.

After the PRC was established in 1949, the government devised a new national health policy with three guiding principles: (1) "serve workers, peasants, and soldiers" (*mianxiang gong nong bing* 面向工农兵), (2) prevention as the first priority (*yufang weizhu* 预防为主), and (3) uniting Western and Chinese medicines (*tuanjie Zhongxiyi* 团结中西医).[168] In a December 1952 speech delivered by Zhou Enlai at the Second National Convention on Health, Zhou articulated the new national health campaign to the people.[169] In figure 35, we see each of these social classes and professions represented in the crowd of people positioned behind the healthcare worker. Importantly, the new principle of "serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers" represented a conceptual shift in thought: these people were no longer passive recipients of medical care, but rather transformed into proactive participants in public health initiatives.[170] This observation is corroborated by Yip (2009), who describes the "mass mobilization model" as integral to China's anti-malaria efforts in the 1950s-1960s.[171] Indeed, after Zhou Enlai's speech in 1952, newspapers like the *People's Daily* were quick to create a

[168] Liping Bu, "The Patriotic Health Movement and China's Socialist Reconstruction: Fighting Disease and Transforming Society, 1950-80," in *Public Health and National Reconstruction in Post-War Asia: International influences, local transformations.* eds. Liping Bu and Ka-che Yip. (New York: Routledge, 2015), 34.
[169] Nianqun Yang, "Disease Prevention, Social Mobilization and Spatial Politics: The Anti Germ-Warfare Incident of 1952 and the 'Patriotic Health Campaign,'" *The Chinese Historical Review* [*Zhongguo Lishi Pinglun*] 11, no. 2 (2004): 173.
[170] *Ibid*.
[171] See Ka-che Yip, *Disease, Colonialism, and the State: Malaria in Modern East Asian History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009).

fourth principle of health work: the promotion of mass health movements.[172] In essence, the new health policy reconceptualized the population as essential participants in public health mobilization campaigns.

Apart from boosting morale and initiative in the drive to eradicate diseases and exterminate pests, the appeals for mass mobilization in the Patriotic Health Movement served a practical purpose: harnessing the energy of the entire population could compensate for the lack of other resources, such as funding, medical technologies, and trained medical personnel.[173] In figure 35, the people in the background are indeed playing active roles in epidemic prevention and hygiene work, as they are depicted spraying insecticide, catching insects, sweeping dust, and so forth. Here, a female healthcare worker in shown in the forefront, which is indicative of the special role women were accorded in the anti germ-warfare movement, and signals the drive to empower women that would be highly promoted during the Cultural Revolution.[174] The towering male figure looming behind the woman is a PLA soldier fighting the "American imperialist" in the battle against germ warfare. Both visually and linguistically, the acts of hygiene and epidemic prevention are equated to the patriotic anti germ-warfare movement. The juxtaposition of the soldier and healthcare worker reflects their key roles in two battles: one domestic and the other international. Here, the act of attacking the "five pests" was equated to fighting "foreign" germs encroaching upon China's national borders. Notably, both the "five pests" and the foreign enemy are conspicuously missing from this poster. Instead of

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[172] Liping Bu, "The Patriotic Health Movement and China's Socialist Reconstruction: Fighting Disease and Transforming Society, 1950-80," in *Public Health and National Reconstruction in Post-War Asia: International influences, local transformations.* eds. Liping Bu and Ka-che Yip. (New York: Routledge, 2015), 34.
[173] Yip, *Disease, Colonialism, and the State*, 107.
[174] Nianqun Yang, "Disease Prevention, Social Mobilization and Spatial Politics: The Anti Germ-Warfare Incident of 1952 and the 'Patriotic Health Campaign,'" *The Chinese Historical Review* [*Zhongguo Lishi Pinglun*] 11, no. 2 (2004): 173-174.

visually representing the enemies, the poster compels the viewer to action by using "the powerful metaphor of germs as invisible enemies."[175] The emphasis is clearly placed on visually representing various levels of society that are mobilized to participate in the campaign.

Figure 36 (Left): Shanlu Ye (叶善箓), *Everybody Must Take Precautions Against Epidemics to Smash the Germ Warfare of American Imperialism!* (*Renren fangyi, fensui Mei diguo zhuyi de xijunzhan!* 人人防疫，粉碎美帝國主義的細菌戰!), 1952, People's Fine Arts Publishing House (*Renmin Meishu Chubanshe*), *Chineseposters.net.* <http://chineseposters.net/gallery/e13-964.php>.

Figure 37 (Right): *Resolutely Cut Off the Bloody and Criminal Hand of the American Aggressor that Spreads Germs!* (*Jianjue zhanduan Meiguo qinluezhe sabu xijunde zui'e xueshou!* 堅決斬斷美國侵略者撒佈細菌的罪惡血手!), c. 1951-2, n.p., *Chineseposters.net.* <http://chineseposters.net/posters/e15-833.php>.

[175] Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 287.

Figure 36, like figure 35, equates preventative health-care measures - such as pest control and vaccinations - to revolutionary acts and bold political statements. An image of a health-care worker vaccinating a young child is seen in the background, while the muscular man in the foreground lifts his arm sleeve in preparation for a vaccination as he glowers downward at an 'American imperialist.' The imposing image of the Chinese - in stark contrast with the American surrounded by insects - connotes feelings of strength, dominance, and vigilance among the Chinese people. As was the case with much propaganda released in the midst of the Anti Germ-Warfare Incident in 1952, this poster implies that there is no distinction between basic sanitary/preventative measures and the fight against the American 'aggressor' supposedly initiating germ warfare. The American is shown wearing a suit; we can surmise that his dress indicates that he is a businessman, banker, or the like. Pictured next to him are three of the "five pests," a rat, mosquito, and fly. Here, the enemies - the American imperialist and insects/rodents - are intentionally shown side-by-side, implying that they are essentially indistinguishable from one another. The slogan appeals to its spectator to "take precautions against epidemics" in order to "smash the germ warfare of American imperialism," likening the act of receiving a vaccination to a patriotic act in the fight against germ warfare. Thus, the distinction between patriotic duties in fighting germ warfare on the international scale and the domestic battle against epidemics and pests during the Patriotic Health Movement is deliberately blurred to encourage public health and hygienic work.

Figure 37 displays the "criminal arm of the American aggressor that spreads germs" being cut off with a sword. The characters adorning the blade read "Chinese and Korean People's Armies" *Zhong Chao Renmin Jun* 中朝人民军, which is a reflection of how China and

Korea jointly accused the United States of initiating germ warfare. Sitting atop the American's arm and also being sliced by the sword is a rat, a symbol for pestilence and disease, and one of the targeted "five pests" in 1952. Notably, the American's arm appears more animalistic than human - the hair, claws, and blood dripping from the fingertips demonize and dehumanize the American enemy. The use of bestial imagery is a common feature in wartime propaganda and clearly is loaded with racism; as Hung (1994) notes, "by dehumanizing the enemy, propagandists could justify the armed resistance as a crusade against barbarism and evil."[176] This characterization of the American is diametrically opposed to the depiction of the Chinese and Koreans, who are personified in the powerful weapons of the insecticide sprayer and sword. This visualization of the three nations implies an adversarial struggle in which the humane, 'good' countries (i.e. China and Korea) are pitted against the 'barbaric' and 'evil' nation (i.e. the U.S.). Embellishing the sleeve are various symbols of fascism, militarism, greed, and death: a swastika,[177] Japanese flag,[178] dollar sign, and skull and crossbones decorate a sleeve that displays the red, blue, and white colors of the American flag. In the bottom right

[176] Chang-Tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 106.

[177] World War II (WWII) wartime propaganda produced by Chinese artists often juxtaposed images of Japanese militarism with Nazism to convey feelings of animosity toward Japan's invasion of China and anxiety concerning the spread of fascism. As Chang-Tai Hung (1994) writes, "Chinese cartoonists warned that Japanese fascism was no local phenomenon; it was part of an international conspiracy that threatened the very survival of the human race" (107). The appearance of the Japanese flag and swastika on the American's sleeve in figure 37 illustrates what China perceived as threats to the nation's stability during the Korean War. The image provides a dichotomous view of China versus the threats of fascism, militarism, and imperialism.

[178] The Korean War (1950-1953) occurred five years after the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), a major war catalyzed by Japan's decades-long imperialist policy that sought to expand the nation's reach militarily and politically to lay claim to a variety of resources in China. Simultaneously, feelings of Chinese nationalism and self-determination heightened tensions between the two nations at the start of the war. The Chinese refer to the War as the War of Resistance Against Japan (*Kang Ri Zhanzheng* 抗日战争), or the Eight Years' War of Resistance (*Ba nian kangzhan* 八年抗战). Cartoonists portrayed Japanese soldiers as beasts in wartime propaganda during the Second Sino-Japanese War; after the war, feelings of resentment and contention between China and Japan were still palpable, which explains the presence of the Japanese flag on the American's sleeve. Here, the symbol compares Japanese militarism to American militarism in relation to China and Korea's accusations of American germ warfare.

corner of the image appears an array of insects: mosquitoes, flies, spiders, etc. A manual pump sprayer, displaying the phrase, "Peace-loving people of the world" (*Quan shijie aihao heping de renmin* 全世界爱好和平的人民), sprays the insects with a cloud of insecticide. Here, the acts of pest control and battling the "American aggressor" are one and the same. The image clearly implicates the American as the cause for spreading diseases and germs. Although there was no conclusive evidence to implicate Americans as instigators of germ warfare, the anti-epidemic campaign did not hesitate to condemn the U.S. in propaganda posters in the interest of stirring feelings of patriotism and responsibility among the people.[179]

Figure 38: *Untitled*., 1952, *Renmin Chubanshe*, Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

[179] "Patriotic Health Campaign (1952)," *Chineseposters.net*, last modified May 11, 2013, http://chineseposters.net/themes/patriotic-health-campaign.php.

Figure 38, not unlike figure 37, demonizes and dehumanizes the “American imperialist” through visual imagery. The American pictured in figure 37 is metaphorically compared to the rat (which is pictured sitting atop his arm), as conveyed in the phrase, “cut off the bloody and criminal hand of the American aggressor that spreads germs.” In figure 38, the American is personified as a rat, dressed in U.S. Army clothes and holding what appears to be a bacterial bomb. The red-gloved hands of a Chinese healthcare worker decisively swing down a net to capture the American/rat. From top to bottom, the phrases on the left read, “Put a stop to American aggressors’ heinous crime of conducting germ warfare, expose the real truth of imperialist germ warfare, thoroughly defeat the American imperialists’ germ warfare” (*Zhizhi Meiguo qinluezhe jinxing xijunzhan de taotian zuixing, jiechuan diguozhuyi jinxing xijunzhan de zhen xiang*, *chedi dabai Mei diguozhuyi de xijunzhan* 制止美國侵略者進行細菌戰的滔天罪行、揭穿帝國主義進行細菌戰的真相、徹底打敗美帝國主義的細菌戰).

In section 4.2, I will introduce the similarities and distinctions between propaganda posters from the “four pests” campaign and Barefoot Doctors Programme. During the “four pests” campaign, women were visually depicted as active participants in the Patriotic Health Movement, although within certain constraints. In barefoot doctors propaganda posters, women were depicted as more autonomous and adventurous health-care workers. During both time periods, the success of public health campaigns in rural areas hinged upon the participation and empowerment of women. Nonetheless, there are certain key distinctions that must be explained between the depictions of women in posters from the “four pests” campaign to the Barefoot Doctors Programme. In propaganda posters from the “four pests” campaign, women were often depicted performing hygienic and patriotic duties inside domestic

environments, often attending to children or appearing alongside men. On the other hand, in barefoot doctors posters, women's roles undergo a significant transformation - they are pictured in wide, open fields, riding horseback, and atop mountains. In these posters, women's mobility and social status are elevated in transformative ways. Visually, women are no longer confined to domestic spaces - rather, they emerge as autonomous caregivers and disseminators of health knowledge.

4.2: The Barefoot Doctors Programme

In the early 1960s, rural coverage for health-care was scarce in China. As Zhang (2008) writes, in 1964, "health-care expenditure for 8.3 million urban citizens covered by the state was more than that for 500 million peasants."[180] The Barefoot Doctors Programme[181] began in 1965 after Mao denounced the deplorable state of healthcare services in rural areas relative to that of urban areas in his June 26th Directive.[182] In the June 26th Directive, Mao called for healthcare policy reform "to place the emphasis of medical and health policy on the villages" (*ba yiliao weisheng gongzuo de zhongdian fang dao nongcun qu* 把医疗卫生工作的重点放到农村去).[183] The Directive was issued after Mao learned of sobering statistics on rural health-care from Qian Xinzhong (钱信忠), former Minister of Medicine, such as the fact that "only 10

[180] Daqing Zhang, "China's Barefoot Doctor: Past, Present, and Future," *The Lancet* 372 (2008): 1865.
[181] According to Sidel (1972), the English term, "barefoot doctors," loses much meaning when it is translated from Chinese. The term "barefoot" (*chijiao* 赤脚) in "barefoot doctors" (*chijiao yisheng* 赤脚医生) emphasizes that the doctor is considered a "peasant" because s/he, like the peasants in Shanghai who worked barefooted in rice paddies, resides and works in a rural area. Victor Sidel, "The Barefoot Doctors of the People's Republic of China," *The New England Journal of Medicine* 286, no. 24 (1972): 1293. Further, barefoot doctors' patients regarded barefoot doctors less as doctors (*yisheng* 医生) and more as comrades (*tongzhi* 同志), suggesting a form of camaraderie that is not clearly connoted in the transliteration, "barefoot doctors" (*Ibid*.).
[182] Laikwan Pang, "The Visual Representations of the Barefoot Doctor: Between Medical Policy and Political Struggles," *Positions: asia critique* 22, no. 4 (fall 2014), 844.
[183] *Ibid.*

percent of the 1.4 million senior medical professionals in China worked in the villages, and only 25 percent of the national health budget was spent in the countryside."[184] Thus, the barefoot doctor system emerged as a means to address shortages of medical service in rural areas. The arrangement involved mobile teams of doctors from urban hospitals traveling to rural areas to provide medical services and train local paramedics to meet healthcare needs. Although the level of service provided in rural areas in the Barefoot Doctors Programme was relatively low in terms of technique and medical instruments, the programme reduced costs and allocated timely treatment to rural people. As Fang (2012) explains, barefoot doctors "presented a suitably revolutionary image: young people wading undaunted through the mud of rice paddies to provide medical services in answer to Mao's call to "stress rural areas in medical and health work."[185]

This system presented a solution to the unequal distribution of healthcare resources under China's urban-rural dual-economic system and also introduced many western medicines and antibiotics to rural China, contributing to the modernization of healthcare. In the late 1970s, the World Health Organization (WHO) lauded the Barefoot Doctors Programme as a model of healthcare for developing countries.[186]

Not unlike the Patriotic Health Movements in 1952 and during the Great Leap Forward, the Barefoot Doctors Programme attempted to address basic healthcare needs in rural areas via political mobilization. Barefoot doctors continued the "serve the people" philosophy of prior public health campaigns by providing basic healthcare and health education. Although many of

[184] *Ibid.*
[185] Xiaoping Fang, *Barefoot Doctors and Western Medicine in China* (New York: U of Rochester P, 2012), 2.
[186] *Ibid.*

the barefoot doctors in China were male, propaganda posters produced at the time represented barefoot doctors as primarily female, and these posters became quite popular as decorations in the home.[187] Pang (2014) explains how the youth and beauty of female barefoot doctors became popularized in the public consciousness: "These beautiful barefoot doctors became a most accessible feminine image for the youths in a time when sexual differences were deliberately repressed, when a large number of women entered traditionally male occupations, and when women were presented in cultural propaganda as being just as strong and willful as men."[188] Although female empowerment was a stated goal of Mao's rule (as evidenced by his famous slogan, "women can hold up half the sky" (*funu neng ding banbiantian* 妇女能顶半边天)), the Maoist ideal of femininity did not entirely eschew women's "domestic responsibilities," but rather promoted the image of a woman as both a caretaker of the home and a leader in the community.[189] Nonetheless, as Bu (2014) notes, the emergence of women as public health professionals in socialist China represented a significant improvement compared to the past when "women were represented as crippled by foot binding and social oppression."[190] As I will demonstrate below, the visual depiction of women as barefoot doctors in the 1960s-1970s represented a transformational shift in the conceptualization of women's roles from the "four pests" campaign to the Barefoot Doctors Programme. In the latter period, women were increasingly depicted as autonomous, empowered figures, traversing open fields and attending to patients. The image of a lone, intrepid female barefoot doctor was

[187] Pang, "The Visual Representations of the Barefoot Doctor," 837.
[188] *Ibid*., 838.
[189] *Ibid*., 850.
[190] Liping Bu, "Anti-Malaria Campaigns and the Socialist Reconstruction of China, 1950-80," *East Asian History* 39, (2014): 129.

popularized from the 1960s-1970s. Posters from the "four pests" campaign, on the other hand, largely displayed women in domestic environments and alongside men/children.

人民日报

1968年9月14日

毛主席语录

要从有实践经验的工人农民中间选拔学生，到学校学几年以后，又回到生产实践中去。

毛主席最新指示

从旧学校培养的学生，多数或大多数是能够同工农兵结合的，有些人并有所发明、创造，不过要在正确路线领导之下，由工农兵给他们以再教育，彻底改变旧思想。这样的知识分子，工农兵是欢迎的。

（载《红旗》杂志一九六八年第三期）

从"赤脚医生"的成长
看医学教育革命的方向

——上海市的调查报告

前言

贫下中农需要这样一支新型的医疗卫生队伍

培养"赤脚医生"的途径

Figure 39: One of the first articles in the *People's Daily* that introduced the concept of the "barefoot doctors" to the public. This report provides a description of barefoot doctors working in Jiangzhen Commune, Chuansha County, Shanghai Municipality. "Fostering a Revolution in Medical Education through the Growth of the Barefoot Doctors" (*Cong "chijiao yisheng" de chengzhang kan yixue jiaoyu geming de fangxiang* 从"赤脚医生"的成长看医学教育革命的方向), *People's Daily* (*Renmin Ribao* 人民日报) September 14, 1968, 1.

Figure 40: Liu Zhide (刘志德), *Mountain Village Medical Station* (*Shancun yiliaozhan* 山村医疗站), January 1975, *Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe*, *Chineseposters.net*, <http://chineseposters.net/posters/e13-348.php>.

In figure 40, a female barefoot doctor is pictured attending to patients in a mountain village medical station. She is pictured wearing loose-fitting clothing with a sun hat, medicine box, and a basket of flowers, which is likely traditional medicine she just collected from the mountainside. The man in black is pictured handling a bundle of flowers the barefoot doctor collected, while his companion references what appears to be a medicine manual. Anatomical charts of the human body adorn the walls of the clinic, signaling the growing ubiquity of modern scientific illustrations and ideas in China. The medicine box, the only official marker of

the barefoot doctor's identity, was a common visual element in barefoot doctors posters. The medicine box distinguished barefoot doctors from peasants, given that they also engaged in agricultural labor and therefore dressed the part. Barefoot doctor propaganda posters such as the one above depicted the barefoot doctor as a "caretaker of the village - one who brings peace, comfort, and community coherence," and one who is welcomed by the village as though s/he were a member of the family.[191] In contrast to other Cultural Revolution propaganda at the time, the barefoot doctor as a model is not presented as a political figure with clenched fists, a frowning face, and a piercing stare, but rather as a "neighborhood girl" characterized by a degree of purity and naiveté.[192] As Pang (2014) contends, the barefoot doctor simultaneously embodied the ambitious medical goals of the PRC and the Cultural Revolution's ideological commitment to class struggles.[193] Notably, the depiction of women in propaganda posters from the Barefoot Doctors Programme differed in a number of significant ways from their depiction in posters from the "four pests" campaign. As demonstrated in section 3.3, while women were featured more prominently as important change agents in the "four pests" campaign, the spaces they occupied were mostly domestic, and in other cases, they were pictured alongside men and/or children. In other words, the depiction of women performing gender-specific activities in posters from the late 1950s-early 1960s reflected the sexual division of labor at the time. However, as I will elaborate in the following examples, posters from the Barefoot Doctors Programme increasingly featured women as primary subjects in open spaces and integrated

[191] Pang, "The Visual Representations of the Barefoot Doctor," 839.
[192] *Ibid*., 838-839.
[193] *Ibid*., 843.

into rural communities. Thus, there are shifts in the conceptualization of women as social agents of change from the “four pests” campaign to the Barefoot Doctors Programme.

Figure 41: Zhu Naizheng (朱乃正), *The New "Manba"* [Tibetan doctor] (*Xin "Manba"* [*Zang yi*] 新‘曼巴’[藏医]), c. 1970, *Renmin Meishu Chubanshe* (人民美术出版社), *Chineseposters.net*, <http://chineseposters.net/posters/e15-113.php>.

Figure 42: Li Mubai (李慕白), and Jin Xuechen (金雪尘), *The Health Worker at the Head of the Field* (*Tiantou weishengyuan* 田头卫生员), May 1964, *Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe*, *Chineseposters.net*, <http://chineseposters.net/posters/pc-1964-012.php>.

Figures 41 and 42 convey a sense of freedom and autonomy associated with the barefoot doctor, in which she travels by horseback/"yak back" (figure 41) and wades through open fields in the countryside (figure 42). In these figures, the women exude a sense of adventurousness not to be restrained by the confines of domestic space. Figure 41 depicts Tibetan barefoot doctors and a PLA soldier riding a horse and yaks atop snowy mountains. The women radiate a sense of joy and independence. In figure 42, the barefoot doctor carries a medicine box with the words, "health-care box" (*baojian xiang* 保健箱), emblazoned across the top. In her other arm, she carries a farming tool, which is indicative of the dual roles of barefoot

doctors: aside from their health-related duties, barefoot doctors also contributed to agricultural work.[194] Her rosy-cheeked face, smile, and the pink flowers surrounding her radiate images of youth and springtime.

Figure 43: *Practice Birth Control for the Revolution* (*Wei geming gaohao jihua shengyu* 为革命搞好计划生育), July 1972, Revolutionary Committee of Shanghai Municipal Health Office (*Shanghaishi weishengju ge wei hui gong gao*), Courtesy of the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

In figure 43, we see a smiling barefoot doctor beckoning the spectator to follow her lead in promoting family planning. The figures in the background engage in revolutionary activities - in each scene, a copy of Mao's little red book is pictured. The images on the left exhort the viewer to "promote manufacturing, war preparation, and work" (*cu shengchan, cu gongzuo, cu zhanbei* 促生产、促工作、促战备), "raise revolutionary proletariat successors" (*peiyang*

[194] A. J. Smith, "Barefoot Doctors and the Medical Pyramid," *British Medical Journal* 2 (1974): 429.

wuchanjieji geming shiye jiebanren 培养无产阶级革命事业接班人), and "support worldwide revolution" (*zhiyuan shijie geming* 支援世界革命). The figures on the right cajole the viewer to "earnestly study Chairman Mao's writings" (*renzhen xuexi Mao Zhuxi zhuzuo* 认真学习毛主席著作), "strengthen proletariat dictatorship" (*gonggu wuchan jieji zhuanzheng* 巩固无产阶级专政), and "prepare for war and against natural disasters for the people" (*beizhan beihuang wei renmin* 备战备荒为人民). In contrast to the figures with unsmiling faces and clenched fists in the background, the barefoot doctor draws the viewer in with a welcoming smile and an open, outstretched hand. That is, the barefoot doctor propaganda archetype is less of a political figure than the ones in the background; rather, she exudes the demeanor of a "neighborhood girl who is neither assertive nor threatening."[195] Here, the juxtaposition of healthcare messages (i.e. the promotion of family planning) with revolutionary and patriotic goals recalls the functions of propaganda posters from the "four pests" campaign. Not unlike the posters from the "four pests" campaign, the poster here serves didactic and political functions: it appeals to the reader to both heed the word of barefoot doctors and promote revolutionary and socialist goals related to production, war preparation, and the study of Mao's writings. Notably, many female barefoot doctors provided preventative services, such as maternal and child health care programs. While only one third of barefoot doctors were female, women constituted the majority of midwives, providing maternal and child healthcare services.[196]

[195] Laikwan Pang, "The Visual Representations of the Barefoot Doctor: Between Medical Policy and Political Struggles," *Positions: asia critique* 22, no. 4 (fall 2014), 842.
[196] David Hipgrave, "Communicable disease control in China: From Mao to now," *Journal of Global Health* 1, no. 2 (December 2011), 228.

Figure 44: 上海玻璃器皿三厂, 徐汇区房屋修建公司第三工程队革委会政宣组供稿, *To Go on a Thousand 'Li' March to Temper a Red Heart* (*Qianli yeying lian hongxin* 千里野营炼红心), January 1971, *Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe*, *Chineseposters.net*, <http://chineseposters.net/gallery/e13-708.php>.

Similar to figure 43, figure 44 displays the barefoot doctor's dual roles as a product of health-care policy (who administers health-care in the name of the state) and a political subject (who participates in ideological struggles and revolutionary change). Here, she is not only a health-care provider, but she is also an active participant in the ideals of the Cultural Revolution. This poster displays a group of Mao supporters marching in unison towards Beijing to pledge their steadfast allegiance to Mao. A man leads the group in the center, holding a famous painting of Mao as though it were a "traditional icon in a religious procession."[197] The painting, *Chairman Mao goes to Anyuan* (*Mao zhuxi qu Anyuan* 毛主席去安源), is one of the

[197] "To go on a thousand 'li' march to temper a red heart," *Chineseposters.net*, last modified January 15, 2015, http://chineseposters.net/gallery/e13-708.php.

most iconic paintings of Mao from the Cultural Revolution.[198] Here, the barefoot doctor appears as one of the few visible females in the procession, and she is leading in the front. The call to "go on a thousand 'li'[199] march to temper a red heart" (*Qianli yeying lian hongxin* 千里野营炼红心) appeals to PLA soldiers, proletariats, and barefoot doctors alike.

As described above, propaganda posters from the Barefoot Doctors Programme depicted primarily female barefoot doctors, although in reality, most barefoot doctors were male.[200] While women largely occupied domestic spaces or appeared alongside men/children in "four pests" propaganda, barefoot doctors posters presented women as more autonomous and intrepid figures. Many propaganda posters visualize the barefoot doctors immersed in rural communities and interacting with patients, and at other times, they are pictured alone, navigating expansive spaces and formidable terrain (see figure 41). A sense of adventure, youth, cheerfulness, and autonomy are conveyed in these images of female barefoot doctors. These changes represent a shift in the conceptualization of women as disseminators of health-care knowledge from the "four pests" campaign to the Barefoot Doctors Programme. In addition, some propaganda featured revolutionary rhetoric and imagery alongside messages of health promotion (see figures 43 and 44). This demonstrates continuity in public health propaganda from the "four pests" campaign to the Cultural Revolution: public health posters were not only intended to spread health-related messages; rather, they also communicated nationalistic and socialist ideals.

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[198] It is estimated that this painting was reproduced around 900 million times (*Ibid.*).

[199] A traditional Chinese unit of distance, the 'li' (里), is equal to approximately 500 km. 'Li' is an ideograph that combines the characters for 'field' (*tian* 田) and 'earth' (*tu* 土).

[200] Laikwan Pang, "The Visual Representations of the Barefoot Doctor: Between Medical Policy and Political Struggles," *Positions: asia critique* 22, no. 4 (fall 2014), 837.

In the following section, I shift the focus from a Cultural Revolution-era public health campaign to a more contemporary context, the 2003 SARS outbreak. Since the establishment of the PRC in 1949, a string of public health campaigns under Mao combined revolutionary and patriotic goals with health promotion. On the whole, mass mobilization campaigns, such as the 1952 Anti-Germ Warfare Incident, "four pests" campaign, and Barefoot Doctors Programme, dramatically improved health standards and reduced disease morbidity and mortality rates. From 1949-1979, life expectancy increased, infant mortality declined, and disease morbidity plummeted (for example, typhus rates dropped by 95% in the 1950s).[201] China's market reforms in the early 1980s led to the breakdown of previous community-funded primary healthcare. Consequently, barefoot doctors lost their financial and institutional support, and the Barefoot Doctors Programme came to a close.[202] The Ministry of Health cancelled the title of barefoot doctors in January 1985, and those who were previously barefoot doctors either continued their services as village doctors or searched for other job opportunities.[203] Once the Barefoot Doctors Programme ended, primary health-care coverage in rural areas dramatically declined, prompting the emergence of a new cooperative system in 2003.[204] In the 1980s, the new marketized milieu led to setbacks in general public health measures, such as increased urban-rural disparities in health funding and dramatic cuts in funding for preventative health services.[205] Leading up to the 2003 SARS outbreak, the government adopted a laissez-faire approach to preventative health, in sharp contrast to previous mass mobilization campaigns

[201] David Hipgrave, "Communicable disease control in China: From Mao to now," *Journal of Global Health* 1, no. 2 (December 2011), 226.
[202] Daqing Zhang, "China's Barefoot Doctor: Past, Present, and Future," *The Lancet* 372 (2008): 1866.
[203] *Ibid.*
[204] *Ibid.*
[205] Hipgrave, "Communicable disease control in China," 229.

that spanned the 1950s-1970s. The 2003 SARS outbreak forced the Chinese government to reform the health sector and once again funnel resources to preventative healthcare. While many studies have examined China's delayed response to the SARS outbreak,[206] the implications for its control,[207] and the economic burden of the SARS epidemic,[208] very little has been written on the function of propaganda posters produced during the SARS outbreak.[209] In section 4.3, I will introduce a series of propaganda posters from the 2003 SARS outbreak and draw similarities/dissimilarities between visual, rhetorical, and ideological elements found in propaganda from prior public health campaigns and the SARS outbreak.

4.3: The 2003 SARS Outbreak

In January 2003, officials in Guangdong Province in southeastern China ordered the immediate killing of every civet cat held in captivity. An animal suspected of transmitting a SARS-like virus in the midst of the 2003 SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome) epidemic, the civet cat was the ill-fated target of China's newest "patriotic extermination campaign." The mass extermination of civet cats took place during the 2003 SARS outbreak and recalls the underlying ideology behind Mao's infamous "four pests" campaign, when he ordered the killing of the country's so-called "four evils:" rats, flies, mosquitoes, and sparrows.[210]

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[206] Fiona Fleck, "How SARS changed the world in less than six months," *Bull World Health Organ.* 81 (2003), 625-626.
[207] Zhu Chen, "Launch of the health-care reform plan in China," *The Lancet* 373, no. 9672 (April 2009), 1322-1324.
[208] Jong-Wha Lee, and Warwick McKibbin, "Estimating the Global Costs of SARS," in *Learning from SARS: Preparing for the Next Disease Outbreak -- Workshop Summary*, eds. Stacey Knobler, et al. (Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2004), 103.
[209] The exception being: Marta Hanson, "The Art of Medicine: Maoist Public-Health Campaigns, Chinese Medicine, and SARS," *The Lancet* 372 (2008): 1457-8.
[210] Tim Luard, "China Follows Mao with Mass Cull," *BBC*, January 6, 2004. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3371659.stm.

Luard (2004) states that the idea of 'extermination' in Mao's "four pests" campaign has striking similarities to the attempts to eradicate civet cats during the 2003 SARS outbreak in China. Luard (2004) quotes Chinese environmentalist, Dai Qing, who stated that officials in Guangdong ordered the killing of civet cats after researchers discovered that a SARS patient had a strain of the SARS virus similar to a strain found in civet cats. Hanson (2008) echoes this connection between the 2003 SARS outbreak and public health campaigns from the Maoist period, albeit her analysis focuses on the similarities in visual culture (i.e. public health posters) across the two time periods.[211]

SARS, a viral respiratory disease caused by the SARS coronavirus (SARS-CoV), is believed to have originated in Guangdong province in southern China in November 2002 (the coronavirus is the same family of disease as the common cold). According to the WHO, from November 1, 2002 - July 31, 2003, the SARS outbreak in mainland China caused over 7,000 cases of SARS in the country, leading to a grand total of 8,076 cases and 774 deaths reported in multiple countries worldwide.[212] In early 2003, within a matter of weeks, the SARS virus spread from Guangdong to approximately 37 countries worldwide.[213] That same year, Guangdong health bureau official Feng Liuxiang told reporters, "We will start a patriotic health campaign to kill rats and cockroaches in order to give every place a thorough cleaning for the Lunar New Year… and we will kill all the civet cats in Guangdong markets, which number about 10,000."[214]

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[211] See Marta Hanson, "The Art of Medicine: Maoist Public-Health Campaigns, Chinese Medicine, and SARS," *The Lancet* 372 (2008): 1457-8.
[212] "Summary of probable SARS cases with onset of illness from 1 November 2002 to 31 July 2003," *WHO.int*, accessed January 1, 2016, http://www.who.int/csr/sars/country/table2004_04_21/en/#.
[213] See M.D. Wang and A.M. Jolly, "Changing Virulence of the SARS Virus: The Epidemiological Evidence," *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 82 (2004): 547-48.
[214] Jonathan Watts, "China Culls Wild Animals to Prevent New SARS Threat," *The Lancet* 363 (2004): 134.

The catalyst for the global dissemination of SARS occurred on February 21, 2003 when Dr. Liu Jianlun, a 64-year old medical doctor from Guangdong province checked into the 9th floor of the Metropole hotel in Hong Kong. The doctor had cared for patients suffering from atypical pneumonia and was symptomatic upon arrival in Hong Kong. He infected at least 12 other guests with the virus, whom then traveled by air to other countries, prompting the WHO to issue a historic global alert on March 12, 2003.[215] The 12 infected guests then carried the disease to Singapore, Vietnam, Canada, Ireland, and the United States, initiating outbreaks in every country but Ireland.[216] In just under four months, approximately 4000 cases and 550 deaths from SARS outside of China and Taiwan were traced to this "superspreader."[217] The swiftness with which SARS spread in the subsequent months demonstrated - some said for the first time - the damage that infectious diseases can inflict in a globalized world.

Although China was one of the hardest hit nations in the early stages of the SARS epidemic, the government denied the extent of the SARS outbreak and failed to respond in a timely manner, much to the frustration of other governments and former WHO Director-General, Gro Harlem Brundtland. By June 24, 2003, an alarming 5327 cases and 348 deaths had been reported from the mainland.[218] The degree of panic and fear resulting from the SARS outbreak in China provoked drastic measures, including: "mass quarantines in hospital wards enforced by armed guards, infectious passengers hauled off planes, and closed businesses and

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[215] Umesh Parashar and Larry Anderson, "Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome: Review and Lessons of the 2003 Outbreak," *International Journal of Epidemiology* 33 (2004): 628; "WHO Issues a Global Alert about Cases of Atypical Pneumonia," *WHO.int*, last modified March 12, 2003, http://www.who.int/csr/sars/archive/2003_03_12/en/.

[216] "Summary and Assessment," in *Learning from SARS: Preparing for the Next Disease Outbreak -- Workshop Summary*, eds. Stacey Knobler, et al. (Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2004), 6.

[217] Fiona Fleck, "How SARS changed the world in less than six months," *Bull World Health Organ.* 81 (2003), 625.

[218] *Ibid*., 626.

schools. As the epidemic grew, China threatened to execute any SARS patient who violated quarantine."[219] While the government was slow to implement preventative measures to combat SARS, top-down orders from the Ministry of Health in April 2003 signaled the start of a strong and effective campaign: all provincial units were to start reporting the number of SARS cases on a given day by noon the following day.[220] Hence, the Maoist "Patriotic Health Movement" was revitalized. As Huang (2004) writes, "by May 7, 18,000 people had been quarantined in Beijing," and in Guangdong, "80 million people were mobilized to clean houses and streets."[221] During the SARS outbreak, public health posters reemerged as instruments of propaganda to educate the public about preventative health measures, recalling their functions in Mao's earlier Patriotic Health Movements. Did propaganda posters produced during the SARS outbreak convey similar visual, rhetorical, and ideological elements in posters from earlier Maoist public health campaigns? If so, which elements were present, and how did SARS posters differ from earlier public health efforts? My findings reveal continuities in the use of militaristic language and imagery, linguistic features such as rhyming and verse, motifs and phrases associated with the Chinese New Year (*nianhua*) print, and even the depiction of children as change agents. Of course, key nuances emerged in SARS propaganda posters that suggest discontinuities with past public health episodes: namely, the odd combination of attempts to assuage public anxiety about SARS with aggressive threats to those who spread false rumors about the disease, as well as the introduction of real-life celebrity figures and artists in posters.

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[219] *Ibid.*
[220] Yanzhong Huang, "The SARS Epidemic and Its Aftermath in China: A Political Perspective," in *Learning from SARS: Preparing for the Next Disease Outbreak -- Workshop Summary*, eds. Stacey Knobler, et al. (Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2004), 124.
[221] *Ibid.*, 125.

Figure 45 (Left): *Declare War on SARS!* (*Xiang feidian xuanzhan!* 向非典宣战!), May 1, 2003, Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

Figure 46 (Right): Liu Shaoqi attacked by tool-weapons. *Untitled*, 1970, Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton University Library, NJ.

Figure 45 displays a young doctor dressed in proletariat blue, raising a clenched fist. He grimaces at the cowering coronaviruses that encircle him. *Declare War on SARS!* shares a common element with both pre-Cultural Revolution and Cultural Revolution propaganda posters: a common enemy is identified (in this case, the SARS coronaviruses) in the interest of mass mobilization for a larger national cause. During the "four pests" campaign, the stated enemies were rats, flies, mosquitoes, and sparrows (which were later replaced by bedbugs in 1960). During the Cultural Revolution, Mao criticized and persecuted political figures who posed threats to his power, such as Liu Shaoqi (刘少奇), who was once groomed as Mao's successor. From 1967-68, Mao led a persecution campaign against Liu Shaoqi, which ultimately resulted in Liu's downfall: he died in 1969.[222] Figure 46 displays Liu Shaoqi getting crushed by four weapons, a pen, shovel, sickle, and rifle. As Hanson (2008) notes, "there was a symbolism behind these images: the pen signified students, the shovel represented workers, the sickle

[222] *Ibid*., 1458.

stood for peasants, and the World War II Garand for soldiers."[223] In figure 45, the same "tool-weapons" as the ones in figure 46 are displayed in the background, although the image of Liu Shaoqi has been replaced with a new common enemy: the SARS coronavirus. Here, it is important to acknowledge the significance of the doctor in figure 45. Newman (2007) argues that images of new modern-day heroes in anti-SARS posters (e.g. doctors and nurses) drew from a distinctly Chinese cultural repertoire of the past, in which exemplary icons were considered worthy of emulation, in accordance with the Confucian tradition of role-modeling.[224] Indeed, Landsberger (1995) maintains that the Confucian role model was one of the key precursors of visual propaganda in traditional China.[225] Apart from the visual tropes seen in figure 45, the written messages also merit attention.

The 14-character lines of verse in figure 45 convey messages about the importance of unhindered economic growth, basic preventative health measures, trust in the Party, and the avoidance of unnecessary panic about SARS. The lines advise the spectator to wear face masks (*dai kouzhao* 戴口罩), follow doctor's advice and take prescription medicine (*zunzhao yizhu zai fuyao* 遵照医嘱再服药), open windows (*duokai chuanghu* 多开窗户), and wash hands to sterilize (*xishou xiaodu* 洗手消毒). Figure 45 speaks to the negative economic impacts that occurred during the SARS epidemic with the phrase, "economic growth must not be hindered" (*jingji jianshe qiemo wu* 经济建设切莫误). Apart from the medical costs associated with SARS in China, the economic burden must also take into account the income lost due to disease-

[223] *Ibid*.
[224] 5. Abbey Newman, "Artistic Responses to SARS: Footprints in the Local and Global Realms of Cyberspace," in *SARS: Reception and Interpretation in Three Chinese Cities*, eds. Deborah Davis and Helen Siu. (New York: Routledge, 2007), 107.
[225] Stefan Landsberger, *Chinese Propaganda Posters: From Revolutionization to Modernization*. (Amsterdam: The Pepin Press, 1995), 18.

related morbidity and mortality, the negative shock to the labor and population force, and decline in human capital. According to a study by Lee and McKibben (2004), the economic impact of SARS in Hong Kong resulted in a loss of 2.63 percent of GDP, while the remainder of mainland China suffered from a loss of 1.05 percent GDP.[226] The reference to "unhindered economic growth" recalls the narratives of economic growth and health promotion conveyed in propaganda from the "four pests" campaign.

Another commonality with earlier public health posters is the promotion of trust in and allegiance to the party. The final line of verse in figure 45 reads, "believe in the government and Party, SARS will be eliminated in the end" (*Xiangxin zhengfu xiangxin dang, feidian bingdu zhong bei chu* 相信政府相信党，非典病毒终被除). This line conveys the Party's attempts to assuage public concerns about SARS and the public's frustration towards the government's delayed reaction. As Huang (2004) explains, the "initial failure to inform the public [about SARS] heightened anxieties, fear, and widespread speculation."[227] Figure 45 attempts to dismiss public fear that sneezing, nasal mucus, and congestion are symptoms of SARS by telling the viewer to avoid "becoming alarmed" (*bie zhaohuang* 别着慌). The following verse states, "[Don't] be afraid of trivial matters, [it is] a major crime to spread and believe in rumors" (*Yidian xiao shi jiu haipa, chuan yao xin yao zuiguo da* 一点小事就害怕，传谣信谣罪过大). This phase oddly attempts to calm public anxiety about SARS while subtly threatening those who spread false rumors about the disease. This represents one of many attempts to counter

[226] Jong-Wha Lee, and Warwick McKibbin, "Estimating the Global Costs of SARS," in *Learning from SARS: Preparing for the Next Disease Outbreak -- Workshop Summary*, eds. Stacey Knobler, et al. (Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2004), 103.
[227] Yanzhong Huang, "The SARS Epidemic and Its Aftermath in China: A Political Perspective," in *Learning from SARS: Preparing for the Next Disease Outbreak -- Workshop Summary*, eds. Stacey Knobler, et al. (Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2004), 118.

the false rumors and sensationalized reports of SARS spread through media, such as the internet.[228] More extreme measures were taken by the government to exercise media control. For example, on May 12, 2003, the *Beijing Morning News* published an article stating that people who spread "rumors" about SARS could be imprisoned for up to five years.[229]

As I will explain in the examples below, the slogan, "Declare war on SARS" (*Xiang feidian xuanzhan* 向非典宣战) was a common refrain in SARS propaganda posters. As Hanson (2008) notes, "the five-character phrase grammatically recalls the five-character slogan of the Communist Revolution "Serve the People!" (*Wei renmin fuwu* 为人民服务)."[230] Such martial language recalls the use of militaristic rhetoric during the 1952 Anti-Germ Warfare Incident and "four pests" campaign. Again, through the use of militaristic language, the sense of urgency and demands of warfare are transferred to a different context to mobilize and instill a sense of camaraderie and determination among the masses in figure 45. The doctor's clenched fist and muscular arms also visually recall depictions of Chinese proletariats defeating enemies in Cultural Revolution posters (see figure 47).

[228] "Summary and Assessment," in *Learning from SARS: Preparing for the Next Disease Outbreak -- Workshop Summary*, eds. Stacey Knobler, et al. (Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2004), 34.
[229] Huang, "The SARS Epidemic and Its Aftermath in China," 128.
[230] Zedong Mao, "Serve the People," *Marxists Internet Archive*, accessed March 7, 2016. https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-3/mswv3_19.htm.

Figure 47: *Completely Smash the Liu-Deng Counter-Revolutionary Line* (*Chedi fensui Liu Deng fandong luxian* 彻底粉碎刘邓反动路线), n.d., Hebei, *Chinaposters-old.westminster.ac.uk*, <http://chinaposters-old.westminster.ac.uk/liudeng.htm>.

Figure 48: *Be Fond of Health, Fight Against "SARS" - Hold on ... to the Last Victory!* (*Zhen'ai jiankang, kangji "feidian" - jianchi ... zuihou shengli!* 珍爱健康，抗击"非典"－坚持…最后胜利!), 2003, Chaoyang District (Beijing) People's Government (*Beijingshi Chaoyangqu Renmin Zhengfu*), *Chineseposters.net*, <http://chineseposters.net/posters/e15-430.php>.

Like figure 45, figure 48 uses militaristic rhetoric and imagery to compel the viewer to action. Figure 48 raises an interesting reference to the phrase, “to set about a task” (lit., to “move one’s hand,” *dongshou* 动手). As I’ve demonstrated in this paper, multiple public health campaigns spanning from the early 1950s to early 2000s utilized martial rhetoric, ideology, and imagery. The clenched fist in figure 48 recalls images of combat and fighting stances reminiscent of propaganda from the 1952 Anti-Germ Warfare Incident, the “four pests” campaign, and Cultural Revolution (see figure 47). In essence, these public health campaigns were depicted as wars against common enemies. The title of the poster, “Be fond of health, fight against “SARS” - hold on …. To the last victory,” employs martial language in the terms, “fight” (*kangji* 抗击) and “victory” (*shengli* 胜利). The following image is another classic example of the use of militaristic rhetoric in SARS propaganda.

Figure 49: *Unite to Defeat SARS* (*Tuanjie yi zhi zhansheng "fei dian"* 团结一致战胜非典), May 2003, *People.com.cn* (*Renminwang* 人民网), <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shehui/47/20030507/986728.html>.

Figure 49 displays a street poster that urges the public to "unite to defeat SARS" (*Tuanjie yi zhi zhansheng "fei dian"* 团结一致战胜非典). The public health efforts during the SARS outbreak are described as "life-or-death trial[s]" and testaments to the people's "honor" (*zunyan* 尊严) and ability to "stand upright forever" (*yongyuan zhanli* 永远站立). The monochromatic cartoons in the background depict a man in the midst of battle with a large weapon. The exhortation, "Declare war on SARS" (*xiang SARS xuanzhan* 向 SARS 宣战) appears again (see figure 45). The nationalistic rhetoric of "protecting the capital city" (*daying shoudu*

baowei zhan 打赢首都保卫战) recalls similar calls to action during the "four pests" campaign, such as the admonition to "thoroughly exterminate the four pests" (*chedi xiaomie sihai* 彻底消灭四害) in order to "establish a new revolutionary atmosphere" (*Geming xin feng shang shu ya shu qilai* 革命新风尚树呀树起来). In summary, as seen in previous public health campaigns, the heroism and urgency of wartime are co-opted to mobilize the masses against a common enemy (see sections 3.2 and 4.1).

Apart from the use of militaristic rhetoric and imagery, SARS posters also featured references to the Chinese New Year print (*nianhua*). In figure 50, a billboard reads, "Best wishes for the leaders and comrades who fight in the front line against SARS" (*Zhufu nin zhandou zai kang "fei dian" yixian de lingdao he tongzhimen* 祝福您战斗在抗"非典"一线的领导和同志们). The saying, "best wishes" (*zhufu nin* 祝福您) is a typical Chinese New Year greeting. The cartoon depicts a young, rosy-cheeked baby grasping a golden peach with the character, "good fortune" (*fu* 福), across it. Other notable motifs include the red bats[231] and the jade *ruyi*[232] (如意, lit. "as you wish"), a ceremonial scepter. The use of the auspicious color red, a festive Chinese New Year greeting, and symbols of good fortune radiate a cheerfulness that one would not typically associate with anti-epidemic measures. These traditional symbols of good fortune and festivity appear at odds with the use of militaristic language (e.g. "fight," "front line," and "comrades"). The appropriation of traditional New Year motifs and phrases in the midst of the SARS outbreak harkens back to the popularity of *nianhua* during the "four pests" campaign (see

[231] In China, the bat is a symbol of happiness and longevity. The association between bats and happiness is in part due to the similar pronunciations in the characters for "bat" (*bianfu* 蝙蝠) and "good fortune" (*fu* 福). C.A.S. Williams, *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs: A Comprehensive Handbook on Symbolism in Chinese Art Through the Ages*. 4th ed. (North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 2006), 61.

[232] The *ruyi* is a common motif in Chinese art. In Chinese folklore, it is a talisman that symbolizes good fortune, often in association with Buddhism. Williams, *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs*, 330-331.

section 3.1). Apart from the use of militaristic rhetoric and imagery and characteristic *nianhua* elements, SARS posters shared another commonality with "four pests" posters: the appearance of children as key participants in public health efforts.

Figure 50: *Best Wishes for the Leaders and Comrades Who Fight in the Front Line Against SARS* (*Zhufu nin zhandou zai kang "fei dian" yixian de lingdao he tongzhimen* 祝福您战斗在抗"非典"一线的领导和同志们), May 2003, *People.com.cn* (*Renminwang* 人民网), <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shehui/47/20030507/986728.html>.

Figure 51: Huang Yijiu (黄一九), and Mei Zhihao (梅志浩), *Protect Yourself, Keep SARS Away* (*Baohu ziji yuanli feidianxing feiyan* 保护自己远离非典型肺炎), 2003, *Hunan Kexue Jishu Chubanshe*, *Chineseposters.net*, <http://chineseposters.net/posters/d25-49.php>.

Not unlike their prominence in “four pests” posters, children in this poster serve a didactic purpose. In figure 51, children are shown practicing preventative measures against SARS, such as opening windows, refraining from visiting the ill, and washing hands. The children are at once recognized by the state as members of the body politic and provide an emotional appeal to the adult spectatorship. These images of ideal healthy behaviors exude an optimism that was in short supply at the peak of the SARS outbreak in China. Smiling next to the cartoon figures is a photograph of Chinese comedian and the official ambassador (*xingxiang dashi* 形象大使) for the National Health Promotion Project for Hundreds of Millions of Chinese Farmers (NAHPF, *Quanguo Yiwan Nongmin Jiankang Cujin Xingdong* 全国亿万农民健康促进行动), Niu Qun (牛群). The red color of his shirt and placement of his hand on his chest symbolize an allegiance to the NAHPF and a commitment to the anti-epidemic measures listed in the poster. As displayed in propaganda from the “four pests” campaign, this SARS poster also disseminates health-related messages to promote rural healthcare. The figures in the poster are called into the service of the state to prevent the spread of SARS. In this sense, the children and ambassador alike are ascribed meaning that is linked to political and health-related prerogatives.

In chapter four, I examined the continuities in rhetorical, visual, and ideological content in Chinese propaganda posters produced prior to and following the “four pests” campaign. In the midst of the Anti Germ-warfare Incident in 1952, the Patriotic Health Movement was a rallying cry for the national support and mobilization of the people to fight American imperialism and diseases simultaneously, as the two enemies became one in a highly politicized

episode of national defense. As discussed in section 4.1, public health messages of pest control and disease eradication and anti-American and anti-imperialist political messages found a convenient and visually appealing channel in the Chinese propaganda poster. Section 4.2 introduced the similarities and distinctions between posters from the “four pests” campaign and Barefoot Doctors Programme. In section 4.3, I drew connections between propaganda posters produced during the Cultural Revolution and the 2003 SARS outbreak. In the final chapter, I will reiterate the take-home messages and implications of this research.

CHAPTER FIVE:

Conclusion

Public health posters provide us with a window to analyze the politics, rhetoric, and ideologies of post-liberation China. In this paper, I analyzed the visual, rhetorical, and ideological elements in propaganda posters used throughout various Maoist Patriotic Health Movements in the 20th century and the recent 2003 SARS outbreak. Specifically, I examined propaganda posters produced during the 1952 Anti-Germ Warfare Incident, "four pests" campaign, Barefoot Doctors Programme, and 2003 SARS outbreak. An analysis of propaganda posters produced across various Maoist Patriotic Health Movements and the 2003 SARS outbreak illuminates specific kinds of continuities and discontinuities in political, nationalistic, and economic, and militaristic rhetoric, imagery, and ideology across time. My findings indicate that these posters not only disseminated health-related information, but also conveyed idyllic imagery, rhetoric, and ideology central to the construction of Mao's socialist utopia (e.g. economic prosperity, agricultural output, the militarization of everyday life and mass mobilization of China's citizenry, allegiance to the CCP, etc.). Below, I will reiterate the health-related, political, nationalistic, economic, and militaristic elements used in propaganda posters from Mao's Patriotic Health Movements of the 20th century and the 2003 SARS outbreak to mobilize the masses and promote sociopolitical change.

Health-related messages appeared in propaganda posters produced during all of the aforementioned time periods. During the 1952 Anti Germ-Warfare Incident, images of healthcare workers and muscular figures adorned posters that spread messages such as "do a

good job in epidemic prevention and hygiene work" (*zuohao fangyi weisheng gongzuo* 作好防疫衛生工作) and "everybody must take precautions against epidemics" (*renren fangyi* 人人防疫). Posters from the "four pests" campaign exhorted the spectator to "exterminate the four pests" (*xiaomie sihai* 消灭四害), often featuring images of people of all walks of life and ages brandishing weapons of pest control as they attacked the "four pests." Phrases such as "eradicate pests and diseases" (*chuhai miebing* 除害灭病) and "pay attention to health" (*jiang weisheng* 讲卫生) were common refrains. Barefoot Doctors Programme propaganda featured female Barefoot Doctors in the field, delivering health-care services to peasants, wielding health-care equipment, and promoting public health initiatives such as family planning. Posters from the 2003 SARS outbreak relayed information about preventative health measures against SARS and images of model behavior (e.g. children opening windows for fresh air, washing hands, etc.). Another set of key features that emerged in propaganda posters used throughout the aforementioned public health initiatives was political and nationalistic rhetoric, imagery, and ideology.

Political and nationalistic rhetoric, imagery, and ideology were also prominently featured in propaganda posters promoting Mao's Patriotic Health Movements and the 2003 SARS outbreak. Images of children, men, and women donning red scarves and PLA hats alongside towering Chinese flags waving in the wind connoted feelings of national pride and devotion to Mao and the CCP. The representation of workers, peasants, and soldiers (*gongnongbing* 工农兵) in numerous posters adhered to Mao's Marxist-Leninist vision of a utopian, socialist society comprised of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The visualization of People's Communes during the Great Leap Forward - as seen in "four pests" propaganda -

promoted the system of collectivized agriculture, which served sociopolitical, governmental, and economic purposes. Explicit references to the Patriotic Health Movement (*Aiguo Weisheng Yundong* 爱国卫生运动) in slogans and images of propaganda troupes were also commonly seen. The representation of diverse Chinese minority groups also served to instill a sense of patriotism and revolutionary spirit in the spectator (see figures 31-32). The origins of the "four pests" campaign can be traced back to the 1952 Anti-Germ Warfare Incident. After allegations of the American use of germ warfare in the Korean War hit the press in February 1952, the Chinese government initiated the first Patriotic Health Campaign, a mass mobilization campaign designed to promote public health, fan the flames of anti-American/imperialist sentiments, and aspire towards the goal of "hygienic modernity."[233] Posters from the 1952 Anti Germ-Warfare Incident unambiguously equated the activities of disease prevention and health promotion with the obligatory patriotic duties of every citizen in the fight against Americans during the Korean War. During the Barefoot Doctors Programme, public health efforts were once again merged with patriotic and revolutionary ideals. Images from the Barefoot Doctors Programme beseeched viewers to both heed the word of Barefoot Doctors and perform patriotic acts, such as studying Chairman Mao's writings and raising revolutionary proletariat successors. Posters designed during the 2003 SARS outbreak stressed the importance of "uniting to defeat SARS" (*tuanjie yi zhi zhansheng "fei dian"* 团结一致战胜非典), "protecting the capital city" (*daying shoudu baowei zhan* 打赢首都保卫战), and supporting the "leaders and comrades who fight in the front line against SARS" (*zhufu nin zhandou zai kang "fei dian" yixian de lingdao he tongzhimen* 祝福您战斗在抗"非典"一线的领导和同志们). Apart from political and

[233] See Ruth Rogaski, "Nature, Annihilation, and Modernity: China's Korean War Germ-Warfare Experience Reconsidered" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 2 (2002).

nationalistic messages, economic goals were also integral components in propaganda posters used throughout Mao's Patriotic Health Movements of the 20th century and the 2003 SARS outbreak.

In particular, propaganda posters from the "four pests" campaign and the 2003 SARS outbreak exhibited a clear juxtaposition of health-related information and messages of economic growth and prosperity. In "four pests" posters, images of agricultural harvest and bounty not only tied in with the traditional Chinese New Year print (*nianhua*) genre, but also alluded to the immediate economic goals of the Great Leap Forward. Oftentimes, such images were juxtaposed with rhetoric that commanded the viewer to "increase production" (*shengchan* 生产) and "promote manufacturing, war preparation, and work" (*cu shengchan, cu gongzuo, cu zhanbei* 促生产、促工作、促战备). Pictures of wheat, fruits, vegetables, industrial skylines, and rows of fields all served to impress on the population how the Great Leap Forward would improve their welfare, happiness, and overall lives (for examples of industrial skylines, see figures 6 and 12). China's citizenry was told that the activities of disease prevention and pest control would enable them to "build happiness for ten thousand generations" *(zaofu wandai* 造福万代). Decades after Mao's death, SARS erupted in Guangdong Province in November 2002. After months of inaction and denial, the Chinese government launched a propaganda campaign the following year that displayed striking similarities to past Maoist Patriotic Health Movements. In an attempt to minimize the economic burden associated with SARS, posters from the 2003 SARS outbreak stated imperatives such as "economic growth must not be hindered" (*jingji jianshe qiemo wu* 经济建设切莫误). Many posters implored citizens to avoid rumor-mongering and unnecessary alarm over the outbreak

in an attempt to assuage public concerns about the outbreak. Such appeals aimed to curtail the negative economic impacts of disease-related morbidity and mortality, such as the negative shock to the labor and population work forces.

Finally, posters from the 1952 Anti Germ-Warfare Incident, "four pests" campaign, and 2003 SARS outbreak expressed militaristic rhetoric, imagery, and ideology alongside health-related messages. Figures with piercing stares and clenched fists adorned posters, directing weapons of pest control at the "four pests," which were often pictured perishing in a cloud of pesticide. Massive crowds of diverse citizens brandishing pest control instruments - as seen in "four pests" posters - recalled images of martial processions and wartime (for examples of crowds of people engaged in health promotion, see figures 11-15, 24, 35, and 44). Oftentimes, real martial weapons were featured alongside pest control tools (see figures 13, 19, 20, and 37). Mao's slogans also made their way onto propaganda posters; such militaristic ideology was encapsulated in phrases such as "conquer nature" (*zhengfu ziran* 征服自然) and "man can conquer nature" (*ren ding sheng tian* 人定胜天). Other instances of martial language were seen in terms such as "enemy" (*diren* 敌人) and phrases such as "smash American imperialist germ warfare!" (*fensui Mei diguozhuyi xijunzhan!* 粉碎美帝國主義細菌戰!) and "resolutely cut off the bloody and criminal hand of the American aggressor that spreads germs!" (*jianjue zhanduan Meiguo qinluezhe sabu xijunde zui'e xueshou!* 堅決斬斷美國侵略者撒佈細菌的罪惡血手). The anthropomorphization of various "pests," whether of the domestic or international variety, appeared in posters from the "four pests" campaign and 1952 Anti Germ-Warfare Incident (see figures 20 and 38, respectively). With the onset of the 2003 SARS outbreak, propaganda posters once again drew upon militaristic rhetoric, imagery, and ideology to

propagate health-related messages. Key phrases like “declare war on SARS” (*xiang feidian xuanzhan* 向非典宣战), “unite to defeat SARS” (*tuanjie yi zhi zhansheng “fei dian”* 团结一致战胜非典), and “best wishes for the leaders and comrades who fight in the front line against SARS” (*zhufu nin zhandou zai kang “fei dian” yixian de lingdao he tongzhimen* 祝福您战斗在抗“非典”一线的领导和同志们) clearly described disease prevention efforts in martial terms to transfer the urgency and demands of wartime to the activities of health promotion and pest control.

In summary, this visual culture represented a powerful means to promote health-related information, sociopolitical movements, and engender a sense of patriotism among the masses in Maoist public health campaigns. Propaganda posters from Mao’s Patriotic Health Movements in the 20th century integrated disease prevention (and in some cases, pest control) and anti-epidemic programs into broader goals of sociopolitical transformation and economic prosperity. During the 2003 SARS epidemic, the propaganda posters of past Patriotic Health Movements reemerged as a means to disseminate health information, call for national unity, and minimize the negative economic impacts of SARS. Through the instrument of propaganda posters, the Maoist public health campaigns and 2003 SARS outbreak infused values of Chinese socialism, national pride, and revolution into the realm of health promotion.[234]

[234] Liping Bu, "Anti-Malaria Campaigns and the Socialist Reconstruction of China, 1950-80," *East Asian History* 39, (2014): 130.

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