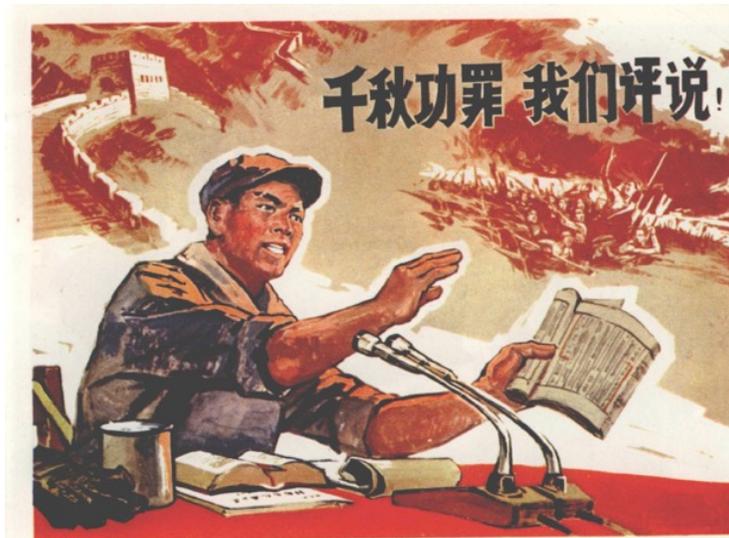


Matthew Wills

### The Largesse of the Propaganda State: Anti-Confucian Vitriol in Mao's China

*“The printing industry is a propaganda tool for the Party. It serves Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. It is a productive industry, but more importantly it is also a political industry.”<sup>1</sup>*

As a PhD candidate at UC San Diego, I research the largely unexplored history of book publishing and propaganda in Maoist China.<sup>2</sup> I study and collect books that show the Chinese Communist Party's hostility to Confucianism. Between 1974 and 1976, during the “Criticize Lin Biao, Criticize Confucius Campaign,” publishers and organizations printed hundreds of publications critiquing Confucian ideas. Since 2012, I have acquired a sizeable collection of these at book markets in China and online. Some items are common while others are rare, but all are tactile expressions of a modern state's power to commandeer vast quantities of paper and ink for its nefarious political ends. My collection testifies to the influence of politics on publishing and printing in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.



*A propaganda poster from the anti-Confucianism campaign extolling ordinary people to criticize historical texts.*

The collection, numbering approximately 650-700 unique items, includes material published nationwide in multiple sizes and formats. Examples include paperbacks, pamphlets, fold-out charts, pocket comic books, and mimeographed anthologies of anti-Confucian art. Unusually for collectors of modern Chinese books, I have collected editions in different languages. The state printed materials for ethnic minorities in their own written scripts, and I own approximately 25 titles released for Mongolians, Kazaks, Uyghurs, Koreans and Tibetans living under Chinese rule. In addition, I own propaganda “printed” in Braille, books translated into English for foreign audiences, and a small selection of posters. Like Justin Schiller in his study of *Quotations from Chairman Mao*, I am

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<sup>1</sup> Beijing Xinhua Printing Press, *Typesetting Manual* (Beijing: Beijing Xinhua Printing Press, 1973), 67.

<sup>2</sup> There is an extensive, but largely descriptive, Chinese-language literature on modern Chinese publishing written by academics and former publishers. These histories are mostly hostile to propaganda publishing during China's “Cultural Revolution” (1966-1976). Scholars such as Fei-Hsien Wang, Robert Culp and Barbara Mittler have begun to develop an English-language literature on the subject, but focus more on particular institutions and individuals rather than the books themselves or the state's perspective.

Matthew Wills

also sensitive to tracking the edition history of individual titles.<sup>3</sup> I collect multiple copies of the same book reprinted via stereotyping in different locations, as well as different editions of the same title.



*A Korean-language translation of a book attacking a prominent follower of Confucius. This translation was published by Yanbian People's Publishing House, an arm of the state publishing bureaucracy specializing in Korean-language propaganda.*

Although many of my titles can be found in libraries or online, my five rare Braille publications are the jewels of my collection. Chinese Braille printing was an infant industry in the 1970s, and the Beijing Braille Printing Factory issued translations of anti-Confucian tracts in print-runs of 1000 to 3000 copies. These editions are now mostly lost, with many possessing no catalogue record on WorldCat and only available intermittently on the book market. I purchased my five titles online during a 2017 research trip to Shanghai. These Braille publications demonstrate both the Maoist state's desire to target *all* readers and its willingness to tax those with a disability. Beijing Braille Printing Factory rushed a Braille edition of *An Anthology of Articles Criticizing Lin and Criticizing Confucius, Volume 1* to press soon after the Chinese original was published (bibliography entry 2). The book is made with strong 80-100 g/m<sup>2</sup> paper suitable for punching, and it is approximately sixty times the volume of the original Mandarin Chinese version. As a result, the publisher had to reinforce the section-sewn binding at the spine to support the weight of the pages. While the state normally subsidized propaganda and sold it below cost price, it required Braille users to pay a higher retail price for *Anthology Volume 1* compared to the Chinese original to cover the increased cost of materials. In effect, facing top-down pressure to participate in the campaign, blind readers (and the specialist libraries providing them with reading material) had to hand over more money than others for access to the same content. Bizarrely, for this title and others, Beijing Braille Printing Factory decided to print rather than punch the title of each book onto the front cover and spine, forcing Braille users to open the book in order to discover its subject. These Braille volumes thus

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<sup>3</sup> Justin Schiller, *Quotations of Chairman Mao, 1964-2014* (New York: Grolier Club, 2014).

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simultaneously represent the broad reach of the Chinese propaganda state and how the economic and technical minutia of publishing could so easily undermine the party's rhetoric of national unity.

Through stereotyping, the state printed millions of identical copies of the same book in a very short space of time. Only Justin Schiller appears to have appreciated the importance of stereotyping for Chinese propaganda publishing.<sup>4</sup> When attacks on Confucianism began in early 1974, People's Publishing House compiled four books introducing the Communist Party's key criticisms of Confucius and his philosophical adherents. Within the space of three months, printing presses produced upwards of 60 million copies of each of these titles for distribution across the country. My collection includes 10 different versions of one of these – the aforementioned *An Anthology of Articles Criticizing Lin and Criticizing Confucius, Volume 1*. Examining the copyright page of each reveals that they were all printed in different places, and archival evidence confirms that printing occurred using stereotypes made from flongs sent from Beijing to each province.<sup>5</sup> Stereotyping eliminated the risk of local typesetters incorrectly setting the content and ensured that all Chinese read the anti-Confucian polemics in the same format. The rapidity afforded by diversified production also allowed state media to manufacture a spurious sense of national excitement surrounding the release of the books – a convenient distraction from the relentless political grind of daily life under Maoism.

At the same time, producing gargantuan quantities of a few books used significant amounts of paper at a time when China's paper production was woefully low. By assigning so much of its paper to a few major publications, publishers limited their freedom to print sufficient quantities of books published later to develop campaign ideas. In essence, the state's publishing strategy was to mortgage long-term sustainability for short-term impact.

Through the National Library of China's annual *Bibliography of Nationwide Publications*, the historian can reliably trace the activities of state publishers.<sup>6</sup> Beneath this official apparatus, however, existed a sub-stratum of grassroots propaganda printing conducted by organizations, workplaces, libraries, community groups and party committees. During the 1970s, tens of thousands of these unofficial titles supplemented the reading needs of ordinary Chinese. My copy of *Continue the Struggle to Criticize Lin and Criticize Confucius Through to the End* (bibliography entry 15) produced by Yichang City Library is a mimeographed collection of drawings lambasting Confucius. One drawing shows Confucius and one of his modern-day acolytes as two heads of a dog, while another depicts Confucius, complete with distorted face and emaciated body, blessing the same eager acolyte. This type of book, produced with inferior paper by local artists and workers, rarely survives unless properly preserved, and this is probably one of only a couple of surviving copies from the original very limited print-run. I bought this collection online in 2016 because it captures part of the informal, grassroots efforts at political indoctrination in China. I also see it as the responsibility of the modern Chinese book collector to rescue as many of these titles as artefacts of an informal print culture that shaped society's quotidian level.

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<sup>4</sup> Schiller has described how enormous print-runs of *Quotations From Chairman Mao* were made possible through stereotyping.

<sup>5</sup> Relevant documentation is reprinted in volume 14 of the excellent series *Historical Materials on Publishing in the People's Republic of China* (中华人民共和国出版史料) published in Beijing in 2013.

<sup>6</sup> *Bibliography of Nationwide Publications* (全国总书目) is a vital and under-used resource for historians and bibliographers.

Matthew Wills



*Additional pamphlets and books from my collection printed by grassroots organizations during the campaign.*

Going forward, I wish to expand the collection to include some of my desiderata and to encompass more material published by less important provincial publishers. Economically developed areas such as Beijing and Shanghai dominated the publishing scene with their advanced technology and plentiful access to resources. This bias is reflected in my collection and my bibliography. Other publishers, especially those in the country's hinterland, often issued smaller print-runs and sometimes printed inferior quality books. These books circulated locally rather than nationally and provide clues to the regional differences in the history of propaganda printing and reading in Mao's China.

I also plan to open my collection to others. Historians, besides being stewards of the past, should demonstrate to the public the importance of preserving and studying the past. This is especially true for topics such as propaganda awash with misconceptions. In April-May 2019, I curated a free, public exhibit of some of my materials at UC San Diego's library and gave a short public talk on the collection in late May. When I finish my doctoral research, I will house my collection in a library while continuing to expand it so that others – academics and the public alike – can explore the fascinating history of propaganda and publishing in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I hope my collection continues to justify the idea that collecting mass-produced propaganda is as important for society as collecting the rarest old Chinese books or paperback Penguins.

Matthew Wills

### Selected Bibliography

1) Anhui Normal University Department of Chinese, *The Evil Life of Kong Number 2*  
安徽师范大学中文系《孔老二罪恶史》编写组, 孔老二罪恶史  
Hefei: Anhui People's Publishing House, 1974.  
Printed by Hefei Printing Factory, Anhui.

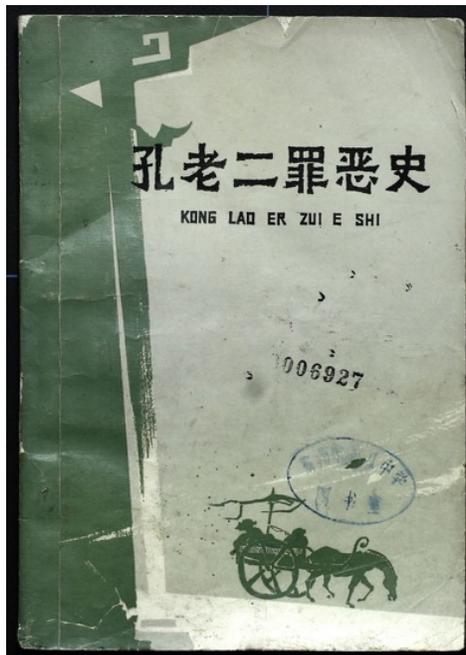
**Collation:** [1-2]<sup>16</sup> [3]<sup>6</sup> [4-5]<sup>16</sup>.

**Contents:** (i) Quotation from Chairman Mao (ii) blank (iii) title page with illustration of Confucius (iv) copyright page (v) table of contents (vi) blank (1-132) text (133) afterword (134) blank. 183 x 131 mm.

**Binding:** Paper. Front cover: 孔老二罪恶史 | KONG LAO ER ZUI E SHI, green decoration, stamped with 0006927, stamped with stamp of a school (unclear). Back cover: price, serial number, name of binding designer. Spine: 孔老二罪恶史 | 安徽人民出版社.

**Illustrations:** 7 reproduced pen drawings.

**Notes:** Signatures stapled and glued. Staining and other evidence of previous reading. A good example of propaganda given to children and teenagers. Issued in a first printing of 90,000 copies. Printing of binding designer's name on the back cover is rare for this period.



*The jagged aesthetic of The Evil Life of Kong Number 2 conveys the hostile staccato of campaign rhetoric.*

Matthew Wills

2) Beijing Braille Printing Factory, *An Anthology of Articles Criticizing Lin and Criticizing Confucius, Volume 1*

北京盲文印刷厂, 批林批孔文章汇编 (一)

Beijing: Beijing Braille Printing Factory, 1974.

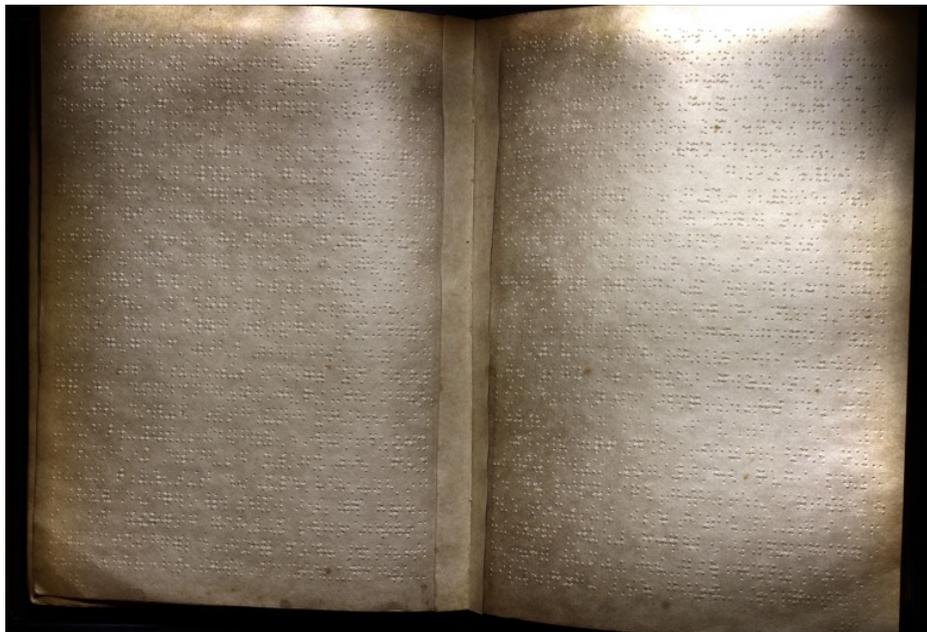
Printed by Beijing Braille Printing Factory.

**Collation:** Book is too fragile to make an accurate determination of collation.

**Contents:** (1) title page (2) blank (3) Quotation from Chairman Mao (4) blank (5) explanation (6) blank (7-179) text (180) blank. 301 x 230 mm.

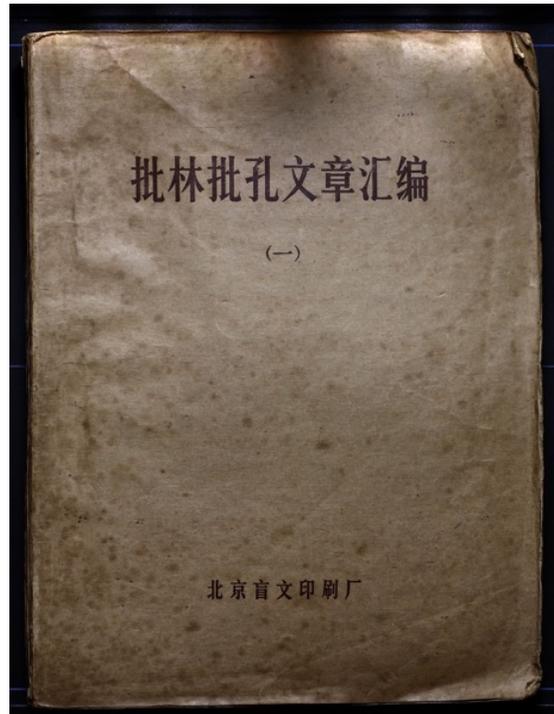
**Binding:** Thick paper. Front cover: 批林批孔文章汇编 | (一) | 北京盲文印刷厂. Back cover: copyright information. Spine: 批林批孔文章汇编 (一) | 北京盲文印刷厂.

**Notes:** Issued in a second printing of 1550 copies. Pages are stitch-bound and reinforced with cardboard and glue at the center. Pages are made of very thick paper similar to cardstock. Curiously, text on binding is printed rather than punched, making it impossible to read for Braille users. (180) has the numbers 5 and 3 stamped onto the bottom right-hand corner.



*The punched pages of An Anthology of Articles Criticizing Lin and Criticizing Confucius, Volume 1.*

Matthew Wills



*The front cover of An Anthology of Articles Criticizing Lin and Criticizing Confucius, Volume 1. Curiously, the publisher decided to print the cover with letterpress rather than Braille characters, forcing blind readers to open the book to ascertain its title.*

Matthew Wills

3) Cao Sifeng, *A History of the Confucian-Legalist Struggle*

曹思峰, 儒法斗争史话

Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1975.

Printed by Shanghai Commercial Press Printing Factory.

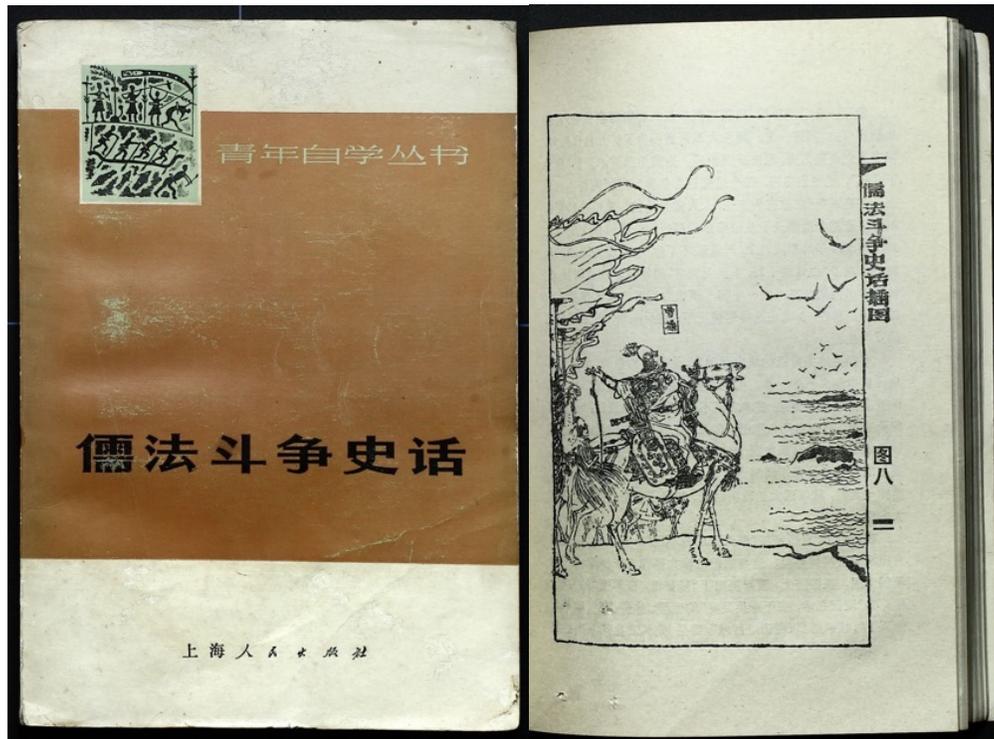
**Collation:** [4]<sup>16</sup> [1]<sup>12</sup> [8]<sup>12</sup>.

**Contents:** (i) title page (ii) blank (iii) Quotation from Chairman Mao (iv) blank (v) explanation of publication (vi) blank (vii-ix) table of contents (x) blank (1-395) text (396) afterword (397) copyright information (398) blank. 183 x 129 mm.

**Binding:** Paper. Front cover: 青年自学丛书 | 儒法斗争史话 | 上海人民出版社, red and white decoration, small picture of ancient man in the top-left corner. Back cover: serial number, price, red and white decoration, series emblem. Spine: 儒法斗争史话 | 上海人民出版社.

**Illustrations:** 10 woodblock illustrations.

**Notes:** Issued in a first printing of 300,000 copies. Signatures are stitch-bound. Part of a series targeted at urban youth rusticated to the countryside in the 1970s. A good example of a high-end paperback produced by the most important provincial publisher in China.



*Despite its uninviting front-cover, A History of the Confucian-Legalist Struggle features fascinating illustrations made to ape older styles of Chinese illustration.*

Matthew Wills

4) Li Deqing et al. *The Story of Han Fei's Criticism of Confucius*  
李德庆 et al. 韩非批儒故事  
Shenyang: Liaoning People's Publishing House, 1975.  
Printed by Benxi Printing Factory.

**Collation:** [1]<sup>8</sup> [2]<sup>9</sup> [3]<sup>8</sup>.

**Contents:** (i) title page (ii) introduction (1-48) text. 93 x 123 mm.

**Binding:** Paper. Front cover: 韩非批儒故事, illustration of Han Fei and figures from the stories. Back cover: copyright information, stamped with the number 127. Back inside cover: message to readers.

**Illustrations:** 33 reproduced line drawings.

**Notes:** Pocket comic-book format. Title page bears the stamp of a work unit from Jinshan (金山) county. Issued in a second printing of 200,000 copies. Book is glued and stapled.



*The front cover of The Story of Han Fei's Criticism of Confucius showing Han Fei striking a classic socialist realist pose.*

Matthew Wills

5) Luo Bingying. *The Rebellion of Huang Jin*

罗秉英, 黄巾起义

Beijing: Zhonghua Books, 1974.

Printed by Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory.

**Collation:** [1]<sup>13</sup>.

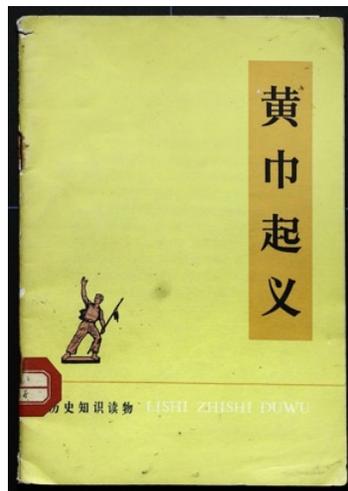
**Contents:** (i) Quotation from Chairman Mao (ii) blank (iii) title page (iv) table of contents (1-47) text (48) blank. 184 x 127 mm.

**Binding:** Yellow paper. Front cover: 黄巾起义 | 历史知识读物 | LISHI ZHISHI DUWU, title framed by an orange box, picture of revolutionary figure. Back cover: Yellow and white design, copyright information.

**Illustrations:** 4 reproduced line drawings.

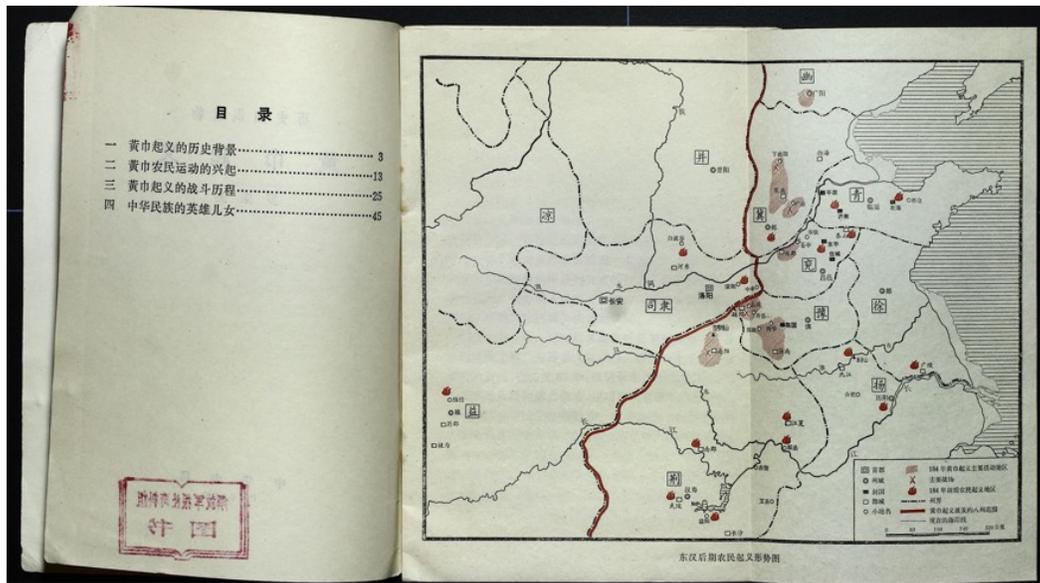
**Maps:** 1 fold-out map bound between the second and third leaf. 216 x 184 mm.

**Notes:** Library index card holder on back inside cover, and library serial number sticker on spine. Title page bears the stamp of the Liberation Daily Reading Room (解放军报社资料组). Saddle-stitched binding. (48) is stamped with 47373. Published in Zhonghu Books' 'Readings on History' series aimed at less educated readers.



*The front-cover design of The Rebellion of Huang Jin follows the same style as other titles in the publisher's "Readings on History" series.*

Matthew Wills



*The pull-out map. In the campaign, providing readers with knowledge about ancient Chinese geography helped them follow the complexities of historical accounts.*

Matthew Wills

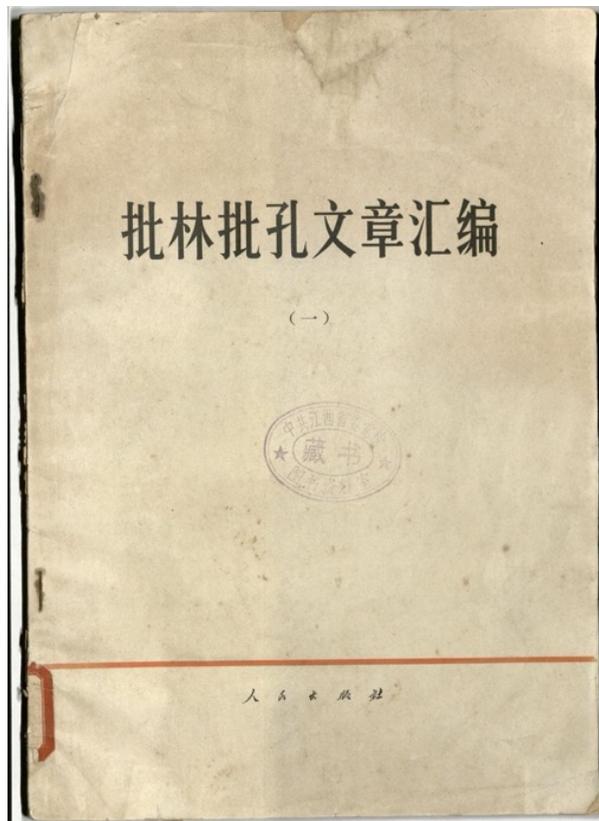
6) People's Publishing House, *An Anthology of Articles Criticizing Lin and Criticize Confucius, Volume 1*  
人民出版社, 批林批孔文章汇编 (一)  
Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1974.  
Printed by Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory.

**Collation:** [1-2]<sup>8</sup> [3]<sup>6</sup> [4-7]<sup>8</sup>.

**Contents:** (i) title page (ii) blank (iii) Quotation from Chairman Mao (iv) blank (v) foreword (vi) blank (vii) table of contents (viii) blank (1-99) (100) blank. 279 x 203 mm.

**Binding:** Paper. Front cover: 批林批孔文章汇编 | (一) | 人民出版社, horizontal red line decoration, stamped with stamp of Jiangxi Provincial Party School Library (中共江西省委党校图书资料室). Back cover: serial number and price, stamped with the number 07601. Spine: 批林批孔文章汇编 (一) | other text obscured by library sticker.

**Notes:** Large-print edition issued for elderly officials to read. Marking on title page shows that this book was originally in a provincial library collection. Bound with staples and glue.



*Large-print books catered to ageing readers but consumed a lot more paper. As a result, print-runs were limited and copies were mostly sold to libraries as reference.*

Matthew Wills

7) People's Fine Arts Publishing House, *Expose the Skin of "The Sage Confucius"*  
人民美术出版社, 剥开“孔圣人”的画皮  
Beijing: People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 1974.  
Printed by People's Fine Arts Publishing House Printing Factory.

**Collation:** [1-8]<sup>5</sup>.

**Contents:** (i) title page (ii) blank (iii-v) foreword (1-72) text (73-75) notes. 125 x 102 mm.

**Binding:** Paper. Front cover: 剥开“孔圣人”的画皮, illustration of workers smashing Confucius with brushes. Back cover: copyright information, printed red insignia of People's Fine Arts (人民美术), indecipherable stamp. Spine: 剥开“孔圣人”的画皮 | 人民美术出版社.

**Illustrations:** 72 reproduced pen drawings.

**Notes:** Pocket comic-book format. Printed in a first printing of 1 million copies. Bound with glue and staples.



*The front cover of Expose the Skin of "The Sage Confucius." The revolutionary masses hold aloft their calligraphic ready to strike Confucius down.*

Matthew Wills



*One page from within the book. Notice how Confucius (bottom right) is drawn in a demonic style evocative of depictions of Japanese invaders in Allied World War Two propaganda.*

Matthew Wills

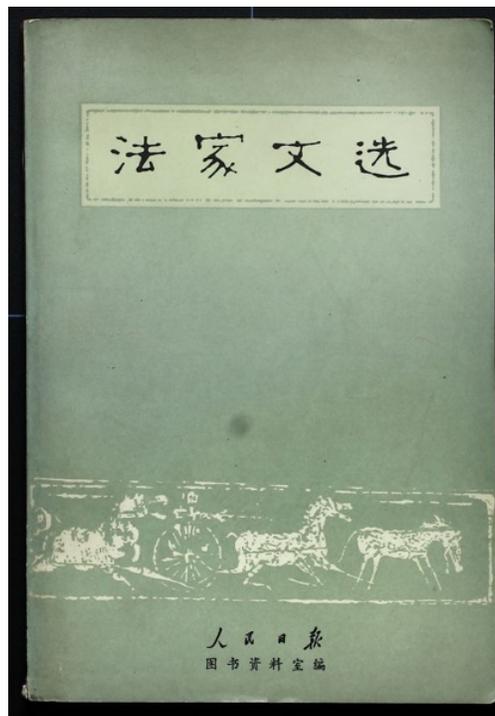
8) People's Daily Materials Office, *Selected Legalist Articles*  
人民日报图书资料室, 法家文选  
Beijing: People's Daily Materials Office, 1975.  
Printer unknown.

**Collation:** [1-21]<sup>16</sup>.

**Contents:** (i) explanation of publication (ii) blank (iii-iv) table of contents (1-328) text (329-332) blank. 202 x 140 mm.

**Binding.** Paper. Front cover: 法家文选 | 人民日报 | 图书资料室, illustration of ancient Chinese horses, title framed in a light-green textbox set on a green background. Back cover: blank. Spine: 法家文选 | 人民日报图书资料室 . 2 leaves of front papers – title page printed on the recto of the second leaf.

**Notes:** Bound with staples and glue. An example of a private internal publication produced to further the work unit's participation in political activities. The *People's Daily* was the state's premier political newspaper, and it is not surprising that it had access to the technology and materials needed for this comparatively high-quality publication.



*The paper quality and overall design of Selected Legalist Articles helps it stand out from the multitude of low-quality paperbacks produced during the campaign.*

Matthew Wills

9) Zhang Tongliang et al., *Calligraphy and Seal Cutting: A Special Edition for the Criticize Lin, Criticize Confucius Campaign*

张统良 et al., 书法刻印——批林批孔专辑

Shanghai: Shanghai Calligraphy and Arts Publishing House, 1974.

Printed by Shanghai Zhonghua Printing Factory.

**Collation:** 16 individual sheets.

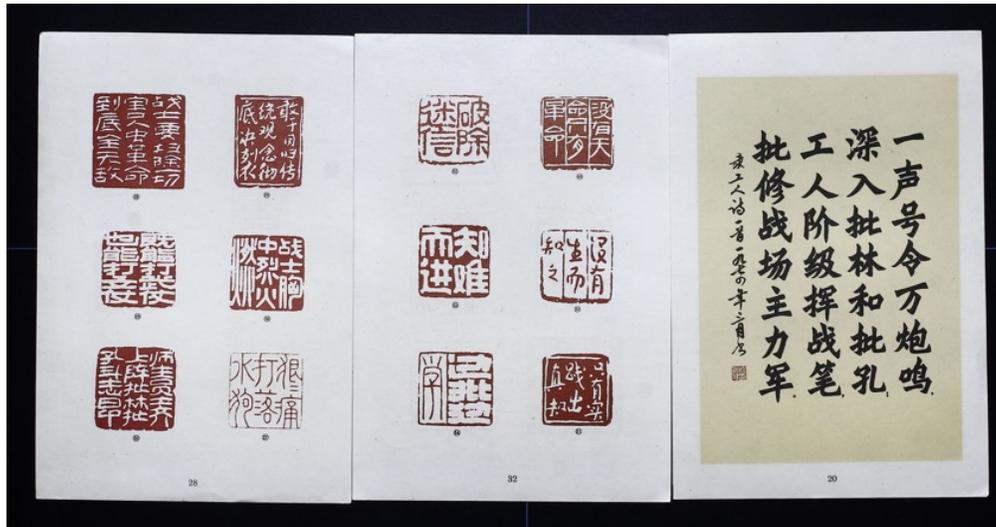
**Contents:** (1-32) color reproductions of calligraphy and seal-cuts. 186 x 129 mm.

**Binding:** Paper wrapper. Front, left section: 书法刻印 | 批林批孔专辑, green floral and linear decoration, printed red stamp of Shanghai Calligraphy and Arts Publishing House (上海书画社). Front, middle section: copyright information, signature of owner dated May 1975. Front, right section: 第一辑. Back, left section: blank. Back, middle section: table of contents. Back, right section: explanation of publishing.

**Notes:** Produced as a set of pull-out postcard-size sheets to decorate homes and offices. Printed in a first printing of 103,000 copies.



Matthew Wills



*Six of the inserts. The use of calligraphy and seal carving for political purposes perfectly embodies the Maoist dictum to “use the past to serve the present” (古为今用).*

Matthew Wills

10) Shanxi Provincial Library, *Progressive Legalist Thinkers*  
山西省图书馆, 法家代表人物和进步思想家  
Taiyuan: Shanxi Provincial Library, undated.  
Printer unknown.

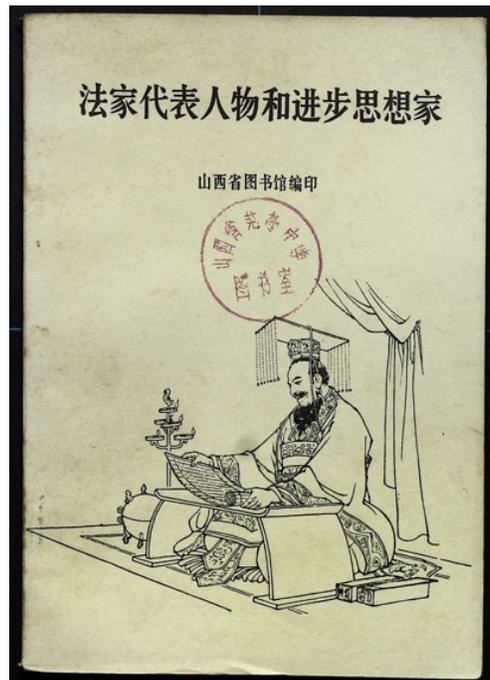
**Collation:** [1]<sup>4</sup> [2-3]<sup>8</sup> [4-8]<sup>8</sup>.

**Contents:** (i) Quotation from Chairman Mao (ii) Quotation from Chairman Mao (iii-v) foreword (vi-vii) table of contents (viii) table of contents for illustrations (1-32) illustrations (33-112) text. 184 x 129 mm.

**Binding:** Paper. Front cover: 法家代表人物和进步思想家 | 山西省图书馆编印, illustration seated Legalist thinker. Back cover: price, name of front cover designer. Spine: 法家代表人物和进步思想家 | 山西省图书馆编印.

**Illustrations:** 32 portrait reproductions.

**Notes:** Bound with glue and staples. Illustrations printed on higher-density paper compared to text pages. As with Anhui Normal University Department of Chinese's *The Evil Life of Kong Number 2*, the back cover unusually features the name of the front-cover designer.



*Shanxi Provincial Library's Progressive Legalist Thinkers. During the campaign to criticize Confucianism, libraries played a key role as hosts of reading groups, political meetings and social events.*

Matthew Wills

11) Ministry of Irrigation and Electricity Political Propaganda Department, *Irrigation and the Legalist Line*

水利电力部政治部宣传处, 法家路线与水利

Beijing: Irrigation and Electricity Publishing House, 1975.

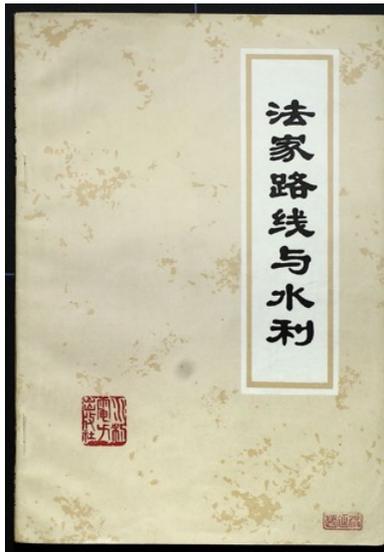
Printed by China Architectural Industry Publishing House Printing Factory.

**Collation:** [1-3]<sup>8</sup> [4]<sup>12</sup>.

**Contents:** (i) title page (ii) copyright page (iii) Quotation from Chairman Mao (iv) blank (v) table of contents (vi) blank (1-65) text (66) blank. 129 x 184.

**Binding:** Paper. Front cover: 法家路线与水利, printed red stamp of Irrigation and Electricity Publishing House, title set in a white textbox with a salmon border, salmon background, red stamp of ownership. Back cover: serial number and price, two stamps of ownership, right-hand border has salmon pink decoration. Spine: 法家路线与水利 | 水利电力出版社.

**Notes:** Bound with glue and staples. Issued in a first printing of 24,350 copies. Irrigation and Electricity Publishing House was a minor publisher issuing industry-specific books to a small audience of workers and officials.



*The front cover of Irrigation and the Legalist Line with the publisher's name printed in ancient seal script at the bottom left.*

Matthew Wills

12) Tianjin People's Library, *A Selection of Jokes Satirizing Confucius, Volume 1*.

天津市人民图书馆, 历代反孔笑话选 (第一辑).

Tianjin: Tianjin People's Library, 1974.

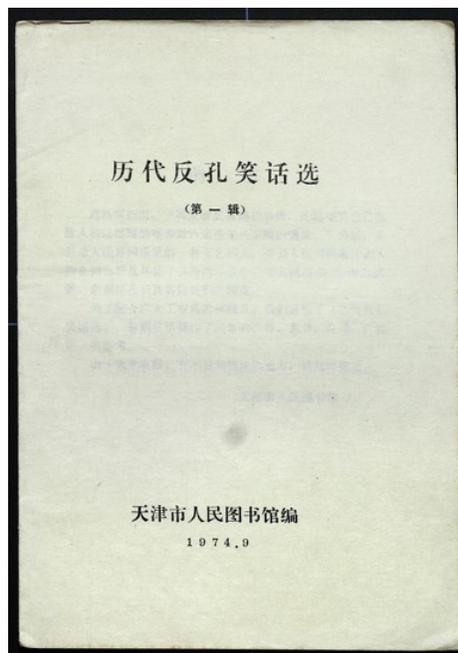
Printer unknown.

**Collation:** [1]<sup>8</sup>.

**Contents:** (i) title page (ii) blank (iii) foreword (iv) table of contents (1-11) text (12) blank.  
187 x 132 mm.

**Binding:** No binding.

**Notes:** Pamphlet format. signature is not bound at the margin. Partner to *A Selection of Jokes Satirizing Confucius, Volume 2* published by the same organization.



*A Selection of Jokes Satirizing Confucius, Volume 1. Propagandists were not above invoking humor to make their point.*

Matthew Wills

13) Wang Chong, *On Balance*

王充, 论衡

Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1974.

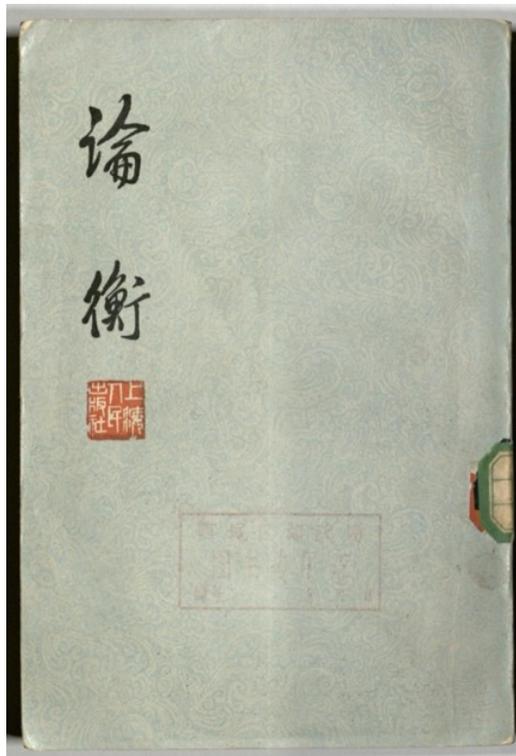
Printed by Shanghai Commercial Printing Factory.

**Collation:** Book is too fragile to make an accurate determination of collation.

**Contents:** (i-ii) blank (iii) title page (iv) copyright page (v-vi) explanation of publishing (vii-xvi) table of contents (1-455) text (456) blank. 202 x 138 mm.

**Binding:** Paper. Front cover: 论衡, printed stamp of Shanghai People's Publishing House (上海人民出版社), blue wave background. Back cover: price and serial number. Spine: 论衡.

**Notes:** issued in a first printing of 400,000. The text runs vertically and right-to-left. Back inside cover contains a library index card holder, and the spine has a library shelf-mark sticker. (i) is stamped with the number 000606. This is a specialized academic text printed for an elite, urban audience. Signatures are stitched together.



*Reading right to left and with a traditional-character calligraphic character, this edition of Wang Chong's On Balance is propaganda in its subtlest and arguably most confusing form.*

Matthew Wills

14) Xiao Gan et al., *The Evil Life of Confucius*  
萧甘 et al., 孔老二罪恶的一生  
Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1974.  
Printed by Shanghai Number 11 Printing Factory.

**Collation:** [1-2]<sup>16</sup> [3]<sup>4</sup> [4]<sup>8</sup>.

**Contents:** (i) title page (ii-iii) foreword (1-85) text and illustrations. 100 mm x 125 mm.

**Binding:** Front cover: 孔老二 | 罪恶的一生, illustration on a cream background. Back cover: copyright information. Spine: (text obscured) | 上海人民出版社.

**Illustrations:** 84 line drawings.

**Notes:** Pocket comic-book format. Issued in a first printing of 2.5 million copies and thus commonly supposed to be the most widely circulated Chinese comic-book of the 1970s. Signatures are stitched together. A particularly worn copy.



*Shanghai People's Publishing House recruited top artists to draw the striking illustrations of The Evil Life of Confucius.*

Matthew Wills

15) Yichang City Library, *Continue the Struggle to Criticize Lin and Criticize Confucius Through to the End*  
宜昌市图书馆, 把批林批孔的斗争进行到底  
Yichang: Yichang City Library, 1974.

**Collation:** 22 sheets.

**Contents:** (i) title page with illustration (ii) second title page with illustration (1-40) text and illustrations (41-42) blank. 270 x 189 mm.

**Binding:** no binding.

**Illustrations:** 42 ink drawings.

**Notes:** Mimeographed. Paper is brittle and faded – typical of books produced by grassroots organizations in limited quantities. Print has begun to fade.



*Mimeographed materials are the scarcest remnants of the campaign yet show us how the campaign played-out at the grassroots level. Yichang City Library adopted a cover design reminiscent of the book in bibliography entry 7.*

Matthew Wills

16) Yunnan Provincial Education Bureau Materials Compilation Office, *A Textbook for Criticizing Lin and Criticizing Confucius – Yunnan High School English*

云南省教育局教材编审室, 批林批孔课本——云南省高中英语

Kunming: Yunnan People's Publishing House, 1974.

Printed by Yunnan Xinhua Printing Factory.

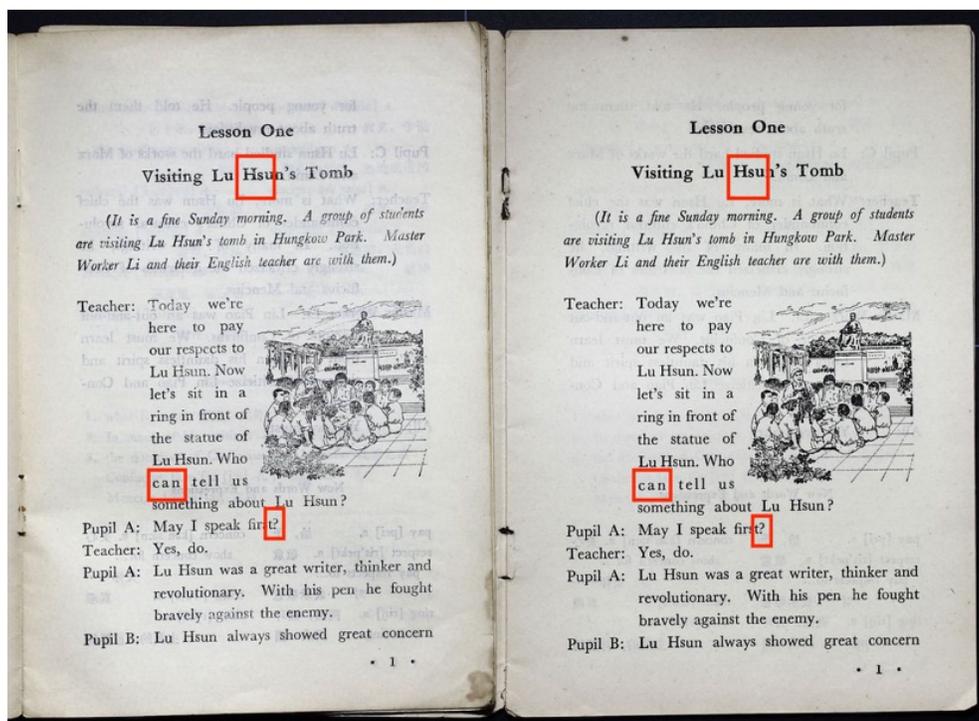
**Collation:** [1]<sup>12</sup>.

**Contents:** (i-ii) Quotations from Chairman Mao (iii) table of contents (iv) blank (1-19) text (20) explanation of publishing. 183 x 128 mm.

**Binding:** Yellow paper. Front cover: 云南省高中英语 | 批林批孔课本. Back cover: copyright information.

**Illustrations:** 4 line drawings set into the text.

**Notes:** Saddle-stich binding. Printed using stereotypes formed from flongs of an equivalent English textbook first published in 1974 in Shanghai.



Right: page 1 from the Yunnan version of the textbook. Left: page 1 from the Shanghai version. Red boxes highlight consistencies between the two that shows that the Yunnan version was printed using stereotypes of the Shanghai version.

Matthew Wills

17) Editorial Group of the Central Party School, *An Anthology of Lu Xun's Criticisms of the Way of Confucius and Mencius*

中央党校编写组, 鲁迅批判孔孟之道的言论摘录

Hohhot: Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House, 1974.

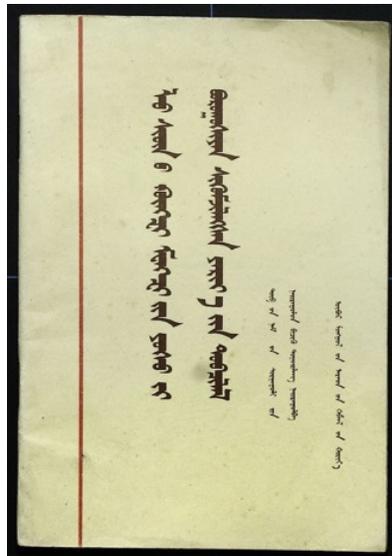
Printed by Inner Mongolia Xinhua Printing Factory.

**Collation:** [2]<sup>16</sup>. The second signature falls in the middle of the first signature, separating the first signature into two groups of 8 leaves.

**Contents:** (i) title page (ii) blank (iii) Quotation from Chairman Mao (iv) Quotation from Chairman Mao (v) table of contents (vi) blank (1-55) text (56) blank (57) copyright page [Mongolian] (58) copyright page [Mandarin]. 185 x 129 mm.

**Binding:** Yellow paper. Front cover: title, compiler and publisher in Mongolian. Red line running vertically from top to bottom on the left-hand side. Back cover: serial number, price.

**Notes:** Mongolian-language edition of a book issued in Mandarin under the same title in January 1974. Saddle-stitch binding. Issued in a first printing of 75,400 copies.



*The front cover of An Anthology of Lu Xun's Criticisms of the Way of Confucius and Mencius in Mongolian. Although language reforms to Mandarin Chinese 'horizontalized' the language, Mongolian could not be so easily shifted from its vertical direction.*

Matthew Wills

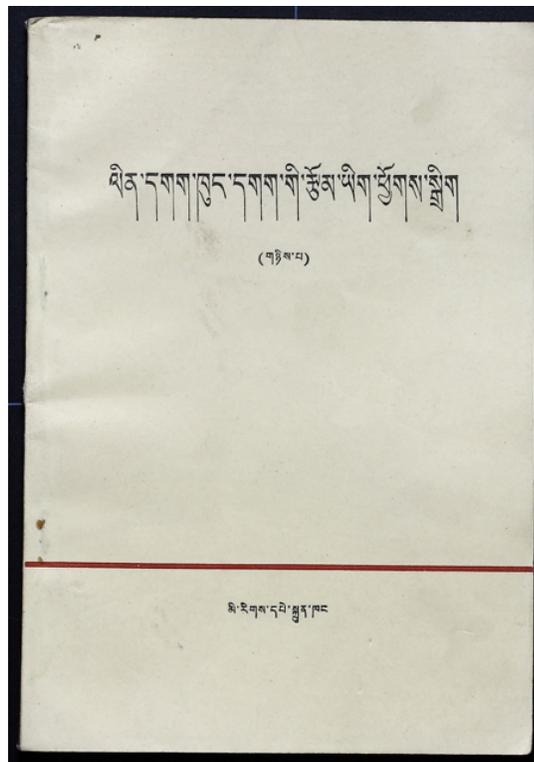
18) Central Minorities University Department of Languages Worker-Peasant-Soldier Students, *An Anthology of Articles Criticizing Lin and Confucius, Volume 2*  
中央民族学院语文系工农兵学员, 批林批孔文章汇编 (二)  
Beijing: Minorities Publishing House, 1974.  
Printed by Minorities Printing Factory.

**Collation:** [1]<sup>16</sup> [2]<sup>6</sup> [3-5]<sup>16</sup>.

**Contents:** (i) title page (ii) blank (iii) Quotation from Chairman Mao (iv) blank (v) foreword (vi) table of contents (1-131) text (132) copyright page [Tibetan] (133) copyright page [Mandarin] (134) blank. 184 x 130 mm.

**Binding:** Yellow paper. Front cover: title and publisher in Tibetan. Red line running horizontally separating the bottom quarter of the page. Back cover: signature of owner and a 1974 date written in pen.

**Notes:** Tibetan-language edition of a book issued in Mandarin under the same title in January 1974. Bound with glue and staples.



*The Tibetan-language edition of An Anthology of Articles Criticizing Lin and Confucius, Volume 2. Only two printers in China had the equipment and expertise needed to print in Tibetan.*

Matthew Wills

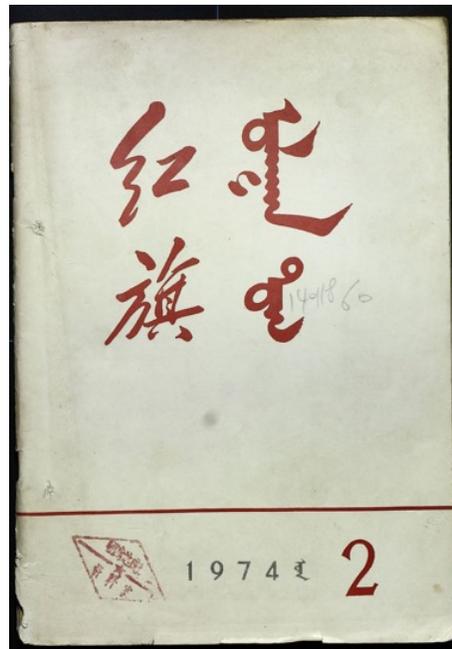
19) Red Flag Editorial Committee, *Red Flag*, 1974 no. 2  
红旗杂志委员会, 红旗 1974 第二期  
Beijing: Minorities Publishing House, 1974.  
Printed by Minorities Printing Factory.

**Collation:** [1]<sup>74</sup>

**Contents:** (1-4) quotation pages (5-146) text (147-148) contents page. 262 x 189mm.

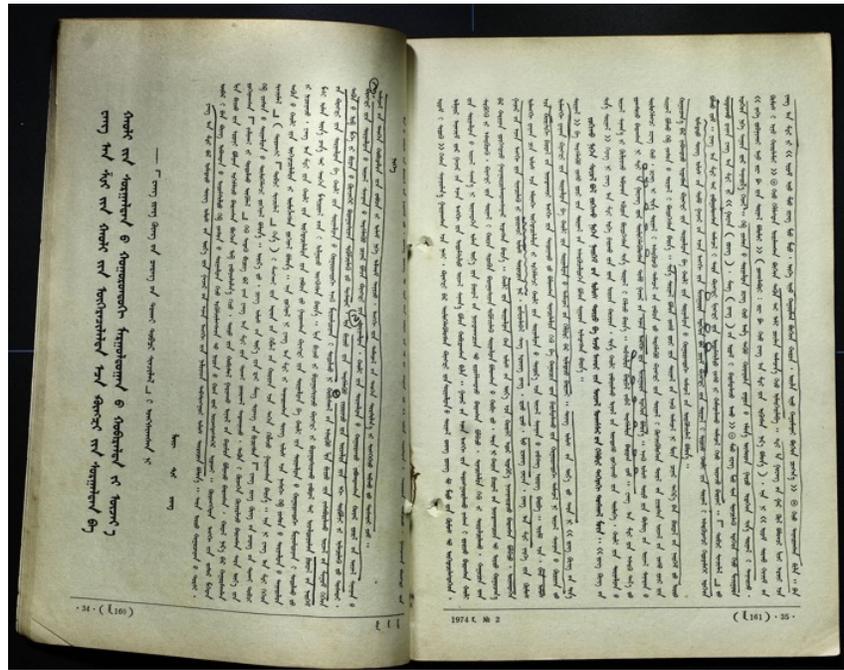
**Binding:** Cream paper. Front cover: title in Chinese and Mongolian. Red line running vertically ¼ distance from the bottom of the page. Issue number below the line covered by a faded red stamp of original work unit. Back cover: copyright information.

**Notes:** Saddle-stitch binding. Mongolian-language edition of the Mandarin Chinese original. *Red Flag* was the Chinese Communist Party's premier theoretical journal. It carried many of the articles that defined the ideological narrative of the campaign against Confucianism. Editions of the magazine were produced for China's ethnic minority readers to ensure that key political developments were available to all. Publication of the lengthier translations (which used more paper) was subsidized by the central government.



*The front cover of the Mongolian-language edition of Red Flag 1974 Number 2.*

Matthew Wills



*My copy shows evidence of careful reading and annotation. Not all campaign books were so assiduously read.*

Matthew Wills

20) Beijing Library (ed.), *Materials on the Working People's Rebellions Against Confucianism Throughout History – Draft Copy*

北京图书馆 (ed.), 历代劳动人民反孔斗争资料初稿

Beijing: Beijing People's Publishing House(?), 1974

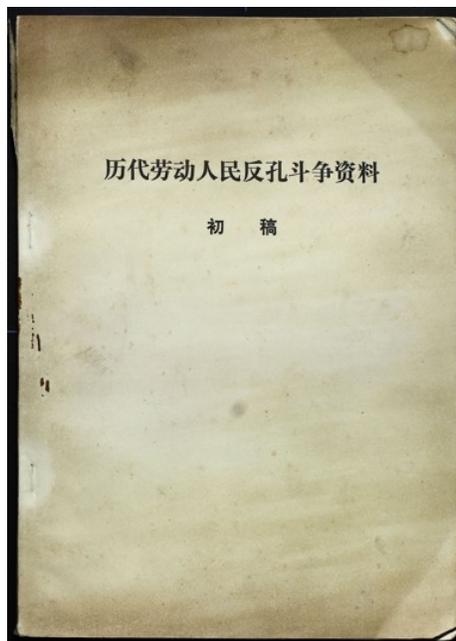
Printer unknown

**Collation:** copy too fragile to determine collation.

**Contents:** (i) foreword (ii) blank (iii-vi) table of contents (1-167) text (168) blank. 260 x 185 mm.

**Binding:** Paper. Front cover: 历代劳动人民反孔斗争资料 | 初稿. Back cover: blank.

**Notes:** Bound with staples and glue. This is a pre-press printing of *A Basic Anthology Historical Materials on the Working People's Rebellions Against Confucianism Throughout History* (历代劳动人民反孔斗争史料简编) published by Beijing People's Publishing House in March 1975. At this time, pre-press versions of books were often circulated to factories, schools and other grassroots organizations for their feedback. This was in keeping with the Maoist idea that publishers should work for the 'people' and be guided by them. The book is in a larger format to leave plenty of space for commentators to annotate and amend the text. Comparison between this draft version and the final published edition suggests that few substantial changes materialized out of this final round of revision. The book has no price and would have only circulated internally.



*As this was a draft copy, there was no need for designers to produce anything other than a basic front-cover.*

Matthew Wills

### Desiderata

Aware of an image's power, publishers printed a wide range of cartoon publications to indoctrinate children. I currently own many of the comics produced by the major publishers in Beijing and Shanghai because these were printed in very high volumes. Other publishers, however, issued their own comics in small print-runs, and the following would provide a new side to my collection:

1. *Old Confucius is a Fake Gentleman* (孔老是伪君子, Hebei People's Publishing House, 1974).
2. *To Make Revolution, We Must Criticize Confucius* (要革命要批孔, Guangdong People's Publishing House, 1974).
3. *Old Confucius: The "Sage" of the Reactionary Classes* (反动阶级的“圣人”——孔老二, Sichuan People's Publishing House, 1974).

In addition, I am keen to find copies of exquisite, string-bound editions (线装书) of anti-Confucian propaganda printed for the use of senior party leaders (such as Mao Zedong) and as state gifts to foreign dignitaries. These editions represent an intriguing mix of political invective and bibliographic luxury, and represent the very height of Mao-era publishing. Very few copies circulate on the open market and they are very expensive. Examples include:

4. *Articles by Lu Xun Criticizing Confucius and Opposing Confucianism* (鲁迅批孔反儒文辑, People's Publishing House, 1974).
5. *A Discussion of the Legalist Shang Yang* (论商鞅, People's Publishing House, c. 1974).

One of the sub-narratives of the campaign against Confucianism was democratizing access to knowledge about the past. One of the most effective ways to do this was through large “ready-reckoner” wall charts showing the development of Confucian thought throughout Chinese history. These detailed wall charts could decorate offices, accompany study meetings or occupy the walls of libraries. My collection already includes one example, and I would like to add further striking examples to my collection:

6. *A Chart of Chinese History* (中国历史年表, Liaoning People's Publishing House, 1974).
7. *The Outlines of Chinese History* (中国历史大系表, Shanxi People's Publishing House, 1975). This is the second edition of a chart first published before the anti-Confucianism campaign began. The publisher would have made significant updates in the second edition to reflect the ideas of the new political moment.

If the study of modern Chinese publishing is still in its infancy, scholarship on the Communist Party's publishing for ethnic minorities living in China is almost non-existent. My collection already includes several titles in Mongolian, Korean and Tibetan, and I would like to acquire further examples of such titles to further understand this unexplored part of history. Examples include:

8. *Reading the "Debate on Salt and Iron."* Mongolian-language edition (读《盐铁论》), Minorities Publishing House, 1975).
9. *The Confucian-Legalist Struggle During the Spring & Autumn and Warring States Periods.* Korean-language edition (春秋战国时期的儒法斗争, Yanbian People's Publishing House, 1975).

Matthew Wills

10. *All Reactionaries are Pro-Confucius*. Uyghur-language edition (一切反动派都是尊孔派, Xinjiang People's Publishing House, 1976).