



Palacký University
Olomouc

11th Annual Conference on Asian Studies

**Commemorating October 1917:
Re-thinking Marxism and the Russian Revolution
in East and Southeast Asia**

Department of Asian Studies, Palacký University Olomouc

October 21, 2017

PROGRAM

09:00–09:30 Registration

09:30–09:45 **Welcome Address**

František Kratochvíl (Head of the Department of Asian Studies, Palacký University Olomouc)

09:45–10:30 **Keynote Speech: Life after Death: Ho Chi Minh's Cult of Personality vs Cults of Lenin, Stalin, Kim Il-sung, and Mao Zedong**

(Olga Dror, Texas A&M University)

10:30–11:00 **Coffee Break**

11:00–12:30 **PANEL I – Russian Revolution, Ideology and Politics from a Historical Perspective**

The Soviet Policies within a Non-Communist Polity: Case of Xinjiang in the 1930s

(Bartozs Kowalski, University of Lodz)

The Old Adam Transformed: Metamorphosis of the Life of Intellectuals in China throughout the Mao Era

(Yumei Chi, Université Interâge du Dauphiné)

Founding of the PRC and the Subsequent Creation of Mao's Personality Cult

(Ondřej Kučera, Palacký University Olomouc)

12:30–13:30 **Lunch Break**

13:30–15:00 **PANEL II – Contemporary Reflections of Russian Revolution, Ideology and Politics**

Comparative Analysis of Some Russian and Chinese Evaluations of the Soviet Era (taking the works of G. Popov and Li Yongquan as an example)

(Vladimir Portyakov, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences)

Political Dependency through Generational Subordination: A Comparative Investigation of Communist Youth Leagues in Socialist Europe and China

(Konstantinos Tsimonis, King's College London)

The Tide of Marxism: Is Marxism Ideology of CCP fading in the 21st Century?

(Shuai Qin, Free University of Brussels)

15:00–15:30 **Coffee Break**

15:30–17:00 **PANEL III – Russian Revolution, Ideology and Politics in Art and Literature**

New Directions: Communist Propaganda in the China Traveler, 1949–1954

(António Barrento, University of Lisbon)

On the Concept and Diachronic Development of the terms for ART in Chinese

(Victoria Bogushevskaya, Catholic University of the Sacred Heart)

Commemorating the October Revolution in PRC Jubilee Articles with a Glimpse to the DPRK

(Yvonne Schulz Zinda, University of Hamburg)

KEYNOTE SPEECH

LIFE AFTER DEATH: HO CHI MINH'S CULT OF PERSONALITY VS CULTS OF LENIN, STALIN, KIM IL-SUNG, AND MAO ZEDONG

Olga Dror, Texas A&M University

The cults of personality of communist leaders have been an important part of forming and maintaining socialist regimes, beginning with the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917 and extending to communist governments subsequently organized in other countries. To insure loyalty to the Party, to the government, and to the revolutionary cause that they promulgated, communist leaders inculcated a spirit of obedience to state authority by instituting a process of indoctrination and socialization that started among children from a very young age and that nurtured youth to develop a worldview that would continue throughout their lives to perpetuate the legacy of the Party. An important aspect of this worldview would be a personal sense of love and devotion to the leader, which differed from country to country.

Using Ho Chi Minh's cult as the focus of my presentation, I will compare and contrast it with the cults of personality for Lenin, Stalin, Kim Il-sung, and Mao Zedong. I will focus on the main elements in the formation and the development of their cults, and I will evaluate their failures and successes in the Soviet Union, North Korea, China, and Vietnam.

PANEL I: RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

CHAIR: Vladimir Portyakov (Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences)

PAPER I: The Soviet Policies within a Non-Communist Polity: Case of Xinjiang in the 1930s

Bartozs Kowalski, University of Lodz

The paper focuses on the transfer of the Soviet concept of ethno-cultural autonomy to the Chinese province of Xinjiang in the mid-1930s. The Soviet grip on Xinjiang started directly in the late 1933 with the military intervention of the GRU, carried out on the request of the Xinjiang warlord governor Sheng Shicai who since then with the Soviet support ruled the province until early 1940s. In the decade that followed the intervention, Xinjiang de facto became part of a Soviet sphere of influence although Sheng had been upholding nominal authority of the Guomindang central government of China. Since 1934 under auspices of the Communist International (Comintern) a set of Soviet inspired nationalities policies were established in the province including identification of 14 nationalities (*minzu*). By taking the Soviet dimension of these policies implemented within a non-Communist state this paper discusses forms and methods of cultural and political autonomy institutionalized by Sheng's Shicai administration in Xinjiang being decisively inspired by and dependent on the Soviet Union support.

This paper draws on Chinese-language materials, especially those produced by the GMD emissaries to Xinjiang, as its primary source and to lesser extent on Russian published materials including volumes compiled from documents on the Comintern's activities in China.

PAPER II: The Old Adam Transformed: Metamorphosis of the Life of Intellectuals in China throughout the Mao Era

Yumei Chi, Université Interâge du Dauphiné

„Communism had an extravagant project: Transform the Old Man, the old Adam. And this has worked”, which was declared by Svetlana Alexievitch in “The End of Red Man”.

Hibiscus Town in China, had existed two Chinese intellectuals: Xiao Jianqiu, from the film "Early spring in February" directed by Xie Tieli (1925-2015) in 1964, and Qin Shutian, from the film "Hibiscus Town" by Xie Jin (1923-2008) in 1986. These 2 characters representing the intellectual fellows of their era, have claimed their existences in difference. Xiao, an intellectual of 1920s had claimed: "To live, it is to fight against destiny"; as for Qin, having lived in the communism regime from 1950s until 1980s, has insisted: "To live (to survive), even as an animal, but continue to survive...". Two protagonists have testified a transformation from existential ideology to a survival reality, and diachronically, their lives reflected the life of the intellectual society in China: The old Adam has been transformed during Mao's era.

Despite the “Guideline” pronounced by Mao Zedong (1893–1976) in 1942 in his speech entitled “Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art”, which should be practiced henceforth in the “Socialism art and literature”, the two films have infringed the Mao's ideological principles that are: “the art should firstly focus on the life of the Working-Class; and then, the art should serve the politic.” Both cinematographic works had been accused for having focused on the “Intelligentsia – Bourgeoisie society” and their “individual humanism” (“Soviet Revisionism style” and “Exculpate the Rightist” as accusations).

This paper will then discuss Mao's Talks pronounced in 1942, in order to elucidate with analogical analysis, the purposes and impacts of those “principles” to the intellectual society, such as: “Transform the Intelligentsia – Bourgeoisie to the Working Class” vs “Entfremdung” (Social alienation); the “Proletariat Humanism” vs the Social Consciousness; “A screw of a big machine” vs the Individualism etc. In conclusion, the paper tries to question: Mao's theory, is to endorse and popularize Marxism, or convert Marxism into an “ideology” interpreted by Mao?

PAPER III: Founding of the PRC and the Subsequent Creation of Mao's Personality Cult

Ondřej Kučera, Palacký University Olomouc

There are two historical facts that are widely recognized as true by general and even learned public about founding of the PRC. First one claims that the PRC was founded on 1st of October 1949 and the second assumes that Mao and through him CCP was the sole symbolic founder of new China due to the already developed personality cult. By researching primary sources (CPPCC proceedings, Mao's works, newspapers, pictures, videos and posters) we can safely conclude the contrary. The PRC was not founded on the celebrated day and Mao's position at the time was not as prominent as was and is projected from today into the past.

PANEL II: CONTEMPORARY REFLECTIONS OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS

CHAIR: Ondřej Kučera (Palacký University Olomouc)

PAPER I: Comparative Analysis of Some Russian and Chinese Evaluations of the Soviet Era (taking the works of G. Popov and Li Yongquan as an example)

Vladimir Portyakov, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences

The present-day evaluations of the October revolution of 1917 in Russia, the political role of Vladimir Lenin and Yosiph Stalin, the strengths and weaknesses of the Soviet Union by some Russian scientists, first of all, Gavriil Popov (former Moscow mayor and famous economist), are analyzed. The comparison of such evaluations with estimates of the same events and historical figures in the monograph of Professor Li Yongquan "History of political parties in Russia: from formation to the collapse of the pyramid of power" (2017, in Chinese) is given.

PAPER II: Political Dependency through Generational Subordination: A Comparative Investigation of Communist Youth Leagues in Socialist Europe and China

Konstantinos Tsimonis, King's College London

In 1921 the Communist International resolved that communist youth organizations must be subordinated ideologically and organizationally to communist parties, thus ending a decadelong discussion on the degree of their autonomy. In the 70 years of communist experimentation in Europe and Russia that followed, behind the colourful images of youthful devotion to the revolution depicted in propaganda posters, existed the reality of an uneasy triadic relationship between parties, youth organizations and young people. When youth cadres took a pro-youth stance, they invited the criticism of the party; and when they sided firmly with the latter, as was eventually the case, they became widely disassociated with young people. Characteristically, all Soviet leaders spent a great deal of time and energy preaching about the youth's "revolutionary duties" but when normative appeals did not work, purges followed. Political and ideological disagreements, internal power struggles, factionalism and the problem of

bridging the Party's conservatism and formalism with young people's spontaneity and tendency to question authority, all contributed to a series of tensions that accelerated the process of delegitimization and disintegration of the socialist world in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

In China, the League-Party-Youth relationship has also been characterized by similar tensions, especially during the Cultural Revolution and the student protests of the late 1980s. Since then the CYL has attempted to improve its appeal to young people, by launching a broad range of youth-focused campaigns and policies, albeit with limited success. This paper will address the generational dimension of the Party-CYL-Youth relationship as a form of institutional dependency, that hinders (rather than prohibits) the pro-youth initiative of cadre. Such an approach offers an alternative and more 'subtle' perspective of delegitimization of communist regimes among young people, as the outcome of routine, institutional practices that operationalise a political understanding of 'youth' as notion equivalent to 'junior'.

PAPER III: The Tide of Marxism: Is Marxism Ideology of the CCP fading in the 21st Century?

Shuai Qin, Free University of Brussels

From the view of historical studies, there is no doubt that 1917 October Revolution is the most influent incident for Chinese politics in the 20th century. On the one hand, in reality, the Soviet Union sponsored the revolutionary movements of Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and its following industrialization. On the other hand, in theory, the success of Russian Revolution inspired Chinese elite that Marxism system is a relative feasible method and theoretical foundation to mobilize society more effective. After Mao era ends, Deng Xiaoping and his successors reduced the influence of Marxism ideology due to some reality reasons. Specifically, in the field of organization development and member management, there was a time, CCP just kept its ideological activities in form. CCP was losing its most crucial social mobilization pillar and thought basement, and turned itself into a functional economic organization or interest group.

However, when XI Jinping became the new CCP leader in 2012, what he and his allies have done in his first tenure is not only improvement of the CCP ruling ability via meritocracy, but also anti-corruption campaign via anti-privatization of public power. By doing so, CCP re-organizes its cadres and members by various disciplines and regulations, and re-develops its ideology

by a series of China discourses named as “socialism theory system with Chinese characteristics”.

This research is to demonstrate the changing discourses of Marxism in CCP and how they changes CCP mobilization system, especially cadre management system, in different historical periods, and proves that Marxism is still full of influence among their members in recent years.

Panel III: RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS IN ART AND LITERATURE

CHAIR: Mária Strašáková (Palacký University Olomouc)

PAPER I: New Directions: Communist Propaganda in the China Traveler, 1949-1954

António Barrento, University of Lisbon

The China Traveler, a monthly periodical on travel created by the China Travel Service in 1927, continued to be published regularly after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 until its final issue in 1954. However, with the coming to power of the Communists, the magazine took on a number of new directions as it became engaged in the process of communist propaganda. It came to include articles with a clear political and ideological content, focusing for example on the successes of development in East China under communist rule, on the celebrations of liberation in Beijing, on Anshan, the 'steel capital of the people', and on Wuhan as an industrial and commercial town of the 'new China'. Its international focus underwent a socialist orientation that matched its domestic concerns. It looked into the Soviet Union and its production achievements, into socialist Armenia, into the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, into an exhibition on 'Romania's road to socialism' held in 1950 in Beijing, and into 'the Korean people's battle for freedom'. In 1951, it published an account of a trip from Beijing to Yan'an that contained a list of revolutionary sites, in what amounted to an early example of red tourism practice and guidance. Also, it included an article which explained what the meanings of tourism now were in the People's Republic. This paper examines the multiplicity of ways in which the magazine was transformed into a mouthpiece of the new regime, while focusing in particular on how travel and geography were used as motifs for propaganda.

PAPER II: On the Concept and Diachronic Development of the terms for ART in Chinese

Victoria Bogushevskaya, Catholic University of the Sacred Heart

Before the tumultuous beginning of the 20th century, characterized by a series of fundamental changes for Chinese society and culture (the abolition of the *kējǔ* examination system, the end of the imperial rule, the replacement of *wényán* with *báihuà* writing, the renovation during the May 4th Movement, and the introduction of western education), the notion of ART in China had been exclusively included in the categories of traditional philosophy — *shù, shǔ, yì, dào, qiǎo, jì* and *gōng* — which created a double barrier to its understanding in the West: first, because it was impossible to recode the Chinese philosophic categories directly into their Western analogues, and second, because the Chinese aesthetic and art history terminology and its issues were never outlined.

These lexical terms are found in the texts as the *Book of Documents*, the *Rites of Zhōu*, *Zuǒzhuàn*, *Lúnyǔ*, *Hànshū*, *Kǒngzǐ jiāyǔ*, etc. The set of the classical six arts (*liù yì*) varies.

Despite the fact that westernization had a great impact on coinage of numerous phonetic loans such as *luóji* for ‘logic’, the term for ART did not follow the pathway of phonetic transcription. The western meaning ‘art’ was originally assigned to several binominals inherited from *wényán*, such as *yìshù, jìyì, jìshù, jìqiǎo, jìgōng, jìdào, yìdào*, and *yìyè*. The term *měishù*, lit. ‘beauty + technique’ referred to fine arts. The coinciding parts of the semantic fields of these terms reveal such fundamental attributes of Chinese art as virtuosity, erudition, technique, canonicity, craftsmanship, abstractedness, and functionality.

Lu Xun’s translations of the aesthetic writings of the Soviet Marxist art theorists Lunacharsky and Plekhanov, which stressed the need for struggle, for realism in art, for the unity of art and production, inspired the first discussions on materialist aesthetics and investigations on the connection between art production and the psychology of a society.

PAPER III: Commemorating the October Revolution in PRC Jubilee Articles with a Glimpse to the DPRK

Yvonne Schulz Zinda, University of Hamburg

The October Revolution was frequently commemorated in the initial period of the Socialist construction in the PRC and also in the DPRK. The following analysis of jubilee articles of the main party newspapers Renmin ribao and Rodong sinmun from the 1950s until the 21st century will address the question as to how the Russian revolution was perceived and integrated into the discourse on the history of their own socialist transformation. In spite of the fact that in China the translation of major Marxist works (incl. the works by Stalin and Lenin) was concluded in the 1940s and first differences became apparent between Mao and the Soviet Union (Stalin) that deepened after the XXth party congress in the SU, the frequent mentioning of the October Revolution as starting point of the grand socialist revolutionary wave that had swept to China was an essential element in various writings even in the academic field and campaign writing until the end of 1950s. Today, since Xi Jinping took power again Marxist orthodoxy is propagated and the teaching of Marxist orthodoxy is emphasized. What is the status of the October Revolution today and how do the authorities consider its role as well as China' s role in the process of socialist transformation? The DPRK took a different way as Marxist works were introduced later and the subsequent rule of members of the Kim family early on found their own way of propagating socialist construction. As the material from the DPRK is not entire merely a glimpse will be given that hints on the difference in perception and their development over the decades of both socialist states.