

Footnotes for website

PART ONE

(p. 1) 'The display of Mao's fearsome temper...'

See Chen Jian, *Zhou Enlai: A Life*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2024, p. 550.

(p. 2) 'Two days later his call to arms...'

See Geremie Barmé, 'History Writ Large: Big-character Posters, Red Logorrhea and the Art of Words', *Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2012, pp. 17-18.

(p. 2) 'Big-character posters were typically vitriolic ...'

Geremie R Barmé, 'History Writ Large', pp. 12-13.

(p. 2) 'Not highly educated herself ...'

Julia Kwong, *Cultural Revolution in China's Schools*, May 1966-April 1969, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, 1988, pp. 3-5.

(p. 7) 'The mass famine that ensued ...'

See Jasper Becker, *Hungry Ghosts: Mao's Secret Famine*, Macmillan, New York, 1998, passim.

(p. 7) 'It doesn't matter if a cat is black or white. If it catches mice, it's a good cat.'

Quoting a Sichuanese proverb, Deng actually said: 'It doesn't matter if a cat is *yellow* or black, if it catches mice it's a good cat' 不管黄猫黑猫,捉到老鼠就是好猫. Later, he changed it to 'black or white', which is how most people, including in China, remember it.

See Party News Site Commentary, 邓小平 “黑猫白猫论” 故事：本是四川俗语 (The backstory to Deng Xiaoping's 'Black Cat White Cat Theory': it was originally a Sichuan saying', *Party News Site Commentary*, December 17, 2008, <http://www.chinanews.com.cn/cul/news/2008/12-17/1490780.shtml>

(p. 8) 'Worse still, Khrushchev preached peaceful coexistence ...'

See Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, February 29, 1964.

<https://www.marxists.org/subject/china/documents/polemic/sevenlet.htm#15>

(p. 8) 'It trained and armed Tibetan guerrilla fighters...'

See Chicago Tribune, 'The CIA's Secret War in Tibet', *Chicago Tribune*, 26 January 1997, updated 11 August 2021, <https://www.chicagotribune.com/1997/01/26/the-cias-secret-war-in-tibet/#>

(p. 9) 'The shameless men, the villainous men ...'

Quoted in Delia Davin, 'Gendered Mao: Mao, Maoism, and Women' in Timothy Cheek (ed.), *A Critical Introduction to Mao*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010. p. 197.

(p. 9) 'Shocked, she asked what else he'd heard...'

Li Zhisui, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao: The Memoirs of Mao's Personal Physician*, Random House, 1996, pp. 366-369.

(p. 9) 'Denouncing "the trend towards individual enterprise", he...'

See Mao Zedong, 'Speech and the Tenth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee', 24 September, 1962. Quotations from translation in Maoist Documentation Project, 'Speech At The Tenth Plenum Of The Eighth Central Committee', https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-8/mswv8_63.htm and by Geremie Barmé, 'The View from Maple Bridge — Ah, Humanity!', *China Heritage*, 5 February, 2023, online at <https://chinaheritage.net/journal/the-view-from-maple-bridge-ah-humanity/>

(p. 10) 'So too would his successors...'

See Geremie Barmé, 'The View from Maple Bridge'.

(p. 10) 'Meanwhile, Mao's personality cult was growing.'

See Daniel Leese, 'Mao the Man and Mao the Icon' in Timothy Cheek (ed.), *A Critical Introduction to Mao*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010, p. 225.

(p. 10) 'Mao was pleased ...'

See Daniel Leese, 'A Single Spark: Origins and Spread of the Little Red Book in China' in Alexander C Cook (ed.), *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2014, p. 33.

(p. 10) 'Other Party leaders including Deng Xiaoping...'

Daniel Leese, 'A Single Spark', pp. 31-32.

(p. 11) 'Four Clean-Ups were needed...'

Translated in Edward Lawrence Wheelwright and Bruce McFarlane, 'The Chinese Road to Socialism: Economics of the Cultural Revolution', *Monthly Review Press*, no. 51, 1970, p. 145.

(p. 11) 'The Socialist Education Campaign and Four Clean-Ups would result...'

Frank Dikötter, *The Cultural Revolution: A People's History, 1962-1976*, Bloomsbury, London, 2016, p. 21.

(p. 11) 'Inspired by monumental North Korean stage extravaganzas...'

Tristan Shaw, 'China's greatest propaganda film: Zhou Enlai's historical musical "The East is Red"', *The China Project*, May 24, 2019, <https://thechinaproject.com/2019/05/24/zhou-enlais-historical-musical-the-east-is-red/>.

(p. 12) 'The emperors, generals, 'scholars and beauties'...'

Peking Opera Theatre of Shanghai, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold: A Model of Peking Opera on a Contemporary Revolutionary Theme*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1968, pp. 3-4.

(p. 13) 'Under the Party's direction, other new cultural artefacts...'

See Laikwan Pang, *The Art of Cloning: Creative Production During China's Cultural Revolution*, Verso Books, London, 2017, pp. 83-106.

(p. 14) 'Wu Han wrote how the rebel-turned-emperor was prone ...'

Tom Fisher, 'The Play's the Thing!: Wu Han and Hai Rui Revisited', *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, no. 7, 1982, p. 35.

(p. 14) 'Yao described *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office* as...'

The Great Socialist Cultural Revolution in China: Volume 1, Foreign Languages Press, Peking 1967, p. 33.

(p. 15) 'But he'd reportedly been implicated in the bugging...'

A lively Chinese language version of the story, which may be taken with a grain of salt and which in the final part refers to the account by Dr Li quoted earlier, can be found at: Yumi Sui, 'Why was Yang Shangkun's eavesdropping on Chairman Mao exposed?', *BackChina*, 4 January, 2022, <https://www.backchina.com/blog/358289/article-351946.html>.

(p. 15) 'When in December 1965 Mao described Luo as an "ambitious schemer"...'

See Chen Jian, *Zhou Enlai: A Life*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2024, p. 531.

(p. 15) 'On 18 April, the army newspaper, Liberation Daily, warned...'

See 'Hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought and Actively Participate in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution' – Editorial of the *Liberation Army Daily*, 18 April 1966, reproduced in *The Great Socialist Cultural Revolution in China*, p. 1-2.

(p. 15) 'It was only made fully public a year later...'

Any attempt to pin an exact date on the start of the Cultural Revolution or confine it to what would later be called the 'ten years of chaos' (1966-1976), is to accept, as Geremie Barmé has written, 'a convenience that obfuscates many of the profound systemic issues that [still] lie at the heart of one Party rule in China today'. Geremie Barmé, '5.16 – Sorry, Not Sorry', *China Heritage*, 28 November, 2018, <https://chinaheritage.net/journal/5-16-sorry-not-sorry/>.

(p. 16) 'It was time to fight these monsters...'

Full quotation in Chinese: '混进党里、政府里、军队里和各种文化界的资产阶级代表人物，是一批反革命的修正主义分子，一旦时机成熟，他们就会要夺取政权，由无产阶级专政变为资产阶级专政。这些人，有些已被我们识破了，有些则还没有被识破，有些正在受到我们信用，被培养为我们的接班人，例如赫鲁晓夫那样的人物，他们现正睡在我们的身旁，各级党委必须充分注意这一点。' Mao Zedong, quoted in *The People's Daily*, 23 May 1967, p. 7, <https://cn.govopendata.com/renminribao/1967/5/23/7/>.

(p. 16) 'The contest was existential...'

Roxane Witke, *Comrade Chiang Ch'ing*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1977, p. 320.

(p. 16) 'A few days later, Premier Zhou Enlai added...'

Chen Jian, *Zhou Enlai*, pp. 541-42.

(p. 16) 'The writer Deng Tuo was Beijing Party secretary for culture ...'

For more on Deng Tuo see Timothy Cheek, *Propaganda and Culture in Mao's China: Deng Tuo and the Intelligentsia*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997.

(p. 16) 'The act of suicide was seen as an implicit rebuke...'

See Jonathan D Spence, 'China's Great Terror', *ChinaFile*, 21 September 2006, <https://www.chinafile.com/library/nyrb-china-archive/chinas-great-terror>; also Sheila Melvin, 'Treasures of Deng Tuo, a Conformist Rebel', *New York Times*, 7 May 2012, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/08/arts/08iht-dengtuo08.html> and Yan Fei, "'Turning One's Back on the Party and the People": Suicides during the Chinese Cultural Revolution', *China Journal*, vol. 91, no. 1, 2024, pp. 67–88, <https://doi-org.rp.nla.gov.au/10.1086/729112>.

(p. 17) 'China is such a populous nation...'

Quoted in Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2006, p. 110.

(p. 17) 'They included some of China's most reviled and brutal tyrants ...'
See Li Zhisui, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao*, pp. 122-23.

(p. 17) 'Kang, who'd first endeared himself to Mao...'
See Gao Hua, *How the Red Sun Rose: the Origins and Development of the Yan'an Rectification Movement, 1930-1945* (trans. Stacy Mosher and Guo Jian), The Chinese University Press, Hong Kong, 2018, p. 241.

(p. 17) 'On 1 June, the paper editorialised...'
Republished in *The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: Volume 3*, Foreign Languages Press, 1967, p. 1.

PART TWO

(p. 19) 'Revolutionaries are Monkey Kings, their golden rods are powerful...'
Translation from Geremie Barmé, 'History Writ Large'.

(p. 20) 'Luo Xiaohai himself eventually became distressed...'
See Luo Xiaohai's interview in the documentary *Morning Sun* (2003).

(p. 20) 'State media under the control of the Cultural Revolution Group...'
(*Chinese Literature* 1966: 42-43), Quoted in Geremie Barmé, 'History Writ Large', p. 12.

(p. 21) 'It didn't even matter that official policy insisted a person's political status...'
See Felix Wemheuer, *A Social History of Maoist China: Conflict and Change, 1949-1976*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2019, pp. 206-15.

(p. 22) 'State media outdid itself in praise...'
See James Carter, 'Power of symbolism: the swim that changed Chinese history', *The China Project*, 14 July 2021, <https://thechinaproject.com/2021/07/14/power-of-symbolism-the-swim-that-changed-chinese-history/> and David Bandurski, 'The Jury is Out: Mao Zedong Swam Faster than Today's Olympic Champions', *Medium*, 18 May 2016, <https://medium.com/china-media-project/the-jury-is-out-mao-zedong-swam-faster-than-todays-olympic-champions-d01a38bee2f3>.

(p. 22) 'According to his physician, who swam with him, he mostly...'
Li Zhisui, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao*, p. 463.

(p. 22) 'She would soon go from having no place in the Party's official hierarchy...'
Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, p. 106.

(p. 22) 'She told the Red Guards that violence against 'bad people' was fine...'
Andrew G Walder, *Fractured Rebellion: the Beijing Red Guard Movement*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2009, p. 149.

(p. 23) 'Within three months, there would be some 15 to 20 million Red Guards...'

Edward Lawrence Wheelwright and Bruce J. McFarlane, *The Chinese Road to Socialism: Economics of the Cultural Revolution*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1970, p. 113.

(p. 23) 'Early the following year, Premier Zhou Enlai added a caveat...'
Dick Wilson, *Mao Tse-Tung in the Scales of History: A Preliminary Assessment Organized by the China Quarterly*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, p. 252.

(p. 23) 'By 5 August, the day Mao wrote 'Bombard the Headquarters!'...'
Tania Branigan, *Red Memory: The Afterlives of China's Cultural Revolution*, Faber & Faber, London, 2023, p. 92.

(p. 24) 'He died in a coma on 5 August.'
See Wang Youqin, *Victims of the Cultural Revolution* (trans. and ed. Stacy Mosher), Oneworld Academic, London, 2023, pp. 19-23.

(p. 24) 'On 6 August, Jiang Qing again addressed Red Guards...'
Description and quotes from Roxane Witke, *Comrade Chiang Ch'ing*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1977, p. 323.

(p. 24) 'As Red Guards tormented his father...'
See the Chinese language article '陈凯歌父子的愧于爱' at http://paper.people.com.cn/rmwz/html/2009-10/01/content_390875.htm

(p. 24) 'The shame and confusion...'
Quoted in Li Chengping, 'When It All Comes down to It, China Has No Real "New Year"' (trans. Geremie Barmé), *ChinaFile*, 21, 2024, <https://www.chinafile.com/reporting-opinion/viewpoint/when-it-all-comes-down-it-china-has-no-real-new-year>.

(p. 24) 'While advocating for the use of persuasion over force...'
'The attitude of Communists towards any person who has made mistakes in his work should be one of persuasion in order to help him change and start afresh and not one of exclusion, unless he is incorrigible.' Mao Zedong, 'The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War', 1938, translation from <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/quotes.htm>. For translations of the Sixteen Points, see *The Peking Review*, vol. 9, no. 33, August 12, 1966, pp. 6-11; <https://www.marxists.org/subject/china/peking-review/1966/PR1966-33g.htm>, and Wm. Theodore de Bary and Richard Lufrano (eds), *Sources of Chinese Tradition: Volume 2*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2000, pp. 474-75.

(p. 25) 'He told them: "Our hope is placed on you..."
Trans. in Geremie Barmé, 'Cutting a Deal with China', *China Heritage*, 20 July, 2017, <https://chinaheritage.net/journal/cutting-a-deal-with-china/>.

(p. 25) 'After all, they "had never fought a war".'
Quoted in Roxane Witke, *Comrade Chiang Ch'ing*, pp. 319-320.

(p. 26) 'Some poured boiling water over their victims...'
Tania Branigan, *Red Memory*, p. 100.

(p. 26) 'The Minister of Public Security Xie Fuzhi...'
Translated in Andrew G Walder, *Fractured Rebellion*, p. 150.

(p. 26) 'By the end of 'Bloody August'...'

See, among many other sources, Ian Johnson, *Sparks: China's Underground Historians and Their Battle for the Future*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2023, p. 199.

(p. 26) 'The Beijing crematorium couldn't keep up....'

Yang Xianyi, *White Tiger: An Autobiography of Yang Xianyi*, Chinese University Press, Hong Kong, 2002, p. 223.

(p. 26) 'With the help of security forces, Red Guards...'

See Frank Dikötter, *The Cultural Revolution: A People's History*, pp. 92-93.

(pp. 26-27) 'Meeting in mid-August, the Central Committee declared that...'

'Communiqué of the 11th plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China' (Adopted on 12 August, 1966), *Peking Review*, vol. 9, no. 34, August 19 1966, pp. 4-8.

(p. 27) 'Mao had 'raised' Marxism-Leninism to a whole new level...'

ibid.

(p. 27) 'She wept tears of joy: "I was drunk on happiness..."'

Liu Xiaoqing quoted in Geremie Barmé, *Shades of Mao: The Posthumous Cult of the Great Leader*, M.E. Sharpe, New York, 1996, p. 174.

(p. 27) 'Another Red Guard declared the day of the rally...'

Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, p. 110.

(p. 27) 'In 1949, Mao had promised that the Communists...'

In Chinese: 我們不但善於破壞一個舊世界 · 我們還將善於建設一個新世界 (trans. G. Barmé).

(p. 28) 'According to Lin Biao, 'Armed struggle can only touch the flesh...'

武斗只能触及皮肉文斗才能出其灵魂 (Lin Biao, 31 August, to Red Guards), Lin Biao, *Guanyu wuchan jieji wenhuadagemingde liangpian jianghua (Two Speeches on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution)*, People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1966, p. 5

(p. 28) 'The radicals disapproved of traditional expressions of femininity.'

See Laikwan Pang, *The Art of Cloning*, p.11.

(p. 28) 'One exception to the clenched-fisted fierceness of female representation...'

ibid., pp. 108-12.

(p. 29) 'Wang was promoted...'

Geremie Barmé, *The Forbidden City*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2008, footnotes to p.16, online at

<https://web.archive.org/web/20140302235012/http://ciw.anu.edu.au/projects/forbidden-city/notes.php?chapter=chapter1>.

(p. 29) 'The Red Guards wanted to destroy the palace completely.'

See Liu Beisi's dramatic reconstruction of events in the *Gugong cangsang*, Forbidden City Publishing House, Beijing, 2004, pp.178-182

(p. 29) 'Red Guards slapped Shan around so viciously...'
Geremie Barmé, *The Forbidden City*, p. 19.

(p. 29) 'Others on the list included some women Party veterans...'
See Wang Youqin, *Victims of the Cultural Revolution*, p. 306. Also see Delia Davin, 'Gendered Mao' in Timothy Cheek (ed.), *A Critical Introduction to Mao*, pp 211-212.

(p. 29) 'Public security forces helpfully pointed Red Guards to their homes.'
Julia Kwong, *Cultural Revolution in China's Schools*, p. 75.

(p. 32) 'The logic given was that if everything was destroyed...'
Denise Y. Ho, *Curating Revolution: Politics on Display in Mao's China*, Cambridge Studies in the History of the People's Republic of China, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2017, p. 233-234.

(p. 32) 'By September 1967...'
ibid., p. 236.

(p. 32) 'The former Beijing deputy mayor endured ...'
Wang Youqin, *Victims of the Cultural Revolution*, p. 282.

(p. 32) 'One professor victimised in the Cultural Revolution later commented...'
Qian Liquan, quoted in Laikwan Pang, *The Art of Cloning*, p. 9.

(p. 32) 'When the 62-year-old feminist author Ding Ling was forced ...'
Li Yong, '*Wenhua dageming zhong de mingrenzhi yu*' (*The imprisonment of famous people in the 'Cultural Revolution'*), Central Nationalities Institute Publishing House, Beijing, 1993, p. 387.

(p. 33) 'At 67, he was chairman of the Beijing Writers' Association ...'
See Wang Youqin, *Victims of the Cultural Revolution: Testimonies of China's Tragedy*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 2023, p. 283.

(p. 33) 'He had once urged other 'gentle people' like himself...'
ibid., pp. 288-289; other sources include 'Lao She: His life, books and tragic death', Facts and Details, updated October 2021, online at <https://factsanddetails.com/china/cat7/sub39/entry-7556.html>.

(p. 33) 'The crematorium workers threw away his ashes.'
Wang Youqin, *Victims of the Cultural Revolution*, p. 286.

(p. 33) 'Nearly 18 percent of 'unnatural deaths' in Beijing alone...'
Yan Fei, "'Turning One's Back on the Party and the People": Suicides during the Chinese Cultural Revolution', *China Journal*, vol. 91, no. 1, 2024, pp. 67–88, <https://doi-org.rp.nla.gov.au/10.1086/729112>.

(p. 34) 'Terrified that they intended to murder him...'
Yang Xianyi, *White Tiger*, p. 230.

(p. 34) 'He became a Chinese citizen in 1957 and in 1964...'
Wang Xueyuan et al., eds, *Senior Foreign Experts in China*, State Administration of Foreign Experts Affairs, Beijing, 2005, pp. 1-9.

(p. 35) 'He had reportedly pointed the Red Guards at Xianyi and Gladys Yang.'
Geremie Barmé, 'In a retro mood: The ethical dilemmas of cutting a deal with Xi Jinping's China', *The China Project*, 15 September, 2023, online at <https://thechinaproject.com/2023/09/15/in-a-retro-mood-the-ethical-dilemmas-of-cutting-a-deal-with-xi-jinpings-china/>.

(p. 35) 'Their monopolising of public transport had economic consequences...'
Edward Lawrence Wheelwright and Bruce McFarlane, 'The Chinese Road to Socialism', p. 113.

(p. 35) 'In one area of southwestern Guangxi province alone, local...'
Yongyi Song, 'Chronology of Mass Killings during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)', *SciencesPo*, 25 August, 2011, online at <https://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance/en/document/chronology-mass-killings-during-chinese-cultural-revolution-1966-1976.html>.

(p. 36) 'Anyone who had been targeted in a previous thought reform or...'
Ian Johnson, *Sparks*, p. 103.

(p. 36) 'As one person put it, 'We starve until our skulls shine through our scalps...'
Quoted in Christian Sorace, 'Metrics of Exceptionality', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 46, no. 3, 2020, p. 564.

(p. 36) 'The discovery of gold and other precious objects...'
Sang Ye and Geremie R Barmé, 'That which cannot be taken away' — Analects', *China Heritage*, 20 February, 2024, online at <https://chinaheritage.net/journal/that-which-cannot-be-taken-away-analects/>.

(p. 38) 'He famously kept some people safe...'
Dick Wilson, *Zhou Enlai: A Biography*, Viking Press, New York, 1984, p. 240.

(p. 38) 'He never broke ranks with Mao, endorsing the Cultural Revolution as a 'fierce and long-term struggle''
Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 239.

(p. 38) '...'we must never – never – pour cold water on the young''
ibid., p. 240.

(p. 38) 'The Red Guards, fed up with his attempts at moderation, called him...'
ibid., p. 249.

(p. 38) 'Still, he suggested that maybe they shouldn't actually kill people.'
ibid., p. 245.

(p. 38) 'When waiters at the Peking Hotel declared that they'd no longer...'
ibid., p. 246.

(p. 39) 'At the same time, Zhou instructed factory managers...'

Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai xuanji, xiajuan*, (*Zhou Enlai's Selected Writings, Vol.2*), People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1984, p. 458.

(p. 39) 'When Lin Biao told Red Guards to go after revisionists...'
Dick Wilson, *Zhou Enlai*, p. 248.

(p. 39) 'In May he promoted him...'
Shen Xiaoyun, 'The Sudden Rise and Fall of Tao Zhu', *Modern China Studies*, no. 2, 2016, p. 122.

(p. 39) 'So when he learned that state media were planning to omit Liu...'
See Quan Yanchi, *Tao Zhu zai 'Wenhua Dagemingzhong*, Central Party School Publishing House, Beijing, 1991, pp. 155-157.

(p. 39) 'Later that month at a Party meeting, Mao acknowledged that the Great...'
Translated in Stuart R. Schram, ed., *Mao Tse-tung Unrehearsed: Talks and Letters 1956-1971*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1974, pp. 270-274, reprinted in Michael Schoenhals, *China's Cultural Revolution 1966-69: Not a Dinner Party*, Taylor & Francis Group, 1996, pp. 5-9, ProQuest Ebook.

(p. 40) 'These included "distrusting the masses" in his handling...'
Quoted in Lowell Dittmer, *Liu Shaoqi and the Chinese Cultural Revolution*, Routledge, United Kingdom, 2015, p. 67.

(p. 40) 'Mao conceded that however grievous...'
Yongyi Song, 'Chronology of Mass Killings during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)'

(p. 40) 'People should be allowed to make some mistakes.'
Lowell Dittmer, *Liu Shaoqi and the Chinese Cultural Revolution*, p. 83.

(p. 40) 'Liu made a nervous, morose figure at subsequent official events...'
ibid., p. 82.

(p. 40) 'Qi Benyu said the idea of 'all-out civil war' took everybody by surprise...'
Qi Benyu, 戚本禹回忆录 (*Memoirs of Qi Benyu*), 2016, online at <https://www.marxists.org/chinese/reference-books/qibenyu/3-17.htm>.

PART THREE

(p. 41) 'In an orgy of violence...'
Tania Branigan, *Red Memory*, p. 100.

(p. 42) 'Besides, if Mao Zedong Thought was an "invincible ideological weapon"...'
Yu Luo, 'On Family Background: the creation of a caste system in Maoist China', *Contemporary Chinese Thought*, vol. 32, no. 4, 2001, p. 35, original online at <https://www.marxists.org/chinese/reference-books/minjian-1966-1976/05.htm>

(p. 42) 'Popularly produced publications were not unusual in that era...'

Nicolai Volland, “‘Liberating the Small Devils’”: Red Guard Newspapers and Radical Publics, 1966–1968’, *The China Quarterly*, vol. 246, 2021, pp. 354-373, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741021000424>.

(p. 42) ‘So many people wrote grateful letters to Yu in response...’
Ian Johnson, *Sparks*, p. 186.

(p. 44) ‘One Red Guard publication proclaimed that radicals everywhere...’
David Milton and Nancy Milton, *The Wind Will Not Subside: Years in Revolutionary China, 1964-1969*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1976, pp. 196-197.

(p. 44) ‘He recalled Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan to the capital...’
ibid.

(p. 45) ‘In the street battles of 1966, Red Guard factions had mostly used...’
Yongyi Song, ‘Chronology of Mass Killings during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)’.

(p. 45) ‘In early 1967, radical workers at the leadership compound...’
Geremie Barmé, *The Forbidden City*, p.166.

(p. 45) ‘In January, Red Guards unfurled 15-metre banners around...’
Dick Wilson, *Zhou Enlai*, pp. 244-250.

(p. 45) ‘This proved a step too far – a ‘counter-revolutionary act’ according...’
ibid., p. 250.

(p. 46) ‘In all, some two million leading cadres would be subjected...’
See Jonathan Spence, *Mao Zedong: A Life*, Penguin, New York, 2006, pp. 162-163.

(p. 47) ‘Mao and Zhou both ordered her to go.’
Andrew G Walder, *Fractured Rebellion: The Beijing Red Guard Movement*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2009, p. 231.

(p. 47) ‘Jiang Qing told the Red Guards to dress her like that...’
See Delia Davin, ‘Gendered Mao’, in *A Critical Introduction to Mao*, ed. Timothy Cheek, p. 213.

(p. 47) ‘In the early 1970s, she would pose for her American biographer...’
Li Zhisui, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao*, p. 143.

(p. 47) ‘One day he heard a colleague being interrogated and beaten...’
Yang Xianyi, *White Tiger*, pp. 230-231.

(p. 47-48) ‘Young people performed flash-mob-style “Loyalty Dances”...’
你不打他就不倒 lyrics and music in *Hongweibing shilu (Facts about Red Guards)*, ed. Li Jinwei, Hong Kong World Overseas Chinese Society, 1967, p. 96.

(p. 48) ‘It is because our Party and people have a helmsman of such genius...’
The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, vol. 17, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1966, p. 17.

(p. 48) 'Bethune had inspired Mao's essay "Serve the People"...'
See Brendan Ross and Rolando F Del Maestro, 'From Canadian Surgeon to Chinese Martyr: Dr. Norman Bethune and the Making of a Medical Folk Hero', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, vol. 79, no. 3, 2023, p. 4, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhmas/jrad053>.

(p. 48) 'Thinking of the wasted metal, Mao is said to have remarked...'
Tania Branigan, *Red Memory*, p. 176

(p. 48) 'By June 1966 they represented "basically the whole..."
Daniel Leese, 'A Single Spark', p. 36.

(p. 48) 'By the end of 1967, China's publishing houses had printed some 350 million...'
See Laikwan Pang, *The Art of Cloning*, p. 62 and Michael Schoenhals, *China's Cultural Revolution 1966-69: Not a Dinner Party*, p. 368.

(p. 49) 'These, along with his collected poems, a set of...'
Laikwan Pang, *The Art of Cloning*, p. 62.

(p. 49) 'Royalties made Mao the richest person in China.'
See David Bandurski, 'In an Era of Laws, Who has a Rightful Claim to Mao's Millions?', *China Media Project*, 13 December, 2007, online at <https://chinamediaproject.org/2007/12/13/a-conversation-in-china-in-an-era-of-laws-who-has-a-rightful-claim-to-maos-millions/>.

(p. 49) 'By the end of May, the arias from Jiang Qing's revolutionary model operas...'
Sheila Melvin and Jindong Cai, 'Why This Nostalgia for Fruits of Chaos?', *The New York Times*, 29 October, 2000, online at <https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/29/arts/why-this-nostalgia-for-fruits-of-chaos.html?>.

(p. 49) 'In Tibet, where the traditional sign of respect was to touch...'
Laikwan Pang, *The Art of Cloning*, p. 199.

(p. 49) 'In January 1967, in the city of Shihezi...'
Yongyi Song, 'Chronology of Mass Killings during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)'.

(p. 50) 'On the morning of 23 February, soldiers stormed the...'
See *Wenge zhenxiangzhi Qinghai 8.18 qunzhong bei tusha shijian* 文革真相之青海 8.18 群众被屠杀事件 <https://difangwenge.org/forum.php?mod=viewthread&tid=16471>

(p. 51) 'Local officials held meetings beforehand to discuss tactics...'
Yang Su, *Collective Killings in Rural China During the Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011, p. 65.

(p. 51) 'The local authorities awarded him 55 yuan...'
ibid., pp. 151-152.

(p. 51) 'Academics estimate that between 500,000 and 2 million...'
ibid., p. 37.

(p. 51) 'Guangdong and Guangxi provinces were among the worst...'

ibid., p. 69 and Yan Fei, “Turning One’s Back on the Party and the People”: Suicides during the Chinese Cultural Revolution’, *China Journal*, vol. 91, no. 1, 2024, pp. 67–88, <https://doi-org.rp.nla.gov.au/10.1086/729112>.

(p. 51) ‘Official media continued to issue mixed signals, admonishing...’
Julia Kwong, *Cultural Revolution in China’s Schools*, 1988.

(p. 51) ‘In Chongqing, where the PLA supported the local government...’
Thomas Jay Mathews, ‘The Cultural Revolution in Szechwan’ in *The Cultural Revolution in the Provinces*, ed. Ezra Vogel, Harvard University Asia Centre, Cambridge, 1971, p. 101.

(p. 51) ‘More than 10,000 people fled the city for the hinterland.’
Tania Branigan, *Red Memory*, p. 118.

(p. 52) ‘One battle reduced the city of Wuzhou to rubble...’
Michael Schoenhals, *China’s Cultural Revolution 1966-69: Not a Dinner Party*, p. 369.

(p. 52) ‘The fighting was disrupting freight and transport as...’
Robert Michael Field, ‘The Performance of Industry during the Cultural Revolution: Second Thoughts’, *The China Quarterly*, vol. 108, 1986, p. 627, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/653532>.

(p. 52) ‘He also wanted to go to Wuhan for another swim in the Yangtze.’
See ‘毛泽东 1967 年在武汉的一次遇险经历’, 13 June, 2014, accessed via the official Party news site <http://dangshi.people.com.cn/n/2014/0613/c85037-25145686.html> 人民网-中国共产党新闻网

(p. 53) ‘The other was Wang Li...’
Sources for this section include: Thomas W. Robinson, ‘The Wuhan Incident: Local Strife and Provincial Rebellion during the Cultural Revolution.’ *The China Quarterly*, no. 47, 1971, pp. 413–38, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/652320>; ‘Mao Zedong 1967 nian zai Wuhan de yici yuxian jingli’ (A dangerous experience Mao had in Wuhan in 1967), *Communist Party of China News*, online at <http://dangshi.people.com.cn/n/2014/0613/c85037-25145686.html>; He Ping, ed., *Mao Zedong Da Cidian*, China International Broadcasting Publishing House, Beijing, 1992, p. 211; and Gai Wenshou, ‘Zhuangfang huigu: kaiguo shangjiang Chen Zaidao weishenme shuo renhe sixin doushi kechide?’ (Interview [with Chen Zaidao’s daughter Chen Jiangping]: ‘Why did PRC founding general Chen Zaidao say that all selfishness is shameful?’), *Red Boat*, 6 June 2019, online at https://www.sohu.com/a/627536653_120123885.

(p. 53) ‘Mao reassured Chen that he wasn’t in too much trouble...’
He Ping, ed., *Mao Zedong Da Cidian*, p. 211.

(p. 54) ‘The night of Mao’s escape, the Million Heroes viciously beat...’
Thomas W. Robinson, ‘The Wuhan Incident’, p. 425, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/652320>.

(p. 54) ‘Although Mao continued to insist Chen was a...’
See Chen Jian, *Zhou Enlai*, pp 576-77.

(p. 54) ‘On 26 July, Cultural Revolution Group member Qi Benyu...’
William Hinton, *Hundred Day War; the Cultural Revolution at Tsinghua University*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1972, pp. 120-122.

(p. 55) 'Before they could do so, Kuai and his allies hand-copied everything...'
ibid., pp. 126-127.

(p. 56) 'In all, the trouble in Wuhan cost thousands of lives.'
Yongyi Song, 'Chronology of Mass Killings during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)'.

(p. 56) 'Zhou Enlai's 'Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence', the...'
James Ross Corcoran, *The Jingju-Wayang encounter: China and Indonesia during the Cultural Revolution and the Gestapu Coup and Countercoup*, (PhD diss., University of Hawai'i, 2005), p.123, online at <https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/fec08a55-cd84-4a25-a4c3-5347d62a785b/content>.

(p. 56) 'Radicals pressured Zhou to recall China's diplomats and transform...'
Ibid., p.116.

(p. 56) 'Red Guards took over diplomatic posts, even sparking a Red Guard...'
ibid., p. 119.

(p. 56) 'After the military government there clamped down on the movement...'
Edward E Rice, *Mao's Way*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1972, p. 375.

(p. 56) 'In the northeastern port of Dalian, they beat up...'
James Ross Corcoran, *The Jingju-Wayang Encounter*, p. 376.

(p. 56-57) 'With the happy air of summer picnickers, they were...'
David Milton and Nancy Dall Milton, *The Wind Will Not Subside*, p. 271.

(p. 57) 'Not for calming, local Maoists planted over a thousand...'
Chen Jian, *Zhou Enlai*, p. 580.

(p. 57) 'China's official media falsely claimed hundreds had been wounded...'
ibid., p. 579.

(p. 57) 'They killed his cat and forced him to endure the 'jet plane' position...'
Edward E Rice, *Mao's Way*, p. 376.

(p. 58) 'On 20 August, the radicals now running the Foreign Ministry...'
Sir John Weston, 'Sir John Weston', interview by Liz Cox, *British Diplomatic Oral History Project*, 13 June, 2001, online at https://issuu.com/fcohistorians/docs/the_burning_of_the_british_office_in_beijing.

(p. 58) 'Planning the attack on the building, she ordered anyone who could...'
William Hinton, *Hundred Day War*, pp.132-133.

(p. 58) 'Those in the chancery passed the time eating tinned sausages...'
Sir John Weston, 'Sir John Weston', interview by Liz Cox. Also see 'The Burning of the British Office in Peking', *Occasional Paper No. 19*, Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office, 2024.

(p. 59) 'Female Red Guards grabbed male diplomats by the crotch...'

Edward E Rice, *Mao's Way*, p. 378.

(p. 59) 'The People's Liberation Army soldiers assigned to guard the mission...'
Raymond Whitaker and David Osborne, 'Peking embassy siege veterans recall the Red Guards' summer of hate', *Independent*, 17 August, 1977, online at <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/peking-embassy-siege-veterans-recall-the-red-guards-summer-of-hate-1245933.html>. Also William Hinton, *Hundred Day War* p. 134.

(p. 59) 'The Party later described the incident as a spontaneous...'
Letter from Percy Cradock to John Denson, 29 August 1967, in 'The Burning of the British Office in Peking', *Occasional Paper No. 19*, Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office, 2024, online at https://issuu.com/fcohistorians/docs/the_burning_of_the_british_office_in_beijing.

(p. 59) 'He declared Wang Li and several other members of the Cultural...'
Frank Dikotter, *The Cultural Revolution: A People's History 1962-1976*, p. 162.

(p. 59) 'The crackdown would ultimately lead to the arrest of some...'
Michael Schoenhals, *China's Cultural Revolution 1966-69: Not a Dinner Party*, p. 367.

(p. 60) 'By September 1967, only nine out of twenty-nine provinces...'
James Chieh Hsiung, *Ideology and Practice; the Evolution of Chinese Communism*, Praeger University Series, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1970, p. 232.

(p. 60) 'Regardless, the following month, Mao declared that 'the situation...'
Translation from Michael Schoenhals, *China's Cultural Revolution 1966-69: Not a Dinner Party*, p. 367.

(p. 60) 'In the year since Mao's birthday toast to 'civil war', hundreds of thousands...'
Various sources quoted in Yongyi Song, 'Chronology of Mass Killings during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)'.

(p. 61) 'The singer Hajab, the son of a humble herding family with an extraordinary...'
Chinese name 哈扎布. His story is the subject of the 2012 film *Hajab's Gift*, directed by Chen Liming (and subtitled by the author). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8INvhkwBigI>

(p. 61) 'Other Mongolians fought them in deadly battles in some rural areas...'
See David Sneath, 'The Impact of the Cultural Revolution in China on the Mongolians of Inner Mongolia', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 28, no. 2, 1994, p. 415, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/312893>.

(p. 61) 'By late November, the Inner Mongolian Revolutionary Committee...'
ibid., p. 219.

(p. 61) 'Among his many alleged crimes was an imaginary plot by Mongolian women...'
ibid., p. 419.

(p. 61) 'As was typical throughout the Cultural Revolution, the...'
The ancient Chinese classic *Zuo Zhuan* described this notion as well with the phrase 欲加之罪 · 何患无辞.

(p. 61) 'From September 1967 to March 1969, more than 2,000 struggle sessions...'
David Sneath, 'The Impact of the Cultural Revolution in China on the Mongolians of Inner Mongolia', p. 420-421.

(p. 62) 'On 18 March, Israel Epstein, who had joined the rebels...'
Israel Epstein, *My China Eye: Memoirs of a Jew and a Journalist*, Long River Press, California, 2005, p. 299.

(p. 62) 'Solitary confinement nonetheless took a toll on her mental health.'
Yang Xianyi, *White Tiger*, pp. 237-243.

(p. 63) 'More than 30 million people became targets, and between 500,000...'
Sources include Wang Youqin, *Victims of the Cultural Revolution*, p. 60 and Yongyi Song, 'Chronology of Mass Killings during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)'.

(p. 63) 'In at least 400 documented instances mobs...'
See Yongyi Song, 'Chronology of Mass Killings during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)'.

(p. 63) 'That's class struggle, he said.'
The researcher was Zheng Yi. See Yang Su, *Collective Killings in Rural China During the Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011, p. 152.

(p. 63) 'In one county, over just eleven days, local public security officers and militias...'
See Yongyi Song, 'Chronology of Mass Killings during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)'.

(p. 63) 'Both sides dug tunnels under the campus and dynamited those excavated...'
William Hinton, *Hundred Day War*, p. 163.

(p. 64) 'It took three days, and more deaths, before the radicals finally...'
This chronology from Andrew G Walder, *Fractured Rebellion: The Beijing Red Guard Movement*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 282-283.

(p. 64) 'He faced a frosty reception.'
Alessandro Russo, *Cultural Revolution and Revolutionary Culture*, Duke University Press, Durham, 2020, p. 210.

(p. 64) 'He addressed them in a comradely tone, however, and scolded...'
See *ibid.*, pp. 207-212.

(p. 64) 'Kuai's followers decamped to other campuses with most of their weapons...'
The list of weapons left behind comes from Jaap van Ginneken, *The Rise and Fall of Lin Biao*, Avon Books, New York, 1977, p. 163. The account of the 100 Day War comes from multiple sources including William Hinton, *Hundred Day War*.

(p. 65) 'restraint, moderation and unity'
Julia Kwong, *Cultural Revolution in China's Schools, May 1966-April 1969*, p. 117.

(p. 65) '...the Party declared that anyone who kept fighting was...'

ibid., p. 137.

(p. 65) 'From now on, workers were to 'exercise leadership in everything'.
Xiaowei Zheng, 'Qinghua University and Chinese politics during the Cultural Revolution', in *Mao's Golden Mangoes and the Cultural Revolution*, eds. Alfreda Murck, Yang Li and Ying Zhuang, Scheidegger & Spiess, Zurich, 2013, p. 33.

(p. 66) 'The workers stayed up all night in their excitement, gazing at and touching...'
Alfreda Murck, 'Catalog of the Alfreda Murck Collection at the Museum Rietberg Zürich' in *Mao's Golden Mangoes and the Cultural Revolution*, p. 120.

(p. 66) 'Workers marched behind a banner that read 'The Working Class...'
Ibid, p.9.

(p. 67) 'In 1968, the Party began to ship public servants, educators and others to rural...'
The name May 7 most likely refers to a directive Mao sent to Lin Biao on 7 May 1966 regarding greater integration of the military with the lives of workers and soldiers. It's also possible it refers to the first of the schools established on 7 May 1968.

(p. 67) '...wasteland into fields and built dormitories and factories on their own...'
'The "May 7" Cadre School', *Peking Review*, pp. 5-7, online at
<https://www.marxists.org/subject/china/peking-review/1972/PR1972-19a.htm>.

(p. 67) 'She was chastened to see how the peasants scavenged in the fields...'
Yang Jiang, *A Cadre School Life: Six Chapters*, trans. Geremie Barmé, Joint Publishing Co., Hong Kong, 1982.

(pp. 67-68) 'Once, bending with great anticipation to pull up a carefully-tended...'
ibid., p. 42.

(p. 68) '*The People's Daily* had editorialised at the time that Soviet 'social...'
See Chen Jian, *Zhou Enlai*, p. 587.

(p. 68) 'It placed the PLA, including its own nascent nuclear forces...'
David Bonavia, *Seeing Red: Personal Encounters with Communism*, George G.Harrap & Co., London, 1987, p. 45.

(p. 68) 'Although they timed their attendance to avoid meeting up...'
Dick Wilson, *Zhou Enlai*, p. 270.

(p. 69) 'There were fewer officials...'
Jaap van Ginneken, *The Rise and Fall of Lin Piao*, p.171.

(p. 69) 'Industrial and agricultural production began to recover.'
See Chen Jian, *Zhou Enlai*, p. 595.

(p. 69) 'On 12 June 1969, on Mao's instructions...'
He Ping, ed., *Mao Zedong Da Cidian*, p. 218.

(p. 69) 'The worship, in his view, had become excessive.'

Quoted in Daniel Leese, 'Mao the Man and Mao the Icon', p. 235.

(p. 69) 'The Communist Party nonetheless carved out parts of Inner Mongolia...'
W. Woody, 'The Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia: Extracts from an Unpublished History',
ed. and trans. Michael Schoenhals, *Center for Pacific Asia Studies at Stockholm University*,
Occasional Paper 20, December 1993, pp. iv-vi.

PART FOUR

(p. 71) 'Over the next two years, this campaign would cost some 200,000...'
Yongyi Song, 'Chronology of Mass Killings during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)'.

(p. 71) 'About one in eight Chinese people...'
Jian Guo, Yongyi Song and Yuan Zhou, *Historical Dictionary of the Chinese Cultural Revolution*,
The Scarecrow Press, Lanham, 2006, quoted in Yongyi Song, 'Chronology of Mass Killings
during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)'.

(p. 71) 'A third major campaign, this one aimed at an alleged '16 May...'
Wang Youqin, *Victims of the Cultural Revolution*, p. 533.

(p. 71) 'Lin Biao and the radical theorist Chen Boda vociferously disagreed...'
See 王年一、何蜀：〈重议 1970 年的庐山会议及毛泽东、林彪冲突之起源——在“设国家主席”之争的背后〉,原载美
国《当代中国研究》第 2001 年第 1 期.

(p. 72) 'Mao, whose Thought he'd described as a 'spiritual atom bomb of infinite...'
Lin Biao, 'Foreword to the Second Edition of Quotations of Chairman Mao Tse-tung', *Quotations
of Chairman Mao Tse-tung (Second Edition)*, 16 December, 1966, translation online at
<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/lin-biao/1966/12/16.htm>.

(p. 72) 'When Mao was shown that order in writing he was so angry he burnt it.'
Chen Jian, *Zhou Enlai*, p. 597.

(p. 73) 'The last type, he said, couldn't be trusted.'
ibid.

(p. 73) 'Snow concluded his report for Life Magazine with an anecdote...'
Edgar Snow, 'A Conversation with Mao Tse-Tung', *Life Magazine*, 30 April, 1971, online
<https://www.nixonfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/LIFE-Magazine-April-30-1971.pdf>.

(p. 73) 'One day in September 1971, Israel Epstein was sitting out his third year...'
Israel Epstein, *My China Eye*, p. 307.

(p. 73) 'Around the country, the top commanders of China's ten major military...'
Yao Ming-le, *The Conspiracy and Death of Lin Biao*, ed. Stanley Karnow, 1st ed., A.A. Knopf,
New York, 1983, p. 3.

(p. 73) 'They passed the days watching films, including Patton, and listened...'

Jiaqi Yan and Gao Gao, *Turbulent Decade: A History of the Cultural Revolution* (trans. and ed. Kwok D. W. Y.), University of Hawai'i Press, for the School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Hawai'i, 1996, pp. 330-331.

(p. 74) 'Lin Liguó's sister alerted the leadership, reportedly accusing her mother...'
Li Zhisui, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao*, p. 535

(p. 75) 'Within a year he would suffer non-fatal congestive heart failure.'
See, among other sources, Jonathan Spence, *Mao Zedong*, p. 172.

(p. 75) 'Wang Shuhua, the radical Ming Tombs tour guide who had led the...'
Geremie Barmé, *The Forbidden City*, footnotes to p.16 online at
<https://web.archive.org/web/20140302235012/http://ciw.anu.edu.au/projects/theforbiddencity/notes.php?chapter=chapter1>.

(p. 75) 'At the start of the Cultural Revolution she'd been so ardent a supporter...'
Geremie Barmé, 'The Trouble with Dai Qing', *Index on Censorship* 21.8, 1992, online at
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/03064229208535410>.

(p. 76) 'The death of Lin Biao, who had opposed rapprochement with the United States...'
I am grateful to Philip Short for pointing out that there is mounting evidence against this interpretation, and referring me to Li Chenghong, 'Re-Examining Lin Biao's Role in Sino-U.S. Initial Rapprochement', *American Journal of Chinese Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2010, pp. 119–30,
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/44288931>.

(p. 76) 'President Nixon, meanwhile, was impressed by a positive report on...'
See Clay Risen, 'Ross Terrill, Insightful Expert on Communist China, is Dead at 85', *New York Times*, 9 August 2024, online at <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/books/ross-terrill-dead.html>.

(p. 76) 'People are just like us. They are real, they're genuine, they got feeling...'
UPI, '1971 year in Review: Foreign Policy: Red China and Russia', *UPI*, 1971, online at
https://web.archive.org/web/20130722092254/http://www.upi.com/Audio/Year_in_Review/Events-of-1971/Foreign-Policy:-Red-China-and-Russia/12295509436546-4/.

(p. 77) 'This was not a backflip on the part of the Chinese leadership...'
Nien Cheng, *Life and Death in Shanghai*, Grove Press, New York, 2010, p. 307.

(p. 78) 'Mao, despite a serious recent health scare, insisted on meeting Nixon...'
New York Times, 'Nixon Asserts That Western Rightists Pleas'd Mao', *The New York Times*, 1978, available online at <https://www.nytimes.com/1978/05/02/archives/nixon-asserts-that-western-rightists-pleas'd-mao-secret-kissinger.html>.

(p. 78) 'She bemused them with her answer...'
Roxane Witke, *Comrade Chiang Ch'ing*, p. 379.

(p. 78) 'On the last day in Beijing, they toured the Forbidden City...'
Specialist and other English-language publications in Hong Kong... conducted close reading of the mainland press and Party documents and gathered intelligence from mainland refugees conveyed a fairly good sense of what was happening in China. Why more people didn't pay attention is another question.

(p. 79) 'Even the English was too much for the conservative American commentator...'
William F Buckley Jr, 'Vini, Vidi, Victus', *National Review*, 17 March 1972, reprinted online
<https://www.nationalreview.com/2018/02/william-f-buckley-jr-nixon-trip-to-china/>.

(p. 79) 'Yang Xianyi, released first, returned to a dusty apartment...'
Yang Xianyi, *White Tiger*, p. 255.

(p. 79) 'The first thing Luo did, confounding his daughter...'
Jin Qiu, *The Culture of Power: The Lin Biao Incident in the Cultural Revolution*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1999, p. 207.

(p. 80) 'The premier chided a PLA cultural troupe in Guangzhou whose...'
Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai xuanji, xiajuan*, pp. 471-472.

(p. 80) 'One officially lauded show from Xinjiang bore the scintillating title...'
Paul Clark, *The Chinese Cultural Revolution: A History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, p. 105.

(p. 80) 'Jiang Qing was vexed by the directions some of this unfettered creativity...'
Jiang Qing quoted in Andrew F Jones, 'Quotation Songs: Portable media and the Maoist pop song', in Alexander C. Cook, ed., *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History*, p. 43.

(p. 81) 'There was no point competing with 'bookworms who have...'
Translated in Alex Colville, 'The anti-intellectual who tested into college as a 'blank exam hero'', *The China Project*, 7 June, 2021, <https://thechinaproject.com/2021/06/07/the-anti-intellectual-who-tested-into-college-as-a-blank-exam-hero/>.

(p. 81) 'Chung Kuo screened publicly in China for the first time in 2004, to acclaim.'
See Maria Sidiropoulou, 'When Mao Censored Antonioni', *Solomon*, 17 April 2019, online at
<https://wearesolomon.com/mag/focus-area/society/when-mao-censored-antonioni/>

(p. 81) 'Stylish New Yorkers snapped up 'Chairman Mao jackets' imported...'
See Elizabeth O'Brien Ingleson, *Made in China: When US-China Interests Converged to Transform Global Trade*, Harvard University Press, Oxford, 2024.

(p. 82) 'Increased trade, especially the export of Chinese oil and textiles, gave...'
ibid., p. 115.

(p. 82) 'Mao let this go on for a while before eventually bringing the episode...'
See Chen Jian, *Zhou Enlai*, pp. 667-669.

(p. 83) 'Russian novels including Ethel Lilian Voynich's *The Gadfly* were highly...'
Laikwan Pang, *The Art of Cloning*, p. 2.

(p. 83) 'Poetry was enormously popular, from the ancient *Book of Songs* to translations...'
Maghiel van Crevel, 'Underground Poetry in the 1960s and 1970s', *Modern Chinese Literature*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1996, pp. 169-219, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41490758>.

(p. 83) 'When my purple grapes have turned into deep autumn dew...'
trans. by the author

(p. 84) 'Jiang Qing focused on Confucius's views...'
See Delia Davin, 'Gendered Mao' in Timothy Cheek (ed), *A Critical Introduction to Mao*, Cambridge University Press, 2010. p. 213.

(p. 84) 'At a meeting with Kissinger held around this time, Mao jokingly offered...'
'Memorandum of Conversation between Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Henry Kissinger', *Wilson Center Digital Archive*, 17 February 1973, online at <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/memorandum-conversation-between-mao-zedong-zhou-enlai-and-henry-kissinger>.

(p. 85) 'They also 'launched an offensive against male chauvinism' at the store...'
Jaap van Ginneken, *The Rise and Fall of Lin Biao*, pp. 307-308.

(p. 85) 'The Australian sinologist Geremie Barmé, who was studying at...'
Geremie Barmé, 'Something in the Air: Watching China Watching (XXV)', *China Heritage*, 8 June 2018, online at <https://chinaheritage.net/journal/something-in-the-air/>.

(p. 86) 'Some women widowed by the violence revived an ancient form of protest...'
The essential source for this section is Sebastian Heilmann, 'Turning Away from the Cultural Revolution: Political Grass-Roots Activism in the Mid-Seventies', *Center for Pacific Asia Studies at Stockholm University*, Occasional Paper 28, September 1996, p. 16.

(p. 86) 'Eventually he had to be transferred to another province to avoid his accusers.'
Ibid., p. 16.

(p. 86) 'But the rustication policy remained in place.'
Ibid., p. 7.

(p. 87) 'The authors sent the essay to the Party Centre in Beijing...'
See Kjeld Erik Brodsgaard, 'The Democracy Movement in China, 1978-1979: Opposition Movements, Wall Poster Campaigns, and Underground Journals', *Eastern Survey*, vol. 21, no. 7, 1981, pp. 747-74, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2643619>.

(p. 87) 'The Cultural Revolution would soon end, he said, but there'd no doubt be...'
Chen Jian, *Zhou Enlai*, p. 679.

(p. 88) 'With Mao's approval, Deng Xiaoping, then PLA Chief of Staff...'
Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, p. 388.

(p. 88) 'In May, he chastised Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan...'
He Ping, ed., *Mao Zedong Da Cidian*, p. 226.

(p. 89) 'The Harvard scholar Roderick MacFarquhar likened him to 'a superb horseman...'
Dick Wilson, *Zhou Enlai*, p. 253.

(p. 89) 'The sinologist Pierre Ryckmans (pen name Simon Leys) called him...'
Simon Leys, *The Burning Forest*, Paladin Grafton Books, London, 1985, pp. 148-152.

(p. 89) 'After that Deng attended Politburo meetings grudgingly.'
See Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, pp. 416-417.

(p. 89) 'After the Shanghai Wenhui Daily, a newspaper aligned with the...'
Hsin Chi, *The Rise and Fall of the "Gang of Four" (Some Questions and Answers)* (trans. from *The Seventies Magazine*), Books New China, Inc., New York, 1977, p. 8.

(p. 89) 'In my grief I hear demons shriek...'
Translated in Richard Curt Kraus, *The Tiananmen Poems', Brushes with Power: Modern Politics and the Chinese Art of Calligraphy*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1991, pp 132-135.

(p. 90) 'With Mao's blessing, militias aligned with the Gang of Four pushed onto...'
See Chen Jian, *Zhou Enlai*, p. 3.

(p. 90) 'Similar scenes around the country are believed to have resulted...'
Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, p. 431.

(p. 90) Jiang Qing was reportedly irritated by how the earthquake and relief work...'
Hsin Chi, *The Rise and Fall of the "Gang of Four"*, p. 25.

(p. 91) 'Hua Guofeng heard that she and her allies were plotting a coup.'
Li Zhisui, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao*, p. 629.

PART FIVE

(p. 93) 'What will happen to the next generation if it all fails? There...'
Quoted in Jonathan Spence, *Mao Zedong*, , p. 178.

(p. 93) 'He loosened the Party's ideological grip on culture and education...'
See Hao Li-Ogawa 'Hua Guofeng and China's transformation in the early years of the post-Mao era', *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2022, pp. 124-142, online at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/24761028.2022.2035051>.

(p. 94) 'Most Cultural Revolution radicals paid little or no price for their actions.'
Tsering Woenser and Robert Barnett, 'Tibet's Cultural Revolution', *China Books Review*, 25 April 2024, online at <https://chinabooksreview.com/2024/04/25/tibets-cultural-revolution/>.

(p. 94) 'Although Hua Guofeng conceded that the 'New Inner Mongolian People's...'
W. Woody, 'The Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia', pp. iv-vi.

(p. 96) 'Some years after his release he founded an agritech company...'
See Chris Buckley, 'Zhang Tiesheng: From Hero Under Mao to "Hero of Wealth"', *The New York Times*, 18 August 2014, online at <https://archive.nytimes.com/sinosphere.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/08/18/zhang-tiesheng-from-hero-under-mao-to-hero-of-wealth/>.

(p. 97) 'That poster brought me tremendous fame and prominence,' she later...'
Chris Buckley, 'Nie Yuanzi, Whose Poster Fanned the Cultural Revolution, Dies at 98', *The New York Times*, 3 September 2019, online at <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/03/world/asia/nie-yuanzi-dead.html>.

(p. 97) 'It portrayed a love story between two victims of the Cultural...'

See *Hibiscus Town* trailer, DionysusCinema, 'Hibiscus Town 芙蓉鎮 [Fu Rong Zhen] (1986) Trailer', posted 18 May 2013, Youtube, 3 min., 57 sec. in, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LYVb5Ae8hKc>.

(p. 98) 'He proposed building a Cultural Revolution Museum that would...'
Ba Jin, in Geremie Barmé and John Minford (trans. and ed.), *Seeds of Fire: Chinese Voices of Conscience*, Hill and Wang, New York, 2nd edition, 1988, pp. 381-384.

(p. 98) 'Despite efforts to preserve cemeteries such as one in Chongqing where...'
Tania Branigan, *Red Memory*, p. 119; on obliteration of sites, see Jun Mai and Oliver Chou, 'Cultural Revolution, 50 Years On: The pain, passion and power struggle that shaped China today', *South China Morning Post*, <https://multimedia.scmp.com/cultural-revolution/>.

(p. 99) 'Living in and out of mental institutions, he would go on to win...'
Quoted in Wu, J, 'How the caged bird sings: Educational background and poetic identity of China's obscure poets' (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2021), p. 64, online at <https://scholarlypublications.universiteitleiden.nl/handle/1887/139042>.

(p. 99) 'Some 730,000 people had been permanently disabled...'
Yongyi Song, 'Chronology of Mass Killings during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)'

(p. 99) 'In the end, however...'
Dai Houying, in Geremie Barmé and John Minford (trans. and ed.), *Seeds of Fire*, pp. 157-160.

(p. 100) 'These campaigns were widely unpopular, except insofar as they...'
For an in-depth analysis of the nature of political campaigns in the post-Mao era, see Elizabeth J. Perry, 'From Mass Campaigns to Managed Campaigns: "Constructing a New Socialist Countryside"' in Sebastian Heilmann and Elizabeth J. Perry (ed.), *Mao's Invisible Hand: the Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China*, Harvard University Asia Center, 2011, pp. 30-61.

(p. 100) 'And yet, as Dai Qing has written, unlike the Red Guards...'
Dai Qing, 《我的四个父亲》 (*My Four Fathers*) Ming Bao Publishing House, 1995, p. 82, trans. by the author.

(p. 100) 'One was Chen Zaidao, the former head of Wuhan's Million Heroes...'
A. Scobell, 'Why the People's Army Fired on the People: The Chinese Military and Tiananmen', *Armed Forces & Society*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1992, pp. 193-213.

(p. 101) 'Lois Wheeler Snow, who had once shared her late husband Edgar Snow's...'
See Amy Qin, 'Lois Wheeler Snow, Critic of Human Rights Abuses in China, Dies at 97', *The New York Times*, 11 April 2018, online at <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/11/obituaries/lois-wheeler-snow-dies.html>.

(p. 101) 'The 'bewildering complexity and almost unfathomable brutality' of...'
Tom Phillips, 'The Cultural Revolution: all you need to know about China's political convulsion', *Guardian*, 11 May 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/11/the-cultural-revolution-50-years-on-all-you-need-to-know-about-chinas-political-convulsion>.

(pp. 101-102) 'Some chose to forget, as if...'
Ian Johnson, *Sparks*.

(p. 102) 'When an ethnic Chinese librarian from the United States bought some Red...'
Yang Su, *Collective Killings in Rural China During the Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011, p. 73.

(p. 102) 'The popular understanding of Cultural Revolution history gradually became...'
See Tania Branigan, *Red Memory*.

(p. 103) 'One independent Chinese commentator noted at the time that such...'
Li Chengping, 'When It All Comes Down To It, China Has No Real "New Year"' (trans. Geremie Barmé), *ChinaFile*, 21 February, 2024, online at <https://www.chinafile.com/reporting-opinion/viewpoint/when-it-all-comes-down-it-china-has-no-real-new-year>. Also see Yuri Momoi, 'Chinese mark Mao's birthday with Cultural Revolution-era chants', *Nikkei Asia*, 27 December 2023, online at <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/Chinese-mark-Mao-s-birthday-with-Cultural-Revolution-era-chants>.

(p. 103) 'In 2024, the *Collected Works of Mao Zedong* hit the bestseller lists.'
See Wang Qingmin, 'China idol: Mao Zedong makes a comeback among Chinese youth', *Think China*, 23 August 2021, online at <https://www.thinkchina.sg/society/china-idol-mao-zedong-makes-comeback-among-chinese-youth>.

(p. 104) 'Wang Youqin, a former classmate of the controversial former Red Guard...'
See Wang Youqin, *Victims of the Cultural Revolution*.

(p. 104) 'In an apparent dig at Xi Jinping, a Party...'
Translated in Ian Johnson, *Sparks*, p. 187.

(p. 104) 'The teacher had been beaten, humiliated and sacked.'
Neale Hunter, *Shanghai Journal*, pp. 14-15.

(p. 105) 'Two years later she visited the school, bowed before the bust and acknowledged...'
That same year, 2014, the Party quietly inserted Lin Biao's portrait in the line-up of the army's founding Ten Marshals at Beijing's Military Museum.

(p. 105) 'His sole regret was that he still hadn't seen the 'dawn of...'
Chris Buckley, 'Qi Benyu, Mao Aide Unrepentant About Cultural Revolution, Dies at 84', 25 April, 2016, *The New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/26/world/asia/qi-benyu-mao-aide-with-no-remorse-afterchinas-cultural-revolution-dies-at-84.html>.

(p. 105) 'The Cultural Revolution appears because it's essential to the plot...'
Quoted in Li Yuan, 'What Chinese Outrage Over '3 Body Problem' Says About China', *New York Times*, 8 April 2024, online at <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/business/3-body-problem-china-reaction.html>.

(p. 106) 'In all, some 71,200 families were 'destroyed in their entirety'.
Statistics quoted in Yongyi Song, 'Collective Killings'.

(p. 106) 'Even according to the official account...'

Andrew G. Walder, 'Rebellion and Repression in China, 1966–1971', *Social Science History*, vol. 38, no. 3–4, 2014, pp. 513–39.

(p. 106) 'In Beijing alone, Red Guards destroyed 4,922 of the city's 6,843 registered...'
Multiple sources including Yongyi Song, 'Chronology of Mass Killings during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)' and Michael Meyer, *The Last Days of Old Beijing*, Walker & Company, New York, 2008.

(p. 107) 'They responded, 'It's only a piece of fruit! People of your time! Really!''
Wang Xiaoping, '1968: my story of the mango', in *Mao's Golden Mangoes and the Cultural Revolution*, p. 44.