

Introduction: the art of contradiction

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Contradiction is present in the process of development of all things; it permeates the process of development of each thing from beginning to end.

Mao Zedong, 'On Contradiction', 1937¹

Art and images were and continue to be central channels for the transnational circulation and reception of Maoism. While there are several books about the significance of Mao Zedong and the Chinese Cultural Revolution, this collection, featuring seventeen chapters by established and emerging scholars from around the world, constitutes the first effort to explore the global influence of Maoism on art and images from 1945 to the present.² Though it is rarely acknowledged as such, the so-called Great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–76) was one the most extraordinary political upheavals of the twentieth century. And similarly, no other post-war statesman has elicited more conflicted emotions than Mao.³ Indeed, despite being responsible, by some controversial accounts, for tens of millions of deaths, the man known as the Great Helmsman is still widely revered both inside and outside China.⁴

Even now, in the twenty-first century, regardless of the attempts to eradicate Maoism from Chinese state policy which began immediately following Mao's death in 1976, the official doctrine of the Chinese Communist Party remains Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Ironically, as the Chinese economy became increasingly privatised in the 1990s, it was accompanied by a 'Mao craze'. This posthumous veneration was initially spontaneous and working-class in spirit, but soon after it received endorsements from both the Chinese Communist Party, which was striving for legitimacy in the aftermath of Tiananmen Square, and entrepreneurs, anticipating profits from Mao-related paraphernalia.⁵ Even the design and production of Chinese money itself were affected. The fifth series of renminbi banknotes, introduced in 1999, featured a portrait of Mao on every denomination, replacing the leaders and workers who had previously graced the currency.

In the new century, the contested legacy of this powerful figure has only expanded. Marking the fifty-year anniversary of the Cultural Revolution, in both China and other countries, academic research produced pioneering studies of the Red Guards, the Shanghai People's Commune, the Little Red Book and seminal theoretical disputes (opposing, for instance, Mao to Deng Xiaoping).⁶ Some aspects of Maoism are being reassessed, partly because they speak to the present moment, such as Maoism's critique of colonialism and racism. As Liu Kang has pointed out, as a theory of global revolution in the 1960s, Maoism aspired to rewrite Western values and ideas through the integration of the universal principles of Marxism with the practice of the Chinese Revolution. In addition to that, it also aimed to create an alternative vision of modernity by transforming Marxism into a non-European, more inclusive worldview.⁷ If the 1960s and 1970s saw the rise of anti-colonial struggles, and 'an awakening sense of global possibility, of a different future', this should also be ascribed to Maoism.⁸ Thus it comes as no surprise that Fredric Jameson viewed Maoism, rightly or wrongly, as 'the richest of all the great new ideologies of the 1960s'.⁹

The phrase 'global Maoism' has been adopted by several scholars to describe the impact of Maoist movements on the 'global sixties'.¹⁰ In this anthology the concept of 'global Maoism' is used in an attempt to capture the eminently protean quality of this political phenomenon, especially when it crossed paths with, and was expressed through, the visual arts. Here the phrase 'global Maoism' helps to define and delineate the manifold reception and visualisation of Mao Zedong Thought. The word 'Maoism' has never had any traction in China, and Mao himself dismissed it, arguing that it hypostatized his ideas. He preferred instead to speak in terms of 'Mao Zedong Thought'. However, as the historian Ning Wang has noted, 'internationally, Mao's thought has always been called Maoism not only by the Marxists and left-wing people in the West, but also by all those who ... put it into effect in their revolutionary practices'.¹¹

The vernacular forms of Maoism have not simply represented a mechanic emanation of Mao Zedong Thought, but rather a locus which allowed for the emergence of something that was, each time, in every iteration, entirely new. Maoism contributed to the alteration of Mao Zedong Thought, which was always a plural construction responding to, and negotiating with, both local and global concerns. While an imaginary dimension was inherent in Maoism, just as in all types of Third-Worldism, the political cultures described in the pages that follow cannot be reduced to mere 'projections', as the intellectual historian Richard Wolin has claimed.¹² Focusing on West German universities, the historian Quinn Slobodian has documented the presence of Asian, Latin American and African students who provided European students with first-hand knowledge of Third World conflicts, and occasionally even led the

struggles themselves in the West.¹³ In the late 1960s, the idea of ‘Maoist China’ became a productive epistemological device to reimagine the world, to reinterpret its hierarchies and to act to change them.¹⁴

Maoism preceded the Cultural Revolution, and can be traced to the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, or even earlier as some of the chapters in this book show. It was, however, only with the Sino-Soviet split and China’s experiments with nuclear weapons that it gained real momentum. Mao’s sustained criticism of the peaceful coexistence between the two superpowers, as well as his advocacy of armed struggles in the Third World, broke what many regarded as the theoretical and geopolitical impasse of Marxism. Enver Hoxha’s Albania, for example, severed contacts with Moscow in the late 1950s, to become the sole Maoist-inspired government in Europe.

Nevertheless, until the spring of 1966 only a very small number of activists in the ‘First World’ identified with China. The political landscape changed dramatically, however, with the onset of the Cultural Revolution, when Mao’s call to a ‘mass line’ and interethnic solidarity was heard from the Andes to the Alps. The apparently youthful revolt, smashing the ‘four olds’ (old culture, ideas, customs and habits), championing working-class resistance to social discrimination and reinstating culture as the central protagonist of revolution, was saluted by hundreds of thousands of activists who held the reformism of the national communist parties in contempt. Finding affinities with their own concerns and ideals, Mao and the Red Guards seemed to provide a blueprint for a revolutionary culture and art in service of the people, while shifting the focus of the anti-imperialist struggle: from the industrialised metropolises to the vast territories of the Third World, and from the white factory workers of the Leninist tradition, to a more elusive revolutionary subject that was often – but not exclusively – identified with the peasant and the colonised.

Art and images were paramount in the dissemination and reception of Maoism’s revolutionary ambitions. Not only could they travel fast to distant places, but some visual conceits could also be easily adapted to specific contexts. In recent years there has been a scholarly reappraisal of the art produced in China between 1966 and 1976. No longer stigmatised, this type of visual propaganda has been widely examined, helping to shed new light on the semantics, aesthetics and memories associated with Maoist plays, posters, photographs, paintings and artefacts of all sorts.¹⁵ The chapters published here pursue this research and employ an expansive notion of art. The dynamics created by travelling objects (model works, Little Red Books, posters, badges, pamphlets, journals, etc.), people (intellectuals, party cadres, diplomats, activists, etc.) and ideas associated with Maoism had an enormous impact. In order to do justice to the entanglement of ‘high’ and ‘low’, global

and regional, that has marked Maoism, the authors engage with a vast array of artefacts, media and motifs as well as with the details of their material production and actual use.

It could be argued that a book about Maoism and the arts requires a clear definition of its topic, and should identify the chief traits of what is tempting to call a 'Maoist aesthetic'. However, any effort to delineate the 'standard Maoist position' on the arts is probably doomed to failure because of the long history, complex networks and diverse practices into which Maoism has crystallised. By the same token, searching for the putative 'essence' of a Maoist aesthetic in Mao's founding texts leads to an impasse. In fact, whether or not Mao Zedong Thought articulated an aesthetic combining 'romanticism and realism' remains an open question.¹⁶ Consider the following passage contained in the 1942 *Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art*, which represented Mao's most complete attempt to formulate an aesthetic programme:

What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Works of art which lack artistic quality have no force, however progressive they are politically. Therefore, we oppose both the tendency to produce works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency towards the 'poster and slogan style' which is correct in political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts.¹⁷

Mao's criticism of the 'poster and slogan style' is ostensibly inconsistent with the vast majority of works produced during the Cultural Revolution.

The lecturer on modern Chinese history and literature Julia Lovell has observed that the Cultural Revolution did not attract significant interest among US students until 1968, when it began to resonate strongly with their own anti-establishment sentiment. She concludes that this identification is 'far more informative about the preoccupations of these distant observers of Chinese politics than about Chinese politics itself'.¹⁸ In his study of the anti-authoritarian Left in West Germany, the historian Timothy Scott Brown echoes Lovell's remarks. He maintains that the reception of images associated with Maoism 'served as a bridge between the global and the local', and was driven 'less by the meaning imputed to images or cultural products at their point of origin, than at the point of their reception'.¹⁹ Arguably Lovell's and Brown's remarks are also applicable to art.

Yet scholarly literature has had little to say regarding the role played by art in global Maoism. The wealth of studies and exhibitions about the art of the Cultural Revolution has not been accompanied by comparable analyses of European, African, Asian and American artists who were heavily influenced

and inspired by the events in China. Nor has the recent interest in exploring the worldwide influence of Chinese communism in the 1960s and 1970s been met by a commitment to analysing the visual components of its reception. The omission is surprising, as for several years this global phenomenon shaped the work and thought of major artists as diverse as John Cage and Jörg Immendorff, to name just two. For more than a decade, global Maoism permeated art production in a variety of ways that continue to be neglected by standard art-historical accounts of the post-war period.²⁰ Caught between a cult of personality and libertarian impulses, thousands of artists, architects, designers and film directors appropriated or emulated the political ideals of the Cultural Revolution, translating them into a wide variety of visual propositions. From the Californian campuses to the Peruvian *campesinos*, many attempted to integrate Mao's principles and the Cultural Revolution's material culture, iconography and slogans into their production and model of authorship, although in different, and at times highly incompatible, ways.

It is unlikely that the lack of scholarship on this topic is accidental. The widespread apprehension concerning the attribution of historical significance and intellectual sophistication to the Maoist phase of several American and European artists is directly related to the political implications of espousing Mao Zedong Thought in the West. On the one hand, the predominant narratives of art history are still embedded in the Cold War dualistic conceptual frameworks, setting capitalism against communism. Modern art and modernism were long ago constructed as the counterpoint to the propaganda of so-called totalitarian art, which brought durable discredit upon the latter.²¹ On the other hand, the current presence of Maoist guerrillas makes the topic politically sensitive in several countries, pushing scholars to see Maoist artistic production as secondary over issues of state security.²² Moreover, claiming the political primacy of the Chinese Cultural Revolution challenges the Eurocentrism of both the Left and the Right, which still, occasionally, thinks in terms of 'oriental despotism'. A further reason accounts for the scholarly reluctance to explore Maoist artists. The Red Guards' 'cultural' revolution represented a shocking rejoinder to the Western definition of 'culture' as it had emerged since the Enlightenment. Denouncing ancestral traditions and wisdom not as a shared heritage that had to be preserved, but rather as an obstacle to the exigencies of communism, in the West the Red Guards were decried as vandals, destroying culture rather than renewing it. The artists who aligned with their ethos were often perceived as forswearing an unwritten rule respected even by the most daring artistic provocations.

This book contends that the virulence of Maoism merits rigorous historical analyses. Looking to the current scholarship of historians and social scientists, the seventeen chapters exemplify a nuanced approach to the artistic production and the aesthetic discourses inspired by Mao and the Cultural

Revolution, examining the worldwide impact of Maoism on artistic practice from 1945 onwards. The studies investigate the obdurate emulations, creative misunderstanding and ingenious appropriations of the imagery, rhetoric and discourses that were developed by Mao, and by those who shaped the Cultural Revolution in China and around the world. Despite fruitful divergences, a core argument informs all the chapters: the chameleon-like appearances of global Maoism deserve a more prominent place in late twentieth century art history.

The chapters of the book could have been arranged in a number of ways; however, the narrative the volume proposes is approximately chronological, combining regions as diverse as Singapore, Madrid, Lima and Maputo. The choice constitutes a challenge to the standard geographies of art history, while aiming to facilitate comparisons and analogies, resonances and dissonances between contexts that are seldom associated. The first contributions provide overviews of the initial years of the People's Republic of China and its cultural outreach in South-East Asia. Stefan R. Landsberger's 'Realising the Chinese Dream: three visions of making China great again' charts the changing nature and transformation of Maoist propaganda and iconography from 1949 to 1979. Providing rare insight into the mechanics of the production and distribution of art and propaganda, Landsberger's contribution focuses on three examples, explaining and giving context to a variety of contradictions, which upset any homogeneous treatments of this surprising chapter of Chinese art history. Landsberger demonstrates how, rather than conforming to any kind of cultural directives, Maoist art and propaganda from this period often subverted rather than affirmed the Yan'an Talks. Similarly, Yan Geng's 'Realism, socialist realism and China's avant-garde: a historical perspective' outlines the *longue durée* of Chinese political art from the 1940s onwards. Tracing the shift in China from realism to socialist realism, and then to socially engaged avant-garde art, it argues that beneath such transformations was a redefinition of art and its epistemological relation to national identity and societal change. Interrogating paradigmatic shifts of political discourse and artistic praxis, Geng's chapter uncovers the roots of contemporary Chinese art and explains the complex relationships that exist between the cultural production of the revolution and the art of post-Maoist China.

Early examples of artists inspired by Mao are also investigated by Simon Soon's 'Engineering the human soul in 1950s Singapore and Indonesia', which discusses the development of leftist art discourses in Singapore and Indonesia by examining a selection of manifestos and texts alongside artworks. Close readings unearth oblique references to *Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art*, which enabled artists to open new ways beyond the autonomy of art in the shadow of the 1955 Afro-Asia Conference at Bandung. Unlike

Maoism in Indonesia, Maoism in India is still very much alive, and in several areas Maoist guerrilla fighters continue to combat the Indian state. Sanjukta Sunderason's chapter 'Framing margins: Mao and visuality in twentieth-century India' maps the traces of Mao and Maoism in India's long twentieth century. Drawing from the visual culture theorist Nicholas Mirzoeff's notion of visuality, Sunderason explores three key moments of Indian Maoism in relation to art: the iconography of resistance developed by the Communist Party of India in the 1940s, the Naxalites' 'statue-smashing' in Calcutta in the early 1970s and the afterlives of Maoism in Indian art from the mid-1970s to the present.

The early 1970s were a key period for Maoism in the US as well. Colette Gaiter's chapter, 'The *Black Panther* newspaper and revolutionary aesthetics', looks at the work of the American artist Emory Douglas, the Minister of Culture for the Black Panther Party, which at the time was subscribing to a political tendency known as 'intercommunalism'. More expansive than other strands of leftist thought, intercommunalism sought to unite countries of the world in resistance to global capitalism and imperialism. A wave of 'Black Maoism' swept through black liberation movements at this time and came to visual life in Emory Douglas's work on the *Black Panther* newspaper.

The analysis then moves to the years of the Cultural Revolution, and to the two industrialised countries that were the first to see the emergence of a large Maoist movement: West Germany and France. Lauren Graber and Daniel Spaulding's joint contribution, 'The Red Flag: the art and politics of West German Maoism', maps artistic Maoism in West Germany from the late 1960s to the early 1970s, tying it to both the student movement and the extra-parliamentary opposition. Looking at a broad sample of artists, the authors demonstrate how the image of Mao and the politics for which it stood became contested terrain where the complex dialectic of Pop and revolution was played out in perhaps its most spectacular form.

France is the European country where Maoism has had, perhaps, the most lasting and pervasive impact on society, with a number of intellectuals – the most prominent of whom is the French philosopher Alain Badiou – continuing to eulogise Mao and the Cultural Revolution. This is especially significant because of the role many French intellectuals from this period had in the formulation and dissemination of postmodernism.

Three chapters capture the repercussions of the Chinese Cultural Revolution on French art. In 'A secondary contradiction: feminist aesthetics and "The Red Room for Vietnam"', Elodie Antoine explores the inability of Maoist artists in France to supersede the standard gender biases that were prevalent in the 1960s. While the artists connected to the Salon of Young Painting posed strong challenges to the bourgeois nature of art production, they could not escape the reproduction of masculine power structures

that was characteristic of both the East and the West at this time. Allison Myers's chapter 'Materialist translations of Maoism in the work of Supports/Surfaces' discusses the strange marriage of Greenbergian formalism with Maoist militancy that characterised the work of this French artists' collective. By looking at its journal, *Peinture: Cahiers Théoriques*, Myers demonstrates how the group used Mao's theory of contradictions to rejuvenate both the avant-garde and French painting via an expanded concept of materialism. One of the former members of Supports/Surfaces is the subject of Sarah Wilson's chapter, 'Mao, militancy and media: Daniel Dezeuze and China from scroll to (TV) screen'. Wilson looks beyond the standard formalist readings of Dezeuze's work and follows his trajectory into the 1980s, when he participated in an official exchange visit to China; she traces the episode right up to the present, with the installation Wilson proposed for the first Asian/fifth Guangzhou Triennale.

Almost every Western European country was home to several national variations of Maoism. Like their northern neighbours, southern European artists also appropriated the Cultural Revolution's political ideals and forms of authorship. Noemi de Haro García's chapter, 'La Familia Lavapiés: Maoism, art and dissidence in Spain', describes the short-lived group of militant artists known as La Familia Lavapiés in order to explore the implications of being an artist within a Maoist organisation during the last years of the dictatorship and the early years of the monarchy. The collective collaborated, but also argued, with political leaders, mass organisations, political parties (especially the Communist Party), workers, students, neighbours and, of course, other artists. Sympathetic to *acracia* (the suppression of any kind of authority, of domination, of power, of coercion) and Trotskyism, the members of La Familia Lavapiés saw art and Maoism as tools with which they unsuccessfully tried to challenge and transform the cultural and political milieu in which they carried out their activities.

In several countries Maoism was so strongly refracted through the prism of the local specificities that it occasionally became a pretext and even a joke. Could one at once be a Maoist and poke fun at Mao's cult? This is the central issue explored in Jacopo Galimberti's chapter 'Maoism, Dadaism and Mao-Dadaism in 1960s and 1970s Italy', which investigates aspects of Italian Maoism as they were played out in four publications: the hardline newspaper *Servire il Popolo*, the counter-cultural magazine *Re Nudo*, the intellectual periodical *Che Fare* and the fanzine *A/traverso*. By 1976, some Italian militants were advocating a new form of Maoism that conflated pop culture, autonomist Marxism, Gilles Deleuze's and Félix Guattari's philosophy and, last but not least, avant-garde art. They defined this trend as 'Mao-Dadaism'. In 'Another red in the Portuguese diaspora: Lourdes Castro and Manuel Zimbro's *Un autre livre rouge*', Ana Bigotte Vieira and André Silveira examine

Un autre livre rouge, an artists' book made by the Portuguese artists Lourdes Castro and Manuel Zimbro while they were living in Paris. The two-volume book alluded to Mao's Little Red Book and was entirely devoted to the contradictory meanings and psychological associations that red conveyed. The work was crafted mostly between 1973 and 1975 at a time of radical political change in Portugal. The Carnation Revolution and the PREC (*Período Revolucionário Em Curso*, Ongoing Revolutionary Period) informed *Un autre livre rouge*, which was, however, both less and more than a political book.

The significance of Maoism for global independence movements around the world is an important subject that merits further attention, particularly for countries in Africa, for example. In 'Avenida Mao Tse Tung (or how artists navigated the Mozambican Revolution)', Polly Savage examines Maoism in Mozambique. Drawing on interviews and archival records, the study focuses on the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (or FRELIMO). Between 1970 and 1977 FRELIMO negotiated an artistic and cultural agenda combining, not without difficulties, leftist internationalism and local traditions. The analysis of works produced by the graphic designer 'Mphumo' João Craveirinha Jr offers insightful perspectives on how these tensions materialised in images.

The social inequalities and dictatorial regimes of Latin America also fostered diverse and powerful Maoist movements. Two chapters explore Latin American Maoist artists. Ana Longoni's 'Maoist imaginaries in Latin American art' focuses on several case studies to analyse the impact of Maoism in Argentina, Colombia and Peru. In the case of the artist Juan Carlos Castagnino, who is often considered to be the official painter of the Argentinian Communist Party, she emphasises how his relationship with China informed both his politics and his practice. She also compares the Argentinian artist Diana Dowek and the Colombian Clemencia Lucena in relation to the theories developed by the Argentinian writer Ricardo Piglia, who was close to Maoist positions in the 1970s. The subsequent case studies that Longoni presents concern the Colombian art group Taller 4 Rojo, which developed a wide range of pedagogical projects, and the 'Black Folder' created by the Peruvian collective Taller NN, whose subversion of the image of Mao was considered to be unacceptable by Maoists and anti-Maoists alike in the violent context of Peru.

Peru – which was on the verge of becoming a Maoist state in 1990 – is also the focus of Anouk Guiné's chapter 'Iconography of a prison massacre: drawings by Peruvian Shining Path war survivors'. Her study is set against the background of the civil war between the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), also known as Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso), and the Peruvian state, a conflict that began in 1980 and lasted well into the 1990s. Relying also on interviews with detainees, Guiné engages with the depictions of the massacre

that were produced by Maoist convicts. She discusses issues of memory, resistance, resilience and popular imagery.

Returning the focus to the present moment, Estelle Bories's chapter 'Mao in a gondola: Chinese representation at the Venice Biennale (1993–2003)' investigates the re-emergence of Chinese contemporary art in the West, concentrating on the way in which artists and curators addressed the revolutionary past of China. It considers Cai Guoqiang's famous restaging of *Rent Collection Courtyard*, presented during the forty-eighth Biennale of Venice in 1999. The appearance of Chinese art at the Biennale occurred with much fanfare. While, on the one hand, this could be read as a point of departure and a new expression of Chinese modernity, on the other hand it could also be read as a repackaging of some standard Maoist positions on art.

The collection concludes with Victoria H. F. Scott's 'Reproducibility, propaganda and the Chinese origins of neoliberal aesthetics'. Postmodernism is usually framed as a Western movement, with theoretical and philosophical roots in Europe. Scott's chapter links artistic postmodernism to the influence of Maoism in the West, specifically through the dissemination and absorption of the content and form of Maoist propaganda. Taking into consideration the broad significance of Mao for art and culture in the West in the second half of the twentieth century, the chapter comes to terms with the material effects of a global propaganda movement which, combined with the remains of a personality cult, currently transcends the traditional political categories of the Left and the Right.

The Austrian art historian Ernst Gombrich's *The Story of Art*, which was published in 1950, is the world's bestselling book in the field of art history.²³ As James Elkins has pointed out, not only is the text ubiquitous, but it is very Eurocentric – unapologetically Eurocentric, one might argue. Elkins continues:

A worldwide set of practices identifiable as art history poses a fascinating challenge. No one can read everything, but a worldwide endeavour, especially one whose coherence is contested and problematic, requires worldwide reading. For me that obligation is one of the principal reasons this subject is so interesting: no matter how art history develops (or dissolves), and even aside from the pressing problems of the spread of Western practice, I think art history increasingly imposes an obligation to read widely and continuously, outside of any specialisation.²⁴

It is an obligation we have taken seriously.

In 1953, at the height of McCarthyism, Gombrich wrote a scathing review of Arnold Hauser's book *The Social History of Art*. Criticising Hauser's methodology, Gombrich argued that contradiction was an ontological trap that led to theoretical paralysis.²⁵ Without preaching any kind of methodological

orthodoxy, the chapters in this anthology demonstrate that the notion of contradiction is an insightful one for describing and understanding the impact of Maoism on the visual arts. Instead of eschewing the paradoxes that animate art history, the authors featured in the following pages expose them and reveal cultural contradictions for what they have always been: a powerful source of political, social and aesthetic transformation, for better or for worse.

Notes

- 1 Mao Zedong, 'On Contradiction' (August 1937), in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), 319.
- 2 This book uses pinyin, the official system devised by the People's Republic of China for the Romanisation of Chinese characters, rather than the Wade-Giles system which was developed in the nineteenth century. For example, in pinyin the spelling of 毛泽东 is Mao Zedong, while the Wade-Giles spelling is Mao Tse Tung. Pinyin, which is considered to be more representative of how Mandarin sounds, was adopted gradually in the post-war period, officially replacing the Wade-Giles system internationally in the 1980s. In this text exceptions are made for bibliographic sources, in which case whichever system was originally used is retained.
- 3 Alan Lawrence, *China under Communism* (London: Routledge, 1998), 66.
- 4 The Great Leap Forward (1958–61) and its ruthless implementation of the collectivisation of agriculture caused the fourth major famine under a socialist regime: some 15 to 45 million people starved to death in China between 1959 and 1961. On collectivisation and famine under socialism see Felix Wemheuer, 'Collectivization and Famine', in Stephen A. Smith (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 407–423; there is no consensus regarding the number of people who died of hunger in China during the Great Leap Forward, as is pointed out in Kimberley Ens Manning and Felix Wemheuer, 'Introduction', in Kimberley Ens Manning and Felix Wemheuer (eds), *Eating Bitterness: New Perspectives on China's Great Leap Forward and Famine* (Vancouver and Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 1 and 21–22. See also Frank Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958–62* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2011).
- 5 Timothy Cheek (ed.), *A Critical Introduction to Mao* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Geremie Barmé, *Shades of Mao: The Posthumous Cult of the Great Leader* (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1996).
- 6 The bibliography is vast and includes: Andrew G. Walder, *China under Mao: A Revolution Derailed* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015); Yiching Wu, *The Cultural Revolution at the Margins: Chinese Socialism in Crisis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Alexander C. Cook (ed.), *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Alessandro Russo, 'How Did the Cultural Revolution End?'

- The Last Dispute between Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, 1975', *Modern China*, 39:3 (2013), 239–279. Wang Hui, *The End of the Revolution: China and the Limits of Modernity* (London: Verso, 2009); Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006).
- 7 Liu Kang, 'Maoism: Revolutionary Globalism for the Third World Revisited', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 52:1 (2015), 12–13.
 - 8 Christopher Leigh Connery, 'The World Sixties', in Rob Wilson and Christopher Leigh Connery (eds), *The Worlding Project: Doing Cultural Studies in the Era of Globalization* (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2007), 78.
 - 9 Fredric Jameson, 'Periodizing the Sixties', in Sohnya Sayres et al. (eds), *The 60s Without Apology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press in cooperation with Social Text, 1984), 189.
 - 10 See, for example, the use of this notion in publications such as Connery, 'The World Sixties', 77–107; the special issue entitled 'Global Maoism and Cultural Revolution in the Global Context', ed. Wang Ning, *Comparative Literature Studies*, 52:1 (2015); Fabio Lanza, 'Making Sense of "China" during the Cold War: Global Maoism and Asian Studies', in Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney and Fabio Lanza (eds), *De-Centering Cold War History* (London, New York: Routledge, 2013), 147–166.
 - 11 Ning Wang, 'Introduction: Global Maoism and Cultural Revolutions in the Global Context', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 52:1 (2015), 2.
 - 12 Richard Wolin, *The Wind from the East: French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution, and the Legacy of the 1960s* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).
 - 13 Quinn Slobodian, *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).
 - 14 Quinn Slobodian, 'The Meanings of Western Maoism in the Global 1960s', in Chen Jian, Martin Klimke, Masha Kirasirova, Mary Nolan, Marilyn Young and Joanna Waley-Cohen (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of the Global 1960s: Between Protest and Nation-Building* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 75.
 - 15 Barbara Mittler, *A Continuous Revolution: Making Sense of Cultural Revolution Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013); Richard King (ed.), *Art in Turmoil: The Chinese Cultural Revolution, 1966–76* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010); Melissa Chiu and Shengtian Zheng (eds), *Art and China's Revolution* (New York: Asia Society; New Haven: in association with Yale University Press, 2008); Paul Clark, *The Chinese Cultural Revolution: A History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Lincoln Cushing and Ann Tompkins, *Chinese Posters: Art from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2007); Francesca Dal Lago, 'Reshaping an Icon in Contemporary Chinese Art', *Art Journal*, 58:2 (1999), 46–59; Minna Valjakka, 'The Many Faces of Mao Zedong' (PhD dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2011); Minna Valjakka, 'Parodying Mao's Image: Caricaturing in Contemporary Chinese Art', *Asian and African Studies*, 15:1 (2011), 87–114; Gerhard Paul:

- 'China's Mona Lisa: The History of the Mao Portrait and its Global Reception', *Parliament*, 39 (27 September 2010).
- 16 Yang Lan, "Socialist Realism" versus "Revolutionary Realism plus Revolutionary Romanticism", in Hilary Chung et al. (eds), *In the Party Spirit: Socialist Realism and Literary Practice in the Soviet Union, East Germany and China* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), 88–105.
- 17 Mao Zedong, *Mao Tse-Tung on Literature and Art* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967), 30.
- 18 Julia Lovell, 'The Cultural Revolution and its Legacies in International Perspective', *China Quarterly*, 27 (September 2016), 639.
- 19 Timothy Scott Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties: The Antiauthoritarian Revolt, 1962–1978* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 211.
- 20 For example, the background that provides the pathos and drama of Gerhard Richter's series *October 18, 1977* (1988) is partly the story of Western Maoism.
- 21 Greg Barnhisel, *Cold War Modernists: Art, Literature, and American Cultural Diplomacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015); Mikkel Bolt Rasmussen and Jacob Wamberg (eds), *Totalitarian Art and Modernity* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2010).
- 22 Somini Sengupta, 'Where Maoists Still Matter', *New York Times Magazine*, 30 October 2005.
- 23 James Elkins, 'Art History as a Global Discipline', in *Is Art History Global?* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 10.
- 24 Elkins, 'Art History as a Global Discipline,' 22–23.
- 25 Ernst Gombrich, 'Review of Arnold Hauser, "The Social History of Art"', *Art Bulletin*, 35:1 (1953), 79–84.

