

NARRATIVE FIDELITY TO THE LITTLE RED BOOK IN THE COLLECTIVE
ACTION FRAMING EFFORTS OF THE RED GUARD MOVEMENT:
A THEORETICAL MODEL FOR FOUNDATIONAL DOCUMENTS

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ABSTRACT

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The contribution of this thesis is to the cultural paradigm in social movement theory. I am interested in how texts matter to social movements. I present a novel synthesis of concepts I use to uncover ideological elements in texts. I argue that foundational documents influence frame presentations, and that texts steer the early stages of mobilization efforts. The Red Guard movement was promoting radical changes during the Chinese Cultural Revolution. The categories I identify are used to explore how

the Red Guard was able to build a frame around the major themes in the Little Red Book. No social science discipline has properly combined these concepts into a working theoretical model. I created the foundational document model through a triangulation of social science literature. The six core categories of the foundational document model are role attribution, folklore narrative, ethical norms, utopian schemes, strategic planning, and motivational appeals. This theoretical model is meant to be broadly applicable and useful for pinpointing ideological elements in texts.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

COLLECTIVE ACTION FRAMES

Building on socio-psychological concepts within social movement theory popularized by Benford, Snow, Hunt etc., this thesis tackles a range of ideological issues in the construction and implementation of potent collective action frames. I am interested in the early stages of social movements. In other words, from the early days of the inner circle of social movement entrepreneurs hammering out convincing, workable frame presentations all the way up to mass conversion experiences of novice supporters. The goal here is to identify ideological elements in frames. I'm building on the literature concerning collective action framing (Steinberg 1998). I propose that the ideational elements within a frame presentation merge together to create a coherent and stable ideological view¹.

¹ See Appendix A for a detailed treatment of frame stability and coherence. Here I present an argument challenging Steinberg's (1998) contention of *discursive fields* in which he attempts to problematize frame stability. Steinberg claims that previous frame oriented scholars have not dealt adequately with inherent frame instability and ambiguity, and that much of the frame is created in "interdiscourse" between the frame presenter and the potential movement activist.

My theoretical matrix uses six categories to capture the ideological significance of a social movement's main foundational (or primary) text. Foundational texts are those documents that provide an ideologically comprehensive worldview for their admirers. For the American civil rights movement, these texts were the Bible and the U.S. Constitution, for the feminist movement perhaps *Our Bodies Our Selves*, for the early ecology movement *Silent Spring*, for Scientology *Dianetics*, and for China's Cultural Revolution *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung* colloquially and universally known as the "Little Red Book" (hereafter the LRB).

Social movement theory, and particularly its subfield, frame theory, must advance our knowledge of how ideological thoughts come to fill the rhetoric of potent collective action frames. Until consistent thematic categories are established, pinpointing the ideological elements that make up potent collective action frames will continue to prove an elusive task (Malesevic and MacKenzie 2002). In this project I craft my ideological categories by taking cues from concepts already used within social movement research known as frame resonance and narrative fidelity (Benford and Snow 2000).

FOUNDATIONAL DOCUMENTS

I define foundational documents as those texts that provide a culturally pervasive metanarrative able to create, sustain, motivate, and evaluate social movements. Foundational documents are essential in defining larger religious, political, and social agendas. They are also a necessary component in the master frames that make up the everyday reality of the individual involved in a social movement (Snow and Benford 1992). I contend that frames are more fully revealed by isolating ideological elements within a foundational text (Steinberg 1998). Once the text's ideological content is

systematically uncovered then one can use those findings to examine the construction of subsequent social movement frame presentations.

This foundational document model can be understood broadly as a continuation of ideology studies with a specific application for the framing tradition within social movement theory (Buechler 2011). Exposing the ideological elements within a foundational document and using those findings to analyze a social movement's various frame presentations begins to answer the question: How can one link the ideas within frame presentations to larger ideological structures?

What I am proposing is that a frame is made up of ideological elements that are presented through various social movement communication mediums. The ideological elements making up this frame map can be attained through the use of my theoretical framework's methodology. The methodology of foundational document theory (FDT) is an ideological content analysis of a social movement's primary document. I propose that only when the ideological elements of the exalted text are thematically and systematically revealed can a clear connection be made between massive ideological structures and the frame construction process (Maroff, Shapiro, and Weitman 2008).

This FDT model builds upon previous research under the headings of social movement theory, critical discourse analysis, and the sociology of knowledge (Benford and Snow 2000; Berger and Luckman 1966; Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000). In order to capture the dynamic and creative nature of a frame I draw upon literature in organizational science, social psychology, socio-linguistics, sociology, and primary source materials.

Consulting these various approaches in the humanities allowed me to develop six theoretical categories that capture the ideological significance of a foundational text. In brief these are: 1) Role Attribution 2) Folklore Narrative 3) Ethical Norms 4) Utopian Schemes 5) Strategic Planning 6) Motivational Appeals. I use these categories to investigate a foundational text for its pertinent ideological elements. I argue that these foundational-textual elements serve as an ideological outline for the resultant frame efforts, and enable core groups of social movement entrepreneurs to produce highly successful frame presentations.

I assume that the potency of a frame presentation is dependent heavily upon the frame having stable and coherent ideological elements. A potent frame must include a convincing matrix of ideas strong enough to bring an outside observer into a new world of ideas complete with a new social hierarchy, new ethical expectations, new everyday strategies for relating with others, a new view of the ‘good society,’ and new motivations for using one’s agency (Maney, Coy, and Woehrle 2009).

In order to give the theory context I perform a historical analysis of the Chinese Cultural Revolution’s beginnings. Then, after a content analysis of the foundational document itself, I analyze a political speech from a Red Guard Movement organizer to look for ideological consistencies between the foundational text and his subsequent framing effort. This frame analysis of a Red Guard political speech is meant to be a step-by-step demonstration of the theoretical approach.

I hypothesize that the main ideational elements making up a potent frame come largely from a foundational document’s ideology. In order for frame constructors to meet context sensitive movement demands, these ideological strands are crafted and sequenced

to ensure maximum frame potency. In an effort to move social movement theory forward, I develop a model for the role foundational documents play in the formation of potent collective action frames (Maney et al. 2009).

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

NARRATIVE FIDELITY AND FRAME RESONANCE

Benford and Snow (2000) have produced a number of fruit-bearing conceptual tools for getting a behind-the-scenes look into the frame creation process. For a frame to resonate with a potential movement activist, the message must contain a substantial amount of narrative fidelity (Hunt, Benford, and Snow 1994). Narrative fidelity increases as the frame draws on traditional folklore narratives, ingrained role definitions, ethical mandates, collective value judgments, and commonly accepted norms.

Benford and Snow (2000) have shown that as social movement entrepreneurs present novel frames for public consumption the frame resonates within the potential movement activist according to how culturally sensitive the frame content provider was in crafting the message. The frame presenter must consider culturally embedded norms, values, and beliefs. The more loyalty the frame has to familiar narratives, the more likely the potential movement activist will undergo a conversion experience. Full acceptance of the frame presentation will cause the new convert to desire a strong connection to the group's collective identity and inclusion in the group's strategic actions (Hornsey 2008).

This study considers how the Red Guard Movement made use of their charismatic leader's most popular document in order to provide a significant measure of legitimacy to

their own frame presentations (Andreas 2007). With the LRB's ideological elements filling the content of their frames, Red Guard activists were able to channel Mao's charismatic authority into their own mobilization efforts.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The last few pages explained the influence of frame theory on FDT, now let's talk about Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA emerged in the late 1980s in European discourse studies and has become one of the most influential branches of discourse analysis (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000). Current CDA scholars see this analytic method as a convergence of various theories concerned with language research.

The analysis of discourse has enjoyed a rich tradition among sociological thinkers since Foucault presented his inaugural lecture at the College de France entitled "The Order of Discourse" (Munch 1994). In his lecture Foucault did not rule out the revolutionary potentials of cultural discourse, but heavily emphasized that "sophisticated power systems are capable of controlling these effects to their advantage" (Munch 1994:19) In the same way, I assume that well organized social movements are capable of manipulating the effects of cultural discourse to their advantage.

Scholars utilizing CDA acknowledge Foucault as one of the method's founding thinkers. Foucault proposed that one must analyze cultural discourse in order to understand how the established power structure is self-reproducing members of society unchecked (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000). In my view CDA should occupy a more prominent role in social movement studies as social movement organizations are constantly seeking to reproduce in order to bolster and replenish their ranks.

This emphasis on language use is crucial to FDT because verbal persuasion is a rhetorical tool intended to secure a measure of dominance, power, and social control. CDA is sociologically compelling in that it is concerned with “instances of social interaction, which take partially linguistic form” (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000:448). Frame theory will eventually have to mine CDA for all that it offers in the social interaction arena. Especially fruitful would be a convergence of social movement scholars looking to dissect the creation of potent frame presentations and CDA scholars eager to explore previously uncharted territory between language and society.

What I am terming an ideological content analysis may also be understood as a heavily sociologically oriented CDA. I say sociologically oriented mainly because my method for creating the ideological categories relied heavily on utilizing Weberian style ideal types, and because my intent is to analyze texts by applying various social theories (Buechler 2011). Thus, my foundational document framework hinges loosely upon the principles of CDA. Loose in the sense that I do not dissect grammatical structures or concern myself primarily with any particular linguistic issues. On the spectrum of what constitutes a critical discourse analysis my project is determinedly on the sociological end.

Because I am in agreement with the assumptions and aims of CDA, I explore the ideological elements within a text that provide a stable frame for later movement framing efforts. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000:448) recognize that CDA acts as if “discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned” and that “discourse is an opaque power object in modern societies which CDA aims to make more visible and transparent.” CDA acknowledges that there are social processes outside the immediate

sphere of active discourse interaction that are never-the-less substantively shaped by various discourses. In my view some of these processes within the life of a social movement could include undergoing a conversion experience, role taking, collective identity construction, consensus maintenance, belief system stabilization, and strategic plan apprehension.

According to Jones (2012:2) discourse analysis is the “study of the ways sentences and utterances are put together to make texts and interactions and how these texts and interactions fit into our social world.” Based on this definition of discourse analysis my underlying assumption is that a social movement’s ideological interactions continually reference, depend upon, and spring from common textually saturated worldviews. I also assume that these textual-driven worldviews provide a stable and coherent basis for movement beliefs, values, and norms.

Fairclough (1992), a foremost discourse theorist, outlines a three-tiered framework for categorizing and analyzing discourse: 1) discourse as text 2) discourse as discursive practice 3) discourse as social practice. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) note the paucity of scholarship focusing on discourse as discursive practice, especially in the areas of discourse *production* and *consumption*. This point is relevant to framing studies, because it points out the lack of clarity within social movement theory regarding how a social movement entrepreneur *produces* a compelling discourse for public *consumption*.

In my view the frame constructor must get all of his/her ideological ducks in a row beforehand in order to produce a frame potent enough to play out as continuous discursive practice (Fairclough 1992). With these ideological elements securely in tact, the frame has more stability and coherence. The frame’s potency relies heavily upon

narrative fidelity to a foundational text and its ability to sustain a community enamored with constant, textually inspired discourse² (Borg 2003; Johns 1997). Perhaps discursive interactions have been neglected in CDA because researchers have been more focused on the text itself than the institutional (or in my case the counter-institutional) source and contextual purpose of the text.

In the future frame theorists must seriously take into consideration the research methodology of CDA which Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000:449) describe as a method of “uncovering ways in which social structure impinges on discourse patterns, relations, and models (in the form of power relations, ideological effects, and so forth), and in treating these relations as problematic.”

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF RED GUARD MOVEMENT BEGINNINGS

Before we proceed to a content analysis of the LRB and a frame analysis of a Red Guard political speech, a historical analysis is necessary to place these revolutionary artifacts in context. Understanding the political opportunity process for Mao and his Red Guard is crucial for grappling with subtle nuance within the text, and for gaining an accurate understanding into the structural forces guiding movement discourse.

Origin and Propagation of the Little Red Book

Mao's rebel regime was able to stave off the Japanese imperialists and Chinese reactionaries in the 1930s and 1940s (Townsend 1977). This ongoing battle over constructing a national identity gave Mao the experience needed in order to mobilize

² See Appendix B for further insight into *action-oriented discourse communities* and *textual fidelity*. The idea of a discourse community emerged within the discipline of applied linguistics combining the previous concepts of speech community (a group who recognizes their language use as distinct from others) and interpretive community (a group of people who share ways of reading texts).

masses of Chinese people under a common banner of progressive Marxist ideals.

Mao's two closest confidants, his wife Jiang Qing and minister of defense Lin Piao, worked closely with Mao to prepare the sociopolitical atmosphere for a renaissance of Mao's brand of revolutionary thought (Kau 1975). Mao's intention was not simply to put his ideological rivals in their place, but to challenge them directly (Hornsey 2008).

Lin Piao oversaw the first edition of LRB published in 1964 (Yan 2000). The political department of the PLA printed the first edition, and within a period of three years distributed over a billion copies (Meisner 2007). Two years before the official kickoff of the Cultural Revolution Piao required military personnel to study the LRB devotionally, and later advocated the general public follow their shining example (Kau 1975).

As early as 1963, the PLA began intermingling with civilians in order to launch a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign (Karl 2010). These campaigns exalted soldiers as heroes who exemplified the Maoist values of altruistic self-denial and sacrifice. Mass propaganda campaigns clearly revealed that the PLA was not directly under party control and indeed served the interests of Mao himself. Piao was the main provocateur of Mao's personality cult, heavily promoting Mao's political messages and lauding Mao as "the political genius of the 20th century" (Yan 2000:200).

Big Character Poster Campaign

Scholars debate the official beginning of the Cultural Revolution. Some hold that it began as early as December 1964 when at a party work conference Liu Shaoqi's administration of the socialist work movement was criticized. Others maintain that the revolution began as late as April 1966 with an editorial appearing in the *Liberation*

Army Daily entitled “Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Zedong’s Thinking: Actively Participate in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution” (Huang 1996). Whenever the exact moment of the Revolution’s ‘official’ kick off, by May of 1966 the first big character poster appeared at Beijing University. Big character posters served as visual critiques to the Communist establishment targeting policy, officials, and ideology. The posters also served the function of reviving Mao’s revolutionary ideology and challenging the socialist status quo (Andreas 2007).

In spite of heated rhetorical exchanges between Mao’s faithful and the critical intellectuals within editorials in national papers, the majority of the Chinese population were unaware of the derisive political debate happening within the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) (Meisner 2007). Mao was delighted to discover the appearance of a big character poster in the country’s largest, and therefore most visible, university. He considered this form of criticism more accessible and effective to the general public than the previous ideological exchanges within the newspapers (Zhensheng 2003).

By June Mao ordered that the big character poster be broadcast immediately through all possible media sources to the entire nation (Huang 1996). The beginnings of the Cultural Revolution can be traced to this opportune rhetorical moment in the launch of the big character poster campaign. Yet the spontaneity of this event may be overstated in Mao’s ‘official accounts’ as the groundwork for the Red Guard Movement was being laid far in advance of actual student frame presentations.

Polletta provides insight into the reasons Mao wanted to preserve a strong impression of student spontaneity. In Polletta’s (2006:33) analysis of the American civil rights movement, she points out that movement entrepreneurs tell stories for “strategic

reasons” and that “representing protest as homegrown and spur-of-the-moment” is a way to combat claims that it is controlled by outside institutional influencers. This is the exact way Mao utilized the big character poster campaigns: by propping them up in the media, sending personal letters of encouragement to young activists, and mandating his inner political circle to create, promote, and distribute new posters for mass consumption (Zhensheng 2003).

Initially, CCP leaders dispatched work teams meant to stifle student political activity and redirect it into more favorable institutional channels (Walder 2009). The framing contest between Mao and his Red Guards versus the CCP and their work teams was dramatically lopsided from the beginning as Mao’s personality cult, which was originally cultivated within the ranks of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA), had now spread to the general populace (Andreas 2007). This was fully evident in the big character poster campaigns that began sporadically appearing at Beijing universities and high schools. The campaigns spurred a radically minded communist youth movement anxious to demonstrate their loyalties to Maoist ideals by challenging what they perceived as the diminishing purity of their revolutionary heritage by a petty bourgeoisie element content with perpetuating the socialist status quo.

Mao’s discontent with his diminished political status (because of the failed great leap forward policies) combined with the youthful zeal of a restless student movement provided a wide opening for new discursive opportunities among the budding intellectuals. Maney and others (2009:303) define discursive opportunities as “critical discourse moments when bystanders become receptive towards either frames that draw on dominant discourses, or, conversely frames that draw on oppositional discourses.” The

authors' go on to point out that "discursive opportunities encourage both power holders and challengers to focus on narrative fidelity as a source of (frame) potency."

Radical students' expressive dissatisfaction through the use of big character posters and Mao's endorsement of their open critique of the party provided the media sensation needed to catapult the movement onto the national stage (Zhensheng 2003). Mao's unique position within the Chinese government afforded him a great measure of institutional authority, and, when combined with his newfound cult figure status, set him up as the premier prophetic mouthpiece in the country. This blend of charismatic and rational authority proved wholly overwhelming to a party still owing its success in large part to the figure that would have them dethroned.

Parting with Lenin in his practical working out of Marxist thought, Mao railed against an intellectual vanguard that would bring the masses along into a Communist utopia, and instead appealed directly to the people through his own larger-than-life charismatic personality (Womack 1982). By late June of 1966 millions of students attending university and high school had enthusiastically joined the exploding Red Guard Movement. Understandably, children of the social classes that had been rejected by the previous revolution became the radical faction of the Red Guard, spearheading Mao's ambition to take down entrenched bourgeoisie party leaders (Meisner 2007).

The Red Guard Gains Legitimacy

The magnitude of the Great Proletarian Revolution in China was such that all sectors of life were impacted by a powerful social movement wherein the bottom and top rungs of society joined forces in order to challenge the bourgeoisie 'capitalist roaders' of the middle (Andreas 2007). Mao's public endorsement of a few scattered, loosely

connected college activists calling themselves the Red Guard unleashed millions of adamant youth striving to find their place in their national narrative of revolutionary progress (Walder 2009).

The utopian idealism of the youth movement took the country by storm as Mao advocated the overturning of liberal-leaning intellectuals, the ousting of individualist career minded cadres, and the ideological reeducation of city dwellers as well as rural inhabitants (Karl 2010). Even though the Red Guard student movement contained the most radical elements of devotion to the LRB, it is well documented that even in the beginnings of the movement factional divisions separated student activists into ideologically warring factions (Walder 2009). Yet, Meisner (2007:170) points out, “All political factions, whether within the Party or among the more amorphous student movement, marched under Maoist banners, all copiously quoted Mao’s writings and slogans, and all no doubt believed that they were acting in accordance to the chairman’s wishes and instruction.”

In order for the Cultural Revolution to maintain its ideological potency, Mao issued heated calls to eradicate what he called the four olds. The four olds consisted of such vague generalities as the old culture, old customs, old habits, and old ideas (Lynch 2011). The Red Guard readily took on this ideological mission and ferociously destroyed much classical literature, Chinese architecture, religious sites, and condemned any public intellectual who could be seen as an expert seeking to preserve cultural artifacts. The perceived power of the LRB by the Chinese populace was being fueled through Maoist leaning media outlets claiming that, “After reading, memorizing, and contemplating the red book, the Chinese people had drastically increased their agricultural and industrial

output, successfully tested atom bombs, and triumphantly launched a satellite into orbit”(Yan 2000:197).

Yan (2000:203) attributes the popularity of Maoist thought during the Cultural Revolution to Piao’s “enthusiastic promotion” of Mao’s writings, and to Mao’s “skillful adaptation of his ideology to fit the minds of the Chinese people.” Maoist thought was filled with powerful rhetoric, able to rapidly mobilize mass activists by capturing the populist imagination. Mao’s ideological thought is a synthesis of the Chinese and Marxist traditions. Knight (2007) posits that Chinese traditional literature provided the emotional appeal of his rhetoric while Marxist theory provided the pragmatic methodology necessary to bring about an industrial revolution.

During this period Mao received eleven million Red Guard activists adamantly waving little red books while parading triumphantly around Tiananmen Square where he greeted them, and cast the broad vision of eradicating the ‘four olds’ (of culture, customs, habits, and ideas) (Huang 2009). With no clear definition of the cultural situation, differing Red Guard sects held tightly to their own interpretive schemes of the LRB (Walder 2009).

Competing Dominant Discourses and Uses of Authority

Social movement literature holds that movements themselves are counter-institutional in form (Andreas 2007). Because of their counter institutional nature, movements usually do not make appeals to the masses primarily through rational-legal or traditional authority, but instead rely heavily upon charismatic forms of authority. Liu Piao’s mass production of the LRB placed an extension of Mao’s charismatic ideals in the hands of every Red Guard activist itching to advance the revolution (Huang 2009).

In order to challenge the party head on, Mao had to capitalize upon his legendary status as a founding figure in the previous generation's revolutionary war (Maney et al. 2009). Although the economic program known as the great leap forward was considered catastrophic failure that caused widespread starvation and death, Mao was still considered the ideological architect of the revolution and when he communicated to the masses through the media they treated him as such (Townsend 1977).

Usually when social movement entrepreneurs present a new frame they are competing in many ideational arenas with "institutionally privileged language and ideas that carry assumptions designed to silence the opposition" known formally as "dominant discourse" (Maney et al. 2009:300). The case of the Cultural Revolution is distinct in that there were two competing dominant discourses running parallel to one another, vying to capture the sympathies and participation of a national audience.

The most obvious distinctions between the competing institutional discourses was that the CCP sought to influence the masses through rational authority, institutional hierarchies, and appeals to modest structural reforms, while Mao's Red Guards appealed to the revolutionary nostalgia of the masses with charismatic authority, populist disenchantment, and appeals to finish the great communist utopian program (Karl 2010).

Mao, as a mainstream political figure, certified and actively encouraged an oppositional culture, alienating those clinging to the standard institutional narrative. Even though Mao was shrewd in his dealings with other party leaders, his choice to incite populist upheaval was a determinedly risky political move. Mao chose to frame the collective identity of the Red Guard Movement with a mix of dominant and counter discourses (Knight 2007). His genius was in crafting the discourse in such a way as to not

be easily dismissed by rival CCP politicians, and yet allowing it to be suggestive enough that cultural transformation could advance unchecked by young radical ideologues (Walder 2009).

By the time Mao fully revived previously dormant revolutionary language amongst the students in 1966, the CCP leadership held well-established institutional positions. Mao's pristine image and political position had been diminished by the great leap forward debacle, and was widely seen by party officials as a warning sign that the full vision of a people's revolution must be tempered with a heaping dose of industrial practicality and technical proficiency (Li, Rosenzweig, and Zhang 2010).

In order to challenge the 'revisionist' power structure, Mao brought back to the forefront of the national conversation the politically submerged revolutionary message that had placed his fellow cadres in power positions in the first place (Townsend 1977). This is the same revolutionary message CCP officials deemed adequate to produce the economic transition into industrial socialism, but, in their later experience as policy makers, was not capable of a full recreation of society (Li et al. 2010).

Learning about the big-character poster campaigns, Mao hastened to reawaken the revolutionary ideology he feared was being vastly undermined by his former revolutionary brothers. What had previously been the revolutionary counter-narrative had now, at least in name only, become the 'official' dominant discourse (Maney et al. 2009). The fact that revolutionary ideology had become the dominant discourse of China's political conversation was ultimately the reason the CCP could not directly challenge Mao's meddlesome political opportunism.

The rational-legal authority of the CCP was completely undermined when Mao

dismissed the work teams sent to bring order to the universities. Instead of supporting the CCP's effort to deescalate a potentially volatile situation, Mao publicly endorsed the Red Guard Movement's rhetoric of institutional criticism. When Mao praised the new generation of upcoming intellectuals for their commitment to ideological purity, the CCP's framing efforts were left ideologically impotent (Walder 2009). The CCP had no other available folklore narratives to draw upon in order to secure the resonating benefits of narrative fidelity.

Any frame debunking effort on the part of the CCP would have proven quite useless, and any effort at appealing to authority outside the dominant discourse was quite impossible as they were currently the major beneficiaries (McCaffrey and Keys 2000). Meisner (2007:167) speaks to Mao's structural upper hand and resonating rhetorical devices pointing out that:

His erratic but deft political maneuvers and Delphic ideological pronouncements left his timid political opponents bewildered. No one was willing to openly challenge the Chairman of the Party, the leader of the Revolution, and the founder of the nation-state. Nor could Party leaders refuse to perform the public rituals surrounding Mao's cult, to the construction of which all had contributed.

Andreas (2007:453) attributes the swift rise of the Red Guard Movement to its loosely organized structure in which there was "commitment to a common mission proclaimed by a charismatic leader" that enabled charismatic authority to be "diffused from the top to the bottom of the movement." Andreas (2007:454) goes on to explicate the magnitude of Mao's charismatic structural revolution:

Without formal organization, the movement's cohesion depends on self-nominated local leaders who embrace the paramount leader's mission and become its local interpreters. The movement is united by a common mission, rather than by formal hierarchies and organizational discipline. This type of structure, which fosters disregard for established authority, engenders the distinctive power of charismatic mobilization. If successful, a movement of this kind can effectively challenge the legitimacy of the existing order and, on this basis, mobilize huge numbers of people and generate intense commitment and energy. Although such movements are often brief, their impact can be profound.

While the Cultural Revolution only lasted a four-year stint (1964-68) the structural impact of the Red Guard Movement, as a brief tide of youthful political discontent, still reverberates throughout China to this day (Karl 2010).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

IDEOLOGICAL CONTENT ANALYSIS

I hypothesize that the main ideological themes in foundational documents are the major themes utilized by social movement entrepreneurs in the creation of collective action frames. To study this hypothesis, I perform a content analysis by coding the major thematic elements of the LRB. After identifying these ideological elements (role attribution, folklore narrative, ethical norms, utopian schemes, strategic planning, motivational appeals) in the LRB, I then compare them to elements in a political speech presented to Chinese Communist Party in the year 1966. Political speeches given during this time are of great interest because they quickly gave rise to the infamous Red Guard Movement that tactically spearheaded the Great Proletarian Revolution (Andreas 2007; Huang 2009).

If the main ideological resources of a political speech can be shown to draw heavily on the LRB's content, then *the source* of a frame's ideological underpinnings will be more apparent. To reveal the potent nature of the Red Guard's mobilization campaign, one must show *to what extent* Red Guard Movement frames ideologically display narrative fidelity to the foundational document.

I consider reoccurring ideological elements as significant frame content variables and the textual unit of the paragraph as an appropriate unit of analysis in order to capture

the rhetorical arrangement of pertinent ideological framing elements. The ability to capture ideological themes in the LRB depends on the researcher recognizing more than simply key words or phrases but relevant frame constructing ideational elements that collectively make up a potent ideological-rhetorical framework.

Krippendorff (2004:109) acknowledges the attraction of making thematic distinctions to many content analysts because of the “descriptive richness of thematic units and their link to readers’ understanding” but warns “even carefully trained coders can easily be led in different directions, making reliability difficult to achieve.” Even when themes are clearly defined they still do not lend to as easy an analysis as smaller units. Comparing ideological themes in the LRB and a political speech will improve our understanding of both. My intention is to uncover those elements that generate the most resonating potency within the frame.

Categories to Capture Ideological Content

Drawing upon literature in organization science, social movement theory, social psychology, sociolinguistics, and sociology I developed six theoretical categories in order to perform an ideological content analysis of the LRB³.

I intentionally chose a foundational text connected to a recent political social movement that was highly successful in mobilizing activists through potent frame presentations. I propose that by dissecting foundational documents in this manner the researcher will then be able to use these findings to *uncover the potent ideological elements* located in the social movement entrepreneur’s frame presentation.

³ See Appendix C for FDT ideological subcategories within the LRB.

Role Attribution. The ideological category of role attribution draws heavily from personal and collective identity theory that has traditionally enjoyed rich academic inquiry mainly in the areas of biology, psychology, and sociology (Hogg and Terry 2001; Hornsey 2008) Hunt and others (1994:193,197) attest to the importance of the clarification of both personal and collective identity fields stating:

Protagonist identity fields are constellations of identity attributions about individuals and collectives taken to be advocates of movement causes. These usually include collective identity claims about ‘the movement’ and allied aggregations and organizations. They also involve a variety of personal identity attributions such as movement heroes and heroines, paid and unpaid staffers, leaders, rank-and-file followers, and star supporters. Also included are collective and personal identity attributions about constituents such as ‘innocent victims,’ aggrieved populations, ‘future generations,’ and ‘the silent majority.’ SMO actors also make personal and collective protagonist identity avowals.

And they go on to explain that:

Antagonist identity fields are constellations of identity attributions about individuals and collectives imputed to be opponents of movement causes. These include claims about counter-movements, counter-movement organizations, hostile institutions, inimical publics, and social control agents. Additionally, numerous personal identity typifications are socially constructed and imputed for specific villains, oppositional leaders, rank-and-file opponents, and star adversaries.

In a well-constructed frame the presenter will incorporate collective identity attributions in order to clearly define the boundaries of what kind of person can (and cannot) conceivably be included in the movement’s cause (Hogg and Terry 2001). Personal identity attributions are also incorporated in the frame to highlight specific movement-oriented protagonist and antagonist role identifications. Within a frame presentation potency increases as clear role definitions fulfill the core diagnostic function of intensifying identity appeal and threat salience (Maney et al. 2009).

Folklore Narrative. Folklore narrative is the second category used to capture ideological content. Narrative is a major concern in current social movement framing studies. Folklore narratives constitute the material that makes up the storied-nature of everyday reality. These familiar narratives contain mythic world constructing and regulating potential (Berger and Luckmann 1966). The purpose of these explanatory

stories is to spell out the norms, values, and beliefs of both institutional and counter-institutional organizations. Folklore narrative serves both a diagnostic and prognostic framing function by supplying a complex moral matrix with which to judge the merit of movement decisions (Benford and Snow 2000). These resonating narratives are continually appealed to within the discourse community in order to vividly enhance the social boundaries of commonly expected group norms. Folklore narrative as a category allows examination of intertextuality within the LRB and narrative fidelity within Red Guard framing efforts (Jones 2012).

Ethical Norms. Ethical ideational elements are made up mainly of deeply held belief systems. This third category coincides with much work currently being published under the heading of emotions and social movements. Frame entrepreneurs are very concerned with appealing to these values within the populace. In social movement theory, the more these values are included within a frame presentation, the more resonate the frame becomes to potential activists. Reciting a familiar moral code bolsters previous ethical social construction efforts. Challenging the hearer with logical conclusions as to where these beliefs may potentially lead within a social movement setting is a powerful way to link ideological concern and mobilization appeal (Polletta 2006). Ethical norms are essential ideological elements in frame presentations because they lend potency to the frame through moral authority, emotional resonance, and identity appeal (Maney et al. 2009).

Utopian Schemes. Utopianism is a specific element of folklore that focuses specifically on future outcomes of movement success. Utopia is, in many ways, the natural consequence of a culturally outdated ideology (Goodwin and Taylor 1982). The utopian scheme is presented as a comprehensive ideological challenger that attempts to capture the collective imagination and drive the current dominant ideology to the outskirts of popular opinion. This ideological challenge is accomplished by painting what is contemporary as hopeless, outdated, and incongruent with a progressive social order. Turner (1994:80) explicates:

Every social order depends on the general acceptance of certain myths and the use of certain thought categories for its effectiveness and stability. The comprehensive system of thought that undergirds and existing social order is called ideology. Ideologies are thus potent conservative forces, permitting even dissidents to work ultimately so as to maintain the existing social order. Under some circumstances, however, a system of thought that is wholly incongruous with the existing order may emerge and gain widespread acceptance. When that system of thought mobilizes a sufficient number of people into action to shatter the existing social order and render the prevalent ideology no longer meaningful, it is called a utopia. The utopia becomes the basis for a general social movement that fosters profound social change, leading ultimately to a different social order and a new ideology to support it.

In agreement with Turner's explanation of utopia as ideological usurpation, I conceive of utopian elements in the frame presentation as highly idealistic claims about the future success of the social movement. These claims are often times about a new social system that could potentially bring about lasting world peace, unimpeded technological progress, domestic unification of disparate classes, and empowerment of the general population to gain more social control. Utopian schemes serve a very important prognostic framing function because projections of a glorious future incite a high level of emotional resonance (Maney et al. 2009).

Strategic Planning. Strategic planning was the only category not suggested directly by the cultural paradigm in social movement theory, but instead emerged inductively from the LRB itself. Much of the textual material would not neatly fit into the other five categories, and as this material accumulated it became obvious that a category needed to be added which captured the LRB's invitations to follow practical plans of action (Hogg and Terry 2001). Strategic planning is the most utilitarian of the categories, capitalizing on a sense of experiential commensurability within the potential social movement activist.

While not explicitly 'ideological' I understand strategy framing as an attempt to give real life application to ideological principles. In this sense, strategy framing can be considered the ideational element within the text that bridges the gap between abstract thought and practical action. In other words, the strategic planning category is conceived as being a heavily praxis oriented category. Strategy framing usually receives attention within social movement research under the subheadings of resource mobilization and political opportunity processes (Buechler 2011).

Motivational Appeals. The last ideological category comes from Benford and Snow's (2000) three core framing elements. Rhetorically hortatory in nature, motivational framing is the last of the three framing tasks and moves the potential activists (who have bought into the diagnostic and prognostic portions of the frame already) from simple consensus to a point of action on behalf of the group. Motivational portions of the text increase frame potency by appealing to a heightened sense of threat salience and collective identity (Maney et al. 2009).

To complete a thorough ideological content analysis I argue that the researcher

must go directly to the foundational document and examine the ideological content that persuades the potential social movement activist to take on a new collective identity, adhere to a common folklore narrative, follow a novel set of guiding principles, buy into utopian schemes, rearrange one's life to accommodate new devotional ways of living, and allow one's actions to be benignly manipulated through motivational appeals.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

IDEOLOGICAL CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE LITTLE RED BOOK

This section of the paper is broken up by ideological category. Each major category of the foundational document theoretical model is paired with one subcategory emerging from the LRB (*See Appendix C*). My intention in limiting the analysis to one subcategory for each major category is to focus more intently on specific findings of the theoretical model and to provide a more intensive analysis.

Folklore Content: Socialist Theory

The LRB's folklore is a unique blend of ancient Chinese proverbs, nationalistic opposition narratives, and Marxist social theory (Womack 1982). These three ideological strands combine to produce a grand narrative, a modern mythical storyline which includes scientific certitude, faith in populism as a creative force, injunctions for revolutionary violence, progress through mass struggle, a methodology for dismantling the objections of opposing political ideals, leadership goals, and practical advice for living devotionally. The fact that Mao, and his initial Red Guard Movement entrepreneurs in 1966, advocated the rapid deterioration of institutional order and attempted to set up a radically alternative-yet-legitimate social structure highlights the mythical nature of the ideological elements within the collective action frames (Andreas 2007).

Before one can adequately interact with the folklore elements in the LRB one must recognize the myth generating potency of Marxism. Berger (1986:196) notes Marxism's potency as a mobilizing folklore element:

Maoism should probably be given first place among Marxist movements stressing 'spirituality,' moral and quasi-religious inspiration. Even those more orthodox Marxists, who have been insisting that Marxism is, first and foremost, a matter of science, have been forced to make use of its mythic qualities as soon as they have engaged in revolutionary actions: Men are not prepared to risk their lives for a scientific theory.

The genius of Marx in blending the communitarian tradition of Western Christianity with the Enlightenment's insistence on sober scientific inquiry created a kind of scientific socialism which included both a comprehensive political theory and ethical mandate. Perhaps the potency Marxism brings to a frame presentation originates from its narrative fidelity to classically biblical themes. Berger (1986:197) explains, "Marxism can be understood as a peculiar secularized version of a classical view of history." This secular version of biblical history is complete with a fall from grace (capitalism), a gross disunity within humanity (alienation), a determined community with a redemptive purpose (the socialist transition), and a great climax that will bring humanity into a state of permanent utopian relations (full communism).

These biblical themes originated in an Eastern context and are repeatedly found in religiously oriented folk literature. When Mao began to use Marxist ideology within his framing efforts the religious undertones combined with social scientific methodology ensured the frame substantial potency, thus providing the frame resonance needed for Mao's various mobilization campaigns (Knight 2007). In this way, one can see how foundational documents (*Communist Manifesto*) come to inspire the creation of new contextually relevant foundational documents (LRB), and leads one to consider how this process has been continuously perpetuated throughout the history of political and

religious movements.

From the outset of the LRB, the ideological direction for the rest of the text is clearly spelled out. The CCP will be the core group leading the revolutionary masses to an inevitable and total victory, and the theoretical basis guiding this progressive movement is Marxism-Leninism (M-L). The social scientific views of Marx are touted as proof of a cutting edge in political theory, social organizing, and cultural renewal within the LRB. Not seen as polite suggestions or novel ways to accomplish social tasks, M-L theory is presented as a series of concrete principles that are needed to guide the people into a new communal utopian age.

Mao's stance on M-L theory is clearly defined when he states, "Marxism must certainly advance; it must develop along with the development of practice and cannot stand still. It would become lifeless if it remained stagnant and stereotyped. However, the basic principles of Marxism must never be violated, or otherwise mistakes will be made" (Tsetung 1964:20). Mao makes the case that although Marxist ideals have to be continuously reinterpreted within current sociopolitical events, the basic principles underlying the major ideological thrust of his revolutionary movement should be reverently left alone.

Mao attests to the mythical significance of M-L theory as he praises Marxism's all-encompassing reach as both an ideological system of belief and as a way to restructure the social system. Mao states, "Communism is at once a complete system of proletarian ideology and a new social system. It is different from any other ideological and social system, and is the most complete, progressive, revolutionary and rational system in human history" (Tsetung 1964:23).

Mao's pronouncements about M-L theory ring with a tone of religious ecstasy perhaps because he so badly needed an all-pervasive, comprehensive, and concise worldview in order to combat the impending Japanese military threat, the entrenched feudal landlord class, and the aggressive U.S. imperialists (Karl 2010). Combining his revolutionary zeal with M-L's social program for a communistic utopia gave Mao the ideational tools he needed to present a convincing case for revolution to the Chinese populace. At this time the Chinese people were still struggling to emerge from the inhibiting economic relations of feudalism and the strict caste system of Confucian political elitism (Womack 1982).

Like all complex projections of a future world complete with new norms, values, and beliefs, M-L theory provided Mao with a vast enough framework to allow him to grasp hold of a few key subjective ideals and present them in his cultural context as objective principles (Knight 2007). These utopian principles served to help fulfill the task of motivational framing in that they were able to prescribe revolutionary action for region specific grievances (Kubal 1998). Attacking those within the party who had taken the 'capitalist road' and those who, at least by way of complacency, tolerated the 'four olds' was Mao's way of encouraging the masses to accept his own special concoction of M-L theory and to practice his own stylized brand of praxis (Townsend 1977).

In order for Mao to construct and present a potent frame to the students during the Cultural Revolution not only did he have to borrow heavily from M-L theory he also had to take into consideration the cultural environment of China in the 1960's (Kubal 1998). The concept of frame resonance, being heavily focused on individual participant mobilization, does not adequately capture the social dynamics of a vast and expedient

mass social acceptance of a frame presentation. While emphasis on individual conversion experiences can be useful for understanding social-psychological interchanges, Kubal's (1998) concept of cultural resonance better captures the dynamic behind Mao's frame presentation's overwhelming positive response rate. As Kubal (1998:551) notes:

The content, potency, and organization of movement frames are shaped by the cultural environment in which they are presented. Each region's normative regulations do not determine activists' claims, but collective action frames that resonate with each region's conventional styles, customary forms, and robust content-based themes are more recognizable and appear natural and familiar.

Although Mao's programs intended to expedite the socialist transition period were a tragic flop for the workers involved and a disturbing jolt of embarrassment for the CCP, the prior success of M-L ideology in industrializing China was still widely held as a national blessing, a populist treasure, and as the future of the CCP thought (Zhensheng 2003). M-L theory, by and large, enjoyed an ideologically uncontested thirty-year reign of devotion ensured by ongoing mass propaganda campaigns in which the military and the peasant learned to live out M-L principles within a harmonious life of mutual struggle (Karl 2010).

To add further legitimacy to Mao's particular version of M-L ideology Lin Piao released the first edition of the LRB in 1964 and made it required devotional reading for the army under his command (Kau 1975). By August 18th, 1966, at Beijing's Tiananmen Square, over a million students met Mao exuberantly waving his or her own personal copy of the LRB, what had become by that time a "mandatory revolutionary accessory" (Karl 2010:126). The Red Guard's framing efforts are directly dependent upon the masses accepting Mao's meta-folklore presentation within the LRB, which is a textual interweaving of various genres including: ancient wisdom maxims, cultural analogies, historical parables, M-L social thought, and nationalistic appeals (Swales 1990).

Within Mao's mixture of ideational elements he presents the Chinese people with a folklore that is already under heavy attack. Part of accepting Mao's folklore belief system is becoming convinced from the outset that the belief system itself is already engaged in a magnificent ideological battle. In the LRB this ideological showdown is presented from a macro perspective when Mao gives instructions on verbally criticizing the ideological opposition stating, "Mistakes must be criticized and poisonous weeds fought wherever they crop up" (Tsetung 1964:54). He also presents the ideological battle from a micro perspective by repurposing an ancient wisdom maxim advocating his activists to "cure the sickness to save the patient" (Tsetung 1964:127).

Within the ranks of the Red Guard Movement duty demanded that in order to be a sufficient leader one must continuously be engaged in sharing the folklore narrative with the masses, and in raising the narrative above all other embedded cultural folklore. In order to be an effective leader Mao (Tsetung 1964) states that one must: take the ideas to the masses (p.128), propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own (p.128), get the broad masses to understand (p.131), and to go beyond a general call by gaining experience among the masses in order to enrich the content of future framing efforts (p.226).

In the last passage mentioned, Mao shows concern about the depth of resonance in the frame presentations of his movement leaders. He demands that his leaders go deeply into the work lives of the peasants in order to gain the experience of the masses. By observing their discursive habits, textual norms, and structural results the leaders should be better able to enrich the general call of their frame presentations. Leaders of the Cultural Revolution were expected to journey to the countryside believing that

experience leads to a refined frame presentation (Li 2010; Walder 2009). But Mao warns that integrating oneself with the people does not automatically guarantee the frame presentation will attain a significant amount potency admitting that “there is the danger that nothing may come of it” (Tsetung 1964:226).

Utopian Content: Unstoppable Populism

Chinese tradition honored the Confucian elite as those intellectual officials who maintained the role of guardians over cultural norms, values, and beliefs (Townsend 1977). Because of the Marxist influence coming in the form of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, ordinary Chinese citizens, for the first time, found themselves propelled onto the center stage of national politics. Mao quickly capitalized on this new populist spirit by actively encouraging his own personal brand of populism (Townsend 1977). Mao’s populism included a mix of ideational elements, integrating a strong blend of Marxist theory and nationalism.

Although Mao embraced ‘the people’ as the uncontested source of virtue, he by no means attempted to stay narratively faithful to their entire storied tradition (Townsend 1977). Mao’s framing efforts betray many traditional narratives: the god’s of folk religion, the daily devotional routines of ancient superstitions, and the striving of the petty bourgeois to become sophisticated elites. Although skeptical of the merits of religious thought, Mao did inadvertently capitalize on those ancient traditions (Buddhism, Taoism, Peasant Tradition) that looked to the future possibility of a folk hero who would come to resist the imperial elites and rise to the throne as a populist prophet (Townsend 1977).

In the late 19th century the groundwork for an advanced populist movement had

been set with the Taiping Rebellion and May Fourth Reform Movement (Townsend 1977). As a founding figure of the first revolution, by the time Mao gave his endorsement of the big character poster campaign he was already widely seen as a folk hero. Mao capitalized on his founding figure status and his populist origins by tapping into the class sensibilities of the masses that were once again rapidly becoming an intellectually disregarded population (Huang 1996).

Mao insisted that his mass campaigns not be run by governmental bureaucracies but by a highly motivated Chinese population at all the local levels (Townsend 1977). In Mao's mass campaigns a very general social goal was transmitted to the public through all available means of communication. Each individual citizen was expected to take a stand on the issues, criticize any idea that was considered counter-revolutionary, and take personal responsibility for their contribution (Townsend 1977). Yet without the administrative know-how of systems implementation, the mass campaigns would often disrupt the peasants' daily work routines, breed uncontrollable zealots anxious to deconstruct vital civil institutions, and throw entire regions into political turmoil.

Though Mao took major ideological cues from Marx he distanced himself on certain particulars and came to relate more closely with utopian socialists and Russian populists (Lynch 2011). Whereas Marx saw capitalism as a historically necessary precursor to socialism, Mao, the utopian socialists, and the Russian Populists considered capitalism an unnecessary evil that could be circumvented by appealing directly to the masses moral virtue. Although the western world had already advanced structurally into industrial capitalism, Mao considered the fact that China was still primarily an agrarian society as a distinct advantage (Lynch 2011). Mao envisioned his nation skipping the

horrors of the capitalist industrial revolution, and instead transitioning directly to an advanced form of socialism. Mao agreed with Lenin that rural countries had more of a chance to transition into communism as the people were not yet infected with harmful bourgeoisie ideology and were still poor enough to want a major transformative social revolution (Goodwin and Taylor 1982).

Mao's populist vision is utopian in nature as he presents the Chinese people as full of untapped, limitless creative energy just waiting to be unleashed upon the political sector. Mao's vision was for the Chinese people to become the "shining example of communistic progress" for the rest of the nations lagging behind (Tsetung 1964:118). What the reader of the LRB must come to understand is that when Mao (Tsetung 1964:197) states things like "By uniting with the entire people in a common effort, we can certainly overcome all difficulties and win victory" he is not using this rhetoric solely in a motivational sense but with a determined gaze toward a glorious future. This is a future in which workers and peasants take "destiny into their own hands" and are able to overcome "every difficulty in the world" (Tsetung 1964:198). Although his verbiage is bombastic in nature, Mao is not exaggerating his faith in the populace to overcome the obstacles of revisionism, to join together in a mass line living out M-L teachings, and to build the elusive populist-driven communist utopia from which Russia, at the time, was retreating.

Ethical Content: Altruistic Selflessness and Sacrificial Struggle

The altruistic mandates in the LRB do not appear until halfway through the text. The majority of the first half of the book is spent spelling out: a) various protagonist and antagonist roles, b) the Chinese political climate, and c) Maoist exposition of the

important elements within M-L theory. Altruism makes its début in a chapter titled “Relations between the Army and the People” (Tsetung 1964:153). The first mention of selflessness is the obligation of the democratic government to lead the people in “giving preferential treatment to the families of soldiers fighting in Japan” (Tsetung 1964:154).

After this initial call to give preference to military families, the LRB rapid fires a series of examples promoting altruism. The first being Comrade Bethune’s example of utter devotion to others without any thought of himself, and of his boundless sense of responsibility and warm-heartedness to all comrades. Mao goes on to define all comrades as “servants of the people” and provides a list of ethical injunctions indicating that a good communist “subordinates his personal interests to those of the revolution,” “should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle,” and “be more concerned about the party and masses than about any individual” (Tsetung 1964:268).

Not only does the LRB glorify the selfless communist worker but also the brutal struggle the worker may have to endure for the sake of the cause. Mao presents sacrifice as “heroic” and as the only way for “permanent preservation” of the communist movement (Tsetung 1964:94). In a chapter titled “Serving the People,” in the LRB Mao is very clear about his expectations of sacrificial struggle for the masses (Tsetung 1964:170). At the end of this chapter Mao defines a “worthy death” as dying “for the people” (Tsetung 1964:173).

Perhaps because this topic of discussion is so demanding, Mao increases the resonance of his frame by displaying his narrative fidelity to ancient Chinese writer Szuma Chien (Benford and Snow 2000). Chien’s popular teaching reads, “Though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather”

(Tsetung 1964:174). Mao interprets this ancient saying within his modern context to mean that dying for ‘the people’ is a heavy death whereas working for the goals of ‘the oppressors’ results in a light death. In defining the role of a communist, Mao spells out the ethical parameters of those devotionally faithful to the LRB as being “the most self sacrificing, the most resolute, the least prejudiced in sizing up situations” (Tsetung 1964:271).

Motivational Content: The War for Ideological Dominance

The majority of the struggle presented within the LRB is overtly ideological in nature. Peasant uprisings and wars are presented as the real motive force of historical development in Chinese society. The struggle of socialism versus capitalism is understood to occur over a long historical period in which the only real impediment of progress is the ignorance of the Chinese peasants who must be educated (Tsetung 1964). The narrative, being handed down by the Red Guard, supposed that once the poor peasants were convinced of the merit of class struggle they would begin to enlist the middle class in order to build a numerically significant base to engage in full-scale class warfare (Walder 2009).

Mao exhorts the readers of the LRB to criticize and stop ideological “poisonous weeds, erroneous ideas, and monsters” from spreading further (Tsetung 1964:19). Mao even proposes government suppression of reactionaries who may be dangerously capable of advancing a competing ideology by advocating that landlords and capitalists be denied the right to vote, and that their freedom of speech be restricted for a specified amount of time (Tsetung 1964:38).

Rhetoric of an ideological battle in the LRB is a tool for motivational framing, but

should also be understood as a historical reality transcending the sociopolitical atmosphere of China. Under a chapter dealing with the M-L folklore concept of contradiction, Mao brings a historical example to the minds of the readers. There was a counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary a little over a decade before the publication of the LRB. Mao presents this Hungarian rebellion as a “case of reactionaries inside a socialist country, in league with the imperialists, attempting to achieve their conspiratorial aims by taking advantage of contradictions among the people to foment dissension and stir up disorder” (Tsetung 1964:57). Referencing this historical example lends credence to the seriousness of China’s own ideological struggle, and serves to show that the advancement of socialism is by no means an automatic guarantee.

Throughout the LRB Mao references the propaganda campaign initiated by the PLA. This educational campaign spread throughout the countryside as Lin Piao ordered various factions of the military to dwell among the people in order to model correct political orientation, a simple industrious style of work, and flexible tactics for dealing with the enemy (Kau 1975). The method preferred to bring the masses into the revolutionary movement was persuasion. Compulsion to join the revolution was reserved for the bourgeoisie reactionary class attempting to thwart ideological progress.

In a chapter titled “Criticism and Self Criticism” Mao recommends opposing unproductive ideological ideas by considering how to “cure the sickness to save the patient” (Tsetung 1964:261). Mao makes use of this pithy analogy to point out the main aim of the ideological battle is to “expose errors” and “criticize shortcomings” in order to “save the patient and not to doctor him to death” (Tsetung 1964:262). This is Mao’s ethical approach to non-believers, to remove the political malady and bring the patient

into full recovery. The agenda of Mao's mobilization campaign was to move the doubting masses into a state of new belief. Mao was a master of effectively using parabolic phrases in his framing efforts enabling the masses to better wrap their minds around his abstract vision through simple, commonly encountered narrative constructions.

IDEOLOGICAL FRAME ANALYSIS OF A RED GUARD ACTIVIST'S POLITICAL SPEECH

Now I move from a content analysis of the LRB directly to a frame analysis of a Red Guard political speech. The same ideological categories and subcategories are in play so that consistencies and inconsistencies between the foundational document and the speech can be clearly seen.

Timeline of Red Guard Framing Efforts

Huang's (1996) rhetorical study of China's Cultural Revolution led him to divide the phases of the Cultural Revolution outside the traditional divisionary categorization of politics and power struggle, basing his phases around advocacy and rhetorical events instead. According to his rhetorical study, the Cultural Revolution can be divided into nine phases. These are: "(1) the prelude; (2) the big-character poster campaign and mass participation; (3) the fifty days of white terror; (4) creating chaos; (5) counter-economism and the January storm; (6) the three-way alliance; (7) criticizing and repudiating Liu Shaoqi and his *Self-Cultivation*; (8) the revolutionary great alliance; and (9) terminating the Red Guard movement and promoting unification" (Huang 1996:19).

The political speech I have chosen for this study is given by pro-Mao party official Lin Piao. According to Huang's nine stages, the speech under consideration occurs somewhere between rhetorical phases two through four. The speech included in this study is taken from this specific time period because in 1966 the Chinese nation

experienced an unprecedented mass mobilization of thousands of students, teachers, and workers joining the ranks of the Red Guard Movement (Walder 2009).

Between the first character poster's popularization of publicly critiquing party figureheads and the ensuing chaos of eradicating the elusively subjective 'four olds,' orienting frame presentations were being continuously offered on campuses by various factions of the Red Guard. Meanwhile, pro-Mao party officials toured factories, schools, and military facilities eliciting support for the new revolutionary student movement (Walder 2009).

Categorizing Ideological Elements in a Political Speech

Below I demonstrate an ideological content analysis of a political speech given by Lin Piao in 1966. I present the categorical scheme within the text of the speech so that the reader will better understand how each phrase, sentence, or paragraph is related to the ideology found in the LRB. I use abbreviations for both the six major categories and the sub categories taken inductively from the LRB. The major categories will be abbreviated as: role attribution (ROLE), folklore narrative (FLK), ethical norms (ETH), utopian schemes (UTP), strategic planning (STRT), motivational appeals (MOT). The categories will be presented in the text as major ideological category first then sub category directly following like so (FLK theory).

A number of speeches given by Chairman Mao and Lin Piao were seized during raids performed by various factions of the Red Guard Movement on the offices of communist functionaries thought to be taking the capitalist road (Ebon 1970). In 1969 a number of these documents became available outside of China and were translated into English. By February 1970 Washington released this speech under the title "Comrade Lin

Piao's First Speech on Ideological Struggle." Based on internal evidence scholars suggest that this frame was presented sometime in 1966 (Ebon 1970).

Lin Piao's Collective Action Frame: Ideological Struggle

Paragraph One

Our Communist Party (ROLE party) has one principle which states that contradiction (FLK contradiction) can only be resolved through struggle (ETH struggle). The philosophy (FLK theory) of our Communist Party (ROLE party) is the dialectic (FLK contradiction); it is the struggle of opposites (ETH struggle; FLK contradiction). When we change something, we have to rely upon struggle (ETH struggle). Our Communist Party (ROLE party) is a proletarian political party (ROLE party). Its vigor, its incorruptibility, and its resistance to decay are all due to the fact that our ideological method (FLK method) is that of struggle (ETH struggle). Our philosophy (FLK theory) emphasizes struggle (ETH struggle). Our philosophy (FLK theory) is the philosophy (FLK theory) that emphasizes struggle (ETH struggle). Chairman Mao (ROLE founding figure) made this judgment in an article. This philosophy of struggle (FLK theory; ETH struggle) is a philosophy (FLK theory) that guarantees that we will continue to advance (UTP progress); it is a philosophy (FLK theory) that guarantees that we will continue to be dynamic (UTP populist energy). Otherwise there will be decay; there will be a lack of energy; there will be opportunism (MOT resistance). The Second International (MOT role model), for instance, did not emphasize struggle (ETH struggle).

Paragraph Two

The Chinese Communist Party (ROLE party) relies on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism (FLK theory). When we adopt this policy (FLK theory) with respect to things, then that is struggle (ETH struggle); when there are shortcomings (self

criticism), we struggle (ETH struggle) with them. The principle of life (FLK theory) for our party (ROLE party) is that, when there are contradictions (FLK contradiction), they must be struggled (ETH struggle) with; struggle (ETH struggle) is the only way that we will be able to correct anything. This means that we must, one, reduce their scope so they can not possibly affect other people (STRT outsiders); and two, come to our senses ourselves (STRT education).

Paragraph Three

Therefore, our comrades (ROLE cadres) should not fear struggle (ETH struggle). This point is still being perpetuated in the military units (STRT military; ROLE army) at present. Whether it is a major military district (ROLE army), one military service (ROLE army), an army (ROLE army), a division (ROLE army), a regiment (ROLE army), a battalion (ROLE army), a company (ROLE army), or a company [party] branch (ROLE party), we must adhere consistently (MOT tenacity) to this living principle (FLK theory). When there are errors (ETH self criticism), we must not shirk our duties (ETH selflessness) or take a liberal attitude (Counter FLK); we must wage a fearless struggle (MOT resistance; ETH struggle)—a courageous struggle (MOT resistance; ETH struggle).

Paragraph Four

Frequently one comes to the conclusion that struggle (ETH struggle) will bring problems (Counter FLK). The truth is, not only will struggle (ETH struggle) not bring problems, but also it will resolve problems (FLK contradiction). If we do not struggle (ETH struggle), then there will indeed be problems (FLK theory). Everyone (ROLE masses) should look carefully (ETH self criticism) at what Chairman Mao (ROLE

founding figure) has written on his opposition to liberalism (Counter FLK). The various types and kinds of Liberalism (Counter FLK) do not involve struggle (ETH struggle) and the continued existence of bad thoughts is tolerated (ETH self criticism). This causes our party (ROLE party) to decay (MOT resistance) and is not consistent with Marxism-Leninism (FLK theory). It is not consistent with dialectics (FLK method). This is a philistine concept (Counter FLK).

Paragraph Five

We can also discuss (FLK method) opposite ideas (FLK theory) as well, and once we have discussed them, we have an opposite (FLK theory). The conditions are then good for carrying on struggle (ETH struggle) and for continuing education (STRT education). We must have this kind of work style (STRT raising) at all levels. It is a democratic work style (FLK democracy). It permits people (ROLE masses) to discuss (FLK method) both sides of an issue—the positive and negative sides (FLK theory; Counter FLK). The positive ideas (FLK theory) can be accepted; the negative ideas (Counter FLK) must be refuted. Letting a man discuss something and letting him operate are two separate things, and they must not be confused (ETH persuasion/compulsion). “Discuss” means just to let him discuss it; it does not mean he is allowed to operate (ETH persuasion/compulsion)—he must be refuted (ETH persuasion/compulsion). We must maintain the democratic work style (FLK democracy). Whether it is the positive (FLK theory) or negative (Counter FLK) idea, let him discuss it (ETH persuasion/compulsion). Do not refuse (ETH persuasion/compulsion) to allow the negative idea (Counter FLK) to be discussed for the sake of struggle (ETH struggle). IF it is not done this way, then he may never mention positive ideas (FLK theory). The life of our party (ROLE party) will

not [tolerate] mincing of words (ETH self crit). So, hereafter, we will still rely upon the old rules (FLK theory)—rules which Chairman Mao (ROLE founding figure) advocates, that is, daring to think and daring to speak (MOT role model).

Paragraph Six

Our military forces (ROLE army) have been nurtured by Chairman Mao (ROLE founding figure), and they have a party spirit (ETH selflessness). It is good to be able to understand what is meant by party spirit (ETH selflessness) and what is meant by factional spirit. It should become our tradition (ETH selflessness). In other words, do not refrain from separating the public and private aspects. The political relationships between comrades (ROLE cadres) and the friendly relationships between individuals are not the same thing (ETH selflessness). They must be clearly differentiated (ETH selflessness). A private individual's friendship is just that. Political matters, party matters, matters concerning the people, and revolutionary matters absolutely cannot be confused (ETH helpful to masses; MOT resistance) with the friendship of private individuals. When party matters (ROLE party) or matters of ideological line (FLK ideological battle) become divided, then we must resolutely stand (MOT tenacity) on the side of the party (ROLE party) and of the revolution (ROLE revolution). There must be no sentimentalism (ETH selflessness) and no factional viewpoints (Counter FLK). In this way, we will be able to maintain our party (ROLE party) unity (UTP unification).

Categorical Totals by Paragraph.⁴

Paragraph One:

ROLE: party (4) founding figure (1)
 FLK: theory (7) contradiction (3) method (1)
 ETH: struggle (8)
 UTP: progress (1) populist energy (1)
 STRT:
 MOT: resistance (1) role model (1)

Paragraph Two:

ROLE: party (2)
 FLK: theory (3) contradiction (1)
 ETH: struggle (4) self-criticism (1)
 UTP:
 STRT: outsiders (1) education (1)
 MOT:

Paragraph Three:

ROLE: army (8) party (1) cadres (1)
 FLK: theory (1) counter folklore (1)
 ETH: struggle (2) self-criticism (1) selflessness (1)
 UTP:
 STRT: military (1)
 MOT: resistance (2)

Paragraph Four:

ROLE: party (1) masses (1) founding figure (1)
 FLK: counter folklore (4) theory (2) counter folk (1) method (1) contradiction (1)
 ETH: struggle (4) self-criticism (2)
 UTP:
 STRT:
 MOT: resistance (1)

Paragraph Five:

ROLE: party (1) masses (1) founding figure (1)
 FLK: theory (6) counter folk (5) method (2) democracy (1)
 ETH: persuasion/compulsion (5) struggle (2) self criticism (1)
 UTP:
 STRT: raising up cadres (2) education (1)
 MOT: role model (1)

⁴ Subcategory placed from most encountered concept to least.

Paragraph Six:

ROLE: party (5) cadres (1) founding figure (1) army (1)

FLK: counter folk (1) ideological battle (1)

ETH: selflessness (6) helpful to the masses (1)

UTP: unification (1)

STRT:

MOT: resistance (1) tenacity (1)

Categorical Totals Overall.

ROLE: party (14) army (9) founding figure (4) cadres (2) masses (2) revolution (1)

FLK: theory (21) counter folklore (10) contradiction (5) method (4) democracy (2)
ideological battle (1)

ETH: struggle (21) selflessness (7) self criticism (5) persuasion/compulsion (5) helpful to masses (1)

UTP: progress (1) populist energy (1) unification (1)

STRT: education (2) outsiders (1) military (1) raising up cadres (1)

MOT: resistance (5) role model (2) tenacity (1)

Now that the ideological elements of the political speech are identified, each category will be compared to the LRB for ideological consistency. I will proceed by looking at each major theoretical category with an eye for identifying potent elements within the framing effort.

Role Attribution: Party. Lin Piao opens his 1966 address to “our communist party⁵.” He then links party philosophy directly to the dialectic when he states that the party’s “one principle” is the belief that “contradiction can only be resolved through struggle.” Piao makes clear from the outset that party identity is revealed and maintained

⁵ All references to Lin Piao’s political speech come from Martin Ebon’s book *Lin Piao: The Life and Writings of China’s New Ruler* from a chapter titled “Ideological Struggle: Talk on Party Unity” (1970:249-251).

through strict adherence to the M-L folklore narrative. Within the first three paragraphs party is directly related to principle as Piao states that the Communist Party “has one principle” and “relies on principle.” M-L folklore is elevated to a living, breathing guide of practical action for the party faithful as the dialectic is represented as the “principle of life for the party.” Later the crowd experiences the moral weight of Piao’s admonition that the “party branch must adhere to living principle.” M-L theory is presented as a literal lifeline to correct belief and action.

The LRB supports Piao’s disposition of having a principled party stating “without a revolutionary party, without a revolutionary party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs” (Tsetung 1964:1).

By paragraph four Piao begins speaking about the ideological threat of Liberalism that causes the “party to decay.” Because Liberalism’s own folklore narrative is so convincing a worldview, the call to sacrificial struggle is in danger of being rejected. Piao advocates a discussion of ideology be allowed so that this contradiction between ideologies can work itself out amongst the people. This discussion must be highly monitored and liberal dissenters are eventually in for massive ideological correction. The main point of these ideology-sharing discussions is to eradicate ideological discrepancies that have infected potential supporters, and to put the dissenters on defense. As Piao states, “The life of our party will not (tolerate) mincing of words.”

In the closing of his speech Piao moves away from the party as directly tied to folklore and turns to appeals of collective identity. Piao praises the military forces for

having a “party spirit,” and reasons that every person could benefit from understanding what having a “party spirit” means. Having a “party spirit” means one must make a clear distinction between personal relationships and the party. Piao urges, “party matters...cannot be confused with the friendship of private individuals.” Piao also admonished that when ideological divisions become apparent one must “resolutely stand on the side of the party.”

In the LRB Mao spells out a view of the party as a principled organization that takes into consideration M-L principle, internal ideological threats, and the importance of an indivisible collective when he states, “The Communist Party of China, having made a clear headed appraisal of the international and domestic situation on the basis of the science of M-L, recognized that all attacks made by the reactionaries at home and abroad had to be defeated and could be defeated” (Tsetung 1964:82).

Role Attribution: Founding Figure. Piao’s speech employs four references to Chairman Mao. The first two point to Mao as a prolific intellectual who has pondered M-L philosophy and has come to his own unique conclusions for the Cultural Revolution. Mao is introduced in the first paragraph as having determined that the main thrust of the party’s philosophy is struggle, as he has “made this judgment in an article.” In paragraph four Piao admonishes, “Everyone should look carefully at what Chairman Mao has written on his opposition to Liberalism.” In the LRB Mao is quite clear on both his fondness for sacrificial struggle and his disdain for the infectious dangers of Liberalism. In a chapter titled “Correcting Mistaken Ideas” Mao states, “Liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary collective” and that “it is an extremely bad tendency” (Tsetung 1964:248).

In paragraph five Piao emphasizes Chairman Mao's tie to democratic philosophy claiming that the people should rely on the "old rules, rules which Chairman Mao advocates, that is daring to think and daring to speak." These "old rules" are probably referring to the revolutionary spirit running all the way back to the Taiping Rebellion (1853-64) that had heavily influenced Mao in his mission to advance a peasant based socialist revolution (DeFronzo 1996).

Role Attribution: Cadres. Piao mentions comrades twice, the first time as an ethical injunction insisting that "comrades should not fear struggle." Continuing his directives to be fearless in the face of struggle, Piao addresses various levels of the military apparatus with the same message. The entire military apparatus serves as a living example of fearlessness for comrades, and he goes on to consider each distinct military grouping from the "major military district" to "a battalion." The LRB speaks frequently about the army serving an exemplary role for the people. In a chapter entitled "Communists" Mao states, "Communists in the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies should set an example in fighting bravely, carrying out orders, observing discipline, doing political work and fostering internal unity and solidarity" (Tsetung 1964:274).

The second place comrade is mentioned is when Piao is drawing boundary lines between social relationships stating, "political relationships between comrades and friendly relationships with individuals are not the same thing." In this way Piao places higher expectations on those already within the party. In the LRB Mao defines cadres as "worthy successors of the new cause" which requires them to be "genuine Marxist-Leninists," "revolutionaries," "proletarian statesmen," "models in applying the Party's democratic centralism," and "modest and prudent" (Tsetung 1964:277-79)

Folklore Narrative: Theory. Twenty-one references to folklore narrative run throughout Piao's political speech. Folklore was represented in the speech by the words philosophy, policy, principles of M-L, principle of life, living principle, M-L, an opposite (to Liberalism), positive ideas, and the old rules. In the first two paragraphs folklore is invoked to bolster the importance of struggle to the revolution. Early in the first paragraph Piao explains that the party's "philosophy emphasizes struggle" three times and by the end of the paragraph refers to folklore directly as the "philosophy of struggle."

Folklore Narrative: Counter Folklore Narrative. Paragraph four introduces Liberalism as an ideological rival that must be dealt with by M-L methodology. Piao warns that party members "must not take a liberal attitude" and to be on guard against "various types and kinds of liberalism." Piao reminds the listeners that even "Chairman Mao has written on his opposition to Liberalism." He ends the paragraph belittling Liberalism, calling it a "philistine concept."

Continuing his argument against Liberalism in paragraph five Piao moves from a rhetorically defensive stance to a more offensive one. Here the folklore narrative is presented as those "positive ideas" that must come to be accepted. Piao admonishes the party to discuss "positive sides of the issue" so that these "positive ideas can be accepted." This cognitive transformation must come by adhering to the "democratic work style" or else those they are seeking to convince may "never mention positive ideas." This is a nudge to the party to implement a gentle yet vigorous debate style with the masses in order to win the people over through ideological persuasion. The LRB expresses this same sentiment in a chapter titled "Study":

How is the Marxist-Leninist theory to be linking with the practice of the Chinese revolution? To use a common expression it is by "shooting the arrow at the target". Some comrades, however, are

“shooting without a target”, shooting at random, and such people are liable to harm the revolution. (Tsetung 1964:308)

Piao encourages the party to become active in folklore debates so that “negative ideas” can be publicly refuted and so “factional viewpoints” will be eradicated. M-L methodology is directly related to struggle in that it demands that two groups with opposing ideologies “discuss both sides of an issue.” Although debate is allowed and struggle is necessary the party members are expected to “resolutely stand on the side of the party” when “matters of ideological line become divided.”

Folklore Narrative: Contradiction. From the beginning of his speech Piao is tying the folklore directly to the idea of contradiction. Piao asserts that the party’s “one principle” is that “contradiction can only be resolved through struggle,” and that the “philosophy of the Communist party is the dialectic.” This passage from the LRB affirms Piao’s “one principle” contention:

Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in mans thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change. (Tsetung 1964:214)

In paragraph two Piao points out that the future life of the party depends on there being contradictions, and that these contradictions should be struggled with and eventually resolved. Piao reasons that this principled approach will “not bring problems” but will instead “resolve problems.” The LRB puts it most succinctly when it states, “ If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party’s life would come to an end” (Tsetung 1964:260).

Ethical Norms: Struggle. The concept of struggle is mentioned 21 times in Piao’s speech. At one point he even boils the entire M-L philosophy down to struggle. After only a peripheral reading of this speech it is obvious that there would be no revolution if

not for this philosophical tradition that adamantly demands struggle. Piao mentions that M-L philosophy emphasizes struggle and that the Second International Socialist Movement did not. Piao makes the point that the failure of previous revolutionary movements was mainly a failure to adhere strictly to the ideological method of struggle. In fact, Piao believes that, if anything is to change the party must “rely on struggle.”

Piao’s focus on struggle is taken straight from the LRB playbook. It is as if Piao was hearing Mao’s words ringing in his head as he spoke, “We must thoroughly clear away all ideas among our cadres of winning easy victories through good luck, without hard and bitter struggle, without sweat and blood.”

Piao goes on to prescribe struggle for a number of various ideological ailments such as “shortcomings,” “contradictions,” and “problems.” The ethics category has the most imperative statements in the form of value-driven injunctions for immediate action. Piao commands the party to “wage a fearless struggle,” “struggle to resolve problems,” and not to “refuse discussion for the sake of struggle.”

Ethical Norms: Self-Criticism. Self-criticism as an ethical subcategory is not as obviously apparent in the speech as struggle, but would have been just as obvious to the party faithful listening in familiar with the LRB. Piao follows Mao’s lead in the LRB encouraging the party to rid themselves of “shortcomings.” Mao states, “We should check our complacency and constantly criticize our shortcomings, just as we should wash our faces or sweep the floor everyday to remove the dirt and keep them clean” (Tsetung 1964:266). Piao, taking cues from the LRB, exhorts “when there are shortcomings struggle with them” and “when there are errors we must not shirk our duties.”

Later in paragraph five, deep into the M-L folklore versus Liberalism discussion, Piao states that liberals tolerate the “continued existence of bad thoughts,” but the party activist should “not tolerate the mincing of words.” Popular Chinese maxims quoted by Mao in the LRB sum this thought up nicely advising to “say all you know and say it without reserve,” “blame not the speaker but be warned by his words,” and “correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not” (Tsetung 1964:260). Mao makes reference to well worn cultural wisdom sayings and then applies them to his own revolutionary times stating, “this is the only effective way to prevent all kinds of political dust and germs from contaminating the minds of our comrades and the body of our Party” (Tsetung 1964:260).

Ethical Norms: Persuasion/Compulsion. In paragraph five the ethical argument shifts from struggle and self-criticism to the correct method of ideological persuasion. The LRB encourages activists to persuade the masses of M-L theory through active discussion, but for those ideological opponents the LRB advises compulsion. Mao makes the case for persuasion in a chapter titled “Relations between Officers and Men”:

Our comrades must understand that ideological remolding involves long-term, patient and painstaking work, and they must not attempt to change the people’s ideology, which has been shaped over decades of life, by giving a few lectures or by holding a few meetings. Persuasion, not compulsion, is the only way to convince them. Compulsion will never result in convincing them. To try to convince them by force simply won’t work. This kind of method is permissible in dealing with the enemy, but absolutely impermissible in dealing with comrades or friends. (Tsetung 1964:151)

Piao makes the same distinction between “persuasion” and “compulsion” using the words “discussion” and “operation.” Piao states, “Letting a man discuss something and letting him operate are two separate things, and they must not be confused.” Piao feels that those in operation “must be refuted” but “any idea to be discussed” must not be refused.

Paragraph six leaves behind all previous ethical subcategories and appeals directly to the individual listener, as Piao's last ethical theme is selflessness. He introduces the term "party spirit" with reference to the military and explains, "it (the party spirit) should become our tradition." Piao's usage of "party spirit" means placing all political relationships higher than any personal relationship one might enjoy. Piao states that "friendly relationships are not the same thing (as political ones)" and that these two distinct types of relationships "must be clearly defined." In Piao's view "party unity" is at stake so there can be "no sentimentalism" in this matter. As Chairman Mao states in the LRB:

We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness... With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people. (Tsetung 1964:172)

Utopian Schemes: Progress and Populist Energy. Only three utopian references are mentioned in Piao's speech. The first two are mentioned at the closing of the first paragraph. Speaking of progress, Piao states that M-L philosophy "is a philosophy that guarantees that we will continue to advance." In a chapter titled "Methods of Thinking and Methods of Work" in the LRB Mao states, "The history of mankind is one of continuous development" and that "ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong" (Tsetung 1964:203).

Piao advances another utopian concept directly after the first in the form of populist energy when he attributes a "dynamic" party to the folklore concept of struggle. Mao understood the masses to have "boundless creative power" and that they could "create more and more undertakings for their own well-being" (Tsetung 1964:119).

Strategic Planning: Outsiders, Education, Military, and Future Leaders. Piao's discussion of strategy included treatment of outsiders to the party, education, military, and internally raising up future leaders. Piao advocates that party members "reduce" the scope of contradictions "so they cannot possibly affect other people." Later in the speech in reference to the counter folklore debate he mentions that these ongoing discussions "are good for...continuing education." This pedagogical sentiment falls in line with Mao's emphasis on education as the "study of the practical problems of the Chinese revolution" (Tsetung 1964:165).

Piao brings the military into the speech to exemplify that fear of struggle is perpetually being addressed within the ranks, and as a practical strategy for advancing the ideology within the party as a whole. The democratic work style was first introduced within the army and here we find Piao affirming, "We must have this kind of work style at all levels."

Motivational Appeals: Resistance. Piao utilized the word "decay" twice to motivate his audience to resist. In the first paragraph failure to adhere to the folklore narrative causes "decay," "lack of energy," and "opportunism." Later on Piao is certain that thoughts stemming from liberal ideology are causing the "party to decay." Where Piao warns of "decay" and "opportunism" Mao warns that "All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked" (Tsetung 1964:19). At the end of the third paragraph Piao seeks to motivate the crowd by urging them to "wage" a fearless and courageous struggle. In the last paragraph resistance emerges once more in

Piao's advice to those tempted to value a personal relationship over party relationships demanding that these relationships "cannot be confused."

Another motivational framing technique Piao utilized is the role model. For instance, at the end of paragraph one Piao mentions in passing that "the Second International did not emphasize struggle." The Second International was an organized effort of socialist and labor parties formed in Paris between 1889 and 1916. Although twenty countries participated, the Communist revolution had stalled in Piao's view because of their lack of commitment to the folklore principle of struggle.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

FRAME CONSTRUCTION AND PRESENTATION

In order to fully take advantage of framing concepts one must be willing to ponder what it would actually be like to participate within the inner circle of a budding social movement organization. A social movement theorist must ask: What would it be like to be included in those early ideologically stimulating discussions about the dire need to draw a mass of neighbors, co-workers, students, and other sympathizers into a common movement?

To fully conceive the rhetorical origins of wildly successful historical movements only access to thoroughly documented historical accounts will do (Jones 2012). Apart from detailed accounts of those frame-constructing conversations, social theorists must piece the ideological puzzle together utilizing the tools of CDA on the one hand, and a number of complementary framing theories on the other.

While ideological elements can be identified, isolated, and categorized from texts and compared with the ideological elements present within collective action frames for internal consistency, I do not go around imagining that social movement entrepreneurs proceed in the frame creation process with such utter scrutiny of the text. Nor do I suppose that the frame creators had explicit intent to include a certain percentage of

narrative fidelity within the frame in order to ensure a high resonance factor.

I do assume, however, that by the time frame constructors' come public with their framing efforts, much of the presentation of the frame is to a large degree second nature. In the first attempts at numerical growth movement ideology has been flowing within the everyday discourse of the frame constructors' inner circle enabling a highly idealistic, rhetorically charged construction of reality (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Borg 2003). This grand projection of a not-yet-realized reality continuously gives form to their idealistic ambitions to wage a political, religious, or social issue campaign. Upon completion of the frame construction process, the inner circle must be prepared to boldly insist upon a new ideologically constructed reality meant to be agreed upon in mass scale.

THE RED GUARD'S TEXT, CONTEXT, SOCIAL ACTION CONTINUUM

In the case of the Red Guard, as a swiftly mobilized social movement, what must finally be admitted is that Mao retained massive ideological control over the state apparatus despite the failure of his transitional economic programs (Zhensheng 2003). Consequently, his successors were never fully able to ignore his immense populist appeal. This mass appeal included his ability to court both the ideologically fertile Chinese student movement and the urban workers who were benefiting most from the afterglow of the recent industrial revolution (Walder 2009). Thus, his ideological warfare began with big character posters serving as indignant moral outcries to disillusioned student intellectuals. Mao's staggering influence was felt as a revolutionary founding father turned cultural icon casting wide the seed of Mao Tsetung thought, a hybridization

of Lenin's version of Marxism, Confucianism, Taoism, and a lingering nationalist vibe left over from the struggle against Japanese imperialist aggressors (Meisner 2007).

Mao's movement went on an ambitious publishing campaign involving the organizational skills of the military in the production and distribution of the LRB (Kau 1975). Paio, as a military commander, is largely responsible for causing Mao's Cultural Revolution to go viral. Conveniently compressed into a compact travel-size edition and readily available at the fingertips of the masses, text and context were, from that point forward in the movement's biography, never explicitly separable but always continuously informing discourse, action, and structure (Fairclough 1992).

Even the Red Guard Movement's factional divides revolved around textual debates of correct interpretation. Rhetorical flourishes of opposing hermeneutical camps could be seen on all major college campuses at the time demanding that less ideologically committed students and faculty take clear sides of the debate (Walder 2009). Eventually, it was these textual debates growing progressively more violent that caused Mao to denounce Red Guard activity and issue an immediate order to disband all warring factions with military force (Karl 2010).

The spectacle of thousands of eager Chinese students fervently waving their very own copies of the LRB at their revered folk hero in Tiananmen Square must surely have ripped a hole in the fabric of Fairclough's (1992) text-context-social practice continuum. Never more apparent was the unification of text, context, and an emerging social structure. As the zealous students raised the LRB to the air in an exercise of devotional unrestraint, Mao secured a red band around his arm thus igniting one of the most destructive yet liberating, subversive yet mainstream, reactionary yet idealistic, textually

driven yet action oriented political social movements in history.

FOUNDATIONAL DOCUMENT THEORY AND FUTURE RESEARCH

FDT is a theoretical model for mining ideological elements buried in a social movement's primary text and their subsequent frame presentations. This model reveals to what extent a mobilizing frame presentation is narratively faithful to a foundational text. FDT addresses emerging theoretical concerns in the three more recent theoretical traditions of social movement theory, critical discourse analysis, and post-structuralism.

Innovative framing concepts appearing less than three decades ago have brought the cultural element back into movement studies which had been previously neglected within both resource mobilization and political process approaches. Since then, various collective action frames have been identified, and framing concepts have become successful in defining socio-psychological processes within mobilization campaigns. Despite these great strides in social movement theory, the ideological content within frame presentations have not yet been systematically identified.

CDA as a new direction in socio-linguistic research emerged alongside frame theory in the mid-80's with the intention of unraveling those discursive processes that perpetuate group reproduction. CDA has provided many useful concepts such as discourse community, intertextuality, and commentary that brings much needed insights into the various ways text, context, and social action converge within social groups. Yet the source and content of much of this ideological (inter)discourse remains sorely unexplored.

For the post-structuralists, ideology is in danger of becoming an irrelevant theoretical category. Skepticism abounds as to the future of ideology as a concept that

will produce useful theoretical explanations. Post-structuralists have resorted to theoretical constructions that focus on meso or micro levels of group action, leaving behind ideology for concepts such as discursive processes and meta-narrative (Malesevic and MacKenzie 2002).

FDT expands on the framing concept of narrative fidelity spelling out exactly how a mobilizing frame is faithful to a primary text. FDT also addresses the concern of critical discourse analysis with the linguistic reproduction of social groups. Showing how frames are strategic discursive interactions with the intent of producing new adherents through narrative and textual fidelity will prove an invaluable resource for CDA research concerns in the future.

The post-structuralists have admitted themselves that the only way to rescue the concept of ideology for future theorizing is to shift the emphasis from macro oriented to micro oriented explanations (Malesevic and MacKenzie 2002). Calling for a shift from structure and function to content and mobilization, the post-structuralists will discover many novel uses for a concept many have thought to have lived on past its time of usefulness.

Buechler (2011) points out that since the mid-1980s framing has been the primary cultural approach within social movement studies. More recently cultural work within the discipline has shifted to the examination of narratives as discursive processes that take place during the development stage of organizations. Buechler (2011:218) notes, “The breath of these examinations of narrative suggests that it will be a major emphasis of ongoing cultural work on social movements.”

FDT contributes to this ongoing cultural emphasis by systematizing the concept

of narrative fidelity and pushing frame theory forward in its narrative examination of social movement beginnings. By utilizing FDT social theorists can seriously examine ideological content within a social movement's foundational text. FDT enables the theorist to get a more complete understanding of the storied nature of social movement discourse, and to discover the constitutive ideational elements that create potent frame presentations.

Malesevic (2002:100) argues that in order to rescue the concept of ideology future theorists should “move the theory of ideology from structure-centered approaches towards more agency-centered approaches.” Malesevic (2002) calls for a theoretical approach that leaves behind macro level explanations in favor of an intense examination of micro level processes carried out by key movement actors; those ideological givers and receivers. FDT addresses this call for an agency-centered approach by emphasizing the frame presenter as the agent propagating potent ideological concepts, and the frame itself as a well-crafted expression of ideological persuasion.

Malesevic (2002:100) goes on to say that future theorists should “shift the emphasis from the function to the form and content of ideology and in this way develop better research tools for the analysis of ideology.” This emphasis on ideological content with the intention of developing useable thematic categories for comparative analysis makes up the heart of FDT's conceptual framework. In this way FDT highlights the continuing importance of ideology for theoretical studies in general, but especially within the framing tradition of social movement theory.

Malesevic (2002:100) points out that while “most approaches to ideology are focused on the functionality of ideology” there are “very few approaches that are focused

on the content of particular ideologies (examining what ideologies are, how they are composed, what their dominant themes are, and so on.” FDT addresses many of these concerns with an agency-centered approach focusing directly upon particular frame presenters. FDT will be helpful in revealing the full content of particular social movement ideologies, their composition, and the dominant themes presented within various frame presentations.

In this paper I have argued that in order to capture the dominant ideological themes being conveyed through a social movement entrepreneur’s frame presentation the theorist must go directly to the primary source material. Once the foundational document is located, ideological categories must be utilized in such a way that makes clear how concepts are taken from the document and repackaged into potent frame presentations. Malesevic (2002:104) goes on to explain the advantage of a categorical-comparative approach:

In order to spot the similarities and differences between ideologies it is necessary to move our attention to the form and content of ideological narratives. The various action-oriented systems of beliefs, ideas, and practices would hence be analyzed and categorized by breaking them down into their constitutive elements in order to show similarities and differences between them. In this way we can secure a relatively simple but effective mechanism for the analysis of ideology. Thus we need to identify and specify in detail conceptual segments of ideology.

FDT as a theoretical framework aligns closely to Malesevic’s vision of a methodology concerned primarily with the content of ideological narratives. The ideological categories created for this study emerged from a conceptual mixture of frame theory, critical discourse analysis, and other sociologically oriented academic traditions. Taking these various traditions into account, these categories have the distinct advantage of previous insights stemming from social movement theory, socio-linguistics, and the social constructionist perspective in general. Building on the theoretical accomplishments

of these sub disciplines, FDT's ideological categories are firmly grounded in the symbolic-interactionist perspective.

For the future relevance of frame studies, the next stage in CDA development, and the usefulness of ideology as a theoretical concept in general, the content of specific ideologies must undergo detailed examination. FDT is a way to categorize ideological content within a primary source text of a social movement, to use that content to analyze frame presentations, and to pinpoint the specific rhetorical constructions that mobilize new activists. The next step in ideology studies for social movement theory is not a further analysis of macro institutional design but micro level frame packages that take into account such ideological categories as role attribution, folklore narrative, ethical norms, utopian schemes, strategic planning, and motivational appeals.

FDT is meant to be a research tool in the analysis of ideological content within a social movement's primary text material. Using these same six ideological categories on other foundational texts will provide a fruitful comparative analysis between documents. Patterns of continuity and discontinuity will bring frame theorists new insight into which specific ideological elements bring about the reverberating resonance necessary for the creation of potent collective action frames.

APPENDIX A

AN ARGUMENT FOR FRAME STABILITY AND COHERENCE

ABSTRACT

In my assessment of collective action framing literature I came across Steinberg's compelling argument to give discourse studies a place of prominence within social movement theorizing. Finding his argument compelling in its implications for the frame presentation process yet lacking in substantive data of being vital in the ideological portion of the frame creation process, I interact with his problematizing of frame stability in general and frame ambiguity in particular. Steinberg proposes that frame analysts should utilize a conglomeration of discursive concepts he has meshed together already active in social psychological (speech genres) and linguistic anthropological (interpretive repertoires) studies.

While I recognize that Steinberg's careful mixture of literary and historically sensitive ideas (what he terms discursive fields) is useful and can only help to further understandings of frame construction, simply sharpening the tools of analysis in no way begins to explain the intricacies of the frame creation process. While Steinberg points out Benford and Snow's gaps in theoretical conception of collective action framing he proposes to fill the gap with a blend of discursive concepts that introduce new powerful

analytic tools for use but he does not seriously make an attempt to solve the theoretical dilemmas. Steinberg pushes the reader to accept that the creation of a meaning structure in the frame process is done between the social movement mobilizer and the potential actor during the frame presentation. My hypothesis is that the structuring of meaning is, on the whole, solidified far in advance of any actual frame presentation.

What I propose is that foundational document content analysis, collective action frame analysis, conversion motif analysis, and charismatic leadership role analysis will illuminate the role of ideology in the frame creation process. In order to better unpack the collective action frame creation process I argue that social movement theorists should develop a more systematic understanding of the role foundational documents play in the formation of collective action frames through content analysis. To clarify, I define foundational documents as those texts that provide a culturally pervasive metanarrative that play a vital role in creating, sustaining, motivating, and evaluating social movements. Foundational texts are mandatory in defining larger political, religious, and social agendas, and are an essential component in the master frames that make up the everyday reality of individuals in society.

FOUNDATIONAL DOCUMENT CONTENT ANALYSIS: IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Steinberg (1998:846) assesses the progress of social movement theoretical thought and finds it lacking in clarity mainly because analysts have “largely failed to problematize the role of discourse” in the process of signification. Interestingly, his implementation of discourse theory to analyze the semiotic dynamics of the framing process raises as many vital questions as it does provide insights.

Steinberg (1998:846) describes framing, “as the process of deliberate persuasive communication essential for the mobilization of consensus prior to collective action and as the cognitive process necessary for orienting and sustaining collective action. By constructing a compelling sense of injustice and collective identities for the protagonists and their targets, frames provide a diagnosis and prognosis of a problem and a call to action to resolve it.” Major social movement entrepreneurs all around the globe must participate in this cognitive process of creating potent and resonating forms of communication. Initially this vital information is presented to potential movement actors within a compact, understandable frame (Coy, Woehrle, and Maney 2008; Heaney and Rojas 2006; Veugelers 2011). How frames are rhetorically packaged in the arrangement of diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational elements are an essential concern for social movement theory being able to spell out further the social processes that occur during the mobilization process (Brummans, Putnam, Hanke, Lewicki, and Wiethoff 2008; Snow 2005).

Steinberg appropriately zeros in on the stage of the framing process between the time the social movement entrepreneur begins projecting a consistent, well thought out frame and a potential adherent’s initial positive response developing into a full blown conversion experience. In other words, Steinberg is concerned with how frames are being linguistically constructed and presented in the early life of social movements; mainly during the initial frame presentation stage of recruitment and mobilization. While my research will speak to broad issues in the collective action frame process, the primary focus will be how foundational documents contribute to the frame creation process. My hypothesis is that stable, coherent ideological themes taken from foundational texts

circulate widely throughout social movements, and contain (and thus lend immediate legitimacy to) the main themes of the collective action frame. Of course, these themes can be twisted in any direction necessary to meet the movement leaders goals.

While Steinberg (1998:846) finds that recent work has focused on how social movement leaders “construct messages of injustice and grievances” they tend to neglect how these messages are connected to the broader political culture and already existing pervasive cultural ideology upon which frame construction is predicated. The study of how foundational documents contribute to the formation of potent collective action frames will illuminate the point at which ideological elements and message construction meet.

Steinberg is concerned that without giving ample attention to discourse as a source of meaning production, analysts are neglecting the process by which social movement leaders fashion frames into narratives. Within the storied nature of these frames that are able to capture the public imagination and draw them into collectives ready for action, ideological elements make up the main thrust of the resonating and motivating portions of the message. Thus if the main goal of a collective action frame is to cause people to act, then these ideological elements, embedded in the frame, must be seen as the most crucial meaning producing elements utilized by social movement mobilizers in the midst of discourse.

COLLECTIVE ACTION FRAME ANALYSIS: CONTEXTUAL IMPLICATIONS

Steinberg reasons that frame analysis faces unresolved problems that must be further explored if social movement theory is to have further relevance. One area of

ambiguous thinking is how ideology is linked to the framing process. He spells out his main concerns as such:

Left ambiguous are (a) whether frames are composed of elements from some larger systematic belief system that is situated outside of social movement processes, as their references to values and beliefs imply, and (b) whether framing is therefore derivative and dependent upon ideological processes that operate outside the ken of social movements. Alternatively, it is possible that ideology is an emergent and interactional product of framing and is essentially produced in framing. If so, however, Snow and Benford provide no clear way of analyzing such aspects of framing as alignment, centrality, range, and interrelatedness, since their discussions of these processes seem to posit a belief system or ideology outside of the framing process. The ambiguity in their specification leaves their reasoning circular on these questions (Steinberg 1998:847).

The distinction Steinberg is trying to make is an important one, especially when seeking to deconstruct the ideological elements of collective action frames and assign them distinct places within the frame creation process. That frames are composed of elements from larger systematic belief systems already historically present within a culture has been revealed in various social movement studies through the use of the concepts of narrative fidelity and frame resonance (Gillan 2008; Hunt, Benford, and Snow 1994; Maney, Coy and Woehrle 2009). The values and beliefs present in a culture must be taken into account and brought in as a source of solidifying a potential followers buy-in through built-in ideological elements already providing value-meaning structure for the individual. Either that, or these strong value and belief elements must be thoroughly discredited to the point that the new recruit can dismiss them easily through the emergence of a new value structure provided by the new frame.

How dependent a collective action frame may be on outside ideological processes varies from movement to movement. Both the Scientology and Christian Science

movements, while religious in nature, draw upon modern scientific methodologies in their frame construction (Baker 1994; Hubbard 2002). A conglomeration of pre-existing religious and scientific ideologies are combined to present a mythical frame filled with culturally familiar religious and scientific jargon. Mao's little red book the Red Guard fanatically raised to the status of icon is a blend of thirty years of previous revolutionary nationalistic fervor and Marxist critical theory (Marx and Engels 1964; Tsetung 1972). These two previous social thrusts were combined to create a new ideology that resonated in the mindset of a ripe situational context where the common laboring class, that had traditionally been looked down upon, was presented with a newly devised, neatly packaged frame that demanded their participation in a populist utopian scheme. So, in response to Steinberg, yes, social movement entrepreneurs must take into account existing cultural narratives when determining how to construct the most potentially potent frame with the intention of ideologically motivating the largest part of the population.

“Various described as political cultures, public discourse, and cultural themes, encompassing and defining structures of popular political ideas are seen as sources of framing elements. Yet the rhetorical and discursive processes that tie frames to these larger ideological structures remain largely unspecified” (Steinberg 1998:847). This is exactly the gap in social movement theory that foundational documents can begin to address. What is unspecified, argues Steinberg, is the “rhetorical and discursive processes” that link the frame's message directly to ideological structures. Framing elements that are pieced together through rhetorical devices and presented through various social movement mediums (speeches, presentations, modeling behavior, events)

can be attained by content analysis of the primary foundational documents in which the movement subscribes (Gillan 2008; Montiel and Shah 2008; Van Gorp 2007).

Only when the ideological elements of the exalted text are thematically and systematically revealed can a clear connection be made between massive ideological structures and the frame construction process. After the data are collected from the primary foundational document of each movement, the distinct ideological traits of the framing elements will be revealed. With the document's thematic elements laid bare an analysis of the collective action frame itself must be undertaken to realize just how much of the frame's rhetoric being injected into the culture is actually tied to the pertinent ideological themes captured in the foundational text.

Steinberg is wary of previous theorists' assumptions about the coherence of what he calls a frame map (Hunt et al. 1994). A frame map is a coherence of ideological elements that commensurate in producing a system of belief. Skeptical of the internal stability of a frame and struggling with what content makes up a frame map Steinberg explicates:

The representation of a frame as a discrete text, however, is a reification of disparate and discontinuous discourse processes. Often such work depicts a particular configuration of statements, symbols, and meanings as emblematic of underlying and enduring collective understandings produced in protracted ideological struggles. The epistemological assumptions behind such representations are that the coherence of the elements constitution the frame map to some commensurate coherence in "belief system." This is seen as particularly important for purposes of frame alignment. However, the presumption (in analytic practice if not in theory) is that this framing discourse is an internally stable enough vehicle for the transmission of meaning so that interpretive strategies for mobilization and action are possible. In many of their analyses frame analysts also assume some isomorphism between their abstractions and the ways in which people actually use framing discourse. Whether we can make these assumptions is not at all clear (Steinberg 1998:848).

I argue that framing discourse is internally stable enough to transmit a consistently clear meaning to those held under its sway. In order for frames to engender support from potential actors they must be relatively stable systems of meaning with a

built-in logic and structure for argumentation. The creation of collective action frames is based upon this meaning and all interpretive strategies for mobilization and action is possible because of the frame map's consistent arrangement of frame elements. The framing discourse's "transmission of meaning" enjoys plenty of stability if the frame map is primarily made up of thematic elements from a stable, unchanging document that sets broad enough ideological parameters to allow social movement entrepreneurs to construct a context-specific enough frame to address their current political situation in a proactive manner.

The ongoing interaction with the foundational document continuously reiterates (indeed perpetually reframes the reality out there) a particular worldview in order to keep in tact and solidify the frame map. The foundational document both provides and keeps in the forefront the pertinent ideological elements needed for social movement recruiters to produce "interpretive strategies for mobilization and action" (Steinberg 198:848). Two foundational political texts inform this theoretical conversation of a whether or not frames are capable of an internal stability of meaning. *The Communist Manifesto* reads like a gospel in that it has a broad message, spelling out ethical norms, and presenting a cosmic struggle between an exploitative bourgeoisie and docile proletariat. Whereas Mao's little red book (officially titled *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung*) reads more like an epistle, spelling out practical, daily instructions meant to be read as a devotional guide in order to structure one's daily activities around theory (Marx and Engles 1964; Tsetung 1972). Thus, the little red book constrains social movement recruiters to produce collective action frames consistent with the tightly woven ideologies of Marxist critical theory, unbridled nationalism, and populist utopianism.

Leaving the issue of frame stability, Steinberg goes on to consider the meso-level of movement processes. Even at this level of interaction he is unsatisfied with the ambiguity in the current theoretical explanations. He explains, “The exact ties at this level between the talk of interaction and the social construction of issues in the public sphere remain ambiguous in framing theory” (Steinberg 1998:849) In my estimation, social movement entrepreneurs must have a pre-packaged frame game plan before the “talk of interaction”. The language (and its acceptable parameters) that will occur during mobilization discourse must already be decided upon beforehand. In other words, the “social construction of issues” is not instantaneously created in a cold dialogue between the social movement entrepreneur and the potential member.

The frame must already be ideologically settled before the movement activist can even enter into a coherent conversation with outsiders (Fiss and Hirsch 2005; Maney et al. 2009). Without this ideological stability already inherent in the discourse there could be no affective recruitment into the movement. Of course, in the midst of the recruitment discourse there is room for questioning by the potential member. When it comes to proactively living out the ideals of the movement and delving deeper into the ideology questions must be adequately fielded and encouraged. But if the potential member wants to directly question the validity of the ideology itself the questions must be regulated to a peripheral space or dismissed by the social movement organizer as nothing more than cosmetic in nature.

CONVERSION MOTIF ANALYSIS: BEHAVIORAL IMPLICATIONS

Steinberg (1998:849) immediately moves from the meso-level to the individual considering whether discourse can be “ultimately reducible to a monadic cognitive

process.” His skepticism of frame stability and the nagging problem of ambiguity in the subjective process of collective action frame presentation again shine through:

But if framing is an emergent and context-specific social process, it is not entirely clear how individual cognition is disciplined and guided by larger cultural processes; nor is the extent to which individuals possess latitude in determining the content and scope of frames well specified. The analysis of alignment, centrality, credibility, and narrative fidelity suggests these ambiguities. It is not clear whether actors are largely synchronizing frames or ideologies provided to them within the larger political culture, or whether they are creatively “ideational elements” to make sense of their personal lives (Steinberg 1998:849).

Individual cognition of a frame occurs with an emerging coherence of the frame as a value instiller, a norm provider, and meaning creator. The degree of individual cognition of a frame largely depends upon the actors self-immersion into the movements various activities, discussions, and literature. The individual “possesses latitude in determining the content and scope of frames” if the potential social movement actor willingly decides to familiarize himself with the literature and becomes immersed in the continual frame presentations within group gatherings. To the degree of active ideological participation the potential movement actor engages independently, the scope and range of the frame is thus expanded or limited within one’s individual cognitive processes.

At some point the potential member’s diligent participatory spirit results in a conversion experience. By conversion experience I refer to Travisano’s (1970:594) social psychological definition as “a radical reorganization of identity, meaning, and life.” In my estimation a conversion experience includes a profound shift in value orientation, norm acceptance, utopian ideals, belief motivators, collective/individual role taking, and boundaries of thought life in general.

A conversion experience denotes a radical shift in one's sense of reality in that the convert consciously accepts a systematic, all-encompassing rubric used to negotiate everyday reality. This ideological plunge provides easily assessable, moral guidelines meant to direct the novice social movement actor through modernity's increasingly complex social pecking order (Smithey 2009). A conversion experience, caused by a complete frame adoption by the hearer, brings about an instant legitimacy to the movements subjective, value-laden concepts as presenting them as indispensable as the foundational ideological thematic elements of the frame itself.

Lofland and Skonovd (1981:375) differentiate between six types of identifiable conversion motifs (intellectual, mystical, experimental, affectional, revivalist, coercive) and present the major variations of each (degree of social pressure, temporal duration, level of affective arousal, affective content, belief-participation sequence). I propose that this kind of conversion experience analysis can be very useful to filling out a much-neglected dimension of collective action framing.

My hypothesis is that particular collective action frames cause particular types of conversion experiences. If collective action frame analysis is coupled with conversion motif analysis then common ideational elements in the frame can be shown to cause a particular kind of widespread conversion experience. If frame analysis and conversion analysis can indeed be linked then the practical, action-oriented impact of a collective action frame's acceptance will be more readily assessable through uncovering the major variations spurred by the frame map (Holland, Fox and Daro 2008; Pickerill 2009). This combination of ideological and behavioral analysis will help further explain the practical impacts of a collective action frame during the recruitment process.

Based upon the historically documented process of past social movement conversion experiences by taking note of the testimonies of those entering the movement one could determine if the frame a) caused a high degree of social pressure to convert or relatively little b) inspired a thoughtful, contemplative process of acceptance or made immediate temporal demands c) sought to activate the listener's emotions or provoke a more cognitive response d) played on the listeners sense of curiosity or inspired an awe-filled combination of love and fear e) enacted a cycle of participation before belief or vice versa (Lofland and Skonovd 1981:375).

Although conversion motifs do not solve all the rhetorical problems implied in collective action frame analysis, this exercise would be helpful in designing a useful profile sketch of each collective action frame's immediate impact upon those that decidedly enter into the movement after ideological interaction with the frame. The ability to measure the widespread, immediate response of a new social movement convert to a particular collective action frame could at least spell out the major behavioral impacts of the frame on the susceptible listener.

CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP ANALYSIS: FRAME PRESENTATION IMPLICATIONS

Steinberg (1998:851) mentions resource mobilization theory briefly only to point out that "inclusive definitions" of discourse have traditionally been viewed as a symbolic resource and given the same status as material resources. Again, he strives to problematize a theoretical indistinction when he states:

If the narratives or accounts that are the material of frames are contextual, public, and emergent in the processes of mobilization and action, exercising control and distribution of these resources seems highly problematic. Moreover, if discourse is deployed rationally, how can we view framing as an exercise in reality construction without assuming a social control model in which elite actors

manipulate the popular consciousness? The constructionist and rational actor views of discourse offer epistemologies that exist in tension on these issues (Steinberg 1998:851).

What Steinberg has failed to include in his critique of symbolic resources is the role of reliable charismatic leadership in the “control and distribution” of framing materials. The material of these narratives that are “emergent in the processes of mobilization and action” consist of such frame elements as folklore wisdom, value-driven ethical mandates, utopian schemes, and rigid role definitions. To place these in a coherent, understandable, and resonating frame is no easy feat, and takes a personality disciplined enough to adequately arrange these elements in such a way that will incite action from the hearer. Controlling and distributing these symbolic resources is not the major problem of mobilization, it is the methodological arrangement and ability to convince others that provides the most challenges.

Steinberg’s question is poignant and well placed toward the end of this paragraph, and yet is a bit shortsighted and bombastic in its undertones. He compares social movement entrepreneurs to elite actors who manipulate the public in order to control the population for their own ends. While this is true to an extent, in that we are all manipulated by the common ideology presented by elites, we are born immersed in various ideologies (political, religious, social) from our everyday, ongoing institutional interactions. But having been inundated perpetually by elite ideology from birth by no means carries the insidious undertones implied in Steinberg’s question.

Why can’t the “rational actor” in his framing discourse be “constructionist” in his presentation (Steinberg 1998:851)? If anything, a social movement actor freely choosing to enter into a social movement through acceptance of a collective action frame reveals a

new level of liberation in the life of a person who has simply accepted the ideological frames expected of him/her from childhood. Perhaps choosing to be benignly manipulated⁶ through the frame adoption process is the best the majority of the populace can hope for (Layder 2004). And I would argue that the reason these elite actors are gifted at benignly manipulating the popular consciousness in the first place is because they embody the ideational elements of a foundational document. In this embodiment of a thought system, the elite actor is unbeatable because he has set the outer boundaries of the conversation through the documents ingrained linguistic limitations wherein rational argument, reality construction, and social control are already instruments provided by the framing elements within the text. The elite actor gains his status as elite because he can wield these instruments of social control in such a manner that the potential social movement actor freely chooses to leave behind one set of perspective-orienting elite ideologies for a new one.

Steinberg's discursive argument intensifies when he states, "Discourse is more properly speaking (pun not intended) *interdiscourse* since meaning always lies between and within the confluence of voices that compose communication." I agree that meaning does lie between the voices that are in the act of communication, but how it does dramatically shifts after the new convert fully subscribes to the new ideology. In the beginning stages of the potential actor encountering a completely new collective action frame the ideological discourse is more one-sided and therein lies the necessary social

⁶ In his 2004 book on social and personal identity Layder spells out three styles of interpersonal control. The control style having the most relevance to the collective action frame presentation process is what Layder calls benign control. Layder distinguishes benign control from stolen and exploitative, explaining, "The aim of the benign style of control is to obtain only a partial hold over someone in order to guide them into willing compliance. Benign control is generally a matter of taking each other's interests into account and then is coming to some sort of balanced compromise or agreement" (Layder 2004:58-59).

distance of two distinct ideological worlds colliding. This is true even if the potential social movement actor's working ideology is simply a jumbled grab bag of cultural taboos, superstitions, social protocol, and whatever else they were raised to think was common sense. The progression of shared meaning intensifies as deeper levels of commitment to action and of structuring one's life around that of the collective are exemplified (Auyero, Lapegna, and Poma 2009). In the latter case, interaction with a familiar framing discourse between already committed social movement activists emphasizes a social closeness. There must be this important distinction between grappling with new meaning and reaffirming meaning within frame discourse.

Continuing his skepticism of frame packaging Steinberg (1998:854) notes, "Since ideology is structured through this conflict-riven process of meaning, it is unlikely to be manifest in neatly structured packages or worldviews." Just because the ideological adoption process of interested potential actors suffers ideational roadblocks along the way in this "conflict-riven process" it in no way indicates that the frame isn't tightly woven together in a comprehensible package. At the point of conversion this conflictual process of meaning will face drastically less turbulent waters. Upon conversion the majority of the main ideological struggle is already won. After the collective action frame has convinced the hearer of the general ideological superstructure (or of the world as the movement defines it) then the continual ideological structuring processes will be made up mainly of categorizing and organizing newly introduced concepts and narratives into the broad outline that has already been wholeheartedly accepted and cognitively fulfilling.

CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP ANALYSIS: FRAME CONSTRUCTION IMPLICATIONS

Next Steinberg introduces the reader to two stabilizing literary concepts that have enjoyed much contemplation in sister academic fields. The first is speech genres in sociocultural psychology:

Every social trend has a speech genre that privileges some stylizations over others. A genre contains the typical sets of vocabularies, meanings, and rules for using them within dialogue, providing a lens for viewing an aspect of social life. Genres develop because of the need to arrest and stabilize the flow of meanings for speech communication. Generic discourse however, is also the medium through which power holders attempt to define the common sense of social life.

Within genres, they seek to objectivize and naturalize their power-laden definitions and meanings (Steinberg 1998:854).

The second stabilizing literary concept is interpretive repertoires in linguistic anthropology:

A limited range of recurrently used systems of terms for characterizing and evaluating actions, events and other phenomena...used in particular stylistic and grammatical constructions.

Interpretive repertoires contain the form-giving figures of speech, metaphors, tropes, and images (Steinberg 1998:854-55).

These two literary concepts point out that the way in which language construction is constrained within social movement discourse. Genres encapsulate the mode of communication between social movement entrepreneurs and potential adherents by limiting the acceptable conversational boundaries through specialized vocabulary, particular meanings, and mutual social rules of language use. Interpretive repertoires restrict the interaction within the collective action frame even further as it describes how the frame presentation is based on a recurrently used system of terms. I propose that this limiting vocabulary, meaning, rules, and system of terms stem directly from (or are lifted

from) the major framing elements that lie dormant in the foundational document until a charismatic leader (or a leadership team) appropriates these ideological boundary setting devices through populating the intent of the text with their own expressive intention.

Within this conversation of interpretive repertoires Steinberg does concede that, “hegemony can be achieved to the extent monologic discourse becomes authoritative, i.e., to the extent that its meanings become enforced convention while simultaneously suppressing alternatives” (Steinberg 1998:855). In my view a “monologic discourse becomes authoritative” when a charismatic leader is able to attract a number of people previously undedicated to the frame. Once the movement is established a bureaucratic leader can coast on organizational inertia, but the beginnings of a social movement must have the charisma necessary to capture the imagination of the public through the use of a potent, well-executed collective action frame.

As the social movement’s activists are sent out to enact frame presentations among the populace, each activist cannot help but individualize the collective action frame to meet their personal situation. In this sense the presenter manipulates the frame to justify their everyday routine behavior away from social movement activities. Once these frame presenters come back into social movement gatherings they move away from personal justifications of their lifestyles inconsistency with the frame and focus primarily on implementation of the frame itself.

TRIANGULATION OF ANALYSIS: FRAME STABILITY AND COHERENCE

At last Steinberg gets to the heart of his argument amplifying the use of what he terms “discursive fields”. Within his newly constructed analytical tool Steinberg incorporates the speech genre concept to provide clarity over how discourse is

constructed emphasizing how hegemonic meanings come about through dialogue (Broer et al. 2009; Coy et al. 2008; King 2007; Nadeem 2008). His conglomeration of literary and historically sensitive ideas is useful and can only help to further understandings of the frame construction process and for that his contribution is recognized, but simply sharpening the tools of analysis in no way proposes to explain how these frames are created. While Steinberg readily points out Benford and Snow's gaps in theoretical conception, he proposes to fill those gaps with a melding of dialogic literary concepts that introduce new powerful analytic tools but in doing so does not seriously make an attempt to solve the theoretical dilemmas of the ideological processes inherent in frame construction.

Steinberg (1998:856) immediately points out the major difference between his new super concept and the old conceptual way of thinking when he states, "In contrast to the systemic image often connoted by 'belief system,' (discursive) fields are inherently partly disorderly or fuzzy since the actual structuring of meaning is done *in use*." While Steinberg pushes the reader to accept that the "actual structuring of meaning" in the frame process is done between the social movement mobilizer and the potential actor during the frame presentation, I propose that the structuring of meaning is on the whole solidified far in advance of any actual frame presentation.

The structuring of meaning has to do with agenda setting by the social movement leaders' common goals. In these agenda setting meetings between leaders, the foundational document's text lies dormant until social movement entrepreneurs fill the major themes of the text with current, contextually significant meaning. Within the leaders' meetings to construct the collective action frame, important decisions concerning

thematic selection, arrangement, and sequence are decided upon. This all occurs before any collective action frame presentation can occur by the rank and file activists being sent out into the communities as frame presenters. Unpacking the text's themes and contextually arranging them in a culturally resonating fashion is the exclusive privilege of the social movement entrepreneurs. Plotting the most relevant ideological aspects are the leaders who determine how to linguistically set the broad rhetorical boundaries of the frame; which will both encapsulate and direct all succeeding conversations.

With his neatly packaged conglomeration of concepts contained under the heading discursive fields Steinberg attempts to redefine the frame altogether:

However, rather than assuming a particular coherence, as the mappings suggested by Gerhards and Rucht, a better strategy might be to provide exemplary dynamics of the dialogic interaction between collective actor's competing repertoires. A frame in this sense represents not so much a map or well-modeled text, but the outer boundaries of possible use and combination of the discourses both within a repertoire and as against those of oppositional and hegemonic repertoires (Steinberg 1998:859).

Steinberg's emphasis on repertoires is useful to understanding the inner dynamics of the recruitment dialogic process but is vastly overstated when it comes to its role in frame construction. Interpretive repertoires have the promise of shedding further light on how mobilizers in particular enact the frame presentation while negotiating investigative questions from a potential actor with differing (or competing) ideological views. The conflictual portion of the frame presentation comes when the collective action frame's self-contained worldview begins to resonate within the hearer, but yet the hearers present ideological matrix allows no room for a new all-pervasive perspective.

The major problem with redefining the frame, as a fluid interchange of complementary and competing repertoires, is understanding how a frame can maintain a high degree of coherence. I agree that there has to be contextual frame analysis, taking into consideration how a social movement might change the collective action frame's presentation in differing geographical regions to complement differing cultural elements into order to ensure maximum frame resonance. Different contexts necessitate different outer linguistic boundaries in the frame presentation, but the ideological elements that are presented within any context must provide enough inner stability to create the structural foundations of the frame in the first place.

Steinberg borrows from the socio-psychological conceptual field (Speech genres and interpretive repertoires) to amass a new analytical tool (discursive fields) in order to illuminate the innate boundary setting function of language to limit the field of relevant thought and practice within the social movement. Yet Steinberg never specifies where this language draws from for its rich vocabulary of genre-specific meanings. It seems, to Steinberg, meaning floats between actors within discourse and is so unstable that innumerable interpretations could be expected as a result. What has not been considered is how foundational documents provide the master frame necessary to correctly interpreting everyday reality.

Speech genres can only subsist within the ideological thematic schemata of the social movement itself. The point at which grand ideological ideals meet collective action frame dialogic interaction can only be discovered by a content analysis of the foundational document's deeply ingrained, authoritative call to measure the validity of the frame by its own premises. Religious movements do this by superstitiously claiming

other worldly inspiration. Fundamentalist groups take this idea to the extreme, claiming the foundational text enjoys unalterable infallibility. Political movements do so by interweaving the rhetoric of the foundational document throughout their framing efforts to indicate correct political direction, and better enables the movement to take advantage of the textually driven moralistic high ground.

Steinberg (1998:862-63) ends with a bold claim, “Tilting the frame with a discursive turn ultimately provides us with the best vantage for seeing the complete picture of the role of ideology in social movement mobilization and action.” Again, Steinberg overestimates the usefulness and correct role for his conglomeration of dialogical concepts captured under his heading discursive field. At most, his contribution has been to a very specific point in the mobilization process, the point at which a social movement frame presenter will have to field questions from potential social movement actors.

To claim that discursive fields provide “the best vantage for seeing the complete picture of the role of ideology in social movement mobilization” is misleading as his favored concept speaks neither to the origins of ideological content, to the creative construction of collective action frames by social movement entrepreneurs, nor to the type of conversion experiences the frame consistently produces amongst those that join the movement (Steinberg 1998:862-63). In order to clearly see the “role of ideology in social movement mobilization” the collective action frame construction process must be given precedence. Then, and only then, can collective action frame presentations be analyzed accurately while taking into account those discursive tools in which Steinberg has so much confidence.

APPENDIX B

ACTION ORIENTED DISCOURSE COMMUNITIES AND TEXTUAL FIDELITY

ACTION ORIENTED DISCOURSE COMMUNITIES

One key concept employed in CDA, especially relevant to frame theory, is the discourse community. The idea of a discourse community emerged within the discipline of applied linguistics combining the previous concepts of speech community (refers to a group who recognizes their language use as distinct from others) and interpretive community (refers to a group of people who share ways of reading texts). Borg (2003) explains that membership in a discourse community is usually voluntary, and that members share common goals and communicate with one another to achieve them. If frame theorists continue to consider narrative fidelity as a major determining factor for frame salience, then incorporating the concept of the discourse community into the analysis will surely highlight the importance of foundational texts. Borg (2003:398) makes clear that the discussion within discourse communities “typically focus on the use and analysis of written communication.”

J.M. Swales (1990) makes a distinction between a discourse community that is united solely by written communication and one that is united by both written and spoken forms of communication; the latter he termed ‘place discourse communities’. This is significant because Swales is interested in how a community reproduces itself; whether

through written texts only or by a series of discursive interactions with community members surrounding the text. A. M. Johns (1997), on the other hand, is more comfortable with a term originating in sociocultural theory known as the ‘community of practice’ which emphasizes that the community is not only united in text and speech but also in sharing and striving for common goals.

Taking all this into consideration I suppose you might call a successful social movement a ‘place discourse community of practice’ but for the purposes of FDT the term *action-oriented discourse communities* more adequately captures the dynamic under consideration. Understanding a social movement as an action-oriented discourse community assumes Swales concern with discursive reproduction and Johns concern with the striving for obtaining shared objectives. Also the term action-oriented presupposes that these social movements utilize a foundational text for the express purpose of mobilizing activists in order to rapidly reproduce their discourse community as well as to strive relentlessly toward the collective goal.

CDA acknowledges that there are internal procedures within discourse communities that constrain the discourse as to the regulation of what is appropriate in ongoing scripts taken on by the community actors. Munch (1994:21) explains one such constraint on discourse:

The commentary is a form of continuing discourse in a way that does not produce anything that has not been said before. The commentary is a secondary interpretation of a primary text, it is expected to reveal what has been said in the primary text. It is a repetition of the primary text’s message and cannot say anything new. Because a large proportion of cultural discussion consists of commenting on primary texts, the results of discourse are limited to the meaning of primary texts. A great deal of discourse goes on that does no more than reproduce pre-established knowledge.

I propose that social movements, as action-oriented discourse communities, are made up of charismatic leaders producing collective action frames full of commentary on foundational texts.

This commentary does not produce new knowledge, but rather continuously interprets the primary text's relevance to the new cultural situation. The text can be used in a commentarial fashion to mine for diagnostic folk devils, prognostic utopian solutions, and motivational exhortations. The resultant collective action frames are intended to move the populace not necessarily in an ideologically new direction (unless a new primary text is being represented), but to increase the sense of urgency to speed down the path already presented as reality within the foundational document.

TEXTUAL FIDELITY

The limits of action within a social movement are predetermined to some degree by the need to achieve a fair measure of *textual fidelity*. I hypothesize that in order to *fully participate in an action oriented discourse community* one must be *textually loyal to key passages within the foundational document*. Key passages are, most often, heavily publicized portions of the text that are usually ground down into bite size slogans in order for easy memorization. Without a base measure of textual fidelity, the activist will eventually be seen as an imposter and be approached by various "gatekeepers" of the discourse community (Munch 1994).

By the time the frame presentation begins to produce mass conversion experiences memorable slogans and populist chants have arrived. Within some social movements key passages from the foundational text will be widely quoted and continuously verbally celebrated within group meetings. This uninterrupted textual

celebration arouses two complementary social phenomena that produce inner-group cohesion: 1) cognitive assimilation 2) mutual ideological reaffirmation.

In the mobilization and assimilation processes these textual gems are meant to encapsulate the general spirit of the moment in the movement's collective biography, and are therefore able to bring new activists into a feeling of cohesion with senior activists who are perceived as vastly more knowledgeable; being filled with substantially more authoritative, text-driven ideology. These catchy textual sound bites give the new member a rhetorical anchor in order to make sense of unfamiliar social movement behaviors. They also instantly allow freshly converted activists to not only feel apart of the physical happenings (protesting, canvassing, framing), but provides them with a sense of instant participation in the world of important ideas from which mass social actions emerge. In other words, these key passages function in the early stages of the mobilization discourse as a means of cognitive assimilation.

To understand the second purpose of these catchy textual sound bites we must leave the mobilization and assimilation phase of movement life. These same textual gems serve another vital function in the continuing viability of the movement to sustain the exuberance of tenured members. In this case, the textual sound bites serve the purpose of verbally reaffirming a sense of solidarity, to reaffirm a mutual ideological pact. The textual celebration emphasizes, in a precise manner, the commitment to ensure ongoing maintenance of past reality construction efforts, and to maintain the long-term stability needed for movement success. In other words, these key passages serve as discursive elements necessary to ensure an ongoing rhetorical construction of social cohesion for new members, while at the same time ensuring mutual ideological reaffirmation through

a common nod to textually derived truth claims.

Textual Fidelity can easily be seen manifested in the Red Guard Movement's rally cry from the LRB that "to rebel is justified" (Huang 1996). This subversive clarion call instantly challenges dormant movement sympathizers to join the chorus of textually sanctioned moral outrage. At the same time, upper divisions of the previous revolutionary generation instantly recognize the unambiguous sound bite as a textual truth being applied to a new daunting context demanding a strict adherence to narrative loyalty and group cohesion. As novice and more experienced activists mingle around textually driven ideological discourse identity salience is heightened. As a result, the younger generation can find their most potent ideas in conversations with senior activists, while at the same time tenured members can realize their hope for the movement's future in the unbridled ecstasy of new activists responding exuberantly to charismatic appeals to action.

For newly converted social movement activists still getting acquainted with the group's textual ideology, it is likely invigorating to interact with the text's ability to rigidly prescribe norms, values, and beliefs. Discourse communities are not only made up of textually driven discourse but also of rituals that define correct "behaviors, attitudes, gestures, circumstances, and symbols" that can appropriately be involved when engaging in discourse (Munch 1994:22). This means that before full entrance to a discourse community is granted, one must undergo a measure of resocialization by senior members in order to ensure that the new convert will indeed conform to the rules and predictable behaviors expected of a member within the community.

To varying degrees SMO organizers mobilize fresh faces into action oriented discourse communities that celebrate their own specialized commentary references to a

foundational document, employ their own means of behavioral resocialization through discursive processes, and expect a fair measure of predictability of the new activist in order to sustain the outer boundaries of what is acceptable discourse. With the tools of CDA in mind the social movement theorist must recognize that potent collective action frames can be viewed as one integral part of a vast mobilization ritual. If newcomers to the social movement share a common conversion experience then one can rightly assume that the mass response to the frame presentation has become ritualized.

APPENDIX C

IDEOLOGICAL SUBCATEGORIES WITHIN THE LITTLE RED BOOK

ROLE ATTRIBUTION:

1) Working Class 2) Chinese Communist Party 3) Masses/People 4) Army 5) Revolutionary Movements 6) Reactionaries 7) Enemies 8) Cadres 9) Students 10) Youth Movement 11) Intellectuals 12) Founding Figures

FOLKLORE NARRATIVE:

1) Marx-Lenin (M-L) Socialist Theory 2) Contradiction as the Engine Propelling Society Forward 3) Revolutionary Violence and the War of the Masses 3) M-L Method 4) Praxis 5) Ideological Battle 6) Leadership Goals 7) Democracy Within the Military

ETHICAL NORMS:

1) Self Criticism as Instant Reflexivity 2) Treatment of the Enemy 3) Persuasion and Compulsion 4) Momentary War for Lasting Peace 5) Altruistic Selflessness 6) Sacrificial Struggle 7) Competing Bankrupt Ideologies 8) The Glory of Collectivism 9) Responsible Leadership 10) Loving, Respectful, and Helpful to the Masses 11) Military Code of Ethical Treatment 12) Modesty and Arrogance 13) Economic Values 14) Initiative 15) Study and Practice of Intellectuals 14) Three Main Rules and Eight Points

UTOPIAN SCHEMES:

1) Economic Liberation 2) Acceleration to Modernity 3) Unification of Classes 4) Central Planners of a Socially Constructed Utopia 5) A Final War to Bring Lasting Peace 6) Inevitability of Progress 7) New Society Formation thru Correctly Channeled Populist-Driven Energy 8) Marxist Truth as an Objective Path to Societal Transformation

STRATEGIC PLANNING:

1) Education 2) Military 3) Economic 4) Propaganda 5) Treatment of Outsiders 6) Raising Up Cadres 7) Art (Cultural Symbols)

MOTIVATIONAL APPEALS:

1) Thwarting the Imperial Agenda 2) Accelerating Progress 3) The War of Resistance 4) Liberation 5) Role Models 6) Refine Revolutionary Processes thru Study 7) A General Call for Tenacity 8) Nationalistic Appeal

CATEGORIES IN DETAIL

(Numbers refer to pages in the Little Red Book)

ROLE ATTRIBUTION

Working Class/ Revolutionary Class:

1 working class 3 rev classes 8 class society (every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of class) 9 landlord class, peasants 14 industrial proletariat-leading rev force, semi-proletariat and petty bourgeoisie- closest friends, right and left wing middle bourgeoisie (undecided) 14 def of a revolutionary 16 pro, masses, party 39 working class is the most far sighted, selfless, thoroughly rev 40 workers and peasants comprise 80 to 90 percent of China's population

Chinese Communist Party:

1CCP 2 CCP core of leadership 3 well-disciplined party 6 rev party 6 policy formation by CCP 12 def real friends, real enemies, rev party: guide of the masses 44 10 million in CCP, very small minority, must rely on ppl and non-party cooperation 82 CCP are clearheaded 228 Central Committee of the party should constantly have a grip on the progress of the work, exchange experience and correct mistakes in order to reduce loss 229 leaders must march ahead of the movement, not lag behind it. 249 the ppl's state as protectors, foreign reactionaries negative influence

Chinese People (masses):

1 Chinese Ppl 3 masses of ppl, 6 the ppl 6 rev masses 35 masses of the ppl so inspired, so militant and so daring (populist/mob mentality) 36 Chinese ppl are poor and blank (on a blank sheet of paper free from any mark, the freshest and most beautiful characters can be written) 46 def of ppl/enemies of ppl 122 the mass line (the rev must rely on the masses of ppl)

Army:

3 army under the leadership of party 100 red army (propaganda distribution) 110 PLA fighting force 102 PLA foundation 104 party comm. System 106-07 squad leader 135 red army built up a system of political work 172 communist party, the eighth route and new forth armies are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the ppl 274 (role model) the eighth route and new fourth armies should set an example in fighting, carrying out orders, observing discipline, doing political work and fostering internal unity and solidarity 277 worthy successors to the rev cause: be genuine M-Ls, be rev who serve the majority, proletarian statesmen, watch out for careerists and conspirators, be models in applying democratic centralism, master the method of leadership, cultivate a democratic style, be good at listening to the masses, modest, prudent (not arrogant, impetuosity), spirit of self criticism, and courage to correct mistakes, come forward in mass struggles (test by trails),

Revolutionary Movements:

3 rev groups 4 rectification mov- mov of M education 37 ppl's democratic rev, ppl's republic 83 rev forces 119 peasant mov 119 peasant movement is a colossal event

Reactionaries:

10 whites in the US, reactionary ruling circles oppress black ppl (do not represent US workers, farmers, rev intellectuals, other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white ppl) 10 the reactionaries in China (overthrow) 11 reactionaries, aggressive forces of US imperialism 16 imperialists and reactionaries (struggle to the last ditch) 49 counter revs (left and right) 51 domestic and foreign reactionaries 52 bureaucracy (admin?) 55 antagonists 56 national bourgeoisie 64 exploiting classes 65 monopoly capitalist groups 66 East wind/West wind (peaceful coexistence?) 68 Imp with butcher knives 69 running dogs (Chinese reactionaries) 70 Imp eager for adventures 72 reactionaries (paper tigers), 70 slave owning class, feudal landlord class (changing nature of Imp) 79 US enemy of the world (riding roughshod) 79 accomplices of monopoly capitalist groups 80 E/W winds 83 ppl, US aggressors, monsters 85 US (arrogant, unreasonable, aggressive) 86 oppressed 89 Japan (mad bull) 89 imp bullies 119 imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants, evil gentry 121 those who can only follow the old routine 138 Japanese, puppet or anti-communist troops 140 US reactionaries use bombs to scare ppl 175 Japanese aggressors, Hitler, communists of Japan and Germany are defeatists, interests of the Japanese and the German ppl, Jap aggressors and Hitler (double harm at home and in world), (china's role) at once internationalists and patriots 194 All the countries and ppl of the world opposed to imperialism is our friends 216 Only those who are subjective, one-sided and superficial in their approach to problems will smugly issue orders the moment they arrive on the scene—they are bound to trip and fall (short-sighted) 223 rightist conservative thinking ideo hindrance)

Enemies:

13 enemies- all those in league with imperialism, the warlords, the bureaucrats, comprador class, big landlord class, the reactionary section of the intelligentsia 16 enemies with and without guns 28 hostile intellectuals (small number) want imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism, extremely reactionary 32 well to do peasants (tendency towards capitalism) 33 new rich peasants and well to do middle 40 landlords, rich peasants, counter revs, bad elements and monsters- corrupted, divided, demoralized- could lead to revisionism and fascism. 158 feudal mercenary army

Cadres:

7 leading comrades must give full attention to policy and tactics 123 leader carry out ideo education, concrete methods of work 280 cadres and mass leaders: versed in M-L, politically farsighted, competent in work, full of the spirit of self sacrifice, capable of tackling problems on their own, steadfast in the midst of difficulties, loyal and devoted in serving the nation, the class, and the party (nationalist, proletarian, communist) 282 cadres are a decisive factor once the political line is determined, train large numbers in a planned way 281 cadres: ordinary workers and not overlords sitting on the backs of ppl, maintain extensive, constant, and close ties with the working ppl

Students:

142 students and intellectuals 143 the comm. Party, youth league, gov dept, heads of educational insts, teachers (shoulder the responsibilities) 162 leaders have the duty to

listen to others (open communication) 166 active, upright and alert teachers, the other staff and the students (school) 272 be a friend of the masses v boss, an indefatigable teacher v bureaucratic politician youth 292 intellectuals- tend to be subjective and individualistic, impractical in their thinking and irresolute in action until they have thrown themselves heart and soul into mass revolutionary struggle, some may become passive, while a few may even become enemies of the rev. The intellectuals can overcome their shortcomings only in mass struggles over a long period

Youth Movement:

288 Youth- full of vigor and vitality 290 young ppl are the most active and vital force in society, the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking, (youth league organizations)- bringing into full play the energy 293 the youth league should do its own work to suit the special characteristics of youth. New China must care for her youth and show concern for the growth of the younger generation (a call for balanced edu growth, work, study, recreation, sport, rest)

Intellectuals:

300 literary and art workers- gradually move their feet over to the side of the proletariat by getting into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying M and soci, a truly proletarian lit and art 301 lit and art- fit into the whole rev machine as powerful weapons for uniting and edu and for attacking and destroying, help the ppl fight the enemy with one heart and one mind 311 some ppl have read a few M book (armchair theorists, not practical revs)

FOLKLORE NARRATIVE

M-L Socialist Theory:

1 Marxism-Leninism- theory and revolutionary style (Berger capitalism book) 1 CCP (imagined communities) 2 cause of socialism 3 armed with the theory of M-L 4 rev mov, rev theory 8 historical materialism vs historical idealism 3 M-L theory and ideology 20 dogmatism and revisionism vs M, M must advance, the basic principles of M must never be violated, or otherwise mistakes will be made (universal truth) 23 communism- pro ideology and new social system (most complete, progressive, revolutionary, and rational system in human history), full of youth and vitality, sweeping the world with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt 64 classes and states eliminated 68 imp structural collapse (M-L law) 78 against US irresistible 78 lackeys vs the ppl of world 79 Marx-Engles: cap will be overthrown 81 force of soc overwhelmingly superior 140 Myth: progressive political spirit, progressive political work, genuine unity (buy-in produces best result) 177 the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism (What makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause?) 222 general development of history the material determines the mental and social being, which determines social consciousness 222 mental-material, social consciousness-social being, superstructure-economic base (dialectical materialism) 296 women on equal footing, equality, encourage women to do farm work 297 equal pay, equal work, genuine equality can only be realized in the process of the socialist transformation of society as a whole 298 women are a vast

reserve of labor power, principle of equal pay for equal work- this should be done as quickly as possible

Contradiction as the Engine Propelling Society Forward:

9 change due to contradictions btw productive forces and the relations of production) 43 a nation-wide debate of soc vs cap, involves self-education and self remolding [CONTRADICTIONS- points of contention, the obstacles hindering the spread of political-economic-cultural-psychological victory among the masses] 45 contradiction 46 widespread dilemma of contradiction 47 antagonistic contradiction 54 contradiction (universal and absolute 74 coll sacrifice 84 fight to win 84 wipe him out 86 rid ppl of impotent thinking, strength of ppl underestimated 86 triumph by strength, unity, and perseverance, be prepared for civil war 89 take over the whole of China 90 an armed ppl 93 attack remains primary 139 the contest of human power and morale 140 the outcome of a war is decided by the ppl, not by one or two new types of weapon (resolve) 181 no matter what the difficulties and hardships, so long as a single man remains, he will fight on 182 martyrs- have heroically laid down their lives for the ppl; let us hold their banner high and march ahead along the path crimson with their blood (sacrifice and grand purpose) 182 be resolute and fear no sacrifice 182 practical example of accomplishments and metaphorical language for mot..the northern expedition, picked themselves up, wiped off the blood, buried their fallen comrades and went into battle again, holding high the great standard of the revolution, rose in armed resistance, set up ppl's govs, carried out land reform, built up a ppl's army 185 the Chinese nation – the spirit to fight, determination to recover, and the ability to stand 196 no easy victories through good luck, hard and bitter struggle, sweat and blood (long road, no illusions) 213 contradictions within a things is the fundamental cause of its development 213 materialist dialectics holds that external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change 214 M phil holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe, btw the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change 225 find the principal contradiction 226 unless the problem of method is solved talk about the task is useless 252 new unity on a new basis- the correct method of resolving contradictions among the ppl 260 to resolve contradictions is the life of the party 265 if the ppl know our interest are pure then they will not balk at any personal sacrifice and are ready at all times to give our lives for the cause

Revolutionary Violence & the War of the Masses:

11 rev is not refined, leisurely, restrained- insurrection, violence by which one class overthrows another 59 politics is war without bloodshed 60 rev war is inevitable 60-61 war must come 62 armed struggle as progress 62 strong army 63 war of transition (birth pangs of CCP) 88 war of the masses 88 impossible to be smashed 99 ppl's army 126 adventurism, opportunism, commandism (when to act out) 141 putting the military in its place 198 reactionary forces are on the verge of death and have no future. Our difficulties can be overcome because we are new and rising forces and have a bright future. 218 Sun Wu Tzu pithy saying(military science) Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat. Not one-sided, demand for all sidedness

M-L Method:

40 class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great rev movements for building a mighty socialist country 54 dialectical method (phil/scince) 82 M-L science 129 Marxist theory of knowledge (ideas becoming more correct) 151 CCP faithfully adheres to this M-L principle: method of persuasion/education when working among laboring ppl 159 the three cks: class origin, ideo, style of work 159 three improvements: organizational consolidation, ideological education, and rectifications of style of work (basic management of personnel) 204 For the purpose of attaining freedom in a society, man must use social science to understand and change society and carry out social revolution. 209 the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge 211 M teaches start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions 212 look at actual conditions to solve problems 212 idealism and metaphysics are the easiest things in the world vs materialism and dialectics need effort 213 essence and appearance, grasp the essence 215 the analytical method is dialectical 215 L said concrete analysis is the most essential thing in M, the living soul of M, many of our comrades do not want to go deeply into complex matters but draw simple conclusions which are either absolutely positive or absolutely negative 216 in this world, things are complicated and are decided by many factors 217 When studying a pron shun subjectivity, one-sidedness and superficiality, use the materialist viewpoint (metaphor) seeing the tree but not the forest 219 the method of a subjectivist 219 one sidedness (internal enemy) means thinking in terms of absolutes, that is, a metaphysical approach to problems 220 maintain a sober out look (admonition) 221 a M should see the whole as well as the parts (parable) the frog in the well 222 a bad thing can lead to good results and a good thing can lead to bad results 23 access resources and consider the viable options (well informed agency) 224 symptoms of bad ideo 224 common saying: knit your brows and you will hit upon a stratagem (much thinking yields wisdom), cultivate the habit of analysis 234 making social investigations (ethnographical study) 234 the fundamental viewpoint of M, the method of class analysis 235 a fact-finding meeting 235 make an investigation with zeal, determination, direct ones eyes downward and thirst for knowledge, shed the ugly mantle of pretentiousness and become a willing pupil (ethics of investigator) 236 methodological plan making 306 The theory of M-E-L-S is universally applicable, a guide to action, the science of rev, studying their standpoint and method in examining and solving problems 308 As the arrow is to the target, so is M-L to the Chinese rev. Some comrades, however are shooting without a target, shooting at random, and such ppl are liable to harm the rev 308 those experienced in work must study theory so as to not mistake their partial experience for universal truth and not commit empiricist errors

Praxis:

4 praxis-integrating theory and practice 129 experience, principles, methods, practice, solve, achieve (praxis) 205 the dependence of theory on practice, theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice 205 M phil, most important problem lies in application of knowledge of laws to actively change the world. 206 correct ideas come from social practice and from it alone (!): Three kinds, struggle for production, class struggle, scientific experiment 206 (on the force of ideas) once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and the world. 207 M-L praxis, perception,

cognition, test of practice, For it is this leap alone that can prove the correctness or incorrectness of the first leap in cognition (hence testing truth) 209 if you want knowledge you must take part in the practice of changing reality, if you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution- All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience 210 from rational knowledge to rev practice 234 M-L attitude, combining revolutionary sweep with practicalness 308 (praxis) reading is learning, but applying is also learning and the more important kind of learning at that, for doing is itself learning

Ideological Battle:

54 ideo battle (poisonous weeds) 57 the Hungarian lesson (reactionaries revolt) 70 social determinism (processes) 141 ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole party 146 EDU: ideological education movement in the army (firm and correct political orientation, industrious and simple style of work, and flexible strategy and tactics 151 ideological remolding involves long term, patient, and painstaking work, Strat: the more masses we unite with the better 154 ideological education for the army (role model for local gov and ppl) 166 using the basic principles of M-L as the guide, and the method of studying M-L statically and in isolation should be discarded 261 (STRAT) we stand for active ideo struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the party, liberalism rejects ideo struggle 261 proverbs- cure the sickness to save the patient, learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones (ethical approach to non-believers aka hate the sin) 263 the main point of criticism (structural) is to point out political and organizational flows

Leadership Goals:

128 leadership: take the ideas to the masses 128 leadership: propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, translate them into action 130 strat: supporters, opponents neutrals (differing elements) 131 to get the broad masses to understand (M-L leadership) 132 Leader: constant attention to production, interests, experiences, feelings of the masses 178 socialist countries bound by common interests and common ideals (ML threatened by unwillingness to share in the joys and hardships of the masses, concern for personal fame and gain (very bad)- transfer cadres to lower levels to lower levels so that a considerable number will return to productive work 226 (MOBILIZATION FOR ACTION) a general and widespread call, leaders must get involved in the process in order to enrich the content of their general call and there is the danger that nothing may come of it (experience leads to refined frame presentation) 27 the method of concrete experience in order to lead 227 contextual analysis 228 the art of leadership (broad context into account, each locality, center of gravity, sequence of work, steadfastly carry through the decision, definite results are achieved 233 pregnancy analogy, to investigate a problem is, indeed, to solve it.

Democracy Within the Military:

157 the long cruel war 158 democracy in the army is an important weapon for undermining the feudal mercenary army 158 STRAT: democracy- high degree of political unity, better living conditions, better technique and tactics 163 democratic centralism (demo with limits), avoid ultra-democracy and the laissez-faire which destroys

discipline 163 destroy the roots of ultra democracy (dangerous idea) 171 organs of state must practice democratic centralism, rely on the masses, serve the ppl 254
 DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM, within the ranks of the pp democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline 255 hierarchy of discipline (the minority is subordinate to the majority)

ETHICAL NORMS

Self-Criticism as Instant Reflexivity:

3 self-criticism 4 close links btw class and self-criticism 4 study M thru criticism and self criticism 147 be a conscientious party 156 party, gov personnel, civilians, each side criticizing itself and not the other (critical self reflection is an ethical mandate) discipline 258 He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor- the indomitable spirit (hero), M-L weapon of criticism and self-criticism (ethical mandate) 259 proverb: running water is never stale and a door-hinge is never worm-eaten, constant motion prevents the inroads of germs and other organisms 260 Chinese maxim- say all you know and say it without reserve, blame not the speaker but be warned by his words, correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not 264 criticize to build up not tear down 265 faultless, blameless, anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. 266 (constant ethical evaluation) We should check our complacency and constantly criticize our shortcomings

Treatment of the Enemy:

15 good if we are attacked by the enemy, clear line of demarcation 15 support whatever the enemy opposes 79 despise the enemy 148 ruthless to enemies, kind to ppl

Persuasion and Compulsion:

42 ppl demo dictatorship towards enemy uses compulsion and labor, towards ppl uses democracy, education, persuasion 48 rights distinguished in words and actions (const, will of the majority, political positions) 51 right and wrong 52 settling controversial issues among ppl 53 do not use suppression 54 scientific argument (historical materialism) 125 persuasion the correct method to meet mass needs 151 persuasion, not compulsion, is the only way to convince the ppl, with the enemy compulsion is allowed

Momentary War for Lasting Peace:

56 class war (soci rev) 59 just/unjust war 61 political power origins 64 study war to eliminate war 67 standing firmly for peace 84 self defense 85 forced to fight, peace, reasonable 88 genuinely/sincerely support rev 91 object of war 93 only by destroying large numbers (war ethic) 98 a ppl's war! 100 red army (meaning and reason) 102 party commands the gun (preemptive safeguards against a rising military-industrial complex)

Altruistic Selflessness:

154 giving preferential treatment to the families of soldiers fighting Japan 170 serve the ppl whole-heartedly, proceed in all cases from the interests of the people and not from one's self-interest 171 ethical example: Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others, without any thought of self, boundless sense of responsibility in his work,

boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades 171 the spirit of absolute selflessness (exploitation, martyrdom, sacrifice), with this spirit one is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, of value to the ppl 172 all cadres, whatever, their rank, are servants of the ppl, to serve the ppl, Ethical Q: How then can we be reluctant to discard any of our bad traits? 240 example of the good comrade- leave ease and comfort to others and take the heavy loads themselves, first to bear hardships, the last to enjoy comforts. Good comrades. We should all learn from their communist spirit. 241 fake communists- irresponsible, choosing the easy work, think of themselves before others, swell with pride, brag, cold, indifferent, apathetic 244 oppose selfish departmentalism (structural critique) indifferent to the difficulties of others, the selfish departmentalist, entirely lost the spirit of communism (utopian in nature), sectarian tendency 268 (communist) subordinating his personal interests to those of rev, always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle, be concerned about the party and masses than about any indv, more concerned about others than himself (ethical injunctions) 269 (ethical values determine direction) supreme test of words and deeds of a COMM is whether they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the ppl 269 at no time and no place should a comm. Place his personal interests first, subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses. Hence selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, whole-hearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect mistakes 280 leaders free from selfishness, individualistic heroism, ostentation, sloth, passivity, and arrogant sectarianism, and they must be selfless national and class heroes

Sacrificial Struggle:

75 persecution (altruistic sacrifice) 93 heroic sacrifice 94 sacrifice and preservation 145 red army fearless of sacrifice and capable of overcoming material difficulties 173 struggle, sacrifice, death, sufferings, die (sacrificial servitude), worthy death (def or setting boundaries of appropriate death) 174 the meaning of sacrificial death (heavy or light) 271 be the most far-sighted, the most self-sacrificing, the most resolute, rely on majority of masses to win support

Competing Bankrupt Ideologies:

79 error of opportunism. off adventurism 80 piecemeal solution of complicated national problems 124 dogmatism, empiricism, commandism, tailism, sectarianism, bureaucracy and an arrogant attitude in work are definitely harmful and intolerable (alienate leaders from the masses) 147 correct political orientation is inseparable from a style of hard struggle 294 overturning feudal-patriarchal ideology (political authority, clan authority, religious authority, husband authority), the authority of the husband is getting shakier everyday. 312 patriotism, socialism, communism

The Glory of Collectivism:

102 collective leadership vs individual 106 balance between coll leadership and indv responsibility 242 independence, me first, put themselves first, fame position, limelight, resort to boasting, flattery, and touting among the comrades, importing the vulgar style of the bourgeois political parties, dishonesty. I believe we should do things honestly, for

without an honest attitude it is absolutely impossible to accomplish anything in this world. 243 subordinating the needs of the part to the needs of the whole (coll), considering the situation as a whole 243 pleasure seeking in the red army, indiv, to enjoy themselves 270 take the interests of the whole into account, Absolutely impermissible to violate this principle.

Responsible Leadership:

108 place problems on table, show understanding (no gossip) 109 exchange info (common language) 109 be a pupil 113 be inclusive 114 do not be arrogant about position 114 draw lines of distinction between right and wrong, achievement and shortcomings 120 give the mov active leadership 121 giving the peasants help

Loving, Respectful and Helpful to the Masses:

125 love the ppl 125 listen attentively to the voice of the masses (prescriptive actions, scripted roles) 133 concern with the well being of the masses, help the masses, help them 149 all in rev ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other 149 conflict resolution 149 a question of basic attitude, having respect for the soldiers and ppl 150 respect for soldiers and ppl, human dignity of prisoners (correct view/attitude, a moral worldview for all ppl) 152 no antagonism towards comrades, must have ardent desire to protect the cause (virtuous) 200 A good comrade is one who is more eager to go where the difficulties are greater 202 Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese ppl 286 cadres new and old, should respect each other, learn from each other and overcome their own shortcomings by learning from each other's strong points, so as to unite as one in the common cause 291 judging if a youth is a revolutionary- whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice, if not he is a non or counter rev

Military Code of Ethical Treatment:

136 eighth route army: prohibiting beating and abuse, building up a conscious discipline, and sharing weal and woe 137 army prevent ppl from being harmed, army is closely united with the ppl and welcomed everywhere (result of an ethical army) 137 our troops must observe the correct principles (norms, morals) 138 errors of warlordism 138 cherish the ppl, respect the gov 138 set all political prisoners free except for those who have incurred the bitter hatred of the masses 139 they should be set free, treat them sincerely and kindly 157 democracy, abolishing the feudal practice of bullying and beating in the army (equality among soldiers) 158 equal treatment for lower soldiers (democracy within army only) 160 it has been proved that the practice can only do good and can do no harm whatsoever (the virtues of democracy) 161 Initiative must be demonstrated thru creative work, readiness to assume responsibility, exuberant vigor, courage and ability to raise questions, voice opinions and criticize defects 161 only in democracy can large numbers of able ppl be brought forward 164 the source of ultra-democracy consists in the petty bourgeoisie's individualistic aversion to discipline, incompatible with the fighting tasks of the proletariat (BEWARE OF dangerous dem element) 173 duty-hold ourselves responsible to the ppl, what being responsible to the ppl means (def or setting boundaries of acceptable definitions of responsibility) 282 appointing ppl on their merit: is resolute

in carrying out the party line, keeps to party discipline, has close ties with the masses, has the ability to find his bearings independently, active, hardworking, and unselfish

Modesty and Arrogance:

170 we should be modest, and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and serve the Chinese people heart and soul 180 we must be modest, always be modest, get rid of great power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly, and completely 180 we must never adopt an arrogant attitude of great-power chauvinism and become conceited 184 always remember not to become conceited, conceit, if you do not respect the cadres and the masses then you will cease to be heroes and models (self-hero worship or we can all be heroes!) 195 comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent, free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work, preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle 237 no reason whatsoever to feel conceited and arrogant, modesty helps one go forward, whereas conceit makes one lag behind... (A TRUTH) 237 victory and certain moods that may grow- arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living 238 flattery may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks, guard against sugar-coated bullets 239 dispirited-conceited, pessimism, depression, pride, arrogance, pride in class origin v intellectual study, arrogance and contempt. All such things become encumbrances or baggage if there is no critical awareness 240 some comrades have become arrogant and high-handed in their behavior towards the soldiers, shortcomings, flattery, eradicate these faults 287 comm is to rid himself of aloofness and arrogance

Economic Values:

187 diligence frugality (economic values) 188 short view indulge in wastefulness and extravagance vs long view of expansion and production (economically moral and supportive of long term goals) 189 oppose extravagant eating and drinking and pay attention to thrift and economy 189 thrift should be the guiding principle in our gov expenditure, gov workers- corruption and waste are very great crimes (war effort, rev cause, economic construction) 191 work ethic: loafer ways have been overcome 271 (value) practical, far-sighted (pragmatic planners are valuable)

Initiative:

194 we stand for self-reliance (value) 229 What we need is an enthusiastic but calm state of mind and intense but orderly work. 250 what is hard is to do good all ones life and never do anything bad, to act consistently in the interests of the broad masses, to engage in the arduous struggle for decades on end.

Study and Practice of Intellectuals:

230 no investigation, no right to speak (to intellectuals) 231 views or criticisms, which are not based on thorough investigation, are nothing but ignorant twaddle 231 Stalin quote- theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with rev practice..and..practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by rev theory 231 facts- things that exist objectively truth- internal relations, laws governing them seek- to study 232 guided by the general principles of M-L draw correct conclusion 232 sayings- to behave like a blindfolded man catching sparrows or a blind man groping for fish= crude and careless

232 fundamental spirit of M-L, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have taught us that it is necessary to study conditions conscientiously and to proceed from objective reality and not from subjective wishes (foundational leaders) 272 set an example in study (diligence ethic) 274 never be opinionated or domineering, he must never shut himself up in his little room, or brag and boast and lord it over others 310 esteem workers as teachers, learning from them respectfully and conscientiously 310 knowledge is a matter of science, what is required is honesty and modesty 310 (academic ethic) complacency is the enemy of study, our attitude towards ourselves should be to be insatiable in learning and towards others to be tireless in teaching

Three Main Rules and Eight Points:

256 THREE MAIN rules of discipline (norms) 256 EIGHT POINTS for Attention (the octolouge or eight commandments for party members) 257 (ethical mandate) permit no breach

UTOPIAN SCHEMES

Economic Liberation:

19 socialist system, transforming ownership of the means of production (basic victory), 21 ppl's democratic dictatorship, socialist transformation/construction 26 soc rev aims a liberating the productive forces, collective ownership, tremendous liberation of the productive forces, social and tech (industrialization and agriculture) rev interconnected

Acceleration to Modernity:

28 build a socialist state with modern industry, mod agri, mod science, and culture

Unification of Classes:

30 dominant position of the poor peasants, unity btw poor and middle (unity achieved) 31 poor peasants as unifiers of working class and CCP, get the middle peasants to come on the side of rev 34 new basis to unify classes- bring about the socialist transformation of the whole of agriculture simultaneously (eliminate the rich-peasant economy and the indv economy in the countryside so that tall the rural ppl will become increasingly well off together (consolidate the worker-peasant alliance)) 251 unification (country, ppl, nationalities)- these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause 258 the truth is on our side 289 united efforts of our younger generation and all our ppl, working with their own hands, can China be made string and prosperous within a period of several decades. The establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal society of the future, but to translate this ideal into reality needs hard work.

Central Planners of Socially Constructed Utopia:

35 planning that takes into consideration 600 million pp 37 strengthen the ppl's state apparatus- army, police, courts- consolidate national defense and protect ppl's interests 40 free from bureaucracy, will forever remain invincible

A Final War to Bring Lasting Peace:

50 how contradictions are resolved 60 rev war is an antidote 63 the omnipotence of rev war (guns and transformation) 64 war eliminated by progress (not too distant future 64 no more wars 64 the perpetual peace of mankind 65 world peace 75 US is a paper tiger (gross exaggeration) 77 90% of world to struggle against imp future 99 narrow clique vs whole nation (w/ppl) 102 observing directive of party= sure victory 140 the atom bomb is a paper tiger 145 such an army will be invincible 153 such an army will be invincible (if united with ppl) 153 no enemy can crush us 167 march forward courageously towards certain victory 251 the enemy can be defeated and the national and democratic rev accomplished

Inevitability of Progress:

70 world progress (bright future) 177 we oppose both narrow nationalism and narrow patriotism (broad goals of world tolerance, the transition myth to comm. Utopia 203 the history of mankind is one of continuous development, class struggle will never end, constant progress, man has to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. Ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong.

New Society Formation thru Correctly Channeled Populist Driven Energy:

111 ppl alone are motivating force in making history (populist exaggeration) 118 masses= real heroes, boundless creative power 118 mass have boundless creative energy (populist perspective) 119 million peasant rise like a hurricane (swift, violent, smash, rush) 121 potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism 124 work for masses must start from their needs and not the desire of any indv (coll phil, M standard playbook) 125 class consciousness 126 help them gradually organize themselves 197 BY uniting with the entire ppl in a common effort, we can certainly overcome all difficulties and win victory. If the workers, peasants, and working intellectuals take destiny into their own hands, follow a M-L line, and actively problem solve NO DIFFICULTY in the world which they cannot overcome. 199 in times of difficulty we must not lose the sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and pluck up our courage

M-L truth as an Objective Path to Societal Transformation:

24 (social determinism) socialist system replace capitalism, objective law independent of man's will, inevitable triumph 25 future of incomparable brightness and splendor 25 socialist rev inevitable sequel to dem rev 233 acting in direct violation of this truth (truth connotes a path to perfection) 270 be ready to stand up for the truth, because truth is in the interests of all the ppl

STRATEGIC PLANNING

Education:

165 educational policy- enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture

166 military school selection of a director and instructors 167 equal importance of military and political aspects of the one-year consolidation and training program 168 unfold the mass training movement

Military:

95-98 battle strategy 110 coordination (learning to play the piano) 169 objectives of military training courses (marksmanship, bayoneting, grenade-throwing) 181 style of fighting- continuous fighting, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest (driven by moral certitude aka no fear in sacrifice) 191 army strat, integration and role models for the ppl

Economic:

179 in the year 2001, china will have become a powerful socialist industrial country 186 current state of Chinese economy and culture (problem) strict economy, combat waste, diligence, frugality 190 economic- production by the army for its own support (self supporting) 191 improved relations between the army and ppl

Propaganda:

196 (propaganda) constant among the ppl on the facts of world progress and the bright future ahead (utop) so that they will build their confidence in victory 272 thinking in terms of the majority: forge close links btw progressive elements and the broad masses 273 (parable) comm are like seeds and the ppl the soil, take root and blossom among them (sowing seeds of comm.)

Treatment of Outsiders:

274 listen attentively to the views of ppl outside the party- right welcome the ideas, wrong, patiently explain 275 use persuasion in those who have made mistakes in their work, do not exclude 275 encourage, convince, and unite with the politically backward 276 must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian rev, will there be ppl to carry on the M-L rev cause started by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, the correct road (prevent the emergence of Khrushchov's revisionism in China)

Raising up Cadres:

828 judging cadres: consider life and work as a whole 282 leadership involves two strategies: to work out ideas and to use cadres well 283 (retaining leadership strat) take good care of cadres- loose form of guidance, raise their education level, check their work, use the method of persuasion, help them with personal difficulties (medical, monetary, domestic) 285 (to achieve position) the activists who come forward in the course of the struggle must constantly be promoted to replace those original members of the leading group who are inferior by comparison or who have degenerated 285 welcome new leaders

Art (Cultural Symbols):

299 There is no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics 299 revolutionary culture is a powerful rev

weapon, it prepares the ground ideologically before the rev comes, essential fighting front in the general revolutionary front 300 all our lit and art are for the masses of the ppl, created for workers, and for their use 302 all classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second... what we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of rev political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form 303 gov should not dictate artistic style, questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussions in these circles and through practical work in these fields 303 an army without culture is dull-witted 306 absorb whatever experience that is useful to us

MOTIVATIONAL APPEALS

Thwarting the Imperial Agenda:

1 defeating imperialism, running dogs 10 overthrow reactionaries (broom sweeping away) 16 the imp and reactionaries will struggle, sabotage, create disturbances, stage a come back (inevitable and beyond all doubt) never relax vigilance 69 never relax because of frenzied plots of revenge 76 the imperial noose 79 US is pushing policies of war and aggression (hanged by the ppl of world) 83 enemy is much weaker than appearance 90 militia (diff from US) 98 inferior yet prepared 101 two armies (defeat Jap imp) 179 all countries subjected to US aggression, control, intervention or bullying should unite, and so form the broadest united front to oppose the US imperialist policies of aggression and war and to defend world peace

Accelerating Economic/Cultural Progress:

2 achieve independence, liberation, industrialization, modernization of agriculture 5 build economically and culturally backward country into powerful one 39 the aim of this dictatorship is to protect all our ppl so that they can devote themselves to peaceful labor and build China into a socialist country with a modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. 197 There are no straight roads in the world; we must be prepared to follow a road which twists and turns and not try to get things on the cheap. 296 improve the economic and political status of women 194 we stress regeneration through our own efforts

The War of Resistance:

9 peasant uprisings/wars constituted the real motive force of historical development in Chinese feudal society 21 unfold criticism of revisionism/right opportunism 28 the struggle of socialism vs capitalism (will take a long historical period) 29 a need to educate the peasantry 32 poor peasants must work on the middle and win them over 17 class struggle, ideological struggle (socialism, capitalism not settled who wins) 18 waging the struggle in the ideological field 19 have not won on the political and ideological fronts (poisonous weeds, erroneous ideas, ghosts and monsters must be criticized and stopped from spreading thru reason, analytics) 33 no (agricultural) cooperative can be established without first going through a struggle, old social system (ideology) must be swept clean, the moment it relaxes its efforts it may collapse 36 contradictions exist btw class and competing ideologies 38 ppl's democratic dictatorship-suppress reactionary classes, arrest counter revs, deprive landlords and capitalists the

right to vote and their freedom of speech for a specified period of time 83 scientific evidence of comm. 74 strat and tactical thinking 111 grasp firmly 142 a call for intellectuals to make progress ideologically and politically 155 launch propaganda campaigns in the first month of every lunar year 199 the cause of socialism will have set backs and the exertion of tremendous efforts 252 we shall solidly unite all the forces of our party on democratic centralist principles

Liberation:

176 defeatism is a crime, to strive for victory in the war of resistance is an inescapable duty, achieve national liberation, own emancipation 178 the ppl who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation

Role Models:

143 Red army endures hardships without complaint 169 arousing a high level of enthusiasm amongst the cadres and fighters 168 officers learning of practical combat experience from fighters (thereby becoming a more capable leader) 184 not praise- you have overcome many difficulties and hardship and demonstrated immense courage, wisdom and initiative. You (army) are models for the whole Chinese nation, the backbone of the victorious advance of the people's cause in all spheres, pillars of support to the ppl's gov, and bridges linking (go-btwns) linking the ppls gov with the great masses

Refine Revolutionary Processes thru Study:

54 protect and educate ppl 112 quantitative analysis (precision) 113 be prepared for meetings 116 study determines attitude 116-17 guidance and decision making)304 must be good at learning- transforming a backward agricultural country into an advanced industrial country 304 go on studying new problems 307 If we have a correct theory but merely prate about it, pigeonhole it and do not put it into practice, then that theory, however good, is of no significance. 307 It is necessary to master M theory and apply it, master it for the sole purpose of applying it. The more problems you elucidate and the more comprehensively and profoundly you do so, the greater will be your achievement

General Call for Tenacity:

119 create more and more undertakings for their own well-being 120 three alternatives (march, trail, stand in the way) 121 passive ppl fail to move forward, always have to be given a shove in the back 125 congress should call upon the whole party to be vigilant 197 must see the difficulties to be overcome 200 through their efforts revolutionaries can overcome the difficulties step by step and open up a favorable new situation 201 (Parable: The foolish Old Man Who Removed The Mountains) 211 After he fails, he draws his lessons, corrects his ideas to make them correspond to the laws of the external world and can thus turn failure into success..Folk Sayings (failure is the mother of success) (a fall into the pit, a gain in your wit) 253 it is imperative to overcome anything that impairs this unity (exhortation) 270 (self correct) use their own heads, never follow blindly and encourage slavishness

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