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CHINESE COMMUNIST IMAGES OF INVASION AND RESISTANCE

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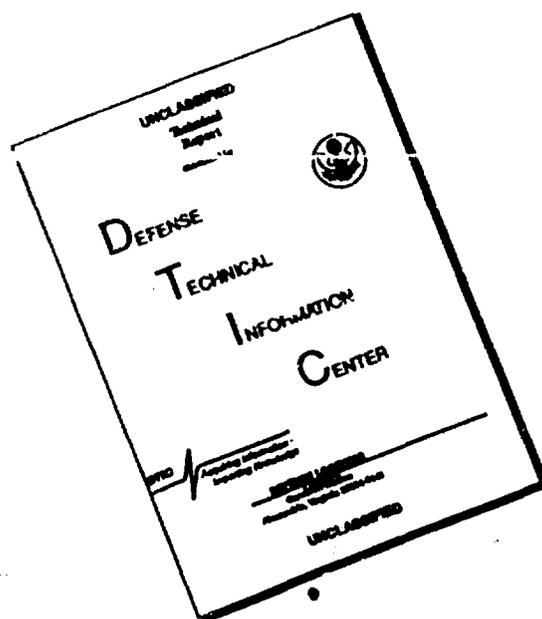
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SUMMARY

This study is concerned with exploring "non-rational" socio-cultural factors which, in addition to military and political realities, are important in determining Chinese Communist attitudes about potential foreign invasion and resistance to it, as well as their attitudes about foreign "imperialism" more generally.

The primary material for the study consisted of 22 feature films produced in Communist China between 1949 and 1965. Seven of these films focus specifically on invaders and resistance, and most of the rest contain relevant additional material. Other film and written materials have also been utilized.

The most striking feature of the films of invasion is that they regularly center on young women, heroines who are prominent first as socially isolated and helpless victims of invaders, and later, after toughening ordeals and the establishment of ties with some Communist group, as determined leaders of resistance. This basic and recurrent pattern closely parallels, as a special case, a dominant pattern of the films as a whole - depiction of the oppression of women in the "old society" and their liberation in the "New China." This oppression of women is clearly portrayed as fundamentally sexual: forced marriage, seduction under duress, or rape.

On comparing these film patterns with the standard and Communist views of the traditional Chinese family, it appears that the film images of invasion and resistance reflect or are based on a latent, underlying image of arranged marriage and sexual relations, as viewed from the standpoint of the young wife and of the children who identify with her. On this view, at first the husband, aided by parental figures, is an invader of the helpless and isolated wife, but later, with the support of her children, the wife is able increasingly to resist and become dominant. At the national level, the parallel would involve China as the motherland, the people as her children, and foreigners as the intrusive father. Certain additional evidence, such as Mao's characterization of his own family, supports such interpretation, while on the other hand, it illuminates certain prominent Chinese attitudes about defense by "assimilation" of invaders and "people's war."

Most importantly, this analysis indicates the great significance of "non-rational" factors in national attitudes toward invasion and resistance, while also showing that these factors are not random but orderly, so that

they themselves can be studied as a means toward better understanding of Chinese Communist attitudes and probable responses to our own military and political statements and actions. Since international relations involve interactive behavior, however, such knowledge is valuable only in proportion to our acquisition of similar insight into the "non-rational" bases of our own national attitudes.

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## CHINESE COMMUNIST IMAGES OF INVASION AND RESISTANCE

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It is plain that the Communist government of the People's Republic of China is quite concerned about possible foreign attack - especially from the United States, but increasingly from the Soviet Union also - and national defense. This concern may seem unrealistic from our national point of view, even though China is comparatively weak militarily, we have large forces deployed near her territory, and some American statements about our own defense speak of forestalling anticipated Chinese military threats. This, however, is all the more reason for our strategic and political thinking to take account not only of evident military and political factors but also of socio-cultural factors which, though less obviously, also may importantly influence the nature of Chinese fears of attack, and make them more vivid and realistic from the Chinese point of view. Further, interpretive examination of such factors, as additional to the historical realities of Western encroachments on China, will aid in understanding the nature and depth of Chinese Communist bitterness and hostility about "imperialism" more broadly - that is, about Western economic and cultural as well as direct military and political influence.

Chinese Communist motion pictures provide an especially valuable source of information on these matters. Such films of course are instruments of propaganda and indoctrination, and correspondingly express official views. At the same time, in films any particular military or political views must be presented in terms of artistic images, dramatic representations of human situations and events - in this instance, especially representations of conflicts between Chinese and foreigners. Compared to didactic verbal expositions or slogans, such representations provide much richer material for examining the underlying and more general socio-cultural attitudes and unrecognized premises of thinking - the basic lenses shaping Chinese Communist observation and interpretation of the world - on which any more particular views largely depend. A better grasp of these underlying factors seems essential both for more adequate

understanding of their current military and political views, and for better estimation of their probable interpretation of and response to any military or political actions which we ourselves might contemplate in the future.

AVAILABLE RELEVANT MATERIALS

Some 22 films produced in Communist China between 1949 and 1965 have been viewed and studied during the total course to date of research on such films. Seven of these films, for their main or an important secondary theme, focus specifically on invaders and Chinese resistance to them. Two of these (Hua Mu Lan, Women Generals of the Yang Family) are historical dramas depicting resistance to barbarian incursions into North China in ancient times. Four films (Daughters of China, The Letter With Feathers, Song of Youth, The East is Red) portray aspects of the Sino-Japanese War of the 1930's and 1940's - in Chinese Communist terms, the Anti-Japanese War of Resistance. To these should be added The Red Lantern, a film made in Hong Kong from a Peking stage drama. Only one film has been available that directly depicts Chinese - Western fighting. This is Lin Tse-hsu, a story of the Opium War of 1839-42 between China and Great Britain. A number of films have been made dealing with the Korean War; some written information exists on these, but they have not been available for viewing. (In their absence, one can proceed by examining the available films - which after all deal with more direct incursions into Chinese territory - to see where this material leads; if it proves generally consistent in main themes, the lack of certain particular films such as these Korean ones is probably no serious handicap.)

Furthermore, most of the remaining films of the sample, although they do not focus on invasion and national defense as such, nevertheless appear to contain material relevant to these topics in ways that will be described - only a few films centering on Chinese internal relations between the Hans and the "national minorities" seem largely an exception.

Beyond these films of the basic sample, eight additional films made in Hong Kong under Communist auspices are of secondary relevance for this study as providing some additional similar material. A number of non-Communist films from Hong Kong and films from Taiwan, some of which are closely similar in subject to certain mainland films, have been valuable

for comparative purposes. In particular these films have portrayed some relevant themes in forms essentially identical to the Communist films, suggesting strongly that basic Chinese cultural attitudes are involved in or underlie these themes.

Although these various films remain the basic source of data used in this study, they have been supplemented by examination of written materials on Communist China - including military, political, literary, journalistic, and scientific writings, plus some written accounts of films which were not available for actual viewing - and by the author's previous background of work on Chinese culture in general.

#### INVASION AND RESISTANCE IN COMMUNIST FILMS

When one surveys, as a logical starting point, the available films which directly and explicitly depict Chinese resistance to foreign incursions, two themes at once stand out as appearing repeatedly. One, it is true, is most readily apparent in a negative sense: The actual onset of invasion is conspicuous by its absence. The other is immediately visible in a more positive form: Women are shown as taking a remarkably prominent and active part in resisting invaders.

In studies of behavior, whatever is recurrent is always apt to be important, and all the more so when it also seems curious or contradictory, as do both these themes. True, their significance is not immediately evident, but this can be investigated, first by examining their nature in more detail, and then by seeking their interrelations and their relations to other film material - so that progressively a view is built up of the wider film context, within which the nature and meaning of more particular themes or other features concerning invasion and resistance can be better seen and understood.

The Absence of Invasion As Such. Although these films are very concerned with invaders of China, they present almost no depiction at all of initial penetrations of Chinese territory, of actual frontier attacks. The closest approach to this exists in the two films about resistance to barbarian invasions of the northern frontiers in ancient times. Even in these the scene of action may well be within China, as the relationship of borders and battlefields is never quite clear. Also, the situations

depicted, though vivid, are labeled as remote in time, so that these film scenes might be considered as analagous to old yet vivid memories. The more usual - and relatively much closer - situation is that presented in the Sino-Japanese war films. This is one of the most popular, emphasized, and persistent topics of the Chinese Communist film makers, remaining prominent twenty years after the events; The Red Lantern, for example, was produced in 1965 as one of the last fictional films made before the Great Cultural Revolution shifted essentially all production to documentaries. Yet none of the five films on this subject depicts the Japanese invasion itself; all open with the Japanese already established and settled in Chinese territory (though in one case also advancing further), and portray the resistance of local people and guerilla forces to them within China. Even the Opium War film, Lin Tse-hsu, although it does include a sequence of a coastal battle between British warships and Chinese shore batteries, opens with the British already established in positions of some power in Canton, and closes with scenes of fighting between British soldiers and the populace, so that again a main emphasis is on Chinese efforts to displace foreigners, to get them out or under control.

In a more positive phrasing, then, these films are primarily occupied with depicting resistance to invaders who are already established within China rather than with attempts to prevent initial penetration by them.

The Prominence of Women. Perhaps even more striking than the remarkable lack of attention to the onset of invasion in these films is the prominence in them of women as defenders of China and resisters of the invaders. This is probably most extreme for the two films of Chinese vs. the "barbarians". In Hua Mu Lan, a film based on a vary old and well-known story (whose historical truth is beside the point here), the heroine Mu Lan goes off to the army in male disguise in place of her aging father, and fights actively, strongly, and skilfully for a dozen years, becoming a major factor in eventually defeating the invaders. Yet Women Generals of the Yang Family even surpasses this in its portrayal of the military importance and prowess of women. In this film, the male head of the Yang family has been killed fighting against the barbarians in North China. The Emperor turns to the Yang women for help in this desperate situation, and with the old matriarch of the family as strategist and the younger women

as active fighters, the Yang women succeed in beating the invaders where the men had failed.

Such films depicting extreme military prowess of women of course are largely dramatic depictions of fantasies, and indeed this is conveyed also by their setting in a remote time and place, and by the fact that they are done in a rather formalized and operatic style. Yet this does not mean that such fantasies should be dismissed from serious consideration. Fantasies often reflect important feelings and thoughts not otherwise readily observable, and fantasy has long been important in Chinese culture, if somewhat neglected by recent students, and there is good evidence that they have much popular appeal. Chinese Communist films of this type have drawn large audiences not only on the mainland but from movie-goers in Hong Kong who can freely choose among many available films, and films on this theme of women warriors are also made in Hong Kong (another version of Hua Mu-lan, plus Come Drink with Me, The Temple of the Red Lotus, and The Twin Swords) and in Taiwan (Lady General Red Jade). Therefore, the significance and implications of these fantasies should be investigated.

This choice, indeed, is supported by a look at the group of films dealing with the Japanese invasion. These films appear as much more realistic than the historical dramas - in style as well as in their lack of superhuman feats of fighting by women. Nevertheless, they still feature women very prominently as heroines leading Chinese resistance to the Japanese invasion; these women may fight actively (Daughters of China) and their efforts and determination, if no longer their direct physical prowess, consistently remain almost superhuman.

This image of the importance and power of women is remarkable in terms of almost any probable comparison. It is not what we would expect from Western ideas and Western films, and perhaps even more striking in the Chinese context. These heroines frequently overshadow the heroes. They are dominant figures in a culture traditionally described as male oriented and controlled, in which women had only a lowly place. Moreover, other Chinese Communist films themselves place great emphasis on the oppressed position of women throughout Chinese history, and even in these particular films of the Japanese war, the heroines usually are shown at the outset as weak and oppressed, yet they rapidly become invincible in spirit and

influential in action as they take up the nation's cause of resistance. These apparent incongruities can be rendered more comprehensible by a closer examination of this particular group of films, centering on the conditions and process of change through which the heroines become leaders of resistance to the invaders. After that, however, for a general understanding of the significance of these images as projecting some basic Chinese Communist conceptions about invasion and resistance it will be necessary in addition to survey how the position of women is depicted in the Communist films as a whole.

The Development of Heroines of Resistance. Three of the five films depicting anti-Japanese resistance (Daughters of China, Song of Youth, The Red Lantern) present fairly detailed and complete pictures of the genesis of resistance heroines. These accounts are quite consistent in main outlines, despite considerable differences in specific story content. (Of the two remaining films, The East is Red is primarily a pageant of Chinese Communist history including certain episodes about the Sino-Japanese War, and The Letter with Feathers focuses on a young boy carrying messages for the anti-Japanese guerillas.)

In Daughters of China, the central figure is Hu Hsia-chih, a young village woman in occupied Manchuria in the early 1930's. The Japanese come to force evacuation of her village. Her husband is sick in bed and helpless, unable to move. Thus she is almost alone in the world and soon she is alone completely; the Japanese fire the village and her husband dies in their burning house as she is dragged out. She appears almost completely beaten, but she does manage to ask if she can join a band of Chinese guerillas who have arrived and destroyed the Japanese in the burning village. She is taken into the women's group of the guerillas, encouraged, helped, and taught how to be a soldier. Gradually she becomes more skilful, stronger, and determined. In this transformation Big Sister An, leader of the women's group, is especially important. An's husband is also a guerilla; they work in parallel, but are not shown together much. He is sent on a mission to a city, and there is caught and executed. In return, An asks to lead the women's group to blow up a bridge. They succeed, but are trapped by the Japanese forces. They make a heroic last stand, during which An is killed and Hu takes over the leadership, until they all perish,

but later are immortalized in a monument to them as heroic daughters of China.

Song of Youth centers around Lin Tao-ching, a young woman of about 20. The film opens with her attempting suicide by drowning. She is an orphan; her real mother had been raped and then forced into concubinage by her father, after which Tao-ching was raised by a step-mother, who finally tried to force her into marriage with an older man, a wealthy official. She is saved from the sea by Yu Yung-tse, a young student at Peking University, and helped to get a job teaching school, but she is fired when soldiers fleeing the Japanese advance from Manchuria into North China appear at the school and she makes patriotic statements favoring resistance. Yu comes to the rescue again, takes her to Peking and marries her, but he is shown as becoming increasingly romantic and possessive toward her, while also increasingly conservative and career-oriented. In contrast, she wants to be "independent" and is drawn toward the Peking students' patriotic-revolutionary struggles against the Japanese and the Kuomintang, under the influence of Lu Chia-ch'uan, a young Communist leading the students. At one point she gives him shelter from the police while she goes out to carry a message for him, but Yu returns and orders him out. Lu is caught and executed. Tao-ching carries on, distributing his Communist posters herself, but she is naively frank and careless, as a consequence is informed on by a traitorous student, and is caught by the secret police. She is temporarily protected by the official, Hu, who still desires her, but she rejects him, and with the aid of friends she escapes to the countryside. There she teaches again and aids student agents working to organize the peasants against the landlords. After an uprising she has to flee back to Peking, but there is again caught by Hu. He tries to get her to pledge allegiance to the Kuomintang - she is cool, proud, and defiant; he makes a pass at her - she blows up, hits him and screams "You executioner killer!" She is beaten and thrown in Jail. There she meets Lin Hung, a veteran woman Communist. This woman instructs Tao-ching further in Communist ideas of self-control and determination. This instruction includes a story - actually her own - of a Communist husband and wife jailed together; in jail the husband kept apart from the wife as much as possible to spare and protect her, but both remained determined and active in their work and study, even though he was to be executed soon. She also is executed after a time, but Tao-ching gets out of jail and carries on the work, joining the Party and, in a final scene, leading a great patriotic

student demonstration, marching boldly forward.

The Red Lantern is clearly a major example of contemporary Chinese Communist drama, although its scene is set in the 1940's; it was produced on stage in Peking in 1964 and has received much official praise and publicity\*,

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\* E.g., "The Red Lantern - A Working-Class Epic", Peking Review No. 48, Nov. 24, 1967, pp. 36-37. Quotations in the description are from this source.

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which attributes the Major credit for its production and story emphases to Chiang Ching, Mao Tse-tung's wife. The film version seen was made in Hong Kong, but copied after the original stage play. "The story tells how three generations of the family of Li Yu-ho, a railway worker and underground Party member, struggled against the Japanese invaders.....The red railway lantern serves as the liason signal for the Party's underground workers." The three generations are not actual blood relations. "They come from different families, but in this life-and-death struggle, they are bound together by the closest ties, fighting with one heart and mind." The three chief protagonists are three models of Communist character and behavior. "Utterly devoted to the Party, Li Yu-ho firmly believes in communism. He fights dauntlessly for the cause of revolution, and is ready for any sacrifice..... The grandma of the play is an image of the revolutionary mother. Her husband, Li Yu-ho's teacher during his apprenticeship, gives his life in the famous 1923 February 7 Strike of the railway workers. Since then, Li Yu-ho cares for her as if she were his own mother. Tempered and experienced in the class struggle, she is firm, unyielding, cool-headed and unruffled - her character adds up to the staunchness and steadfastness typical of the proletarian fighter. Li Tieh-mei is the daughter of another comrade martyred in the same strike and Li Yu-ho adopts her. She is presented.....as a swiftly maturing successor to the revolutionary cause." This girl appears as very important, even though officially Li Yu-ho is claimed to be the central figure of the drama. The story is concerned with the family's efforts to safeguard a secret code entrusted to them by a dying comrade shot by the Japanese, and to deliver it to the guerillas in the nearby mountains. A traitorous Chinese gives in to Japanese pressure and reveals that Li Yu-ho

has the code. He is arrested and tortured but defies the Japanese; meanwhile the girl, with the old lady's help, manages to hide the code safely outside the house. The Japanese commander comes and tries to bribe the old lady to co-operate, but she rejects this, and both she and the girl are arrested too. Even in jail under threat of death all three stand firm; finally Li Yu-ho and the grandmother are executed - the Japanese leave the girl alive and release her, followed by spies, as their only possible lead to the hidden code. Now the whole responsibility for delivery of the code is upon her, but by now, despite her youth and sex, and although a little earlier she was careless and almost betrayed the secret to a traitor, she is equal to this task. She has undergone "a series of stern tests - her adopted father is arrested, her grandmother tells her the family's history (it is only then that she learns that the three generations of the family are not really related by blood), she has to move the secret code to a new hiding place under the very noses of the enemy and she is with her two dear ones when they are shot at the execution ground. All this, together with the noble example of her father and grandmother help to give this 17-year old girl a revolutionary world outlook and turn her into a staunch revolutionary fighter." Comforted by the symbolic red lantern - which she holds like a baby - the girl enlists the help of her neighbors. Their daughter dresses in her clothes and decoys the spies away, while Tieh-mei slips out, retrieves the message and meets with an agent of the guerrillas, who has been waiting nearby disguised as a knife grinder. She is then led off to safety in the guerrillas' mountain camp in the care of one of them who much resembles Li Yu-ho. The knife-grinder and other guerrillas remain behind, ambush and wipe out a Japanese force and the Chinese traitor, then rejoin the others on the mountain. The girl gives the message to the guerrillas's leader. Then she mounts a rock, holds up the lantern, and turns it on again; revolutionary music is heard as the drama ends.

In these three films, although there are variations in stress or extent of attention given to particular aspects, in addition to their specific content differences, the heroines largely display a common basic pattern of character and situation, which extends throughout their courses of change and development. Initially, they all are young, in their late teens or early twenties at most, and rather naive or unworldly as well. This holds despite the fact that they already have experienced difficulties in life.

They are, or soon become, alone in the world. Two of the three are orphans - Li Tich-wei at first is not aware of this but she soon finds out and then loses even her foster-parents, while Hu Hsia-chih loses her husband along with her whole village. They all rather helplessly suffer oppression from others. In all three cases, there is oppression by the Japanese invaders, and in two of these the Japanese, by killing family members, are also responsible for the heroines' aloneness. In Song of Youth, however, the Japanese are not initially on the scene and Lin Tao-ching's initial status as alone and oppressed is related mainly to sexual oppression, first of her mother and later of herself. All the three heroines also are poor, but there is remarkably little emphasis on this in any terms of material deprivation; however, poverty may be shown as important in making the heroine more susceptible to social and sexual oppression, as in Song of Youth, where the stepmother aims to sell the heroine to the wealthy official; as both poor and an orphan, she has no support or resources for resistance. Finally, these young heroines initially appear more or less weak and discouraged.

After such a beginning comes a transitional period. This regularly begins with some kind of initial contact with the Party. In Laughters of China and Song of Youth this step is quite manifest and explicit, while in The Red Lantern, the old lady's revealing of the family history to the girl for the first time appears largely equivalent, as a new cognitive connection. This step marks the start of a new social membership and new identity, but this change is not complete at once. There is next a period of tutelage, especially in ideals or attitudes, and sometimes in practical techniques of struggle, which is carried on under the guidance and encouragement of one or more model Party members; an older woman is always prominent in this, although men may also be involved. In this situation, the heroine becomes enthusiastic, but rather lacking in caution and judgment, and perhaps somewhat uncertain in determination. These qualities are finally also achieved, however, in the course of passing through a number of difficult and threatening ordeals, until the heroines at last are, in Communist terminology, "steel and tempered."

At this stage, the heroines - finally matured to exhibit a combination of determination, endurance, judgement and optimism - are accepted as full members into a Communist group. Here, in this new group, they are no longer

alone, weak, and discouraged, and no longer helplessly oppressed either by the Japanese invaders or sexually by men. Instead, as liberated women, they go forward to work and fight just as the men do, separately perhaps but equally.

The dramas regularly end at this point, but some projection of the heroines' future may be gained from a look at the images of older Communist women which they present. In both Daughters of China and Song of Youth, for example, the heroine has as a chief tutor a somewhat older, but not aged, woman Communist. It is explicitly made clear in both instances that this woman is a model for the heroine, and that the heroine becomes her successor. These two women also are very alike - they both exhibit all the revolutionary virtues mentioned above in extreme degree. Also, in the service of the cause, both experience considerable separation from their husbands, and then lose them completely, and they themselves also eventually die in the resistance struggle. The grandmother in The Red Lantern (who is like the matriarch in Women Generals of the Yang Family in many respects) hardly differs from the women of intermediate age, except for her greater years and the fact that with them, if possible, have come even greater ordeals - she loses her foster-son as well as her husband and even greater firmness and strength, coupled with a more strategic than active orientation. No comparable old man appears in these films.

The patterns basic to these films may be brought out and clarified further by re-examination focusing more specifically on the family images they project, explicitly and implicitly. This particular focus, indeed, will be increasingly evident and important throughout the rest of this report. It is suggested and justified, first, on very general grounds, by the fact that the family has long been the most central feature of Chinese society, and not only in practical and concrete terms; even more important, the system of relationships characteristic of the Chinese family appears as a basic source and pervasive model for the nature of Chinese thinking and attitudes about all other matters as well. In addition, some of the films studied - most especially The Red Lantern - overtly and explicitly relate "resistance to invaders" and "family situation" themes for their heroines\*. There are thus substantial grounds for pursuing this line of

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\* It is interesting to note that a correlation between date of production and overtness of family theme exists for these three films, with Daughters

of China the earliest and least explicit and Song of Youth in an intermediate position in both respects, even though a larger sample would be necessary to verify and investigate the significance of this apparent relationship.

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analysis, including searching for more covert references to family relationships and their connections with invasion and resistance in these films.

To begin with, we may recall again that the major point of departure in these films of resistance to invaders - the basic situation from which the rest of the story develops - regularly involves a young woman who is specifically depicted as being alone in the world because she has lost her family. In Song of Youth and The Red Lantern the girl is explicitly an orphan, although in the latter film she has - though only temporarily - acquired a foster-family already. In Daughters of China, the heroine's original family never appears, as she is already married and accordingly has moved to her husband's residence; then she loses her husband and village at the hands of the Japanese.

The several aspects of this initial situation fit together quite well. In the context of Chinese society, to be alone is not to be independent but to lack the essential social support of family relationships, so that the elements of helplessness, discouragement and oppression that the heroines initially display are appropriate to and naturally accompany their basic social situation. Their youth, with its concomitant lack of that experience which is seen as important for developing both judgement and toughness, is a secondary factor reinforcing these difficulties.

Further developments in these films, as we have seen, are manifestly based on progressively increasing involvement with a new social group, the Communists. Through this affiliation, the young and rather helpless heroines become not only strong personally but effective resisters of the invaders and seem destined eventually to become leaders who will pass on the torch of resistance to other young women as their successors. Given the general importance of group membership in Chinese culture, this development and transformation makes reasonable sense as presented, yet it is also open to a further interpretation in family terms. In the first place, at an only slightly less manifest level, joining the Communists appears very like

joining a new family. Not only does this make sense in terms of the fundamental importance of the family for Chinese thinking, as mentioned; there is readily perceptible evidence for this reading in the film material itself.

This evidence occurs at several levels. There is the general characterization of the Party groups in all three films as nurturant, supportive, educative, well-ordered and harmonious, just as the Chinese family traditionally was supposed to be. The women's brigade in Daughters of China is like an idealized group of sisters-in-law - since they are presented as coming from different origins - under the almost motherly care and guidance of Big Sister An, who is paralleled by Lin Heng in Song of Youth. Finally, The Red Lantern makes explicit much of the family interpretation. We are explicitly told that the heroine's "family", as portrayed initially, already is not her real family of blood relations, but a Communist "revolutionary family". And even when later this family also is lost, she goes on to membership in another and larger Communist group, as did the other heroines. If her first Communist group was a "family", should its successor be otherwise? Any possible doubt on this point is settled by the fact that she is received and conveyed to the guerrilla group by an older man who, even to his railwayman's uniform, is almost a duplicate of her previous Communist "father".

Such near-identification of Party membership with family membership - whether deliberate or, as is more likely, unconscious - is very interesting. Its study, and especially a comparison of the similarities and differences of the Communist images of Party and family membership, should be very relevant for better understanding of the specifically Chinese version of Communism. For example, the films make the point that despite the great cultural emphasis on the continuity of the family, family membership may be lost - there are orphans. In contrast, the Party is presented as both pervasive and immortal, so that the security its membership brings can never be lost. Here, however, we are not concerned with the general significance of the "family" connotations of the Party - highly important as this is - but with the understanding of Communist views about invaders and resistance more particularly.

In this particular connection, we have now seen that these films repeatedly begin by relating foreign invasion to a manifest family situation,

and from this point of departure proceed toward a resolution in which resistance to invasion is related manifestly to Party membership - but this too is presented in a form which almost begs for a "family" reinterpretation. Thus the further question arises: Are these films' manifest images even of invasion and resistance also susceptible to some interpretation in terms of the family system and family relationships? There is already some indication that this line of study, which might lead to a deeper and more unitary view of these films, is worth pursuing. For example, Song of Youth is rather plainly suggestive along these lines, since its heroine's oppression by the Japanese is coupled with and paralleled by personal and sexual oppression in her family relationships - first by her stepmother and Hu, the bad official, and second by her husband, who is labeled as possessive or intrusive as well as "reactionary". To provide a better foundation for pursuing this line of interpretation, however, it is valuable next to examine how the position of women - especially with respect to oppression and "liberation" - is depicted in the Communist films generally, against its essential background of the traditional Chinese family system.

#### WOMEN AND THE FAMILY SYSTEM - TRADITIONAL AND COMMUNIST VIEWS

The customary picture of "the Chinese family" is not hard to give - indeed, it is rather widely known: The Chinese family was a patriarchal, paternalistic, patrilineal, and patrilocal system, with special emphases on large households and arranged marriage. That is, the family was headed (usually) by the eldest male member, under whose firm but benevolent broad authority the various members were supposed to live together in close cooperation and harmony, family name and descent were reckoned according to the male line, and brides joined this family and moved into the husband's home at marriage. Ideally, although not ordinarily, this home would be a large household of many generations and branches of the family, and even in practice three-generation households were common, so that usually the bride entered the home of her parents-in-law to live. She entered as a stranger, also, since marriages were arranged by parents, through go-betweens, not by the young people; indeed, until quite recently the betrothal pair were not supposed to meet or even to see each other until marriage. The major emphasis of the whole system, in fact, was on parent-child rather than husband-wife relationships. Indeed, a wife became a member of her husband's family not just all at once by marriage, but largely

gradually by bearing and rearing children, by becoming the mother of family members.

Much of this usual picture is highly important - but it is also inaccurate or inadequate in other important ways. Though it may be reported with a realistic flavor, it is actually an ideal and official cultural image, in two different although interrelated respects. First, its image of harmony and cooperation veils the considerable amount of conflict and struggle that actually existed in daily family life, both within individuals trying to live by these standards and between the members. Such difficulties, however, have been observed and recorded both by outside observers and by native writers, as in the famous Chinese novel Dream of the Red Chamber\*, long before the Communists arrived to criticize the family system.

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\* Tsao Hsueh-chin, Dream of the Red Chamber, translated by Chi-chun Wang, New York, Twayne, 1958.

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Second, consistent with the overt male-superiority emphasis of Chinese culture, this picture largely reflects a male (and elder) rather than a female (or younger) point of view. At least two major inadequacies accompany this, even though they may seem to be somewhat in contradiction. On the one hand, the official idea of male authority obscures the fact that older women were often very powerful in their families. As wives bore children (especially sons) and aged, their position and influence increased, while men moved toward eventual retirement from activity and responsibility. Thus many families in fact were largely ruled by matriarchal grandmothers. On the other hand, while the position of the young wife has commonly been recognized as weak and difficult - she was directly under the authority of her mother-in-law, difficult relations between them were expected, and even her husband was supposed to support his mother rather than his wife - there still has been little explicit concern about how this situation may have appeared from her point of view; perhaps her feelings and experience were not supposed to matter.

In contrast to all this, one chief focus of Chinese Communist attack on the traditional family system has been the charge that "the feudalistic family" involved the oppression of women - and to some extent, children also - by men. This emphasis is already found in Communist writings in

the early 1940's,\* and is dominant in the new Marriage Law of May 1, 1950,\*\*

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\* See, for example, the stories "Old Customs" and "Hsiao Erh-wei's Marriage" in Chao Shu-li, Rhymes of Li Yu-tsai and Other Stories. Peking, Cultural Press, 1950.

\*\* The Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China, with explanatory materials. Peking, Foreign Languages Press. 5th reprinting, 1959.

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one of the first major legal pronouncements of the Communists after coming to power nationally. Articles 1 and 3 of this law present a general official statement of past oppression and the new freedom of women:

The feudal marriage system which is based on arbitrary and compulsory arrangements and the superiority of men over women and ignores the children's interest shall be abolished.

The New-Democratic marriage system, which is based on the free choice of partners, on monogamy, on equal rights for both sexes, and on the protection of the lawful interests of women and children, shall be put into effect.

...

Marriage shall be based on the complete willingness of the two parties. Neither party shall use compulsion and no third party shall be allowed to interfere.\*\*\*

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\*\*\* The Marriage Law..., op. cit., pp. 1-2.

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A body of accompanying commentary - a common feature of Chinese Communist political education and propaganda - spells out, expands, and gives background to the rather abstract and general statements of the law:

The women of China have waged a long and courageous struggle to break the yoke of the feudal marriage system - a legacy of two thousand years of oppression of women, of untold tragedy and tears.

A special feature of the feudal marriage system in China was that marriages were arbitrarily arranged by parents and forced on their children. Marriage was a sort of bargain. Girls were usually betrothed in their early childhood by arrangements of their parents

who would receive money and gifts as a betrothal or marriage present. Not only was this kind of marriage not free, it was also contracted on the basis of the idea of the superiority of men over women. Many were the victims of this system; many were the unhappy couples forced to share the same roof while their hearts were far apart. This was one of the forms of oppression suffered by the whole people, but women were its special victims...

An old Chinese saying like 'A wife married is like a pony bought; I'll ride her and whip her as I like' vividly describes the position of women in old China. They were not only denied political and economic rights and held in servitude but were also stripped of the right even to manage daily domestic affairs. At home their husbands could and did beat them and curse them, and their parents were free to insult them with impunity. The sufferings endured by luckless daughters-in-law were proverbial.\*

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\* Teng Ying-chao, "Breaking the Yoke of the Feudal Marriage System", in The Marriage Law..., op. cit., pp. 35-36

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The new Marriage Law also attempts to define the new equality of women, but its terms are so general that a more recent semi-official source provides a better view of approved marital relationships in the new society:

In a socialist country, love between husband and wife is built on the identity of political beliefs and on the foundation of struggling together for the revolutionary cause. The relationship between husband and wife is first of all comradesly relations and the feelings between husband and wife are primarily revolutionary sentiments. For this reason, a husband should take the attitude of a revolutionary comrade toward his wife. This is reflected in the attitude of regarding one's wife as a revolutionary comrade-in-arms in the common struggle in the political sphere, as a class sister with whom one labors together in production or work, and as a companion with whom one lives together at home, respecting and loving each other, helping each other, and encouraging each other in making progress together. This is the communist standard, morally and ideologically speaking, by which a revolutionary deals with the

question of love, marriage, and family.\*

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- \* "What Attitude Should a Husband Take Toward His Wife?", Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, Oct. 14, 1964. Translated in Communist China Digest #13, 1940, pp. 139-143.
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A look, next, at the wealth of concrete data in the available film materials will serve to confirm and to fill out this outline of Chinese Communist conceptions about women's family relationships and social position.

#### OPPRESSION AND LIBERATION OF WOMEN IN CHINESE COMMUNIST FILMS

The general position and fate of women in society is as prominent a topic in the total sample of Chinese Communist films as is the depiction of heroines of resistance in the limited number of films focused on invasion and resistance. In the Communist terminology, this whole subject is usually subsumed under the rubric "Liberation of Women". In addition to being stressed in many other types of Chinese political communication, this is a major theme in the Communist films, and is strongly interrelated with other major film themes such as "Liberation of Youth", "The Feudalistic Family", "Reactionary Figure", and "Revolutionary Figures".\*\* Under

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\*\* Cf. Reakland, John H., Chinese Political and Cultural Themes: A Study of Chinese Communist Films. China Lake, California; U.S. Naval Ordnance Test Station, 1966 (NOTS TF 4029).

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this heading are included positive images of the freedom and equality of women in the "New China" and contrasting negative images of their oppression in the bad old days; both aspects appear relevant to the present concern with invasion and resistance.

The nature and pervasiveness of certain major feature of this "Liberation of Women" theme may be conveyed by a brief statistical review, even though such a viewing necessarily emphasizes individual features at the expense of the general pattern characteristic for the theme. In the 22 films from Communist China studied, women were considerably more prominent than men (Table 1). In 10 films the leading role was a female one, against

only 4 films having a male lead, and 4 with joint male and female leads of fairly similar prominence.\* (In three films children were featured, and in

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\* These data of course depend on the observer's judgment of the relative importance of the characters in the films, since there is no official ranking of them. However, relative importance is usually rather evident, and only considerable error would significantly effect this comparison, or the similar judgemental data to follow.

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the pageant The East is Red there were no important individual characters.) These data on prominence are reinforced by observations of a more qualitative kind. Women are prominent not only in frequency of leading roles, but also in their intensity - these roles are highly dramatic and emotional, so that overall it is quite evident that women are of great importance in these Communist films (as they are in Hong Kong and Taiwan films also).

Taking these 14 leading women together as a group, we may survey the characteristics and conditions of such film heroines (Table 11). Nine of the 14 are shown as oppressed, though some of them manage to better their lot in the course of the story. Even these striking figures on the prevalence of oppressed heroines are conservative, since some films depicting only the "New China" after the Communist takeover are included in the sample, and of course no women would be shown as oppressed in this era.

All of these oppressed women are young, usually between about 16 and 25. Almost all are somehow alone, socially isolated. Five are specifically indicated to be orphans, and one is a "semi-orphan" - a young girl whose mother is dead and whose father is absent and believed dead. Three are young widows. Yet this matter of isolation is not so simple, because a young daughter in a family may also be oppressed - for example, by a forced marriage. This seems rather contradictory at first, but the film material itself also suggests two lines toward resolution of this contradiction. First, one might consider that there is some inherent implication that a girl forced into marriage against her wishes by her parents is significantly isolated within her family, and some films make this manifest by depicting the parents as remote and deaf to protests by their daughter. Second, the apparent opposites are combined in several films (e.g., Dream of the Red Chamber, Song of Youth) in which the heroine is an orphan but lives in a foster-family which oppresses her.

The nature of the oppression suffered by the heroines also is striking and broadly consistent. Their harsh fate is not mainly related to the material backwardness, poverty, and starvation which have been so prominent in American images of China. Some of those heroines - by no means all - are poor, but this appears significant not so much in terms of direct hardship as in making them more powerless against oppressive men, who are often shown as wealthy and socially powerful. Moreover, their oppression is not much a matter of that necessary general submission to male control that appears in the foregoing formal pronouncements about "Liberation of Women", although some of these statements come closer to the mark in referring to "free choice of partners" as replacing the old system of marriages "arbitrarily arranged by the parents and forced on their children", for the oppression of women which the films so emphasize is overwhelmingly, and very directly, sexual oppression. This appears in several related forms. The depiction of arranged marriage is frequent, which agrees with the emphasis of the new Marriage Law and accompanying political statements on the position of women, but in the films this depiction is more intense in tone and further emphasized by the accompanying circumstances. Young women are forced into undesired marriages by their parents, and often simultaneously separated from some young man they love, for reasons of practical family advantage. The family may utilize its authority, deliberate trickery, or even physical duress (New Year Sacrifice) to bring about these marriages. In addition, there may be attempted or successful seduction under pressure of money or authority (Song of Youth), and at the limit, direct rape (The White-Haired Girl, Yang Hai-wu and Hsiao Tai-tsai). Among the 9 oppressed heroines, only one case centers on physical hardship. Six of these women are deprived of their chosen loves, five are forced into unwanted marriages by various means, and two are raped (the total exceeds nine since these fates are not mutually exclusive and some heroines suffer two or all three of them)\*. Finally, on viewing this series as a whole, the impression is strong

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\* Although further evidence seems hardly necessary, it may be mentioned that there are also a number of secondary female leads in these films, for whom the picture of oppression is much the same.

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that oppression of women consists essentially of rape, with the other fates,

including the arranged marriages, being only modified or semi-rapes in nature.

The films' depiction of the oppression of men is a less prominent but still significant and related theme. In the 22 films, 6 of eight male leads and 9 of 14 secondary leads are oppressed. And here again the focus is largely sexual. There could hardly be the same concern about rape, although there is some counterpart to this in three instances in which a young man is forced or tricked into marriage with an undesired woman (The Family, Dream of the Red Chamber, Yang Nai-wu and Haiiao Fai-tsai). The stronger emphasis for the men, however, is on being deprived of the beloved woman (9 instances - 5 leads and 4 second leads). In nearly all of these cases this has nothing to do with any other romantic attachment of the loved one, as might often occur in American films. Instead, this occurs because the man is powerless to prevent a girl who loves him being taken by or given to another whom she does not love. The oppressed heroes are always young, and even when not poor they have no control of family wealth or influence, so they can only stand by in frustration and despair, helpless against family authority or the evil designs of rich and powerful landlords or officials. This picture obviously fits in with and reinforces the view of oppression of women as fundamentally sexual in its conception.

But what of the films's presentation of women who are not oppressed? Of these we may distinguish three types, although there is some overlapping and one fundamental similarity among them. We have already had a view of one type, the women warriors, and some view of the liberation of those women who are primarily heroines of resistance. There are also other examples of liberated women, however, even though liberation is less common than oppression\*. These other liberated women are engaged mainly in socially

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\* If the "Old China" films are eliminated from the total sample there remain 5 films of transitional periods, 3 films concerned with Old China in part and New China in part, and 3 films depicting New China exclusively. In these there appear in leading roles 3 liberated women, plus 5 liberated women as secondary leads.

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constructive activities of different sorts - as students, teachers, doctors, and workers on construction projects. That is, these women study and work

like men, just as the resistance heroines fight like men. They may be single or married, but, just like the senior resistance women, if married their work comes first and they are shown as having rather little contact with their husbands. For example, in Singing Above the Reservoir, the heroine and hero are both engaged in helping build the great Ming Tombs Reservoir; they are married on the job site, and immediately thereafter they go off to work on the midnight shifts of the men's and women's brigades. Also, very interestingly, although the feudalistic family no longer exists to force arranged marriages, and the new heroines are supposedly free to make their own choices, these films repeatedly show the Party taking a helpful hand in arranging their marriages.

While a few middle-aged wives who seem to be reluctantly following their husbands' lead in arranging unwanted marriages for the daughters appear, they are not of much importance in the films. The older women who are prominent in a few films are consistently powerful rather than oppressed, but this may be good or bad, according to the circumstances. Although there are some mixed cases, ordinarily their influence is evil - oppressive of younger women - in family contexts, where they appear especially as step-mothers or mothers-in-law (The Family, Dream of the Red Chamber, The White-haired Girl), while in a wider social context - for example, the old matriarch as army commander in Women Generals of the Yang Family - their influence usually is positive.

This appears broadly consistent with the bulk of the other material on oppression and liberation of women, and this material may now be summed up generally as follows: In the personal sphere of family and especially sexual relations, young women are regularly depicted as weak and oppressed by men, who sometimes are aided by older women. In point-by-point contrast to this, women separated from the direct family and sexual sphere by their social affiliations and activities, or by age, are not oppressed or weak. They function strongly in some sphere of social action, in the context of some wider, non-biological social group - an army, the Party, a work team - in parallel with "good" men, and often in effective opposition to "bad" men. In some films, in fact, a single heroine displays this contrast of spheres and functioning. Among the films of invasion and resistance, in Song of Youth Lin Tao-ching is cool and strong when faced with Hu as police official but turns rather hysterical in her defiance of him as an amorous

man, while Hua Mu-tan is assured and adept as a soldier, but flustered in situations where love and marriage is involved. The same holds in the films focused on other topics. Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-tai presents the only example of "liberation" in the Old China films, as the heroine Ying-tai manages to get her family to let her go to school disguised as a man, yet she becomes nearly helpless when matters of love arise. The heroine in The White-haired Girl is quite helpless in resisting rape by an evil landlord, but displays great endurance and determination when focused on survival and revenge.

#### INVASION AND RESISTANCE - A FAMILY VIEWING

It is now possible to outline a unified overall interpretation of the films' images of invasion and resistance in family terms. The resulting view initially may appear somewhat strange, since this is both an unusual approach to this topic and some of its specific points differ markedly from our ordinary expectations about family relationships. This line of interpretation, however, is based on broad psychological and anthropological findings that concepts and attitudes of the most varied kind and scope may be related to childhood and family experience, as well as on the marked Chinese cultural tendency to view all matters in terms of family situations and relationships. In many instances this is conscious and explicit - e.g., the common Chinese saying "The country is like a big family" - but the same process is discernably operative at deeper and less conscious levels. Moreover, this particular interpretation is internally coherent, is consistent with the main points of the three sets of data surveyed, including some that previously seemed puzzling, and can also be related to some significant historical Chinese attitudes about invasion and resistance, as will be seen.

Up to this point, our analysis has mainly moved from specific data toward related more general characterizations. Now, in order to present the general interpretation most clearly, this order will be reversed; the major points in the interpretation will be stated before their related illustrative or supportive data. In accordance with the way in which the films about invasion and resistance center around young heroines, the interpretation will be primarily in terms of a young woman's viewpoint - how situations and events might be experienced and interrelated, unconsciously as well as consciously, by a young Chinese woman or, very importantly, also by anyone identifying with this position.

The fundamental family image of invasion seems relatively plain and evident: the basic model for ideas and attitudes about foreign invasion of China, the mother country, is sexual invasion of a young woman by her husband in the initial stages of an unwanted marriage; parental figures may be important in enforcing this situation.

The films provide much relevant and rather specific evidence for this. As we have seen, in them invasion is closely related to the oppression of women. These two themes not only are repeatedly presented in very similar terms - the heroines of resistance appear like a special case within the more general pattern for oppressed women - but at times, as in Song of Youth, oppression and invasion by foreigners aided by Chinese traitors are closely interwoven. This oppression is clearly presented as sexual in nature - an "invasion" of a woman's person. This sort of invasion is not confined to extra-marital sexual situations but, at least in the Communist view (and perhaps not only there), is closely related to marriage and the family. Indeed, this should not be surprising. In the traditional Chinese family system, while the wife is a stranger in terms of the usual view, from her viewpoint the "reality" is the other way around: although the young wife is alone, largely cut off from her own family in circumstances which may easily appear as desertion by them, to her the husband and his family are strangers and intruders into her person and indeed, into her whole way of life. She is an easy prey to oppression, subject both to sexual demands and to family duties and controls which probably seem harsh and unjustified - especially since the bride's situation is apt to represent an abrupt change from the protective and undemanding treatment traditionally supposed to be accorded young Chinese girls in their own families. In this situation - which she cannot control either by naive simplicity or hysterical behavior - righteous indignation, helpless rage and depression are expectable consequences, just as they are also depicted as reactions to foreign invasion.

In addition, this view is quite consistent with general psychological findings that sex may often be conceived as aggressive and intrusive, and more specifically with the use of such terms as "enticement" and "rape" in Communist warnings against American "imperialist" influences on China.\*

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\* Cited and discussed in a different but related context in Henland, John H., "Family Imagery in a Passage by Mao Tse-tung", World Politics 10, 387-407 (1958).

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The basic family image for resistance to foreign invaders, although more complex and less clear than that for invasion, similarly appears closely related to the later stages of marriage, in which the initially helpless mother becomes progressively stronger and eventually dominant in the family, while the father increasingly is extruded or absorbed by her - and by her children.

Information on the traditional family is certainly congruent with this interpretation. Although the standard family description of course stresses the importance of the father's formal position and power, it is quite evident that as a young wife survives the ordeals of sex, family control, and childbirth (clearly presented as an ordeal in Chinese films) she becomes tougher and stronger, and her position changes and improves over time. She may make common cause, to some extent, with her sisters-in-law or other junior family members. Certainly as a mother of family members - and eventually a grandmother - she more than becomes a member of the family; biologically and emotionally the family increasingly comes to belong to and center around her, perhaps literally in spite of official patriarchy and patrilineality. Also sexual demands on her are apt to decrease, especially since the sexual relationship of Chinese husband and wife is conceived primarily as a means of procreation to continue the family, and as she ages their relationship is apt to become more a working partnership. This change is likely to involve some greater distance - that is, the husband's work is apt to take him, physically or functionally, out of the household sphere, which belongs to women. And eventually, if the husband survives, he withdraws into retirement, while the wife, as family matriarch, seems as durable and eternal as China herself.

The related film material is somewhat complex. It of course is hardly remarkable, given the Communists' concern with sweeping attack on "the feudalistic family" as oppressing women, and their general positive orientation to youth, that these films do not emphasize the improvement of the traditional wife's position as she ages. Yet even so, as we have noted, they give some depictions of the greater power of older women.\* Moreover,

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\* It is also quite possible that even the Communists, although officially feminists, are ambivalent about the extent of Chinese mothers' real family and emotional power and unconsciously would like this reduced, even as the formal position of it women is raised.

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even their preferred image of liberation of women from oppression, which stresses the attainment of membership in a wider social group focused on constructive social rather than sexual activity, still has family connotations. On the one hand we have just seen that as a wife aged her family life itself developed away from direct personal and sexual concerns toward, as a sister-in-law and a mother, practical cooperative tasks in a wider group environment - even if this group was the larger family. On the other, the film examples of older liberated women consistently show them involved, as leaders, in elder sister or maternal kinds of roles.

This marital-family interpretation also helps make coherent and understandable some initially puzzling aspects of the film images of invasion and resistance. Essentially, it proposes that the films' underlying viewpoint is that of a young child, emotionally identified with mother, seeing the family and the country in parallel terms: China as the motherland is equated with mother, and correspondingly though less obviously, "the people" are equated with her children. On this basis, the films' concentration on women is quite natural, as is the striking dual presentation of women as oppressed and weak, and as heroic warriors; there are many indications that young Chinese brides do feel threatened and helpless in emotional-sexual situations, but with age and in more practical or manipulative struggles they are strong. The extreme depictions of women warriors of course still are fantasies, but understandable as exaggerated projections of mother's power as seen from a child's position. This projection probably includes a considerable element of wishful thinking that the mother can be an omnipotent protector of the child - against the rather stern and remote figure of the Chinese father, as well as against any more general pressures of the family and the outer world. This, indeed, would explain why films that show women fighters as even superior to men appeal not just to women, who can identify directly with such power, but also to men - emotionally they could find this protective and reassuring.

It might even be suggested that the curious absence of scenes of actual initial invasion in the films is consonant with this line of interpretation. For the bride, marriage and the initial invasion of her person occur very rapidly, with little preparation or resistance possible at all - perhaps almost like a traumatic shock which is hardly accessible to memory. The subsequent events - continuing family pressures of sex and control, and

the beginnings of resistance against them - are perhaps more significant for the wife, and especially for her children. They, after all, are not initially present; they can only start to view this scene quite some time after the initial "invasion" has occurred.

There is also some rather direct evidence for one basic aspect of the preceding interpretation, namely Chinese Communist identification of children with mother against father, although this evidence does not refer to invasion specifically. A writer aligned with the Communists states that

There is a ... thread which can be traced through the lives of the intellectuals who have joined the Communists or broken from old feudal traditions into revolutionary activity - this struggle between father and son ... and the enlightened attitude of the mother who fought for her child's right to self-determination.

Mao Tse-tung was constantly at war with his petty-bourgeois father and it was always his mother who defended him and aided his search for new culture and knowledge. Chou En-lai speaks in glowing terms of the enlightened liberalism of his step-mother ... who encouraged him to read books of many kinds, even revolutionary tracts, instead of keeping his nose to the old classics as his father demanded.\*

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\* Meng Tsiang, "Herald of a New China", in Ling Ling, Our Children and Others, Hong Kong, 1947.

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Mao himself is quoted in very similar vein:

My mother was a kind woman, generous and sympathetic, and ever ready to share what she had. She pitied the poor and often gave them rice when they came to ask for it during famines. But she could not do so when my father was present. He disapproved of charity. We had many quarrels in the home over this question.

There were two "parties" in the family. One was my father, the Ruling Power. The Opposition was made up of myself, my mother, my brother, and sometimes even the laborer.\*\*

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\*\* Snow, Edgar, Red Star Over China, New York, 1938, p. 113.

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In fact, despite the official emphasis on the father's importance in China,

even outside of Communism related accounts of the mother's importance are given for many outstanding Chinese, from Confucius and Mencius to Dr. Hu Shih.

Certain broad historical emphases in Chinese approaches to invasion and resistance also fit and appear clarified by this interpretative framework. China has long attempted to maintain a posture of considerable separateness from envioning states. If foreigners could not be kept out altogether, then their presence should at least be bounded by formal rules of interaction or limited in extent, or both. The means employed have varied widely, according to the power and relative friendliness or aggressiveness of other states, from the establishment of tribute missions to setting up of restricted foreign enclaves to, as an ultimate, the building of the Great Wall. Similarly, the film heroines regularly try to keep the men at a distance or limit and regulate contact with them, sometimes desperately maintaining and attempting to invoke standards of courteous behavior even as rape is impending.

But in both contexts, these defensive measures to prevent intrusion often fail--indeed, if marriage is so largely equated with invasion, such failure seems foreordained at the interpersonal level and more probable even at the other. Then the problem becomes that of handling an intruder who has successfully penetrated the barriers, and here too there are significant parallels. At this point, one can hardly recall the Chinese view that successful invaders, even apparent conquerors, will eventually be assimilated and absorbed by the Chinese, without considering its similarity to the way the woman, apparently successfully invaded by the man, eventually takes over as the mother of the family. And, though this needs further consideration, even Mao's vision of "people's war" seems relatable to the old "assimilation" idea through this family viewing: The invading enemy probably can not be repulsed at the frontier, but he will be drawn in further and further, lacking any local support and harassed by elusive if inferior forces, his own weapons taken over and turned against him, until finally he is exhausted and submerged by "the people". The more intrusive father is, the more resentful children will he create and, loyal to Mother China, they will eventually overwhelm him.

## CONCLUSION - IMPLICATIONS AND CAUTIONS

Finally, what may be said about the value and usefulness of the foregoing analysis of Chinese Communist film images of invasion and resistance - and what cautions or limitations must be borne in mind concerning such evaluation and use?

This study has been based on close examination of detailed concrete data, but its analytic approach, and correspondingly its main contributions, are quite broad. Two polar yet closely related general conclusions appear not only most significant theoretically but potentially also of most practical importance. On the one hand, the kind and extent of family imagery we have found to be involved in the films indicates clearly that "non-rational" elements are strong and pervasive in Chinese Communist views of invasions and resistance - both for the way situations are perceived and for the feelings associated with them. In relation to our own national standpoint, this is a clear and general warning that to analyze or predict Chinese international behavior only in terms of rational, practical consideration of "the facts" of situations - as we see all these matters - is certain to result in inaccurate and misleading conclusions about Chinese perceptions, attitudes, and reactions.

On the other hand, the study equally indicates that this importance of these "non-rational" factors does not make understanding and prediction of Chinese attitudes and reactions a hopeless task, but rather the contrary. The family factors now seen as so much involved in their viewing of invasion and resistance are "non-rational" by certain standards, yet they clearly exhibit their own basic regularities and order. Thus, they need not be ignored as beyond understanding; instead, they may be taken account of positively as a means toward better understanding of Chinese ideas and actions concerning international relations, and thus toward more effective action in furtherance of our own national aims.

In fact this study already provides, or leads toward, several further steps in such positive utilization of these recognized "non-rational" factors. For example, when the pervasive sexual-family basis of Chinese ideas and feelings about invasion is kept in mind, the often extreme Communist Chinese sensitivity to and distrust of foreign influence of the most varied kinds, and even of apparently minor extent - not just major

military or political pressures - is made much more comprehensible. Similar considerations help explain the fact - often so puzzling to Americans - that foreign "good intentions" themselves may be suspect or threatening to the Chinese. If "good intentions" are responded to positively, they are apt to lead on to an undesired degree of involvement, which may be felt as intrusion, just as occurred between the heroine and her rescuer-husband in Song of Youth. On the side of resistance to invaders, we have already noted how some major Chinese conceptions about national defense are illuminated by seeing their parallelism with "resistance" in the family.

Analysis at such broad general levels is primary, both in importance and in terms of the logical progression of research. Using such general analysis as a necessary foundation, though, more detailed study could be made of particular historical cases of Chinese international attitudes and behavior, and to a more limited extent, even of potential future situations. This, however, would require, and deserves, extensive separate study. It is beyond the scope of the present study, which must now be concluded with some words of caution about both its general approach to Chinese Communist views on invasion and defense and its more specific findings. Precisely because these are believed to be of basic significance, their limitations should be recognized.

In the first place, although this view is considered a fundamental one, it is not a total view. It is neither meant nor claimed to make attention to military and political factors unnecessary. Rather, it aims to outline a relevant broader context for the consideration of such matters or, in different terms, to point out other factors that will influence what the Chinese themselves will select as the relevant facts about situations concerning invasion and resistance and how they will interpret and react to these.

It must also be recognized that this kind of analysis of general attitudes and conceptions initially must involve some stepping back, away from attempts at specific predictions about particular immediate situations, on which specific military or political decisions often must somehow be made. Nevertheless, a valid conception of the general factors and relationships relevant to a class of particular situations is still of value for predictions - by limiting and outlining the main factors and alternatives, it can significantly narrow the range within which judgment informed by personal experience must grapple with remaining uncertainties.

The present study is not exhaustive even in terms of its own line of approach, and some more specific aspects, whose further study could narrow its range of predictive uncertainty, can at least be pointed out here. There are possibilities of individual or group variants within the broad and presumably commonly-shared images of invasion and resistance described here. These have not been specifically investigated, but such variations, as between men and women, or leaders and led (particularly variants held by major individual decision-makers) obviously could be practically important. Also, it is known that Chinese behavior is often characterized by strong division and difference between the level of underlying personal views and that of official ideas and overt behavior regulated by more formal cultural standards, so that the probable relations between basic images and actual behavior are not simple to estimate. Even in the film images themselves, there may be some displacement of emphasis - for example, the relative importance of husband vs. mother-in-law as oppressor may not be just as it appears on the surface - and the possibility of ambivalent feelings, even about sexual invasion, has not been thoroughly explored. It is also not well established how much invasion is literally equated with sex, or how much the image of sexual invasion itself may for the Chinese be a metaphor for the intrusive, disruptive aspect of any close personal involvement. Again, this study has focused on a family image of China as the maternal figure. There is ample evidence for this as the significant identification in the context of attitudes toward invasion and resistance, but this identification is not an exclusive one, and its limits are not clearly established in relation to possible alternative identifications - for example, it is known that in reference to cooperative international relations, Chinese may view the nation in terms of a brotherhood model - e.g., as the "younger brother" of the Soviet Union in the days of friendly alliance.\*

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\* Leckland, John H. "Chinese Family Images in International Affairs", pp. 421-423, in H. Leach and R. Metraux (Eds.), The Study of Culture at a Distance, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

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Last, and the most crucial caution, we must always recall that this analysis at best can present only half of the relevant picture. That is, it studies only a crucial logic of Chinese international attitudes - certain "family" views claimed as characteristic but not necessarily unique for Communist China. American attitudes and their bases have not been examined here at all, and there is every reason to expect that "non-rational" bases exist also for some of our own most strongly held views. In any society, this is the nature of truth - largely a matter of self-fulfilling prophecies and propositions derived from unexamined and unconscious premises. It has been suggested, for instance, that American international behavior often seems based on some idea, not of being raped, but of saving an innocent foreign nation from this fate. Logically, a foreign intervention cannot be both rape and preservation from rape - but viewpoints can differ. Unless we bear in mind that two "logics" of equal importance are involved in any interaction, personal or national, it might even be more misleading to study the premises of Chinese behavior alone than just to act naively according to our own.

TABLE 1  
SUMMARY OF FILMS STUDIED

TITLE	DATE	Style	TYPE OF FILM		MAJOR PROTAGONIST(S) (Name, Sex, Age, Etc.) (Leading Roles Starred)
			Period	Story Focus	
1. Daughters of China	1949	Drama	1930's	Women guerillas vs. Japanese	*1)Hu Hsia-chih - peasant girl, ca. 24
2. The White-Haired Girl	1950	Operatic drama	Late 1940's	Peasants & PIA vs. landlord	*1)Hsi-erh - peasant girl, ca. 18 2)Huang - landlord, ca. 35 3)Ta-chun - peasant youth, ca. 20
3. Scholar and the Fairy Carp	1953	Fantasy	Old China	Poor scholar's love vs. official family	*1)Chang Chen - male, ca. 25. Scholar 2)Fairy Carp - young woman
4. The Letter with Feathers	1954	Drama	Early 1940's	Peasants & Guerillas vs. Japanese	*1)Hsi-wa - peasant boy, 12
5. Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-tai	1954	Operatic romance	Old China	Girl attends school in male disguise, but family blocks romance	*1)Chu Ying-tai - girl, 17, upper-class *2)Liang Shan-po - boy, ca. 20, upper-class
6. The Family	1957	Drama	1916-20	Rebellion of youth vs. old family system	*1)Kao Chueh-hsin - ca. 30 - upper-class 2)His wife 3)Cousin Mei - his sweetheart
7. Young Footballers	1957	Youth	1950's	Co-operation vs. individualism in school sports	
8. New Year Sacrifice	1956	Drama	ca. 1915	Woman oppressed by in-laws and superstitions	*1)Hsiang Lan Sao - peasant woman, ca. 25
9. Hua Nu-Lan	1956	Operatic drama	Old China	Heroic girl warrior vs. barbarian invaders	*1)Hua Nu-Lan - upper-class girl, ca. 20
10. Woman Basketball Player No. 5.	1957	Drama	Early 1950's, mid-1930's	Athletic ideals in New China vs. old corruption	*1)Lin Hsiao-chieh (No. 5) - girl, 17 *2)Tien Chen-hua - her coach, ca. 40 3)Lin Chien - her mother, upper-class, ca. 38
11. Flames on the Border	1957	Drama	Early 1930's	Ching-to tribal people and Communists unite despite Kuomintang plots	*1)Nano -Ching-to girl, ca. 20 *2)To Lung - her husband 3)Li - woman doctor, ca. 28 4)Yang - political cadre, ca. 30
12. Lin Tse-hsu (The Opium War)	1958	Drama	1830's	Patriotic Chinese vs. British and corrupt officials over opium	*1)Lin Tse-hsu - official, ca. 40 2)Ah Kuan, boatman, and his wife

TABLE I (CONT.)

13. Singing Above the Reservoir	1958	Drama	1950's	Romance of young village couple who join in building of Ming Tomb's reservoir	*1) Mao Lan-hsiang - village girl, ca. 20 *2) Xu Chin-ch'ang - her fiancé *3) Xu Ching-ch'ua - his father
14. New Story of An Old Soldier	1959	Drama	1948	Veteran leads development of new farms in Manchuria	*1) Lao Chan - Red Army veteran, 40 *2) Chao Sung-chun - agriculture expert, ca. 40
15. Song of Youth	1959	Drama	1930's	Oppressed girl joins students vs. Japanese and Kuomintang	*1) Lin Tao-ching - girl, ca. 19 *2) Yu Yung-tse - her husband, student *3) Lu Chia-chuan - Communist student leader
16. Cool Mountain's Bright Pearl (Te Chieh and her Fathers)	1961	Drama	1950's	Girl rescued from slavery and raised by Yi Tribe foster-father finds real father	*1) Te Chieh - girl, ca. 18 *2) Jen Ping-ch'ins - her father *3) Ma Ho - foster father
17. Women Generals of the Yang Family	1961	Operatic drama	Old China	Yang Women replace fallen male head, defeat barbarians	*1) Old grandmother Yang *2) Widow of General Yang *3) Her son - ca. 10
18. Dream of the Red Chamber	1962	Operatic drama	Old China	Young lovers parted by wealth- and power-oriented family	*1) Chia tao-yu - boy, ca. 15, upper class *2) Lin Tai-yu - girl, ca. 17, upper class, but impoverished
19. The Jade Hairpin	1962	Operatic romance	Old China	Lustful rejected suitor tries to frame young wife as unfaithful by forged letter	*1) Li Hsu-ying - young wife *2) Song Yu-lin - husband a scholar
20. Yang Hsi-wu and Hsiao Hsi-tsai	1962	Drama, some songs	some 19th century	Poor young wife and her friend oppressed by evil officials	*3) Ku Wen-yu - rejected suitor *1) Hsiao Hsi-tsai - woman, ca. 20 *2) Yang Hsi-wu - scholar, ca. 30 *3) Hsu - evil magistrate's son
21. Blossoms in The Sun	1962	Revue	1960	Children organize and put on show to celebrate "International Children's Night"	*1) Hsiao Hua - boy, ca. 12
22. The East is Red	1965	Song and dance Pageant	1920-1960	Celebration of glorious history of Chinese Communism	No major individual characters

TABLE II  
LEADING WOMEN - OPPRESSED AND FREE

TITLE	CHARACTER	OPPRESSED		FREE	
		POSITION	OPPRESSION	POSITION	ACTIVITY
1. Daughters of China	Hu Hsia-chih	Young, widowed	Home burned, husband killed	Member of guerrillas	Learns and fights with the group
2. The white-haired Girl	Hsi-erh	Young, orphan	Taken from betrothed, raped by landlord		
5. Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-tai	Chu Ying-tai	Young, in family	Denied true love, betrothed to other	In school	Studies equally with men
8. New Year sacrifice.	Hsiang Lin Sao	Young, orphan, widowed	Forced (physically) to remarry, husband dies		
9. Hua Nu Lan	Hua Nu Lan			In army girls' team member	Heroic fighter Plays on national team
10. Woman Basketball Player No. 5	Lin Hsiao-chieh			Member of work teams	works in women's groups
11. Flames on the Border	Miao			Party member	Marxist study, revolutionary work
13. Singing Above the Reservoir	Kao Lan-hsiang			Commune member	works and studies engineering
15. Song of Youth	Lin Tao-ching	Young, orphan	Attempted forced marriage and seduction	In army	Commander, strategist
16. Cool Mountain's Bright Pearl	Te Chieh	Child, semi-orphan	Overworked, beaten		
17. Women Generals of the Yang Family	Yang grand-mother				
18. Dream of the Red Chamber	Lin Tai-yu	Young, orphan in foster-family	True love tricked into other marriage		
19. The Jade Hairpin	Li Hsu-ying	Young wife	Falsely rejected as unfaithful		
20. Yang Nai-wu and Hsiao Hui-tsai	Hsiao Hui-tsai	Young, orphan, widowed	Denied true love, forced marriage. Rape		
Totals	14	9	5- Sexual, forced 5- Sexual, deprived 1- Physical hardship	5- All group members 6 liberated, 2 warriors	

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13. ABSTRACT Images of foreign invasion and resistance, and related materials, in a sample of 22 Chinese Communist feature films have been studied as a means of exploring "non-rational" socio-cultural factors which, in addition to military and political realities, are important in determining Chinese concerns about foreign attack, and about "imperialism" more generally. Films of invasion focus mainly on young women, first as isolated and helpless victims of invaders, and later, after toughening ordeals and contact with Communist groups, as determined leaders of resistance. These images are closely related to other Communist film depictions of old "oppression" and current "liberation" of women, in which "oppression" is clearly tied to forced marriages and sexual intrusion, as seen from the viewpoint of a young wife and children identifying with her. The film images of invasion and resistance thus appear to involve China as the motherland, the people as her children, and foreigners as the intrusive male. This analysis illuminates some specific Chinese Communist attitudes about foreign contact, but most importantly it shows the great significance of "non-rational" factors in such national attitudes generally, while also showing that such factors still are orderly and subject to study and understanding.			

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