

**Thirty Years of Landscape Design in China (1949-1979):
The Era of Mao Zedong**

by
Jijun Zhao

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Department of Landscape
The University of Sheffield
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Abstract

The word 'landscape' was often understood in the Chinese context as 'mountains and water' within the scope of traditional garden making. As a result of this tradition, landscape architects first emerging in early twentieth century China concerned themselves especially with the design of gardens and parks. This situation remained almost unchanged during the radical socialist revolution, which resulted in the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 that was led by Chairman Mao Zedong (1893-1976). During the Mao era (1949-1979), the impact of the Chinese communist ideology on landscape was far-ranging and ground breaking. Besides extensive development of public parks for socialist education as well as recreational purposes, cities were reshaped with large housing areas created for workers – the proletariat, and urban squares playing a crucial role in exhibiting political power, while the countryside was reshaped from a hierarchical landscape with an exploitative nature to an egalitarian one, where the broad masses were to benefit from improvements.

The landscape profession proved to be rather conservative, concentrating on the design of gardens and parks, and it experienced a difficult process of 'modernisation'. The inherent conservatism of the profession also found its way into political ideology, which while encouraging the exploration of traditional garden design frowned upon such elitism by praising advantages of backwardness as represented by the poor peasants, a group which represented the majority of Chinese people upon the Liberation. Other landscapes were created by associated professions, particularly architects, who worked on housing landscapes and urban squares; or by peasants who reformed the countryside using Dazhai as a model. Landscape architects were later also allocated the task of coordinating the greening of the nation. This was reluctantly taken up as it was carried out by the masses often without professional involvement. While various social forces were involved in shaping the urban and rural environments during the era, landscapes transformed with the revolutionary vision using peasant prototype, proved to be a failure. Any achievement of advances in landscape development necessitated a respect for the nation's culture and material past, while also reflecting the new socialist spirit.

Table of Contents

	Page
List of Abbreviations	iv
List of Figures	v
List of Tables	xx
Foreword	xxii
Acknowledgement	xxiv
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Ideology and landscape	1
Tradition versus modernity	3
<i>Two terms: yuanlin and lùhua</i>	3
<i>'Modernisation' of the yuanlin and lùhua concepts</i>	5
Designed landscape types	6
Sources	8
<i>Published sources</i>	8
<i>Art works</i>	12
<i>Archives</i>	12
<i>Interviews</i>	13
Chapter 2 Chinese Traditions and Socialist Ideals	15
Man and nature in Chinese traditions	16
<i>Geographical and economic context</i>	16
<i>The social rule: authority, hierarchy and 'face'</i>	18
<i>Outlook on nature: garden traditions</i>	19
Ideology and policy in the modern Chinese landscape	26
<i>Chinese communist ideology</i>	26
<i>Development phases</i>	31
<i>Modernity versus tradition</i>	38
<i>Greening visions</i>	44
<i>Transforming the countryside</i>	53
Conclusion	58
Chapter 3 Garden in the City: Public Parks	60
The emergence of public parks (1840-1949)	60
The 1949 Liberation	65
<i>Digging lakes and raising mountains under the Patriotic Health Campaign</i>	66
<i>Public parks as celebrations of ideology and culture</i>	68

	<i>Practicing self-reliance: the policy of Yi Yuan Yang Yuan (以园养园)</i>	70
	Soviet influences versus Chinese approaches	72
	<i>The Park of Culture and Rest Model: Gorki Park</i>	72
	<i>Emulation of the Soviet Model versus traditional Chinese approaches</i>	75
	<i>The example of Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park</i>	85
	Transitions with the Leap: revolutionary experiments versus tradition	92
	<i>The return of the mountain-and-water pattern</i>	93
	<i>The continuing scenic tradition</i>	96
	<i>The revival of the 'literary' tradition</i>	101
	<i>Expansion of production</i>	102
	Expedient with the economic readjustment	103
	<i>Further emphasis on production</i>	104
	<i>Reconsideration of YYYYY</i>	105
	In pursuit of 'Red Parks' within the political fervour of the Cultural Revolution	106
	<i>Destruction and 'construction'</i>	107
	<i>Intensification of production</i>	109
	<i>'Red' parks</i>	112
	<i>Criticism of YYYYY</i>	112
	The return of Chinese garden and park culture	114
	Post-Mao parks	121
	Conclusion	122
Chapter 4	Opting for General Greening: Housing Environments	125
	Socio-economic context for housing development	126
	<i>The pressure of housing supply</i>	126
	<i>The production aspiration</i>	126
	<i>Hanglieshi</i> experiments upon the Liberation	128
	<i>Caoyang New Village</i>	129
	Emulation of the Soviet super-block	132
	An innovative investigation: the design of Felicity Residential Area (1954)	137
	Opting for general greening	141
	<i>The 'point-line-plane' vision</i>	144
	<i>The practice of 'Walking on Two Legs'</i>	145
	<i>The failure of 'Six Unifications'</i>	154
	Destruction and appropriation during the Cultural Revolution	156
	Development with high-rise housing	157
	Development since the 1980s	161
	Conclusion	161

Chapter 5	The Making of Tiananmen Square:	
	An Urban Square as an Image of Socialist Hegemony	163
	The old square	165
	The new nation's focal point	169
	<i>Commemorating the past: the issue of a monument</i>	169
	<i>Looking into the future: the failure of Liang-Chen Plan</i>	172
	Chang'an Avenue: a new east-west axis of the city	175
	The Monument to the People's Heroes	178
	<i>To establish the Monument</i>	178
	<i>Greening for the Monument</i>	185
	The new Square: the creation of a 'sea'	188
	Visions for future development	199
	Expansion with Mao's mausoleum	200
	Development in the post-Mao era	205
	Conclusion	207
Chapter 6	Rural Land under Communist Utopia: The Dazhai Model	209
	The 'designer', Chen Yonggui	210
	The Dazhai Spirit	212
	The original landscape	214
	The ten years development with collectivism	218
	<i>Creation of terraced fields</i>	218
	<i>Transition with the Leap</i>	225
	The turning point of 1963	229
	Dazhai within the 'Learning from Dazhai' Movement	231
	<i>Fields: from terrace to man-made plain</i>	232
	<i>Greening beyond the fields</i>	234
	<i>Housing: landscape for collective community</i>	237
	<i>Landscape with mechanization and irrigation</i>	245
	Dazhai today	250
	Conclusion	251
Chapter 7	Conclusion	252
	Socialist landscapes with Chinese characteristics	252
	The scope of the landscape profession	254
Appendices		
	A Chronology of Chinese history	257
	B Map of China	258
	C Chinese public parks created between 1949 and 1979	259
Bibliography		318

List of Abbreviations

PRC	People's Republic of China
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
FYP	Five-Year Plan
GLF	Great Leap Forward
APCs	Agricultural Producer's Cooperatives
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
ASC	Architectural Society of China
CSLA	Chinese Society of Landscape Architecture
YYYY	<i>Yi Yuan Yang Yuan</i> (以园养园)

List of Figures

Chapter 2

- 2.1** Major contour lines, showing the main upland areas (stippled), the main mountain ranges (named) and the southern and eastern lowlands (white).
Source: Buchanan, Keith. *The Transformation of the Chinese Earth: Aspects of the Evaluation of the Chinese Earth from Earliest Times to Mao Tse-tung* (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd, 1970), p. 64.
- 2.2** Relief diagram of China.
Source: Lo, Kai-fu. 'The Basic Geography of China'. *China Reconstructs*. Vol. V, No. 12 (December 1956), p. 19.
- 2.3** A propaganda poster from the 1950s when the slogan 'learning from the Soviet Union' was current. A building worker is laying bricks, with a Soviet style building in the background with a portrait of Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) on the main facade. The caption in the top left corner reads, 'The Soviet Union is our model (苏联是我们的榜样).'
- Source: IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection (<http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>).
- 2.4** A propaganda poster in 1958 when the GLF campaign (1958-1960) was launched. It visualised the editorial, 'Riding wind and cleaving waves', from *People's Daily* on 1st January 1958. The four characters on the sail were the key words of the 'General Line': 'greater, faster, better and more economical'.
Source: IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection (<http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>).
- 2.5** A propaganda poster from the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969). The Little Red Book is held high by a soldier; meanwhile the counter-revolutionaries are dealt a severe blow by the workers. The caption reads, 'Hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought – thoroughly smash the rotten counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art.'
Source: IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection (<http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>).
- 2.6** Mao's calligraphy of the four-character slogan '*Lùhua zùguó*' (Making Green the Motherland, 绿化祖国) in 1956.
Source: <http://www.greenbeijing.org/sysmanage/editor/UploadFile/200612/2006125152822838.gif>, accessed on 15/08/2007
- 2.7** A stamp issued in 1958, showing tree planting and mass mobilisation for the 'Making Green the Motherland' campaign.
Source: private collection.
- 2.8** Mao's calligraphy for the National Landscaping and Gardening Movement: '*Shìxíng dàdì yuánlín huà*' (To turn the whole land into a garden, 实行大地园林化) in 1958.
Source: <http://www.greenbeijing.org/sysmanage/editor/UploadFile/200612/2006125152656557.gif>, accessed on 15/08/2007
- 2.9** A propaganda poster from 1952 announcing that, 'Land Reform across the whole nation has already been accomplished.'
Source: IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection (<http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>).
- 2.10** A propaganda poster from 1956, which encouraged taking 'the road of collectivisation in order to advance agricultural production'.
Source: IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection (<http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>).
- 2.11** A propaganda poster from 1958 praising the 'People's Communes'. The photo featured was taken during the summer of 1958 when Mao inspected crops in Henan Province. The five characters in Mao's calligraphy at the bottom read, 'The People's Communes are fine

(人民公社好)'

Source: IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection (<http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>).

- 2.12 A propaganda poster from the 'Learn from Dazhai' Movement depicting crowds of people wholeheartedly trying to catch up with Dazhai for the sake of the socialist and communist undertaking with absolute enthusiasm.

Source: IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection (<http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>).

Chapter 3

- 3.1 The calligraphy of President Sun Zhongshan (1866-1925), 'For the sake of all the public (天下为公)'. This showed the advocated social value and political vision of the Republican era.

Source: Shanghai Museum of Sun Yat-Sen's Former Residence 上海孙中山故居纪念馆 ed. *Sun zhongshan: jinian Sun Zhongshan xiansheng danchen 130 zhounian* [Sun Zhongshan: In commemoration of the 130th anniversary of Dr. Sun's birth] 孙中山: 纪念孙中山先生诞辰 130 周年. (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1996).

- 3.2 Stamps issued in 1960 depicting the Patriotic Health Campaign (1952): successively 'Sanitation in Mines and Factories', 'To Wipe out the Four Pests', 'To Pay Attention to Hygiene', 'Prevention of Diseases', and 'Physical Drill'. What was more relevant for the development of public parks was the second one. The 'Four Pests' referred to rats, bedbugs, flies, and mosquitoes, which were included in the 'five eliminations' and 'one capture'.

Source: Private collection.

- 3.3 Digging and mounding project with mass manual volunteers for the creation of Joyous Pavilion Park, Beijing, in 1952.

Source: Han, Jiang 涵江. *Taoranting* [Joyous pavilion] 陶然亭. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1958).

- 3.4 The entrance of today's People's Park, Shanghai. The calligraphy work of 'People's Park' (人民公园) inscribed on the tablet was made by Marshal Chen Yi (1901-1972) in 1950.

Source: Photograph by Li Songfeng on 31/12/2007.

- 3.5 The entrance of today's People's Park, Tianjin. The calligraphy work of 'People's Park' (人民公园) inscribed on the horizontal panel of the archway was made by Chairman Mao Zedong (1893-1976) in September 1956.

Source: Photograph by Fu Junming in July 2006.

http://109616.ccnpic.com/user/User_Temple/2/magnify.php?userid=109616&img_id=109616-00548, accessed on 31/01/2008.

- 3.6 The design proposal of Gorki Park of Culture and Rest in Moscow, USSR (late 1920s)

Source: Lunts, Leonid Borisovich. *Lohua jianshe* [Greening construction] 绿化建设, trans. by Zhu Junzhen 朱钧珍, Liu Chengxian 刘承翔, Ma Shiwei 马士伟, and Shen Dalun 沈大纶. (Beijing: Jianzhu Gongcheng Chubanshe, 1956), p. 129.

- 3.7 Plan of Joyous Pavilion Park, Beijing (1950s) shows the influence of the Soviet design approach through the allocation of functional zones, and the Chinese garden making tradition, the mountain-and-water pattern.

Source: Han, Jiang 涵江. *Taoranting* [Joyous pavilion] 陶然亭. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1958).

- 3.8 Plan of Unmoored Ferry Park, Hefei (early 1980s).

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 70.

- 3.9 Plan of Culture Park, Guangzhou (late 1980s).

Source: Liu, Tingfeng 刘庭风. *Lingnan yuanlin, Guangzhou yuanlin* [Lingnan and Guangzhou gardens and parks] 岭南

园林, 广州园林. (Shanghai: Tongji University Press, 2003), p. 182.

- 3.10 The Monument to the Martyrs of the 1911 Protecting Railway Revolution, established in 1914 in People's Park, Chengdu.
Source: <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/original/4093560.jpg>, accessed on 09/10/2007.
- 3.11 The monument established in 1947 in memory of the Chongqing fire-fighting martyrs in Central Park, Chongqing.
Source: Supplied by Wan Tingting.
- 3.12 The Gao-Shi Tomb in Joyous Pavilion Park, Beijing, was established in 1925 and completed in 1927 in memory of Gao Junyu (1896-1925), one of the first several Party members of the CCP and his girlfriend Shi Pingmei (1902-1927).
Source: Han, Jiang 涵江. *Taoranting* [Joyous pavilion] 陶然亭. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1958).
- 3.13 The open-air dance floor laid in Joyous Pavilion Park in Beijing in 1955, which was a result of the social fashion to emulate the Soviet style round dances at the time.
Source: Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin luhua gongzuo nianbao (1961-1962)* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture (1961-1962)] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 (1961-1962). (June, 1963).
- 3.14 'Tower Guarding the River' was constructed in 1957 in Stalin Park, Harbin, to celebrate the successful defence against the biggest flood since records began. It was a political statement in that it not only recognised Soviet influences but also praised the power of the people under socialism.
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 42.
- 3.15 The Brilliant Brightness Pavilion, constructed in traditional style in 1953 in Joyous Pavilion Park, Beijing, was originally thatched.
Source: Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 69.
- 3.16 View from the north of Joyous Pavilion Park. The Tower of Painted Clouds and Sweet Sound Pavilion (above centre in the picture) stood opposite to the Joyous Pavilion and the Temple of Mercy (right), together forming a conspicuous traditional feature in the centre of the park.
Source: Han, Jiang 涵江. *Taoranting* [Joyous pavilion] 陶然亭. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1958).
- 3.17 The memorial archways, saved from the expansion of Chang'an Avenue, emphasised the main approach to the Central Island of Joyous Pavilion Park.
Source: Han, Jiang 涵江. *Taoranting* [Joyous pavilion] 陶然亭. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1958).
- 3.18 The location of Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park (6) in Hangzhou (early 1950s).
Source: Sun, Xiaoxiang 孙筱祥, and Hu Xuwei 胡绪渭. 'Hangzhou Huagangguanyu gongyuan guihua sheji' [Planning and design of Flower Harbour and Viewing Fish Park of Hangzhou] 杭州花港观鱼公园规划设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 5 (1959), p. 20.
- 3.19 The only surviving historic artefacts upon the Liberation, the stele with the inscription of 'Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour (花港观鱼)' and the adjacent fish pond, Hangzhou.
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 60.
- 3.20 Site survey of area proposed for Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park, Hangzhou (early 1950s).
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 59.
- 3.21 The design proposal for Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park, Hangzhou (c. 1955).
Source: Sun, Xiaoxiang 孙筱祥, and Hu Xuwei 胡绪渭. 'Hangzhou Huagangguanyu gongyuan guihua sheji' [Planning

- and design of Flower Harbour and Viewing Fish Park of Hangzhou] 杭州花港观鱼公园规划设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 5 (1959), pp. 20-21.
- 3.22 The Peony Pavilion in Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park is located at a commanding position on top of the hillock. It was planted with a wide range of trees and flowers.
Source: Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Zhongguo yuanlin zhiwu jingguan yishu* [The art of planting design in Chinese landscape architecture] 中国园林植物景观艺术. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 2003), p. 96.
- 3.23 Bird's-eye view showing the proposed Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park, seen from east. The Goldfish Garden with a group of traditional style buildings dominates the centre.
Source: Sun, Xiaoxiang 孙筱祥, and Hu Xuwei 胡绪渭. 'Hangzhou Huagangguanyu gongyuan guihua sheji' [Planning and design of Flower Harbour and Viewing Fish Park of Hangzhou] 杭州花港观鱼公园规划设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 5 (1959), p. 19.
- 3.24 The dense plantations to the north of the Peony Garden were mostly incorporated as features in the new design.
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 62.
- 3.25 The big lawn area in Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park for youth activities. Groups of Lotus Magnolia (*Magnolia grandiflora* L.) and Deodar Cedars (*Cedrus deodara* G. Don) defined the southern boundary of the area, with the immense water body of the West Inner Lake and the West Lake to north. A group of Sweet Osmanther (*Osmanthus fragrans* Lour.) was placed in the centre to create some depth.
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 60.
- 3.26 A wandering watercourse for pleasure-boats in the Flower Harbour was bordered by a dense plantation of evergreen trees that also defined the western boundary of the park.
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 60.
- 3.27 Mass volunteers took part in the digging and mounding project in Purple Bamboo Park, Beijing. This was carried out in a severe winter with immense revolutionary zeal from November 1958 to January 1959 and aimed to expand the fish farming as part of the production programme.
Source: Zhao, Chunru 赵春如 and Ma Hongtu 马鸿图. 'Zizhuyuan wahu gongcheng' [Lake digging projects of the Purple Bamboo Park] 紫竹院挖湖工程. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 258.
- 3.28 Plan of Xingqing Park, Xi'an (late 1970s).
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 110.
- 3.29 Plan of Yangpu Park, Shanghai (1958), shows a mountain-and-water pattern with the waterbody subdivided by causeways and islands to provide visitors with a variety of visual attractions and spatial experiences.
Source: Chen, Lifang 陈丽芳. 'Zhongguo yuanlin de tantao' [An exploration of Chinese gardens and parks] 中国园林的探讨. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 12 (1958), p. 35.
- 3.30 Long Wind Park, Shanghai (1958), was also based on a mountain-and-water pattern with the water body subdivided into a variety of spaces in order to create contrasts of openness and enclosure.
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New

gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 10.

- 3.31 The waterbody was a dominant scenic feature of Xingqing Park, Xi'an (1958), and the mountain-and-water pattern provided a framework for subsequent creation of scenic areas.
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 113.
- 3.32 The Chenxiang Pavilion built in 1958 was modelled after the building style of the Tang Dynasty (618-906) became the central feature of the Chenxiang Pavilion area of Xingqing Park, Xi'an.
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 114.
- 3.33 The seven scenic areas of Seven-Star Park, Guilin (late 1950s), were arranged according to the limestone topography and scenic characteristics of the site.
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 102.
- 3.34 The Seven-Star Park was renowned for its spectacular grottos.
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 106.
- 3.35 The Facing River Hall at the foot of the Crescent Moon Mountain provided the possibility of good views and was a focal point itself.
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 104.
- 3.36 The expansive lawn with *Osmanthus fragrans* Lour. planted to the north of the Crescent Moon Mountain of Seven-Star Park.
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 108.
- 3.37 The Camel Hump Mountain in Seven-Star Park resembles a camel hump, from which the name of the scenic area was derived.
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 104.
- 3.38 The productive plantings in Zhongshan Park, Beijing (c. 1968), included various fruit trees, walnuts, peanuts and a range of herbs.
Source: Horticultural Team of the Management Department of Beijing Zhongshan Park 北京中山公园管理处园艺班. 'Yuanlin jiehe shengchan dayou kewe' [There is plenty of scope to combine landscaping and gardening with production] 园林结合生产大有可为. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1974), p. 30.
- 3.39 The Inner Altar of Zhongshan Park (seen from northeast to southwest), where apple trees, peach trees and large-fruited Chinese hawthorns (*Crataegus pinnatifida* Bunge. var. *major*) were planted to be both visually attractive and economically productive.
Source: Horticultural Team of the Management Department of Beijing Zhongshan Park 北京中山公园管理处园艺班. 'Yuanlin jiehe shengchan dayou kewe' [There is plenty of scope to combine landscaping and gardening with production] 园林结合生产大有可为. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1974).
- 3.40 The Outer Altar of Zhongshan Park, with fruit bearing persimmon trees in late autumn.
Source: Horticultural Team of the Management Department of Beijing Zhongshan Park 北京中山公园管理处园艺班. 'Yuanlin jiehe shengchan dayou kewe' [There is plenty of scope to combine landscaping and gardening with production] 园林结合生产大有可为. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1974).
- 3.41 Plan of Fahua Park, Shanghai, after a regeneration programme in 1973, which introduced

a mountain-and-water pattern that incorporated scenic areas and functional zones.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 210.

3.42 Bird's-eye perspective of the re-developed Fahua Park (1985) (seen from south).

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 212.

3.43 The open lawn of Fahua Park (seen from east), with the Lotus Fragrant Pavilion located to north. A parachute tower is shown in the background.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 213.

3.44 The Lotus Pond with the Lotus Fragrant Pavilion in Fahua Park, provided an intimate space as a contrast to the open lawn to south and the extensive lake to north.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 213.

3.45 Flower bed at the entrance of Fahua Park in front of a raised area with shrubs and trees, which prevent views into the park.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 213.

3.46 The stele incorporating Mao's revolutionary poem, set at the entrance of the youth play zone of Children's Park, Dalian.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 136.

3.47 The screen wall with Mao's inscription 'Aim high, go ahead, and you will win', placed on the main approach of Children's Park, Hangzhou.

Source: Teaching and Research Section of the School of Architecture of Tongji University 同济大学建筑系园林教研室, ed. *Gongyuan guihua yu jianzhu tuji* [A collection of designed parks] 公园规划与建筑图集. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1986), p. 168.

3.48 The slide symbolising the 'snow-capped mountain' in Children's Park, Zhanjiang.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 143.

3.49 The slide symbolising the 'snow-capped mountain' in Joyous Pavilion Park, Beijing.

Source: Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会, *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999).

3.50 Number of public parks constructed in China between 1949 and 1979.

Note: This figure is produced based on the sample of 209 public parks. Some years before 1949 are included, as some cities were liberated earlier and parks were already constructed during these earlier years.

Chapter 4

4.1 Completed housing construction and the average living space per capita in urban areas

Source: LÜ, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 22.

4.2 Trends of investment in capital construction, and non-productive and residential construction

Source: LÜ, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 113.

4.3 Plan of Caoyang New Village, Shanghai (late 1950s).

Source: Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Juzhuqu luhua* [Greening of housing areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981), p. 24.

- 4.4 Caoyang New Village, Shanghai (seen from east). Private front gardens were to the south sides of houses in order to screen noise and dust from the street, and also provided utilitarian spaces.

Source: *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1959).

- 4.5 A view of Caoyang New Village, Shanghai, in mid-1950s, taken soon after trees had been planted.

Source: Wang, Dingzeng 汪定曾. 'Shanghai Caoyang xinxun zhuzhaiqu de guihua sheji' [The planning and design of the Caoyang New Village in Shanghai] 上海曹杨新村住宅区的规划设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1956), p. 13.

- 4.6 A communal green area in Caoyang New Village, Shanghai. Tree planting was limited, and the area was fenced off, probably for better maintenance (mid-1950s).

Source: Wang, Dingzeng 汪定曾. 'Shanghai Caoyang xinxun zhuzhaiqu de guihua sheji' [The planning and design of the Caoyang New Village in Shanghai] 上海曹杨新村住宅区的规划设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1956), p. 15.

- 4.7 A view of Caoyang Park in Caoyang New Village. Tree planting on the site was limited and the trees themselves still immature (late 1950s).

Source: Research Unit of Regional and City Planning of Architectural Science Research Institute 建筑科学研究院区域规划与城市规划研究室. *Jiefang luhua* [Neighbourhood greening] 街坊绿化. (Beijing: Jianzhu Gongcheng Chubanshe, 1959), p. 28.

- 4.8 Plan of a typical super-block in the Soviet Union. This was published in the most important journal for the architectural and landscape profession during the Mao era, the *Architectural Journal*.

Source: Yang, Tingbao 杨廷宝. 'Guoji jianzhushi xiehui disijie dahui qingkuang baodao' [Report on the Fourth Congress of International Architects] 国际建筑师协会第四届大会情况报道. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1955), p. 75.

- 4.9 Plan of Baiwanzhuang Residential Area (1953). The courtyard system was much more complicated and intricate than that of the Soviet model.

Source: Li, Hongduo 李宏铎. 'Baiwanzhuang zhuzhaiqu he guomian yichang shenghuoqu diaocha' [Investigation of Baiwanzhuang Residential Area and the Living Quarter of State Cotton Factory] 百万庄住宅区和国棉一厂生活区调查. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1956), p. 20.

- 4.10 Panorama of the Wine Immortal Bridge Living Quarter (the 1950s). The housing environment appeared bleak with the extremely limited establishment of greenery.

Source: Research Unit of Regional and City Planning of Architectural Science Research Institute 建筑科学研究院区域规划与城市规划研究室. *Jiefang luhua* [Neighbourhood greening] 街坊绿化. (Beijing: Jianzhu Gongcheng Chubanshe, 1959), p. 8.

- 4.11 Plan of Felicity Residential Area, Beijing (mid-1950s).

Source: Hua, Lanhong 华揽洪. *Chongjian zhongguo: chengshi guihua sanshinian, 1949-1979* [Reconstruction of China: thirty years of urbanism, 1949-1979] 重建中国: 城市规划三十年, 1949-1979, trans. by Li Ying 李颖. (Beijing: Shenghuo-dushu-xinzhi Sanlian Shudian, 2006), p. 179.

- 4.12 Schematic plan of Felicity Residential Area, Beijing (mid-1950s), showing important rooms, i.e. bedrooms or living rooms (in bold black lines) faced south or east.

Source: Hua, Lanhong 华揽洪. 'Beijing Xingfucun jiefang sheji' [The design of the Felicity Residential Area in Beijing] 北京幸福村街坊设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1957), p. 25.

- 4.13 Proposal for greening arrangement of Felicity Residential Area, Beijing (mid-1950s). Existing trees were largely preserved to provide an immediate greening effect, while proposed trees could not be realised as shown in the plan due to insufficient nursery stock.

Source: Hua, Lanhong 华揽洪. 'Beijing Xingfucun jiefang sheji' [The design of the Felicity Residential Area in Beijing] 北京幸福村街坊设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1957), p. 30.

- 4.14 Plan of Pengpu Residential Area, Shanghai (1958). Greening was arranged according to the 'point-line-plane' framework. The main road of the area was mainly lined with *Cinnamomum camphora* L. in order to give it a distinctive character, in contrast with other roadsides, which were planted mainly with *Platanus orientalis* L.
Source: Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Juzhuqu luhua* [Greening of housing areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981).
- 4.15 Plan of Sanlihe Residential Area, Beijing (1953).
Source: Beijing Jianshe Shishu Bianji Weiyuanhui Bianjibu 北京建设史书编辑委员会编辑部. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: fangwu jianzhu II* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of PRC: Architecture II] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 房屋建筑 II. Vol. 5 (1992), p. 271.
- 4.16 Schematic plan of a courtyard specially arranged for 'beautification' purpose in Sanlihe Residential Area, Beijing (late 1950s).
Source: Fu, Shanyi 傅珊仪. 'Sanlihe Juminqu de luhua guihua sheji' [Planning and design of the greening of the Sanlihe Residential Area] 三里河居民区的绿化规划设计. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 212.
- 4.17 Schematic plan of the greening arrangements between parallel buildings in Sanlihe Residential Area, Beijing (late 1950s).
Source: Fu, Shanyi 傅珊仪. 'Sanlihe Juminqu de luhua guihua sheji' [Planning and design of the greening of the Sanlihe Residential Area] 三里河居民区的绿化规划设计. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 213.
- 4.18 Schematic section of the road in Sanlihe Residential Area.
Source: Fu, Shanyi 傅珊仪. 'Sanlihe Juminqu de luhua guihua sheji' [Planning and design of the greening of the Sanlihe Residential Area] 三里河居民区的绿化规划设计. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 213.
- 4.19 Schematic section of the road around Sanlihe Residential Area.
Source: Fu, Shanyi 傅珊仪. 'Sanlihe Juminqu de luhua guihua sheji' [Planning and design of the greening of the Sanlihe Residential Area] 三里河居民区的绿化规划设计. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 214.
- 4.20 The entrance of Sanlihe Residential Area, Beijing. Trees were regularly lined along the roads (1958).
Source: *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1958).
- 4.21 Plan of Pumpkin Lane Residential Area, Shanghai (c. 1964).
Source: Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Juzhuqu luhua* [Greening of housing areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981), p. 19.
- 4.22 Plan of part of the main road of Pumpkin Lane Residential Area, Shanghai (c. 1964).
Source: Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Juzhuqu luhua* [Greening of housing areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981), p. 74.
- 4.23 A view of the main road in Pumpkin Lane Residential Area (c. early 1970s).
Source: Supplied by Professor Zhu Junzhen.
- 4.24 The entrance of Pumpkin Lane Residential Area, Shanghai, on Sky Eye Road, with

extensive trees planted (early 1970s).

Source: *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1974).

- 4.25 The 'drawing of greening', by architects, of Xinyuan Lane Residential Area, Beijing, which only indicated the areas designated for green coverage.

Source: Xu, Yingguang 徐莹光. 'Beijing zuojiazhuang xinyuanli juzhu xiaoqu' [Zuo Family Xinyuan Lane Residential Area in Beijing] 北京左家庄新源里居住小区. In Zuo, Chuan 左川 and Zheng Guangzhong 郑光中, eds. *Beijing chengshi guihua yanjiu lunwenji* [A research anthology of Beijing city planning] 北京城市规划研究论文集. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1996), p. 231.

- 4.26 The changes of per capita green coverage for residential areas in Beijing. There was no such coverage for residential areas during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969).

Source: Shen, Jiren 沈继仁. 'Beijing jinnian juzhu xiaoqu guihua pingxi' [Assessment of recently built residential areas in Beijing] 北京近年居住小区规划评析. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1983), p. 10.

- 4.27 Plan of Caoxi Residential Area, Shanghai (1975).

Source: Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Juzhuqu luhua* [Greening of housing areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981), p. 28.

- 4.28 Caoxi Residential Area, Shanghai (seen from east) (late 1970s).

Source: *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 1 (1979).

- 4.29 A courtyard of Caoxi Residential Area, Shanghai, in shade (late 1970s).

Source: Supplied by Professor Zhu Junzhen.

- 4.30 A courtyard entrance of Caoxi Residential Area, Shanghai, where flowering trees were planted (late 1970s).

Source: Supplied by Professor Zhu Junzhen.

Chapter 5

- 5.1 The central axis of the Imperial City, Beijing, in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)

Source: Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Tiananmen guangchang de guihua he sheji' [The planning and design of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场的规划和设计. *Jianzhushi Lunwen Ji*, 2 (1979), p. 15.

- 5.2 Drawing of Tiananmen Square of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)

Source: Zhao, Dongri 赵冬日. 'Tiananmen Guangchang' [Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, Z1 (1959), p. 18.

- 5.3 Plan of Tiananmen Square in late Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)

Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.

- 5.4 Tiananmen and Thousand-step Gallery (seen from the south) (before 1913).

Source: Fu, Gongyue 傅公铨, ed. *Beijing lao chengmen* [The old city gates of Beijing] 北京老城门. (Beijing: Beijing Meishu Sheying Chubanshe, 2002), p.22.

- 5.5 Tiananmen Square (1949-1950) (seen from north). A flagpole was established at the intersection of the north-south axis and Chang'an Avenue.

Source: Editorial Board of *Great changes of the capital* 《古都巨变》画册编委会, ed. *Gudu jubian - Beijing chengshi jianshe 50 nian* [Great changes of the capital - the 50 years' construction of Beijing] 古都巨变——北京城市建设 50 年. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1999).

- 5.6 The five options (a, b, c, d, e) for the location of the Monument to the People's Heroes

Source: Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Tiananmen guangchang de guihua he sheji' [The planning and design of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场的规划和设计. *Jianzhushi Lunwen Ji*, 2 (1979), p. 18.

- 5.7 Chairman Mao laying the foundation stone for the Monument to the People's Heroes in Tiananmen Square on 30 September 1949.

Source: 'The foundation stone laying ceremony for the Monument to the People's Heroes' 人民英雄纪念碑奠基.

Guangming Daily (1 October, 2006). http://www.gmw.cn/01qmr/2006-10/01/content_488281.htm, accessed on 10/02/2008.

- 5.8 **The Soviet plan in 1950 for the development of Beijing city**
 Source: Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: chengshi guihua I* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of the PRC: Planning I] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 城市规划. Vol. 1 (1995, 2nd ed.), p. 5.
- 5.9 **Liang-Chen Plan produced in 1950**
 Source: Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: chengshi guihua I* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of the PRC: Planning I] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 城市规划. Vol. 1 (1995, 2nd ed.), p. 7.
- 5.10 **Plan of Tiananmen Square (1950-1951).**
 Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.
- 5.11 **Chang'an Left Gate, which was demolished in 1952.**
 Source: Fu, Gongyue 傅公铨, ed. *Beijing lao chengmen* [The old city gates of Beijing] 北京老城门. (Beijing: Beijing Meishu Sheying Chubanshe, 2002), p. 21.
- 5.12 **Chang'an Right Gate, which was demolished in 1952.**
 Source: Fu, Gongyue 傅公铨, ed. *Beijing lao chengmen* [The old city gates of Beijing] 北京老城门. (Beijing: Beijing Meishu Sheying Chubanshe, 2002), p. 21.
- 5.13 **The military review of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the PRC along Chang'an Avenue on National Day (1 October), 1954.**
 Source: <http://pop6park.com/life10/messages/45664.html>, accessed on 31/12/2007
- 5.14 **The Dragon Lantern Dance along Chang'an Avenue on National Day.**
 Source: Chen, Han-seng. 'The story of Tien An Men'. *China Reconstructs*. Vol. VII, No. 5 (May 1958), p. 22.
- 5.15 **Proposed designs for the Monument to the People's Heroes**
 Source: Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Renmin Yingxiong Jinianbei de chuanguo chengjiu' [The design achievements of the Monument to the People's Heroes] 人民英雄纪念碑的创作成就. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 2 (1978), pp. 6-7.
- 5.16 **The Jade Island in Spring Shade Stele, with inscription by the Emperor Qianlong (1711-1799), at the foot of White Pagoda Mountain in Beihai.**
 Source: Sirén, Osvald. *The Gardens of China* (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1949).
- 5.17 **The calligraphy work of Premier Zhou Enlai (1898-1976) for the inscription included on the Monument to the People's Heroes, which was composed on 30 September 1949 in the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC).**
 Source: Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe* [Beijing city construction since the founding of the PRC] 建国以来的北京城市建设. Restricted publication (1986).
- 5.18 **Mao's calligraphy, 'Eternal Glory to the People's Heroes', for the Monument to the People's Heroes**
 Source: 'Eternal Glory to the People's Heroes'. www.shaoshan.gov.cn/wrfc/Print.asp?ArticleID=205, accessed on 11/02/2008
- 5.19 **The north and south elevations of the Monument to the People's Heroes.**
 Source: Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Renmin Yingxiong Jinianbei de chuanguo chengjiu' [The design achievements of the Monument to the People's Heroes] 人民英雄纪念碑的创作成就. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 2 (1978), p. 7.
- 5.20 **Tiananmen Square in mid-1958, when the Monument and the first phase of the establishment of the pine grove were completed (seen from south).**
 Source: Fan, Yaobang 范耀邦. 'Xiandai chengshi wenhua gudu' [The modern city and the cultural capital] 现代城市 文化

古都. *Jianzhushi*, 60 (1994), p. 23.

- 5.21 Plan of Tiananmen Square in late 1958 after the completion of the second phase of the establishment of the pine grove to the south of Zhonghua Gate.
Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.
- 5.22 Plan of the Monument to the People's Heroes and the surrounding greening arrangements. Within the pine grove Zhonghua Gate was demolished (late 1958).
Source: Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing yuanlin youxiu sheji jijin* [A collection of excellent landscape design in Beijing] 北京园林优秀设计集锦. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1996), p. 23.
- 5.23 Tiananmen Square in late 1958. The pine grove to south of the Monument to the People's Heroes was by this point fully established. Around the Monument, four lawns were laid which completed the rectangular pattern of the ground floor plan.
Source: Contribution from Xinhua News Agency, Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.
- 5.24 Three design proposals for Tiananmen Square in 1950. The square was designed in order to conform to the old T-shaped spatial structure. The buildings that flanked the square were planned like another traditional palace outside the Forbidden City.
Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.
- 5.25 Three of the designs proposed for Tiananmen Square in 1954. Huge buildings were proposed in the square to achieve visual and spatial grandeur. This is particularly so in the Soviet-influenced third proposal, in which a massive symmetrical building similar to the main building of Moscow University dominates the centre of the square.
Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.
- 5.26 Three of the designs proposed in 1956 for Tiananmen Square, when the Soviet idea of having massive buildings in the square was rejected. Nevertheless, all these proposals were still tentative, since the functions of the surrounding buildings were still in question at the time.
Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.
- 5.27 Three of the design proposals for Tiananmen Square in 1958.
Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.
- 5.28 The final design proposal (1958)
Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.
- 5.29 Plan of Tiananmen Square in 1959 after re-construction for the tenth anniversary of the founding of the PRC. The broken lines show the locations of demolished features, Chang'an Left Gate, Chang'an Right Gate, and the red walls, indicating how the new spatial structure was related to the old one.
Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.
- 5.30 Plan of the greening arrangements in Tiananmen Square in 1959 for the tenth anniversary of the founding the PRC.
Source: Li, Jiale 李嘉乐. 'Tiananmen guangchang de kühua' [The greening of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场的绿化. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 23.
- 5.31 Plan of the greening arrangements in front of the Great Hall of the People for the tenth anniversary of the founding the PRC in 1959.
Source: Source: Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing yuanlin youxiu sheji jijin* [A collection of excellent landscape design in Beijing] 北京园林优秀设计集锦. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1996), p. 25.

- 5.32 The huge openness of Tiananmen Square in 1959 (seen from the north).
Source: Contribution from *Beijing Daily*, Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.
- 5.33 Five huge Chinese characters, 'Long Live Chairman Mao (毛主席万岁)', formed by assemblages of people (seen from north).
Source: Contribution from Xinhua News Agency, Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.
- 5.34 Tiananmen Square in 1959 (seen from the south). The paved ground to the north was ideal for political purposes, such as mass rallies and meetings; meanwhile, the green areas behind the Monument to the People's Heroes and in front of the Great Hall of the People and the Museum of Chinese Revolution and History were where people could go for informal recreation.
Source: Contribution from Xinhua News Agency, Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.
- 5.35 The design proposals in 1964 for the *shou-fang* debate.
Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.
- 5.36 Parades of Red Guards along Chang'an Avenue in 1966 when the Cultural Revolution was launched. The slogan on the banners read, 'Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution'.
Source: <http://pop.6park.com/life2/messages/qvk14856.html>, accessed on 04/02/2008.
- 5.37 A sea of Red Guards holding high the Little Red Book and celebrating the launch of Cultural Revolution in Tiananmen Square (1966).
Source: <http://pop.6park.com/life2/messages/qvk14856.html>, accessed on 04/02/2008.
- 5.38 Mass rallies in Tiananmen Square on 21 May 1970 in response to Chairman Mao's statement 'People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!'
Source: 'Firmly Supporting Chairman Mao's Statement'. *China Reconstructs*. Vol. XIX, No. 8 (August 1970), p. 6.
- 5.39 Mass assemblies and dedications in commemoration of Premier Zhou Enlai (1898-1976) in Tiananmen Square in April 1976.
Source: <http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:4-5Movement.jpg>, accessed on 07/04/2008.
- 5.40 Plan of Tiananmen Square in the late 1970s.
Source: Design group of Chairman Mao's mausoleum 毛主席纪念堂规划设计组. 'Mao zhuxi jiniantang zongti guihua' [The overall planning of the Chairman Mao's mausoleum] 毛主席纪念堂总体规划. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 4 (1977), p. 7.
- 5.41 Plan of the courtyard of Mao's mausoleum
Source: Design group of Chairman Mao's mausoleum 毛主席纪念堂规划设计组. 'Mao zhuxi jiniantang zongti guihua' [The overall planning of the Chairman Mao's mausoleum] 毛主席纪念堂总体规划. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 4 (1977), p. 9.
- 5.42 A view of the courtyard of Mao's mausoleum. *Cedrus deodara* G. Don. was selected according to the commemoration theme and loosely spaced in order to give a sense of spaciousness to the courtyard.
Source: Guojia jiben jianshe weiyuanhui jianzhu kexue yanjiuyuan 国家基本建设委员会建筑科学研究院, ed. *Mao zhuxi jiniantang* [Chairman Mao's mausoleum] 毛主席纪念堂. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1978).
- 5.43 Along the foot of the mausoleum, *Buxus microphylla* Siebold et Zucc. and *Picea* spp. were regularly placed conforming to the overall spatial order.
Source: Guojia jiben jianshe weiyuanhui jianzhu kexue yanjiuyuan 国家基本建设委员会建筑科学研究院, ed. *Mao zhuxi jiniantang* [Chairman Mao's mausoleum] 毛主席纪念堂. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1978).
- 5.44 The new flagpole established in 1991, which was much grander than the old one, with the surrounding carefully designed furniture.
Source: Photography by author on 21/01/2005.
- 5.45 Vertical aerial photo of Tiananmen Square at the turn of the 21st century. Flowerbeds

beside Golden Water Bridge were laid in 1982 replacing the former terraces used for inspecting parades. Several lawns around the periphery were laid in 1998. Despite the greening establishment, the Square remained largely paved, ideal for holding grand political events and projecting a powerful urban image.

Source: www.digitalglobe.com, accessed on 22/8/2005.

Chapter 6

6.1 Change of the numbers of visitors during the 'Learning from Dazhai' movement.

Source: drawing author: based on figures in Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun Zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), pp. 263-273.

6.2 Chen Yonggui (1915-1986) building terrace walls.

Source: Editorial Board of Tachai Picture Album of Shanxi Province. *Tachai: Pacesetter in China's Agriculture* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978).

6.3 Heavily eroded mountain sides showing barren rock faces.

Source: *Learning from Tachai in Rural China* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975).

6.4 An eroded gully showing evidence of flash floods.

Source: *Learning from Tachai in Rural China* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975).

6.5 Cave dwellings of impoverished Dazhai peasants before liberation (pre-1945).

Source: *Learning from Tachai in Rural China* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975).

6.6 Schematic bird's eye view of the terraced fields and drainage system on the mountain slopes.

Source: Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 21.

6.7 Schematic section of flask shaped underground reservoir collecting rain water for re-use in dry periods.

Source: Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Dili* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 47.

6.8 Schematic plan of the arrangement of subsidiary and main embankments.

Source: Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 12.

6.9 Schematic plan of drainage system in the gully fields.

Source: Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 19.

6.10 Schematic section of retaining wall with an indentation in the middle.

Source: Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 20.

6.11 Schematic section of retaining wall with a puddle at the foot of it.

Source: Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 21.

6.12 Schematic section of the relationship between the lower and upper embankments.

Source: Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 13.

6.13 Schematic plan of arch-shaped retaining wall across gullies with the curve pointing upstream for extra strength.

Source: Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 16.

- 6.14 The 'Education Gully', left untouched when building terraced fields in the Mahuang (Ephedra) Gully for educational purposes.
Source: supplied by Li Jianwei.
- 6.15 Topographic map of Dazhai showing the seven gullies and the progress of terracing during the Ten-year Plan of Land Construction (1953-1962).
Source: drawing author: based on a topographic map (1996) supplied by Land and Resources Bureau of Xiyang County. Figures are from Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), pp. 37-43.
- 6.16 Dazhai in 1962 after the Ten-year Plan of Land Construction, with terraces becoming the characteristic landscape typology.
Source: National Agricultural Exhibition Hall 全国农业展览馆. *Dazhai* 大寨. (Beijing: Nongye Chubanshe, 1975).
- 6.17 Flood damaged fields after the flash flood of August 1963.
Source: Editorial Board of Tachai Picture Album of Shanxi Province. *Tachai: Pacesetter in China's Agriculture* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978)
- 6.18 Collapsed cave dwelling after the flash flood of August 1963.
Source: Editorial Board of Tachai Picture Album of Shanxi Province. *Tachai: Pacesetter in China's Agriculture* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978).
- 6.19 The threshing ground created in the late 1960s, serving as the prototype for man-made plains.
Source: Tregear, Thomas Refoy. *China: A Geographical Survey* (London; Sydney: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980), p. 147.
- 6.20 Dazhai in the early 1970s showing man-made plains being irrigated by hand with shoulder poles and buckets.
Source: Editorial Board of Tachai Picture Album of Shanxi Province. *Tachai: Pacesetter in China's Agriculture* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978).
- 6.21 In 1975, the mountaintop was primarily occupied by pines, and the terraced fields along the mountain side were turned into tree plantings, such as walnut trees and apple trees.
Source: Based on Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Dili* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975).
- 6.22 View of Dazhai village from the entrance in 1964, with the village gate spanning the north end of Houdi gully.
Source: Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun Zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Shubanshe, 2003).
- 6.23 Sketch of construction of Surpassing Heaven Culvert that lies below Dazhai village.
Source: private collection.
- 6.24 The north end of Surpassing Heaven Culvert, with its name engraved above the arch.
Source: supplied by Li Jianwei.
- 6.25 Schematic plan of new housing in Dazhai (c. 1966).
Source: drawing author: based on village map supplied by Li Jianwei.
- 6.26 Entrance to Dazhai village with political slogans on large boards, stating 'Zi li geng sheng (relying on our own efforts)' (left) and 'Fen fa tu qiang (working hard for the prosperity)' (right) (c. 1966).
Source: supplied by Ren Zhiming.
- 6.27 Political meeting under the 'happy man's tree', a large surviving willow that has evidenced a rich history.
Source: Editorial Board of Tachai Picture Album of Shanxi Province. *Tachai: Pacesetter in China's Agriculture*. (Peking:

Foreign Languages Press, 1978).

- 6.28 A bird's-eye view of Dazhai village, with residential terraces located primarily to the west of the central square (c. 1976).
Source: supplied by Ren Zhiming.
- 6.29 Cross section of residential terraces through central square, showing the cave dwelling terraces situated against the hill with kitchen terraces on top, retaining all rooms at one level with a communal walk dividing the two.
Source: drawing author: based on section supplied by Li Jianwei.
- 6.30 The entrance of the former offices of the Dazhai People's Commune. The printed texts have faded.
Source: Photograph by author on 21/09/2005.
- 6.31 Some of the characters of the slogan printed on the wall of the housing group to the west.
Source: supplied by Li Jianwei.
- 6.32 Dilapidated old cave dwellings still kept at present in Dazhai.
Source: Photograph by author on 25/09/2005.
- 6.33 The first section of aerial cableway installed in 1967 for the purpose of transportation of stone, earth and manure.
Source: supplied by Ren Zhiming.
- 6.34 Arrangement of the aerial cableways in Dazhai (1970s).
Source: Based on Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Dili* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975).
- 6.35 Zhinong (Supporting Peasant) Reservoir built on the Tigerhead Mountain (spring 1967).
Source: Editorial Board of *Dazhai Photographs of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨图片》编写组. *Dazhai Tupian Ji* [Dazhai Photographs] 大寨图片集. (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Shubanshe, 1976).
- 6.36 The seven kilometres long Junmin (Army and People) Canal laid along Tigerhead mountainside provides a secure water supply from a reservoir of the county to the village (winter 1967).
Source: supplied by Li Jianwei.
- 6.37 The north side of Tuanjie (Unity) Gully Aqueduct constructed in 1974, with slogan printed on façade, stating 'Jianchi douzheng, dagan shehui zhuyi (Persist in struggle, and vigorously construct socialism)'.
Source: supplied by Li Jianwei.
- 6.38 The south side of Tuanjie (Unity) Gully Aqueduct constructed in 1974, with slogan printed on facade, stating 'Ziligengsheng, jiankufendou, chongxin anpai shanhe (With self-reliance and hard work, re-arrange mountains and rivers)'.
Source: National Agricultural Exhibition Hall 全国农业展览馆. *Dazhai* 大寨. (Beijing: Nongye Chubanshe, 1975).
- 6.39 Rice paddies on Kangjia Ridge cultivated in 1971, demonstrating that man was able to conquer nature but which only lasted for one year.
Source: National Agricultural Exhibition Hall 全国农业展览馆. *Dazhai* 大寨. (Beijing: Nongye Chubanshe, 1975).

List of Tables

Chapter 1

1.1 The official classification of the scope of work for urban landscape architecture

Source: The table is based on official documents in 1959 for the 'point-line-plane' classification and in 1963 for the different areas of professional practices in the urban area. See The Urban Construction Department of the Ministry of Construction 建设部城市建设司, ed. *Chengshi yuanlin luhua hangye zhongyao wenjian huibian* [A collection of important documents for landscape architecture profession] 城市园林绿化行业重要文件汇编. (1998), p. 314; Liu, Shanhua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 23.

Chapter 3

3.1 Statistics of fish farmed in lakes of Beijing parks (1954-1958)

Source: Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局 ed. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 253. The figure of the Purple Bamboo Park in 1954 is from Editorial Board of Garden History of Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局园林建设史编委会, ed. *Beijing yuanlin dashi ji, shang (1949-1965)* [Great events of Beijing landscape architecture, Vol. 1 (1949-1965)] 北京园林大事记, 上 (1949-1965). (July, 1984), p. 26.

3.2 Recommended 'land quota' for elements of a Park of Culture and Rest (%)

Source: Urban Construction Research Institute of the Architectural Science Academy of USSR 苏联建筑科学院城市建设研究所. *Sulian chengshi luhua* [Urban landscape architecture of the Soviet Union] 苏联城市绿化, trans. by Lin Maosheng 林茂盛, Yang Chunsheng 杨春生, and Wei Zhaoxuan 魏翌玄. (Beijing: Jianzhu Gongcheng Chubanshe, 1959), p. 57.

3.3 'Land quota' for elements of some Parks of Culture and Rest in China (%)

Source: Figures of Unfettered Ferry Park and Joyous Pavilion Park are from Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), pp. 41, 44. Those of People's Park are from Xiong, Ming 熊明. 'Wenhua xiuxi gongyuan de guihua sheji wenti' [Issues of the planning and design of the Park of Culture and Rest] 文化休息公园的规划设计问题. (unpublished Master of Architecture Thesis, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University, 1956), p. 44.

Chapter 6

6.1 Possession of land in old Dazhai

Source: Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai cun zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 30.

6.2 Demographic statistics of the Dazhai people during the ten-year collectivism period (1953-1962)

Source: 'Shanxisheng Xiyangxian Dazhai dadui jiben shuzi' [Statistical Figures of Dazhai Brigade of Xiyang County in Shanxi Province] 山西省昔阳县大寨大队基本数字. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 36, No. 1.1 (1964), pp. 5-8.

6.3 Statistics of the Dazhai fields in the years of 1953 and 1962

Source: Figures are from 'Nongtian jiben jianshe shi Dazhai dadui nongye wenchan gaochan de jichu' [Farmland Capital Construction is the Foundation of Agricultural Production for Dazhai Brigade] 农田基本建设是大寨大队农业稳产高产的基础. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 33, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 80.

6.4 Statistics of the Dazhai fields in the years of 1964 and 1969

Source: Figures of 1964 are from Agricultural Production Workgroup of Shanxi Province 省农业生产规划工作组, 'Xiyangxian Dazhai dadui tudi zhangliang hulzongbiao' [The measurements of the fields of Dazhai Brigade in Xiyang County] 昔阳县大寨大队土地丈量汇总表. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 15, No. 1.2 (1965), p. 2. Figures of 1969 are from Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai cun zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 31.

6.5 Statistics of the Dazhai fields in 1976

Source: Figures of 1976 are from Editorial Board of *Dazhai geography of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai dili* [Dazhai geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 30.

Foreword

While studying architectural design in China, I developed an interest in outdoor environments particularly after reading *Exterior Design in Architecture* (1975)¹ and *The Aesthetic Townscape* (1983)² by Yoshinobu Ashihara, during my undergraduate studies. This led me to select a park re-development project, which was then the only opportunity outside the customary building projects for graduation. I have continued a concern for landscape since and during my postgraduate study completed a master's degree with a dissertation entitled 'A Study on Landscape Design in the University Campuses of China in the New Era' (2002). At the time, there was not a clearly defined notion of 'landscape design' in China, as the landscape profession was customarily focused on gardening issues. In addition, the word 'landscape' caused much confusion, since there is no equivalent Chinese word for an accurate translation of it. Accordingly, many considered that the 'landscape' education in China was 'a blank sheet of paper'. It was in this context that I came to the UK to increase my knowledge in the field. Only two months after I was abroad, in October 2003, the School of Architecture of Tsinghua University, Beijing, established a Landscape Department, which was claimed to be the first 'landscape' department, distinguished from many other 'garden' or 'environmental art' departments, in China. This confirmed the process of maturing in the Chinese landscape profession.

While attempting to understand the present dilemma in Chinese landscape architecture, I embarked on investigation on its recent history of the modern era. To the Chinese, the so called 'modern era' consisted of two distinctive phases: the era from 1840 to 1949 characterised by a semi-colonial society and that from the 1949 Liberation under the socialist regime to the present. I have concentrated on the latter for an enquiry about some issues that have impacted more directly on present-day life in China. This enquiry about the recent past is now of special urgency, as since the 1992 'Southern Tour' of Deng Xiaoping there has been increasing attention on the quality of urban environments, thereby attracting investment in developing the economy. Indeed, the Chinese Society of Landscape Architecture (CSLA) is currently organising scholars and professionals to research modern history of the phase up to 1949, with the second phase to be investigated in the near future. Thus I hope my research will contribute to the understanding of

¹ Ashihara, Yoshinobu 芦原义信. *Waibu kongjian sheji* [Exterior design in architecture] 外部空间设计, trans. by Yin Peitong 尹培桐 (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1985). Published in English as Ashihara, Yoshinobu. *Exterior design in architecture* (New York, London: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975).

² Ashihara, Yoshinobu 芦原义信. *Jiedao de meixue* [The aesthetic townscape] 街道的美学, trans. by Yin Peitong 尹培桐 (Wuhan: Huazhong Ligong Daxue Chubanshe, 1989). Published in English as Ashihara, Yoshinobu. *The aesthetic townscape*, trans. by Lynne E. Riggs (Cambridge, Mass., London: MIT, 1983).

modern Chinese landscape architecture, as well as its present-day development.

In modern landscape and architectural design, effective incorporation or representation of traditions has always been an important concern. In view of the loss of traditional values under foreign imperialism since the early twentieth century, there had been the notion of 'Chinese learning as *ti* (value) and Western learning as *yong* (instrument)', which meant to use western science and technology to modernise China whilst retaining the essence of Chinese culture to achieve national identity. Chairman Mao also put forward the slogan, 'making the past serve the present and making foreign things serve China' in 1956 for the socialist undertaking. Thus an understanding of traditions was essential in the creation of modern Chinese landscapes. This was therefore part of my remit. Fortunately, I have practiced some traditional crafts relating to garden making, including calligraphy, seal carving, and painting, since childhood. I have been constantly fascinated by these crafts which were traditionally applied to gardens or scenic sites. This has assisted a contextual understanding of garden craft.

But a respect for the past, especially during the socialist revolution under Mao, seemed not to have been the perception in the West. This might most probably be a result of much attention being paid to the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969), which 'constantly amazed the outside world, and achieved appalling destruction.'³ Strong ideology followed a destructive course for traditional culture, both materially and spiritually. However, I aim to show destruction was only part of that story. It is therefore also intended that this study should constitute an effort to promote a greater understanding between the West and the East.

³ Fairbank, John King and Merle Goldman. *China: a new history* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 383.

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The completion of this research project would not have been possible without support from many individuals. First of all, I owe a great debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Jan Woudstra, for years of constant encouragement, intellectual stimulation and academic guidance. All other staff of the Department of Landscape at Sheffield, including Cathy Dee, Nigel Dunnett, James Hitchmough, Anna Jorgensen, Clare Rishbeth, have created a pleasant environment with a high standard of scholarship for my research.

Whilst carrying out research on the recent past of China, I received invaluable oral histories and original materials from many university professors and professional authorities, who at the same time have been landscape architects or architects since the 1949 Liberation, including: in Tsinghua University, Zhu Junzhen, Gao Yilan, Xie Yuming, Lù Junhua, Zhu Zixuan; in Beijing Forestry University, Sun Xiaoxiang; in Tianjin University, Zou Denong; in Shenzhen University, Wu Jiahua; the former director of the Shanghai Park Management Bureau, Wu Zhengqian; and the senior consultant of the Construction Ministry, Li Jiale, who unfortunately died on 5 October 2006. For the landscape history of Dazhai in particular, the help from Li Huailian, the director of the Dazhai Women's Federation, and her husband, Zhao Huaxiao, was considerable, and this was rather crucial in the contacts with the County authorities, including the Land and Resources Bureau and the Cultural Bureau of Xiyang County, as I am unfamiliar with the local accent. Li Jianwei, the manager of the Dazhai website (www.china-dazhai.com), also provided many invaluable historical materials.

The writing of this thesis also benefited from discussion with some distinguished scholars, including Professor Lù Fuxun in Tsinghua University, Wang Mingxian in the China Art Academy, and Su Zemin in the Planning Committee of Nanjing. Constructive suggestions and help were also received from many of my colleagues and friends: Armin Bahramian, Alison J Campbell, Du An, Dr. Feng Wei, Martyn Fisher, Gao Feng, Gao Lei, Dr. Hu Lin, Dr. Li Kairan, Dr. Li Rong, Dr. Li Xuemei, Dr. Lin Guangsi, Alice R Mathers, Wang Xingda, Dr. Wang Zuo, Yang Tao, Sang Jun Yoon, and Zhuang Yue.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Much of China's construction achievements or environmental problems at present cannot be fully understood without a consideration of the Mao era, dated from 1949 to 1979. The year 1949 witnessed the Chinese Liberation and the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) led by Chairman Mao Zedong (1893-1976), and 1979 was when the 'reform and openness' policy was adopted with Mao's revolutionary vision tarnished. The era was radical and best known as a revolution, striving for socialist or communist ideals. Revolutionary thought and the philosophy of struggle on behalf of the ordinary majority, or the 'proletariat', were the motivation for all activities.

While the research on the Mao era abounds on such issues as politics and economy, and there has been research on Chinese modern architecture¹, planning² and art³, there is currently no comprehensive investigation on landscape design of the era either within or outside China. This study sets out to make up this deficiency.

Ideology and landscape

As the Mao era was first of all characterised by a radical communist revolution, it went without saying that the relationship between political ideology and landscape changes was considerable. Although no comprehensive research on landscape design exists, this obvious tension between ideology and landscape has attracted some investigations by geographers, art historians and environmentalists. During the Mao era, while the impact of ideology on landscape was not an issue for research in China, it had been carried out by some scholars in the West. Yi-fu Tuan provided a general account of the dramatic landscape changes in communist China till the 1960s, which concentrated on the transformations of agriculture, forestry, industry and the growth of cities.⁴ Christopher L. Salter reported on the landscape transformation with political movements and in particular the Dazhai village, the national agricultural model during the 1960s and 1970s.⁵

¹ Zou Denong 邹德侬. *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhu shi* [The history of modern Chinese architecture] 中国现代建筑史. (Tianjin: Tianjin Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 2001).

² Wang Dehua 汪德华. *Zhongguo chengshi guihua shigang* [The history of Chinese city planning] 中国城市规划史纲. (Nanjing: Dongnan Daxue Chubanshe, 2005).

³ Ellen Johnston Laing, *The Winking Owl: Art in the People's Republic of China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Julia Frances Andrews, *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Michael Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Chen Lusheng 陈履生. *Xin zhongguo meishu tushi (1949-1966)* [The Art History of the People's Republic of China (1949-1966)] 新中国美术图史 (1949-1966). (Beijing: Zhongguo Qingnian Chubanshe, 2000); Wang Mingxian 王明贤, Yan Shanchun 严善錞. *Xin zhongguo meishu tushi (1966-1976)* [The Art History of the People's Republic of China (1966-1976)] 新中国美术图史 (1966-1976). (Beijing: Zhongguo Qingnian Chubanshe, 2000).

⁴ Tuan, Yi-fu. *China* (Harlow: Longmans, 1970), pp. 186-204.

⁵ Salter, Christopher L. 'The Litany of Tachai and the Foolish Old Man: Agricultural Landscape Modification in Mainland China'. *Professional Geographer*, 24 (2), (1972): pp. 113-117; Salter, Christopher L. 'The Role of Landscape Modification in Revolutionary Nation-building: The Case of Mao's China'. *The China Geographer*, No. 3 (Winter, 1976): pp. 41-57; Salter,

Pradyumna P. Karan provided a special account on the landscape of Tibet during the era.⁶ The Belgian art historian, Simon Leys (Pierre Ryckmans), reported critically on destructions of buildings and landscapes during the Cultural Revolution as a political crime.⁷ More relevant for this research were a limited number of accounts on public parks by Edwin T. Morris, but this appeared introductory or descriptive of the Mao era with more emphases on the subsequent new landscapes in the early 1980s.⁸ Among recent research that is relevant, Judith Shapiro's study of the environmental approaches of the Mao era is up to now the most important analysis relating to the Chinese political context and policies.⁹ Although few of the above studies have a concern about landscape design, they all provide an ideological perspective for the analysis of landscape.

Landscape design by definition is simply 'design on the land', a process of the creation of safe, efficient, healthful and pleasant outdoor spaces through arrangement of land, together with the spaces and objects upon it, for human use.¹⁰ Thus human values, such as attitudes towards nature, social interaction, and cultural identity, are incorporated in both the design process and the resultant product. As such, while landscape can be considered as 'a way of seeing',¹¹ it is also 'a way of thinking and a way of doing'.¹² Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn suggested that 'nature is ideology', 'a (more-or-less) systematic scheme of ideas, held by particular social, political, cultural, and other groups'.¹³ Thus, a proper understanding of landscape design necessitates a discovery of ideologies.

It is remarkable that, since the late twentieth century, the research on landscape design and ideology has been paid much attention to in historical enquiries,¹⁴ but the investigations entirely concentrate on issues in the United States and Europe.¹⁵ This research expands the scope and provides an evaluation and assessment of Chinese landscape design under the socialist or communist ideology of the Mao era. The basic question raised was what the Chinese landscapes under socialism were like, and why and how they presented and evolved as such. Thus the study analyses how the socialist or communist ideology were represented in designed landscapes, investigates modern landscape policies and establishes their effects. It assesses

Christopher L. 'Ta-chai beyond Ta-chai: Some Unsuspected Lessons for the USA from a Chinese Campaign'. *The China Geographer*, No. 7 (Spring, 1977): pp. 59-66; Salter, Christopher L. 'The Enigma of Ta-chai: Landscapes and Lore'. *The China Geographer*, No. 9 (Winter, 1978): pp. 43-62.

⁶ Karan, Pradyumna P. *The Changing Face of Tibet: The Impact of Chinese Communist Ideology on the Landscape* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1976).

⁷ Leys, Simon. *Chinese Shadows* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978).

⁸ Morris, Edwin T. *The Gardens of China: History, Art, and Meanings* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), pp. 228-242.

⁹ Shapiro, Judith. *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (New York, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁰ Newton, Norman T. *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge (Mass.): London: Belknap Press; Distributed by Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. xxi-xxii.

¹¹ Cosgrove, Denis E. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp.1-38.

¹² Baker, Alan R.H., and Gideon Biger, eds. *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective: Essays on the Meanings of Some Places in the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 2.

¹³ Wolschke-Bulmahn, Joachim, ed. *Nature and Ideology: Natural Garden Design in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997), p. 6.

¹⁴ Conan, Michel, ed. *Perspectives on Garden Histories* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999).

¹⁵ Wolschke-Bulmahn, Joachim, ed. *Nature and Ideology: Natural Garden Design in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997).

how successful the landscapes were in reinforcing political ideals.

Tradition versus modernity

As the development of Chinese socialism was a project of modernisation, this study also looks at the relationship between tradition and modernity. It examines how and why traditions were rejected, or where appropriate incorporated, whilst striving for modern development under the socialist or communist ideology. For the modern Chinese landscape profession, the paired concepts of tradition and modernity were successively represented by *yuanlin* (园林) and *lùhua* (绿化). These two words equate for the Chinese to what is meant by landscape architecture in the West. Also, this research itself, with a concern about 'landscape design', attempts a 'modernisation' of the landscape profession's notion about practice, which has traditionally been confined to the realm of gardens and parks.

Two terms: *yuanlin* and *lùhua*

In order to gain a better understanding of design practice in the socialist era, it is necessary to have an examination of the paired concept of *yuanlin* and *lùhua*. While they have been the most important terms in the Chinese modern landscape architecture development, they are to some extent narrower in scope compared with the wider remit of what 'landscape architecture' consists of in the West.

The term *yuanlin* is a traditional one dated as early as the Western Jin Dynasty (265-317). Literally, *yuan* (园) means garden, and *lin* (林) means forest, woods or trees. They are also pictographic characters. The traditional complex form of the character, *yuan* (園), shows the several primary elements that constitute a garden. '口' represents the enclosing walls along the perimeter and at the same time shows the confined character of a garden, '土' represents garden buildings, such as pavilions, '水' represents a pond as a central feature, and '木' represents rockeries or trees.¹⁶ As for *lin*, the representational meaning can also be easily deduced from the form of the Chinese character. This character might additionally enrich the meaning of the compound word by suggesting associations with other garden or landscape features, since it was commonly associated with other Chinese characters to form compound words for gardening purposes in traditional literature. Examples include words such as *linquan* (林泉) associated with springs, *linting* (林亭) with pavilions, *linpu* (林圃) with nursery, and *shanlin* (山林) with mountains.

¹⁶ Tong, Jun 童寯. *Jiangnan yuanlin zhi* [Gazetteer of Jiangnan gardens] 江南园林志. (Beijing: Zhongguo Gongye Chubanshe, 1963), p. 7.

No matter how broad a meaning that could be delivered by *yuanlin*, the word nonetheless indicates a landscape within a confined area.

Although there were many other names for traditional private gardens,¹⁷ *yuanlin* was singled out and favoured to represent them late in the pre-modern times. This could be demonstrated by the classic Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) treatise, *Yuan Ye*, in which the term of *yuanlin* appeared much more frequently than others.¹⁸ This preference was probably due to the comprehensive, rich but indefinite connotations for a garden brought forth by the attached *lin* in the compound word, whereas other names are either too descriptive or too specific of garden forms or features. This might reflect the inclusive characteristic of the Chinese way of traditional thinking.¹⁹ Moreover, contemporary publications on traditional gardens all included *yuanlin* in the title: including *Suzhou yuanlin* by Chen Congzhou (1956),²⁰ *Jiangnan yuanlin zhi* by Tong Jun (1963),²¹ and *Suzhou gudian yuanlin* by Liu Dunzhen (1979).²² These established *yuanlin* as an increasingly popular term that has come in general usage.

After being a popular and general term for gardens, the term *yuanlin* also referred to palace gardens, altar gardens and temple gardens. In modern times, when these traditional gardens were opened to the public to be parks for recreation, the *yuanlin* concept was expanded to include public parks, as well as botanical gardens and zoological gardens. It should be noted that the character of *yuan*, implying a confined area, is included in the name of all these various parks and gardens.²³

Although the *yuanlin* concept is complex, in the modern era its meaning sometimes became simple and superficial, when it was understood literally, even by people within the landscape profession. Some deemed that the practice of *yuanlin* was about the planting of trees in gardens, parks and urban area, while the forestry industry was about the planting of trees in and beyond the suburban area.²⁴ Some even considered that *yuanlin* was just part of the forestry industry.²⁵

¹⁷ The other names for traditional Chinese gardens included *yuanyou* (苑囿), *yuanyou* (园囿), *yuanpu* (园圃), *yuanting* (园亭), *yuanchi* (园池), *yuanzhai* (园宅), *yuanting* (园庭), *linyuan* (林园), *linpu* (林圃), *linquan* (林泉), *linting* (林亭), *shanzhuang* (山庄), *shanju* (山居), *shanchi* (山池), *tianyuan* (田园), *huayuan* (花园), *gongyuan* (公园), *lingyuan* (陵园), *qiuyuan* (丘园), *zhaiyuan* (宅园), *bieshu* (别墅), *bieye* (别业), *caotang* (草堂), *tingyuan* (庭院), and *chiting* (池亭).

¹⁸ Ji, Cheng 计成 (b. 1582). *Yuan Ye* [The craft of gardens] 园冶. (Peking: Chinese Architectural Society 中国营造学社, 1933). In the book, of the terms referring to gardens, *yuanlin* (园林) appears 11 times, *linyuan* (林园) 5 times, *yuanpu* (园圃) 3 times, and *tianyuan* (田园), *huayuan* (花园) and *linquan* (林泉) once each.

¹⁹ Zhu Youjie said that the reason for the preference of 'yuanlin' was the perfection and suitability of it for the general appellation. But this explanation seemed to be too subjective and arbitrary to be convincing. See Zhu, Youjie 朱有玠. "Yuanlin" mingcheng suyuan' [Tracing the source of the name 'yuanlin'] "园林"名称溯源. *Zhongguo Yuanlin*. 2 (1985), p. 33.

²⁰ Chen, Congzhou 陈从周. *Suzhou yuanlin* [Gardens of Suzhou] 苏州园林. (Tongji University, Teaching Material Department, 1956).

²¹ Tong, Jun 童寯. *Jiangnan yuanlin zhi* [Gazetteer of Jiangnan Gardens] 江南园林志. (Beijing: Zhongguo Gongye Chubanshe, 1963).

²² Liu, Dunzhen 刘敦桢. *Suzhou gudian yuanlin* [The classical gardens of Suzhou] 苏州古典园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1979).

²³ Private garden is in Chinese *sijia yuanlin* (私家园林), palace garden is *gongyuan yuanlin* (宫苑园林), altar garden is *tanmiao yuanlin* (坛庙园林), temple garden is *siguan yuanlin* (寺观园林), public park is *gongyuan* (公园), botanical garden is *zhiwu yuan* (植物园), and zoological garden is *dongwu yuan* (动物园).

²⁴ Wang, Shaozeng 王绍增. 'Bi ye zhengming hu: zai lun LA de zhong yiming' [Justification of name: the re-discussion of Chinese translation of LA] 必也正名乎——再论 LA 的中译名. *Zhongguo Yuanlin*. 6 (1999), pp. 49-51.

²⁵ Wang, Shaozeng 王绍增. 'Yuanlin jingguan yu zhongguo fengjing yuanlin de weilai' [Garden, landscape and the future of

This opinion or perception was most probably strengthened by the constantly emphasised *lùhua* movements in the modern era, in which tree planting was given great importance.

While *yuanlin* is a traditional term with a history of about 1,700 years, *lùhua* is a modern one less than 100 years old.²⁶ Of the term *lùhua*, *lù* is a noun or adjective which means green, and *hua* is a verb which means to change, turn or transform. Thus *lùhua* is a verb or noun which literally means to make or turn something green or something that is green. It can refer to greening, tree planting or afforestation.²⁷ Whilst *yuanlin* has been used by professionals in the modern era with a confined scope mainly referring to gardens or parks, *lùhua* has been employed to cover other landscape practices, such as those of institutional sites, housing environments, roads, rural areas, cemeteries, and so on. However, according to the *lùhua* concept, the principal concern in practice was often the greening of these sites. Also, it was considered that *yuanlin*, as an enclosed entity, requiring familiarity with a wide range of skills in order to create them, is considered as being more significant and *lùhua* inferior because it concerns relatively simple issues, such as the planting of trees.²⁸

'Modernisation' of the *yuanlin* and *lùhua* concepts

Thus the concepts of *yuanlin* and *lùhua* share some common ground with but differ from the western understanding of 'landscape architecture'. The concept of 'landscape architecture' had been introduced into China in the early twentieth century by students returning mainly from Japan and the United States. Since then, there have been constant debates over whether *yuanlin* could be an appropriate translation of the western term, or how a modern Chinese wording might be achieved to match the western concept. It was not surprising that equating *yuanlin* with 'landscape architecture' often caused confusion and inaccuracy.²⁹ At the same time, it was more often than not that *yuanlin* was translated as 'gardens and parks' based on its original meaning but including the sole modern designed landscape type of parks.³⁰ The

Chinese landscape architecture] 园林、景观与中国风景园林的未来. *Zhongguo Yuanlin*. 3 (2005), pp. 24-27.

²⁶ It is currently impossible to trace the first usage of the term with the materials available. But at least the term of '*lùhua*' did not exist in any traditional literature and was a modern one already used in the Republican era (1912-1949), which could be confirmed by Wu, Guobing 吴国柄. 'Meihua lùhua guishan jihua' [The planning for beautification and greening of Gui Mountain] 美化绿化龟山计划. *Hubei Province Archives*. Vol. 31, No. 15 (1947): pp. 8-12.

²⁷ It is not clear whether the '*lùhua*' concept was originated in and imported from the former Soviet Union as some studies suggested. See Lin, Guangsi 林广思. 'Huigu yu zhanwang: zhongguo LA xueke jiaoyu yantao (1)' [Review and Prospect: A Study of the Landscape Architecture Education in China (1)] 回顾与展望——中国 LA 学科教育研讨(1). *Zhongguo Yuanlin*. 9 (2005), p. 5; '*Lùhua*' [Greening] 绿化. <http://www.baikewy.cn/?u=view/693259.htm>, accessed on 23/7/2007. It should be noted that the former Soviet Union was the most important source of help for China in various spheres during the 1950s.

²⁸ Wang, Shaozeng 王绍增. 'Bi ye zhengming hu: zai lun LA de zhong yiming' [Justification of name: the re-discussion of Chinese translation of LA] 必也正名乎——再论 LA 的中译名. *Zhongguo Yuanlin*. 6 (1999), pp. 49-51.

²⁹ The translation of 'landscape architecture' was adopted in Examination committee of *Terms of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and City Planning* 《建筑园林城市规划名词》审定委员会. *Jianzhu, Yuanlin, Chengshi Guihua Mingci* [Terms of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and City Planning] 建筑·园林·城市规划名词. (Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe, 1997).

³⁰ Editorial Board of *Chinese Encyclopaedia: Architecture, Landscape Architecture, City Planning* and Editorial Department of Chinese Encyclopaedia Press 中国大百科全书总编辑委员会《建筑 园林 城市规划》编辑委员会, 中国大百科全书出版社编辑部编. *Chinese Encyclopaedia: Architecture, Landscape Architecture, City Planning* 中国大百科全书, 建筑、园林、城市规划.

confusion of the meaning of *yuanlin* came to a head at the beginning of the new millennium by when landscape architects had become more commonplace, but as yet no satisfactory definition has been reached.³¹ (In some ways, this dispute was quite similar to that relating to the terms 'landscape architecture' and 'landscape architect' in the West, which have been debated by the profession since the middle of the nineteenth century. Then landscape architecture was proposed as a means to distinguish an expanded range of work from that of traditional landscape gardening.) The inability to define the profession properly has also been a reason why research in the field has been restricted. It has also led to gardens and parks being seen as the sole field of work for the landscape profession.³² This can be well illustrated by the fact that any professional writing about this topic equated *yuanlin* solely with gardens and parks.³³

This research broadens the scope of *yuanlin* to a wide understanding to include areas that have come to be seen as the field for related professions, such as architects and engineers. Therefore, this research on modern landscapes of China, with a wider scope, could also be regarded as an attempt to update the concepts of *yuanlin* and *lùhua* for the modern era.

Designed landscape types

In expanding the scope, this research investigates four landscape types, i.e. public parks, housing environments, an urban square and the rural landscape. These illustrate different strategies and approaches in the development of the landscape profession and conform to the contemporary understanding of the field of *yuanlin* and *lùhua*.

According to the discussion of the two terms, public park is primarily represented by *yuanlin*, while the other three are much more represented by *lùhua*. Housing environments relate to 'general greening'; urban squares relate to 'communal greening'; and the rural landscape relates to 'four-side greening'³⁴. As *yuanlin* connotes tradition, public parks had the most direct

(Beijing: Zhongguo Dabaike Quanshu Chubanshe, 1988), p. 515; Wang, Shaozeng 王绍增. 'Bi ye zhengming hu: zai lun LA de zhong yiming' [Justification of name: the re-discussion of Chinese translation of LA] 必也正名乎——再论 LA 的中译名. *Zhongguo Yuanlin*. 6 (1999), p. 49. This understanding of 'yuanlin' as 'gardens and parks' could also be identified in many professional publications, such as landscape architecture records. See for example, Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin lùhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Beijing landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000).

³¹ 'Dui "jingguan sheji: zhuan ye xue ke yu jiao yu daodu" yi wen de shengao yijian' [Opinion of 'An Introduction to Landscape Architecture: The Profession and Education'] 对 "《景观设计: 专业学科与教育》" 导读" 一文的审稿意见. *Zhongguo Yuanlin*. 5 (2004), pp. 9-13; Yu, Kongjian 俞孔坚. 'Huan tudi he jingguan yi wanzheng de yi yi: zailun jingguan sheji xue zhiyu fengjing yuanlin' [Landscape architecture in terms of the wholeness of land] 还土地和景观以完整的意义: 再论 "景观设计学" 之于 "风景园林". *Zhongguo Yuanlin*. 7 (2004), pp. 37-40; 'Dui "huan tudi he jingguan yi wanzheng de yi yi: zailun jingguan sheji xue zhiyu fengjing yuanlin" yi wen de shengao yijian' [Opinion of 'Landscape architecture in terms of the wholeness of land'] 对 "还土地和景观以完整的意义: 再论 '景观设计学' 之于 '风景园林'" 一文的审稿意见. *Zhongguo Yuanlin*. 7 (2004), pp. 41-44.

³² This phenomenon was also noted in Liu, Tingfeng 刘真凤. 'Queshao piping de haizi: zhongguo jinxindai yuanlin' [A child who lacks criticism: Chinese modern landscape architecture] 缺少批评的孩子——中国近现代园林. *Zhongguo Yuanlin*. 5 (2000), p. 28.

³³ See for example, Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987); An, Huaqi 安怀起. *Zhongguo yuanlin shi* [Chinese garden history] 中国园林史. (Shanghai: Tongji Daxue Chubanshe, 1991), pp. 117-129.

³⁴ The 'four-side greening' refers to the tree plantings near houses, villages, and along roads and rivers. See *1956 nian dao 1967*

relationships with garden traditions in the new development, despite the influential political ideology. As *lùhua* connotes modernity, the other three landscapes, whilst significantly shaped by the new ideology, virtually have no precedent in the Chinese tradition, despite the fact that traditional elements were incorporated.

At the same time, the selection of the first three urban landscapes corresponds to the different areas of professional practices as well as the then proposed 'point-line-plane' classification (Table 1.1). (The origin and meaning of this terminology will be discussed in Chapter 2.)

Table 1.1 The official classification of the scope of work for urban landscape architecture

	Public grounds	For work unit	For production	For special purpose	National parks
Point	public park, botanical garden, zoological garden, square	greening of enterprises or institutions, including factory, hospital, campus, military unit, etc.	seedling nursery, flower nursery	cemetery	
Line	boulevard			greenways, shelterbelt	
Plane		greening of residential areas			

Source: The table is based on official documents in 1959 for the 'point-line-plane' classification and in 1963 for the different areas of professional practices in the urban area. See The Urban Construction Department of the Ministry of Construction 建设部城市建设司, ed. *Chengshi yuanlin lùhua hangye zhongyao wenjian huibian* [A collection of important documents for landscape architecture profession] 城市园林绿化行业重要文件汇编. (1998), p. 314; Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 23.

Although not all types of the urban landscapes are included in this research, it is intended that a general picture of the Thirty Years' landscape design of the urban area could still be presented. The investigation on public parks will further increase the understanding of botanical gardens, zoological gardens and cemeteries, as these often functioned as public parks. These will occasionally be referred to in the research. Residential areas are important for this research, since it was estimated that they occupy up to 60 percent of urban areas,³⁵ and were therefore crucial for the *lùhua* (greening) movement in cities. Urban squares were always constructed for official and political, rather than recreational, purposes. This kind of landscape for political representation was often a central feature of those institutional or corporate sites. The 'line' issue

nian quanguo nongye fazhan gangyao [National Programme for Agricultural Development 1956-1967] 1956年到1967年全国农业发展纲要 (1956). For an English version, see *National Programme for Agricultural Development 1956-1967* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1960), p. 18.

³⁵ Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍 ed. *Juzhuqu lùhua* [Greening of housing areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981), p. 40.

is not explored as a separate topic, but will be discussed within the investigations of the three urban landscapes where appropriate. It should be noted that national parks are not included in this study, because, despite their inclusion in the official classification, due to economic constraints and political upheaval during the 1960s and 1970s, landscape professionals were not involved till the 1980s.

This study investigates landscape design through either leading or iconic projects, or those in politically and economically dominant cities. This is proposed based on the presupposition that, whilst under the centrally controlled political system these projects often enjoyed model status to be emulated, they would be representative for the development of landscape design and a full understanding of the general attitudes to landscape would be obtained by investigating them. In the analysis of the four types of landscapes, two different approaches have been selected. A detailed individual case study is adopted for the investigation of urban squares and rural landscapes, i.e. of Tiananmen Square and the Dazhai village respectively. This becomes applicable, since both projects were subjected to Chairman Mao's personal involvement or prescription and during the Thirty Years Mao's models were without exception wholeheartedly and rigorously followed, with alternatives suppressed under the political hegemony. For the investigation of public parks and housing environments, a number of important projects are explored, as for these categories there were no officially designated models. As a result, there is great differentiation between the various projects, and the selection of one prototype would be both impossible and inadequate.

Sources

This research is based on both published materials and manuscript documentation, both primary and secondary sources, and on interviews with key figures in the development of recent Chinese landscape design.

Published sources

Published materials, including books, journals and newspapers, have been accessed through a number of sources. But they are generally available in libraries in China. National Library of China and Tsinghua University Library, Beijing, were mainly consulted for this research unless stated otherwise.

Contemporary publications by professional bodies constitute an important part of primary sources. During the Mao era, Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks reported on the design,

management, and use of various landscapes successively in 1960,³⁶ 1961,³⁷ and 1963.³⁸ When in the high-tide Great Leap Forward (GLF) campaign (1958-1960) the greening movement gained momentum, the Forestry Ministry of the People's Republic of China published a series of reports on the movement.³⁹ Also, the Research Unit of Regional and City Planning of Architectural Science Research Institute published a handbook on the greening of residential areas to assist the development of 'general greening'.⁴⁰ Publications during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969) were not generally available in libraries. But some were supplied by interviewees from their private collections.⁴¹

In the post-Mao era, the Thirty Years' experiences were summed up by professional bodies for better development in the future. In the 1980s, China Academy of Urban Planning and Design published a book containing descriptions of designed gardens, parks and greenspaces throughout China.⁴² This is perhaps the most authoritative publication summing up the achievements of the landscape profession from the Liberation up to the early 1980s. The Teaching and Research Section of the School of Architecture of Tongji University published a book with a similar collection of sites, but concentrating on gardens and parks.⁴³

At the same time, Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks compiled a chronicle of the development of Beijing landscape architecture since the Liberation,⁴⁴ and further provided a general review of the development based on the above mentioned three 1960s publications.⁴⁵ These two important publications were unfortunately not available in libraries, but supplied by

³⁶ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960).

³⁷ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin luhua gongzuo nianbao (1960)* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture (1960)] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 (1960). (April, 1961).

³⁸ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin luhua gongzuo nianbao (1961-1962)* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture (1961-1962)] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 (1961-1962). (June, 1963).

³⁹ Forestry Ministry of the People's Republic of China 中华人民共和国林业部. *Luhua zuguo de gaochao (di yi ji)* [The high tide of Making Green the Motherland (Vol. 1)] 绿化祖国的高潮 (第一辑). (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1958); Forestry Ministry of the People's Republic of China 中华人民共和国林业部. *Luhua zuguo de gaochao (di er ji)* [The high tide of Making Green the Motherland (Vol. 2)] 绿化祖国的高潮 (第二辑). (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1958); Forestry Ministry of the People's Republic of China 中华人民共和国林业部. *Luhua zuguo de gaochao (di san ji)* [The high tide of Making Green the Motherland (Vol. 3)] 绿化祖国的高潮 (第三辑). (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1958); Forestry Ministry of the People's Republic of China 中华人民共和国林业部. *Luhua zuguo de gaochao (di si ji)* [The high tide of Making Green the Motherland (Vol. 4)] 绿化祖国的高潮 (第四辑). (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1959).

⁴⁰ Research Unit of Regional and City Planning of Architectural Science Research Institute 建筑科学研究院区域规划与城市规划研究室. *Jiefang luhua* [Neighbourhood greening] 街坊绿化. (Beijing: Jianzhu Gongcheng Chubanshe, 1959).

⁴¹ For example, Faculty Red Flag of South China College of Technology 华南工学院教工红旗 ed. *Tao Zhu zai jianzhu linye de zuixing pipan ji* [A collection of criticisms of the crimes of Tao Zhu in architectural profession] 陶铸在建筑领域的罪行批判集. (Guangzhou: South China College of Technology, 1967), was supplied by Wang Mingxian in the China Art Academy.

⁴² China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985).

⁴³ Teaching and Research Section of the School of Architecture of Tongji University 同济大学建筑系园林教研室, ed. *Gongyuan guihua yu jianzhu tuji* [A collection of designed parks] 公园规划与建筑图集. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1986).

⁴⁴ Editorial Board of Garden History of Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局园林建设史编委会, ed. *Beijing yuanlin dashi ji, shang (1949-1965)* [Great events of Beijing landscape architecture, Vol. 1 (1949-1965)] 北京园林大事记, 上 (1949-1965). (July, 1984); Editorial Board of Garden History of Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局园林建设史编委会, ed. *Beijing yuanlin dashi ji, xia (1966-1982)* [Great events of Beijing landscape architecture, Vol. 2 (1966-1982)] 北京园林大事记, 下 (1966-1982). (July, 1984).

⁴⁵ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Dangdai Beijing yuanlin fazhan shi* [Modern history of Beijing landscape architecture] 当代北京园林发展史. (October, 1987).

interviewees.⁴⁶ Wuhan Municipal Bureau of Parks had a similar publication,⁴⁷ now deposited in Hubei Local Records Office.

The above materials, with an emphasis on *yuanlin* and *lùhua*, were mainly about garden, parks or greening. The Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction provided a comprehensive account on Beijing's city development in 1986.⁴⁸ While this is a restricted publication and not generally accessible, the Editorial Board had further editions in the 1990s, that can be obtained in Beijing Planning Bureau.⁴⁹

Towards the turn of the new millennium, many professional bodies summarised past experiences or compiled historical documents. The Urban Construction Department of the Ministry of Construction published a collection of important documents of the modern landscape architecture in 1998, relating to official policies and guidelines.⁵⁰ Historical records published by Beijing and Shanghai professional bodies are also referred to in this research, such as those about landscape architecture,⁵¹ park construction,⁵² housing development,⁵³ and city planning⁵⁴.

Design professionals, including architects, planners and landscape architects, who contributed to the modern development, published accounts of their own experiences. Professor Chen Zhi (1899-1989) wrote extensively either before, during or after the Mao era, on the development of the landscape profession in China.⁵⁵ A handbook on housing by Professor Zhu Junzhen on the Thirty Years' development provides a sound resource,⁵⁶ while the planner Hua

⁴⁶ These were supplied by emeritus Professor Zhu Junzhen in Tsinghua University.

⁴⁷ Editorial Board of *Wuhan gardens* 《武汉园林》编辑部. *Wuhan yuanlin (1840-1985)* [Wuhan gardens (1840-1985)] 武汉园林 (1840-1985). (Wuhan: Wuhan Municipal Bureau of Parks, 1987).

⁴⁸ Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe* [Beijing city construction since the founding of the PRC] 建国以来的北京城市建设. Restricted publication (1986).

⁴⁹ Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: fangwu jianzhu I* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of the PRC: Architecture I] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 房屋建筑 I. Vol. 5 (1992); Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: fangwu jianzhu II* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of the PRC: Architecture II] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 房屋建筑 II. Vol. 5 (1992); Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: chengshi guihua I* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of the PRC: Planning I] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 城市规划. Vol. 1 (1995, 2nd ed.).

⁵⁰ Urban Construction Department of the Ministry of Construction 建设部城市建设司, ed. *Chengshi yuanlin lùhua hangye zhongyao wenjian huibian* [A collection of important documents for landscape architecture profession] 城市园林绿化行业重要文件汇编. (1998).

⁵¹ Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin lùhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Beijing landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000); Editorial Board of *Shanghai landscape architecture records* 《上海园林志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai yuanlin zhi* [Shanghai landscape architecture records] 上海园林志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 2000).

⁵² For example, Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999).

⁵³ Editorial Board of *Shanghai housing construction records* 《上海住宅建设志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* [Shanghai housing construction records] 上海住宅建设志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 1998); Editorial Board of *Shanghai survey and design records* 《上海勘察设计志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai kancha sheji zhi* [Shanghai survey and design records] 上海勘察设计志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 1998).

⁵⁴ Editorial Board of *Shanghai city planning records* 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* [Shanghai city planning records] 上海城市规划志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 1999).

⁵⁵ Chen, Zhi 陈植. *Chen Zhi zaoyuan wenji* [Collected works on landscape architecture of Chen Zhi] 陈植造园文集. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1988).

⁵⁶ Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Juzhuqu lùhua* [Greening of housing areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye

Lanhong recorded the history of city planning,⁵⁷ and Professor Li Min an analysis of some public parks.⁵⁸ Professor Wu Liangyong⁵⁹ and planner Su Zemin,⁶⁰ in particular, provided accounts on the design of Tiananmen Square.

Around the turn of the new millennium, the former director of the Urban Construction Department of the Ministry of Construction, Liu Shanghua, produced a publication providing a comprehensive collection of official records, important to understanding the progress of landscape design of the fifty years since the Liberation.⁶¹ Professor Lü Junhua in Tsinghua University coordinated a research project on modern housing development, that provides a welcome addition.⁶²

As for journals, *Jianzhu Xuebao* (Architectural Journal, 建筑学报), sponsored by the Architectural Society of China (ASC) and first issued in 1954, was the most important journal for the architectural and landscape profession. It often contained reports of the most important architectural or landscape projects.⁶³ There was no dedicated journal for the landscape profession during the Mao era, but *Yuanyi Xuebao* (Acta Horticulturae Sinica, 园艺学报), first issued in 1962, is relevant and sometimes contained investigations of traditional gardens. Additionally, *Yuanlin Geming* (Garden Revolution, 园林革命) was issued during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969). Like the books of this period, the journal was not available in libraries and was supplied by interviewees.⁶⁴ In 1979 when the Mao era ended, China Architecture and Building Press started the journal, *Jianzhushi* (Architect, 建筑师), which has been another important arena for academic enquiries about contemporary, as well as traditional, architectural and landscape issues since. The journal of the landscape profession, *Zhongguo Yuanlin* (Chinese Landscape Architecture, 中国园林), sponsored by the Chinese Society of Landscape Architecture (CSLA), was not issued until 1985, but has contained several authoritative reviews of the past landscape developments.⁶⁵ In 2005, the CSLA initiated another journal, *Fengjing*

Chubanshe, 1981).

⁵⁷ Hua, Lanhong 华揽洪. *Chongjian zhongguo: chengshi guihua sanshinian, 1949-1979* [Reconstruction of China: thirty years of urbanism, 1949-1979] 重建中国: 城市规划三十年, 1949-1979, trans. by Li Ying 李颖. (Beijing: Shenghuo-dushu-xinzhil Sanlian Shudian, 2006). Originally published as Hoa, Léon. *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme, 1949-1979*. (Paris: Éditions du Moniteur, 1981).

⁵⁸ Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987).

⁵⁹ Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Renmin Yingxiong Jinianbei de chuanguo chengjiu' [The design achievements of the Monument to the People's Heroes] 人民英雄纪念碑的创作成就. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 2 (1978), pp. 4-9; Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Tiananmen guangchang de guihua he sheji' [The planning and design of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场的规划和设计. *Jianzhushi Lunwen Ji*, 2 (1979), pp. 14-50.

⁶⁰ Su, Zemin 苏则民. 'Tiananmen Guangchang gajian he guihua de jingyan tantao' [Investigations of the experience in Tiananmen Square's reconstruction and planning] 天安门广场改建和规划的经验探讨. (unpublished Master of Architecture Thesis, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University, 1965).

⁶¹ Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999).

⁶² Lü, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern urban housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001).

⁶³ This important journal was also available in the British Library.

⁶⁴ This was supplied by Wang Mingxian in the China Art Academy.

⁶⁵ For example, Wang, Juyuan 汪菊渊. 'Woguo chengshi luhua yuanlin jianshe de huigu yu zhanwang' [Review and prospect of the urban landscape architecture in China] 我国城市绿化、园林建设的回顾与展望. *Zhongguo Yuanlin*. Vol. 8, No. 1, (1992), pp. 17-25. This important journal was also available in the Cambridge University Library.

Yuanlin (Landscape Architecture, 风景园林), which also became an important outlet for scholarly investigations on the recent past.

Besides the above professional journals in Chinese, reports on various contemporary landscape projects, including parks, housing, urban squares and rural landscapes, were sourced in English language journals, such as *Asian Geographer*, *The China Geographer*, *China Reconstructs*, *China Constructs*, *Ekistics*, *Peking Review*, and *Landscape*.

As for newspapers, *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily, 人民日报), the official newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), is the most important primary source of official speeches, explanation of policies, people's voices, and revealed how landscape transformations were perceived by society.

Art works

Contemporary art works provided an insight into the political and cultural contexts, assisting the analysis of landscapes. This study uses propaganda posters, stamps, and calligraphy by key officials to illustrate political movements and advocacies. For propaganda posters, the Stefan R. Landsberger Collection of the International Institute of Social History (IISH)⁶⁶ and the China Posters Collection of the University of Westminster⁶⁷ provide important resources. Some posters were sourced in contemporary publications, such as the journal, *China Reconstructs*. Stamps come from my personal collections. Calligraphy works were sourced in relevant official publications⁶⁸ and websites⁶⁹.

Archives

Five archives have been selected for this study. For the rural landscape of the Dazhai village, the Dazhai Archives was consulted in September 2005. The other four are in the cities of Beijing, Shanghai and Wuhan. The Architectural archives in the School of Architecture of Tsinghua University, Beijing, was consulted mainly for the design documents of Tiananmen Square, in December 2004, the Shanghai Archives in November 2005, and the Hubei Province Archives in Wuhan in May 2007. As there is now access to many primary sources from the professional body of Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks, Beijing Archives on the internet⁷⁰ were mainly consulted

⁶⁶ <http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger/>

⁶⁷ http://home.wmin.ac.uk/china_posters/

⁶⁸ For example, Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe* [Beijing city construction since the founding of the PRC] 建国以来的北京城市建设. Restricted publication (1986).

⁶⁹ For example, Mao's calligraphy works for the greening movement are sourced in the website of the Beijing Afforestation Foundation (<http://www.greenbeijing.org/>).

⁷⁰ <http://www.bjma.gov.cn/>

for additional information of specific projects, such as the Monument to the People's Heroes of Tiananmen Square.

Interviews

Interviews were carried out with contemporary designers, officials and researchers for urban landscape development and with Dazhai villagers for rural landscape issues to further discover historical facts. These were largely carried out during three visits back to China from November 2004 to February 2005, from September 2005 to February 2006, and from April 2007 to July 2007. Contemporary project photos and restricted publications that could not normally be found in libraries were provided by these interviewees.

For park design, Wu Zhenqian, the former director of the Shanghai Park Management Bureau and one of the designers of People's Park (1950), Shanghai, was interviewed in November 2005; Li Jiale, senior consultant of the Construction Ministry and designer of Joyous Pavilion Park (1952) and the greening of Tiananmen Square, and Xie Yuming, emeritus Professor of Tsinghua University and designer of the Pavilions Garden (1980s) in Joyous Pavilion Park (1952), were interviewed in January 2006; Sun Xiaoxiang, emeritus Professor of Beijing Forestry University and designer of Viewing Fish and Flower Harbour Park (1953), was interviewed in December 2006.

For housing design, LO Junhua, emeritus Professor of Tsinghua University and designer of Felicity Residential Area (1954), was interviewed in January 2005; Zhu Junzhen, emeritus Professor of Tsinghua University and the author of *Greening of Residential Areas*,⁷¹ was interviewed in October 2005, July 2007, and February 2008.

On the design of Tiananmen Square, Gao Yilan, emeritus Professor of Tsinghua University, who took participation in the design of Chairman Mao's mausoleum,⁷² was interviewed in November 2004; Su Zemin, who completed his Master's dissertation in 1965 about the design of the square,⁷³ was interviewed in June 2007.

Additionally, for related subjects of modern architecture and art history, Zou Denong, Professor of Tianjin University and author of *The History of Modern Chinese Architecture*,⁷⁴ was interviewed in January 2005, and Wang Mingxian, one of the authors of *The Art History of the*

⁷¹ Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Juzhuqu luhua* [Greening of residential areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981).

⁷² Gao, Yilan 高亦兰. 'Maozhuxi jinliantang sheji guocheng zongjie' [Summary of the design of Chairman Mao's Mausoleum] 毛主席纪念堂设计过程总结. *Jianzhushi Lunwen Ji*, 1 (2003), pp. 1-25.

⁷³ Su, Zemin 苏则民. 'Tiananmen Guangchang gajian he guihua de jingyan tantao' [Investigations of the experience in Tiananmen Square's reconstruction and planning] 天安门广场改建和规划的经验探讨. (unpublished Master of Architecture Thesis, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University, 1965).

⁷⁴ Zou, Denong 邹德侗. *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhu shi* [The history of modern Chinese architecture] 中国现代建筑史. (Tianjin: Tianjin Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 2001).

People's Republic of China (1966-1976),⁷⁵ was interviewed in January 2006.

For the investigation of Dazhai village, Li Huailian, the director of the Women's Federation, and her husband Zhao Huaxiao, the witnesses of the landscape development in the modern era, were interviewed in September 2005.

⁷⁵ Wang, Mingxian 王明贤, and Yan, Shanchun 严善錞. *Xin zhongguo meishu tushi (1966-1976)* [The Art History of the People's Republic of China (1966-1976)] 新中国美术图史 (1966-1976). (Beijing: Zhongguo Qingnian Chubanshe, 2000).

Chapter 2

Chinese Traditions and Socialist Ideals

The Thirty Years' socialist rule brought about a sea change on the land of China, which was first of all characterised by an immediate break with the past. With revolutionary ideals, Chinese traditions were subjected to transformation, appropriation, or obliteration. But this meant what was inherited from the past nonetheless constituted the foundation upon which the new socialist society was established. At the same time, some traditions were so ingrained that they could hardly be excused, or dispensed with, despite new cultural and social values. Some scholars have noted such cultural continuity.¹ When evaluating the Thirty Years' socialist development and especially Mao's blame for the Cultural Revolution in the early 1980s, even the CCP itself acknowledged the difficulty of a complete elimination of some traditional traits.²

The development of the Chinese landscape architecture was no exception. On the one hand, while new socialist landscapes were often products of social reform following Mao's slogans, 'It is man that counts'³ and 'Man must conquer nature'⁴, it was the social reform processes that embraced some traditions, such as social relationships. On the other hand, traditions in garden making were the starting point of modern Chinese landscape design in establishing the relationship between man and nature, as a philosophical basis for garden making.

Yet under the centrally planned political system, the official ideology played a decisive role for all social activities, and policies were often blindly followed. Politics and policies were conditioned by contemporary economic situations, grounded on revolutionary ideals, and frequently rooted in Chinese traditional culture.

In order to generate an understanding of those aspects that informed landscape and garden practices during the Thirty Years under Mao, this chapter analyses some of the Chinese cultural and social traditions, explains the modern socialist or communist ideals, and explores relevant policies and their origins. In this way it aims to establish the cultural, social, economic and political context for the succeeding chapters.

¹ Friedman, Edward, Paul G. Pickowicz, and Mark Selden. *Chinese Village, Socialist State* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 267-288.

² It was stated that, 'Feudalism in China has had a very long history... It remains difficult to eliminate the evil ideological and political influence of centuries of feudal autocracy'. See 'On Questions of Party History – Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China'. *Beijing Review*. No. 27 (July 6, 1981), p. 25.

³ Murphey, Rhoads. *The Fading of the Maoist Vision: City and Country in China's Development* (New York; London: Methuen, 1980), pp. 53-54.

⁴ This is the slogan put forward during the Great Leap Forward (GLF) campaign (1958-1960).

Man and nature in Chinese traditions

Geographical and economic context

China is a mountainous country with a dramatic topography. Hills, mountains and high plateaus, almost all in the west, occupy about 65 percent of the total land area (Fig. 2.1). Areas less than 500 metres above sea level constitute only 25.2 percent of the land mass, while that above 3,000 metres constitute 25.9 percent (Fig. 2.2).⁵ To the east, China borders the largest ocean, the Pacific. The Chinese did not occupy the whole of the current China Proper until the middle of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). The earliest occupied territories were in the northern plains, while additionally much of Chinese civilisation was developed in the plains in the east. The geographical circumstances determined that the mountain ranges to west and vast expanse of water to east acted as natural boundaries to other parts of the world. The inaccessible nature of these created an environment in which Chinese culture developed largely independently for long periods of time, though from time to time with many other cultural elements assimilated.

There, farming started as early as about 8,000 years ago and agriculture has dominated the economy ever since the second century B.C.⁶ Traditionally, over 80 percent of the total population consisted of farmers,⁷ which has remained the case till the modern era. At the time of CCP's 1949 takeover, about 480 million of the total 540 million population were peasants.⁸ Agriculture therefore determined day to day culture and beliefs of the society.

Within the independent agricultural system, Confucianism and Taoism had developed as the two main philosophies and form the most important indication and theoretical expression of traditional Chinese life, essentially the 'aspirations and inspirations of the farmer.'⁹ Confucianism established strict social order which dominated official ideology from the Han Dynasty (202 B.C. - A.D. 220). Taoism developed an integral outlook towards the man-and-nature relationship, counselling forgetting human interaction and merging with the transformations of nature.¹⁰ It is interesting to see how they related to the social structure and influenced garden making.

⁵ Zhao, Songqiao. *Geography of China: Environment, Resources, Population, and Development* (New York; Chichester: J. Wiley, 1994), p. 5.

⁶ Zhao, Songqiao. *Geography of China: Environment, Resources, Population, and Development* (New York; Chichester: J. Wiley, 1994), p. 74.

⁷ Zhao, Songqiao. *Geography of China: Environment, Resources, Population, and Development* (New York; Chichester: J. Wiley, 1994), p. 69.

⁸ Tien, H. Yuan. *China's Population Struggle: Demographic Decisions of the People's Republic, 1949-1969* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1973), p. 43.

⁹ Feng, Youlan, edited by Derk Bodde. *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), pp. 19-20.

¹⁰ Morris, Edwin T. *The Gardens of China: History, Art, and Meanings* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), p. 30.



Figure 2.1 Major contour lines, showing the main upland areas (stippled), the main mountain ranges (named) and the southern and eastern lowlands (white).

Source: Buchanan, Keith. *The Transformation of the Chinese Earth: Aspects of the Evaluation of the Chinese Earth from Earliest Times to Mao Tse-tung* (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd, 1970), p. 64.

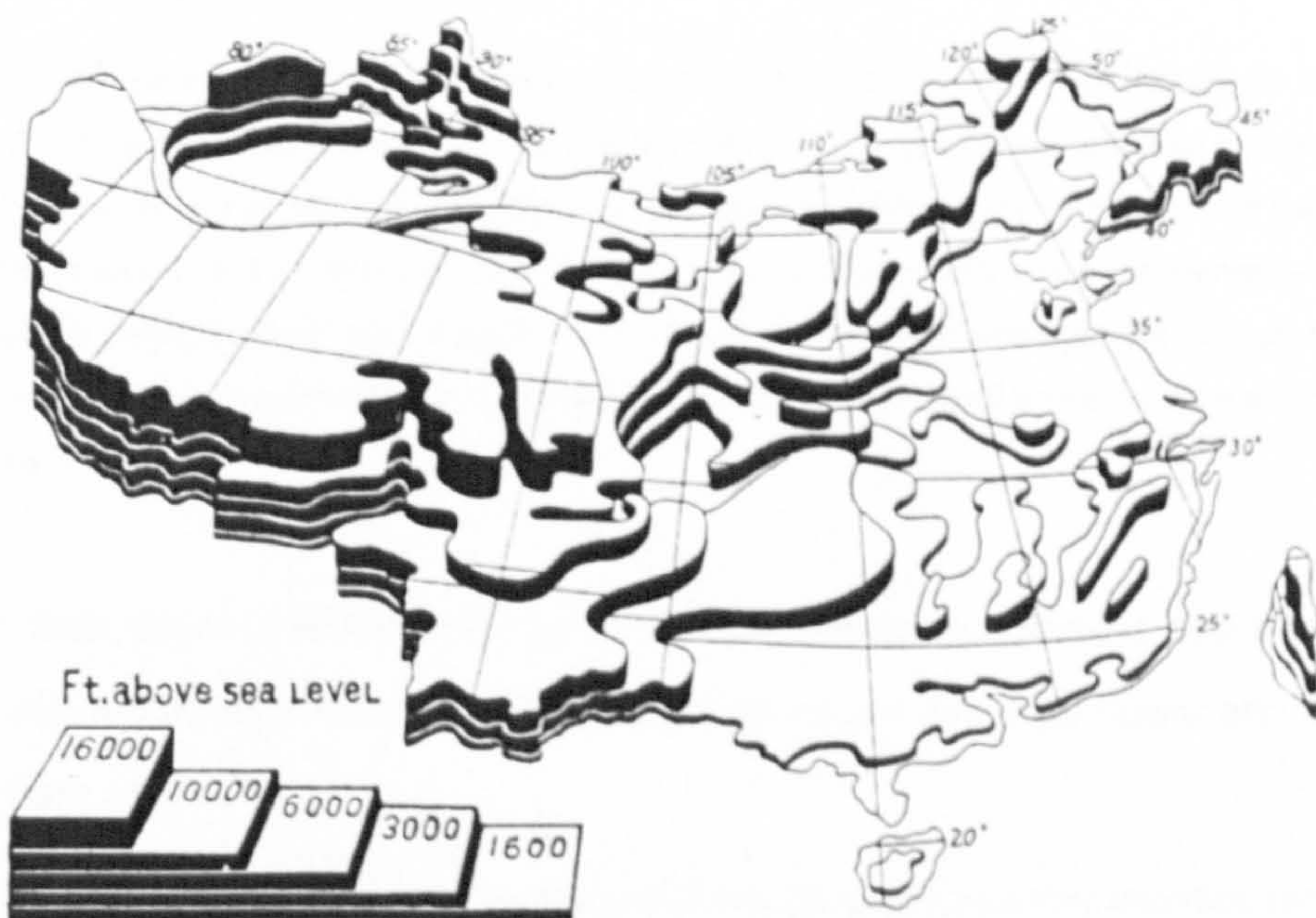


Figure 2.2 Relief diagram of China.

Source: Lo, Kai-fu, 'The Basic Geography of China'. *China Reconstructs*. Vol. V, No. 12 (December 1956), p. 19.

The social rule: authority, hierarchy and 'face'

With the agriculture dominated economy, the family became the main support system within the social structure.¹¹ The five social interrelationships defined in Confucianism, those between ruler and subject, father and son, elder and younger brother, husband and wife, and friend and friend, were essentially family relationships. When Confucius said '*jun jun chon chen fu fu zi zi* (ruler ruler minister minister father father son son)', he meant, 'Let the ruler rule as he should and the minister be a minister as he should. Let the father act as a father should and the son act as a son should.'¹² This signified a social hierarchy and the requirement of proper social conduct, such as a respect of the inferior to the superior, or the obedience to the authority, to maintain such an order. In socialist China, although proletarian egalitarianism was advocated, this social hierarchy remained apparent, and the alienation of officials as a bureaucratic class from the broad masses was a constant problem which Mao's radical policies set out to address. Additionally, some scholars noted that the socialist revolution did not change the social foundation of a monarchy as in the past,¹³ and ironically, Chairman Mao himself often acquired some of the prerogatives of an emperor, especially during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969).¹⁴

In this hierarchy, the Confucianized concept of 'face' was of a practical centrality in the social structure.¹⁵ The higher status or level a person held, the bigger 'face' or more power and higher social status and prestige he had. Thus, a proper constitution of 'face' was needed without challenging the desirable personal emotions or feelings. The concept was said to be related with the human body itself:

Physically, face holds the uppermost and frontal part of the body... The feet occupy the lowest part of the body. To demand that one walk on one's hands with the feet up or to demand that a person cross between someone else's legs are traditional Chinese strategies to humiliate the performer and make him or her lose face. In such postures, the performer's face and body are physically below the demander's legs, thus spatially metaphorizing that the performer is socially inferior. This embodies the Chinese notion of social hierarchy which is inspired by and emulated according to the natural and physical hierarchy of the human body.¹⁶

As such, Chinese people's self-perception, self-assurance and the desire for superiority were displayed through visual representation. The inward desire for power and the outward image were connected.

¹¹ Feng, Youlan, edited by Derk Bodde. *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 21.

¹² Fairbank, John King and Merle Goldman. *China: A New History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 52.

¹³ Tang, Zongli, and Bing Zuo. *Maoism and Chinese Culture* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 1996), p. 182.

¹⁴ Fairbank, John King and Merle Goldman. *China: A New History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 384.

¹⁵ Jia, Wenshan. *The Remaking of the Chinese Character and Identity in the 21st Century: The Chinese Face Practices* (Westport, Connecticut: Ablex, 2001), p. 22.

¹⁶ Jia, Wenshan. *The Remaking of the Chinese Character and Identity in the 21st Century: The Chinese Face Practices* (Westport, Connecticut: Ablex, 2001), pp. 28-29.

While the Chinese concept of 'face' was developed from the individual, it can be extended and applied equally to a group, denoting collective representation, place image, and even world recognition of China,¹⁷ as long as it was associated with the people's own interests. This was essential for an understanding of the inherent force in the Chinese concern about urban image construction. This aspiration was natural as upon the Liberation many Chinese cities and villages were in ruinous state after years of warfare, and was reinforced as many of these damages were the result of Western imperialism, which severely wounded the prestige of the former 'Central Kingdom'.

Outlook on nature: garden traditions

While agriculture determined the social system, it also influenced garden making in that the understanding of man-and-nature relationship as represented in gardens was generated through agricultural practices. It should be noted that, although traditionally scholar-officials, who did not actually engage in cultivation themselves, were usually builders or designers of gardens, their outlook on life and understanding of the world, as expressed in garden making, were essentially those of the farmer, because they were usually landlords with their fortunes tied up with agriculture.¹⁸

For the studies on traditional gardens in the modern era, the surviving gardens mainly of the Qing (1644-1911) period, especially imperial ones in Beijing¹⁹ and private ones in Suzhou²⁰, were firsthand sources, and modern scholars often quoted the Ming Dynasty treatise, *Yuan Ye* (The craft of gardens), the most important classic text in the pre-modern China,²¹ as a

¹⁷ Broudehoux, Anne-Marie. *The Making and Selling of Post-Mao Beijing* (London, New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 29-30.

¹⁸ Feng, Youlan, edited by Derk Bodde. *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 18.

¹⁹ Zhou, Wei-quan 周维权. 'Bishu shanzhuang de yuanlin yishu' [Garden art of the Imperial Summer Retreat] 避暑山庄的园林艺术. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1960), pp. 29-32; Hu, Shaoxue 胡绍学 and Xu Yingguang 徐莹光. 'Beihai jingxinzhai de yuanlin yishu' [Garden art of the Tranquil Heart Studio at North Lake] 北海静心斋的园林艺术. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 7 (1962), pp. 19-20.

²⁰ Chen, Congzhou 陈从周. *Suzhou yuanlin* [Gardens of Suzhou] 苏州园林. (Shanghai: Teaching Material Department of Tongji University, 1956); Tong, Jun 童寓. *Jiangnan yuanlin zhi* [Gazetteer of Jiangnan gardens] 江南园林志. (Beijing: Zhongguo Gongye Chubanshe, 1963); Guo, Daiheng 郭黛姘 and Zhang Jinqiu 张锦秋. 'Suzhou liuyuan de jianzhu kongjian' [Architectural spaces of the Garden to Linger In of Suzhou] 苏州留园的建筑空间. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1963), pp. 19-23; Wang, Juyuan 汪菊渊. 'Suzhou Ming Qing zhaiyuan fengge de fenxi' [Analysis of the style of the Ming and Qing private gardens] 苏州明清宅园风格的分析. *Yuanyi Xuebao*. Vol. 2, No. 2, (May 1963), pp. 177-194; Pan, Guxi 潘谷西. 'Suzhou liuyuan de guanshang dian he guanshang luxian' [Sightseeing spot and route in Suzhou gardens] 苏州留园的观赏点和观赏路线. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1963), pp. 14-18; Mo, Yongyan 莫永彦 and Li Wenzuo 李文佐. 'Yuanlin xiaopin yishu chuli de yijiang' [Artistic arrangement of garden furniture] 园林小品艺术处理的意匠. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1964), pp. 13-16; Liu, Dunzhen 刘敦桢. *Suzhou gudian yuanlin* [The classical gardens of Suzhou] 苏州古典园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1979); Sun, Xiaoxiang 孙筱祥. 'Wenren xieyi shanshui pai yuanlin yishu jingjie' [The artistic realm of the literati gardens with mountain-and-water and mental imagery] 文人写意山水派园林艺术境界. In Capital Construction Committee of Jiangsu Province 江苏省基本建设委员会 ed. *Jiangsu yuanlin mingsheng* [Jiangsu gardens and scenic spots] 江苏园林名胜. (Nanjing: Jiangsu Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1982), pp. 3-20.

²¹ Completed in 1631, *Yuan ye* was almost lost in China in the early twentieth century. In 1933, based on the private collection of Zhu Qiqian, it was compiled and published by the Chinese Architectural Society. See Ji, Cheng 计成 (b. 1582). *Yuan ye* [The craft of gardens] 园冶. (Peking: Chinese Architectural Society 中国营造学社, 1932). In 1957, the book was again published by the Urban Construction Press. See Ji, Cheng 计成 (b. 1582). *Yuan ye* [The craft of gardens] 园冶. (Beijing: Chengshi Jianshe Chubanshe, 1957). The scholarly exploration of this classic text in the modern era included: Yu, Shuxun 余树勋. 'Ji Cheng he Yuan ye' [Ji Cheng and Yuan ye] 计成和《园冶》. *Yuanyi Xuebao*. Vol. 2, No. 1 (February 1963), pp. 59-68; Shi, Diandong 施

theoretical underpinning. Additionally, there were some attempts to summarise traditional garden design approaches in general.²² Some scholars also explored how garden traditions could be effectively incorporated or re-invented in modern projects.²³

In all these explorations, *yijing* (mental imagery,²⁴ 意境) was always identified as the aesthetic ideal and *shan shui* (mountains and water, 山水) as the predominant attribute of garden making, and these gardens were then termed as *xieyi shanshui yuan* (idea-writing²⁵ and mountains-and-water garden, 写意山水园).²⁶ While this term was derived from private gardens, the above two aspects were equally the most important characteristics of imperial gardens, for which construction the private ones sometimes even served as a model.

- *Yijing* (Mental imagery, 意境)

Of the word *yijing*, *yi* literally means 'idea' or 'meaning', and *jing* literally means 'realm'. The compound word connotes the highest aesthetic pursuit in the creation and appreciation of Chinese traditional arts. But the concept is far more complex and profound than its literal meaning. It relates to the Chinese outlook on the world and the relationship between man and nature.

In traditional China, man and nature were thought to be undifferentiated. The ancient

莫东, Wang Gongquan 王公权, Chen Xinyi 陈新一, and Huang Maoru 黄茂如. 'Guanyu Yuan ye de chubu fenxi yu pipan' [A preliminary analysis and criticism of *Yuan ye*] 关于《园冶》的初步分析与批判. *Yuanyi Xuebao*. Vol. 4, No. 3 (August 1965), pp. 159-166.

²² Guo, Husheng 郭湖生. 'Yuanlin de tingzi' [Garden pavilions] 园林的亭子. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1959), pp. 31, 38-39; Shui, Mu 水木. 'Yuanlin li de bian'e yu duijian' [The inscribed board and couplet in gardens] 园林里的匾额与对联. *Renmin Ribao* (February 17, 1962); Dou, Wu 窦武. 'Zhichi shanlin: woguo yuanlin yishu de jinghua' [Miniaturised mountains and forests: the cream of our nation's garden art] 咫尺山林——我国园林艺术的精华. *Renmin Ribao* (March 18, 1962); Peng, Yigang 彭一刚. 'Tingyuan jianzhu yishu chuli shoufa fenxi' [Analysis of the garden architecture arrangement] 庭园建筑艺术处理手法分析. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1963), pp. 15-18; Deng, Luzeng 邓祿曾. 'Woguo gudian yuanlin zhong zhi zhiwu lilai' [Planting themes in Chinese traditional gardens] 我国古典园林中之植物题材. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin luhua gongzuo nianbao (1961-1962)* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture (1961-1962)] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 (1961-1962). (June, 1963): pp. 97-101; Zhang, Yuanfeng 章元凤. 'Zhongguo gudian zaoyuan yishu de jiben yuanze' [Basic principles of the Chinese classical garden making] 中国古典造园艺术的基本原则. *Xueshu Yuekan*. 9 (1979), pp. 74-81.

²³ Li, Jiale 李嘉乐. 'Guanyu jicheng zhongguo gudian yuanlin yishu yichan de yixie wenti' [Some issues about the development of Chinese traditional garden heritage] 关于继承中国古典园林艺术遗产的一些问题. *Yuanyi Xuebao*. Vol. 1, No. 3 & 4 (November 1962), pp. 361-368; Li, Jiale 李嘉乐. 'Jicheng yu fazhan zhongguo yuanlin chuantong fengge de tujing' [Approaches to inherit and develop the traditional style of Chinese gardens] 继承与发展中国园林传统风格的途径. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin luhua gongzuo nianbao (1961-1962)* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture (1961-1962)] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 (1961-1962). (June, 1963): pp. 102-107; Cheng, Shifu 程世抚. 'Suzhou gudian yuanlin yishu guweijinyong de tantao' [An investigation of making the classic Suzhou garden art serve the present] 苏州古典园林艺术古为今用的探讨. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1980), pp. 6-12; 'Gudian yuanlin chuantong ruhe guweijinyong' [How to make the garden traditions serve the present] 古典园林传统如何古为今用. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 5 (1980), pp. 26-27.

²⁴ The word '*yijing*' was translated as 'poetic imagery' in Editorial Board of *Chinese encyclopaedia: architecture, landscape architecture, city planning* and Editorial Department of Chinese Encyclopaedia Press 中国大百科全书总编辑委员会《建筑 园林 城市规划》编辑委员会, 中国大百科全书出版社编辑部 ed. *Chinese encyclopaedia: architecture, landscape architecture, city planning* 中国大百科全书, 建筑、园林、城市规划. (Beijing: Zhongguo Dabaiké Quanshu Chubanshe, 1988), p. 523. This translation highlighted the concept of *yi* or the poetic quality of Chinese traditional garden. It was translated as 'spatial imagery' in Zhang, Jiaji 张家骥. *Zhongguo zaoyuan lun* [On Chinese garden making] 中国造园论. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 177. This translation emphasised the concept of *jing* in the compound word.

²⁵ 'Idea-writing' is a translation of '*xieyi*' in Sirén, Osvald. *Gardens of China* (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1949), p. 29.

²⁶ Sun, Xiaoxiang 孙筱祥. 'Wenren xieyi shanshui pai yuanlin yishu jingjie' [The artistic realm of the literati gardens with mountain-and-water and mental imagery] 文人写意山水派园林艺术境界. In Capital Construction Committee of Jiangsu Province 江苏省基本建设委员会 ed. *Jiangsu yuanlin mingsheng* [Jiangsu gardens and scenic spots] 江苏园林名胜. (Nanjing: Jiangsu Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1982), pp. 3-20.

mythology of Pan Gu about the origin of the world clearly indicated that man was part of nature and at the same time all the constituents of nature could be found in man.²⁷ This homologous relationship between man and nature was firmly associated with the agrarian tradition. It derived from the importance of having to pay attention to natural forces and maintaining harmony with nature, to guarantee harvest and thus livelihood. While this was to some extent an attitude common to any agrarian society, in traditional China this harmony was upheld as the central part of the philosophical and moral system.²⁸

While the dependence on agriculture generated an automatic respect of nature, it also determined ontology, how nature was conceptualised. In farming practice, people gained experience through direct observation or immediate apprehension, which meant concepts were achieved by intuition.²⁹ This also meant that the world was felt with the 'heart'. As a result, the demarcation of the subject and the object was not encouraged, and the greatest concern of the Chinese was the development of intrinsic value of life.³⁰ As for this kind of spiritual fulfilment, according to Chinese philosophers, 'it is nothing less than being a sage, and the highest achievement of a sage is the identification of the individual with the universe.'³¹ This was fundamentally different from classical Western thought, where 'the world is regarded as being constituted from particular entities that are instantiations of transcendent qualities or principles.'³² Thus it was a distinctive characteristic of the Chinese ontology with the idea of a continuum of subject and object, internal and external, and also man and nature.

With this philosophical tradition, *yijing* (mental imagery) was the result of the active interaction of the subjective and objective in artistic creations. But it emphasised the transcendental experience in the spiritual realm, rather than the material reality which is inevitably limited. This could be demonstrated by the idea, developed by Chinese philosophers long ago, that one could or should 'forget words when grasping the image' and 'forget images when grasping the meaning.'³³ Zhuangzi (c. 369 - 286 B.C.) of the Taoist school added, 'Words are for holding ideas, but when one has got the idea, one need no longer think about the words.'³⁴

As gardens in the Chinese mind were ultimately the artistic representation of the cosmic

²⁷ It was told that in the very beginning a primordial egg hatched a god, Pan Gu, who lived eighteen thousand years. When he died, his perspiration became the rain, his breath the wind, his voice the thunder, his left eye the sun, his right eye the moon, his head and limbs the mountains, his blood the rivers and seas, his muscles the fields, his hair the plants, and his fleas the ancestor of man. See also Keswick, Maggie. *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), p. 39.

²⁸ Murphey, Rhoads. 'Man and Nature in China'. *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 4. (1967), p. 314.

²⁹ Feng, Youlan, edited by Derk Bodde. *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 23.

³⁰ Gao, Qinghai. 'The Specialty of Thought Pertaining to Traditional Chinese Philosophy and Its Value'. *Social Sciences in China*. Vol. 23, Pt. 4, (2002), p. 19.

³¹ Feng, Youlan, edited by Derk Bodde. *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 6.

³² Makeham, John. 'The Confucian Role of Names in Traditional Chinese Gardens'. *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*. Vol. 18, No. 3, (Autumn 1998), p. 190.

³³ The texts in Chinese are '得象忘言' and '得意忘象'.

³⁴ Quoted from Feng, Youlan, edited by Derk Bodde. *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 12.

pattern,³⁵ the issue of *yijing* (mental imagery) became crucial in their creation. This emphasis on *yijing* (mental imagery) was clearly demonstrated by the inclusion of the character *yi* in the term *xieyi shanshui yuan* (idea-writing and mountains-and-water garden). Of this, *xieyi* refers to a painting technique of freehand brushwork that is performed in pursuit of *yijing* (mental imagery). Thus this term also reveals the close relationship between garden making and painting. More specifically, *xie* means 'to draw' or 'to write', and *xieyi* means to have an image produced by liberal use of ink and strokes, with suggestion and self-expression rather than depicting an object with articulation or preciseness, thereby insisting on spiritual representation through random or spontaneous forms.³⁶ In this way importance was given to suggestiveness, and what was expected to be gained by an observer was often not in reality presented, but something in the heartfelt experience and imagination. As a result, the real meaning was delivered indirectly. This is the essence of all traditional literati arts, then including garden making, in China.

The spiritual fulfilment beyond a material limit and indirect way of expression became the source for, and actually determined various garden design principles and approaches with the elements of poetry, buildings, plantings, and mountains and water.

'Poetic quality and pictorial flavour' was regarded as one of the most important characteristics of Chinese gardens.³⁷ The incorporation of poetry in Chinese gardens was necessarily related to the art of calligraphy, best presented in the form of inscriptions, i.e. names, couplets, and appreciative poems,³⁸ engraved on plaques or tablets placed above a doorway, on either side of an entrance or gateway, or under the eaves of garden buildings. These literary elements and written forms are considered as the most important approach in pursuit of *yijing* (mental imagery).³⁹ Indeed, they are fundamental in that without them a garden is considered somehow incomplete. This idea was demonstrated by a story of the invention of inscriptions for a garden in *Dream of the Red Chamber*.⁴⁰ These often highlighted characteristic scenes in gardens, made reference to classical literature, or connected to historical events, thereby stimulating the beholder's imaginations in an evocative manner beyond the boundaries of the garden. For example, Far Perfume Hall in Artless Administrator's Garden in Suzhou was named

³⁵ Graham, Dorothy. *Chinese Gardens* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1938), p. 3; Wang, Yi 王毅. *Yuanlin yu zhongguo wenhua* [Garden and Chinese culture] 园林与中国文化. (Shanghai: Renmin Chubanshe, 1990), pp. 272-273;

³⁶ Zhu, Ya-xin. *Landscape Design in Chinese Gardens* (New York, London: McGraw-Hill, 1988), p. 7; Wang, Yi 王毅. *Yuanlin yu zhongguo wenhua* [Garden and Chinese culture] 园林与中国文化. (Shanghai: Renmin Chubanshe, 1990), pp. 427-428; Wu, Jiahua. *A Comparative Study of Landscape Aesthetics: Landscape Morphology* (Lampeter, Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), p. 126.

³⁷ Zhou, Wei-quan 周维权. *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi* [The history of Chinese classical garden] 中国古典园林史. (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 1999), pp. 13-20.

³⁸ These three written forms were identified in Keswick, Maggie. *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), p. 161.

³⁹ Wang, Yi 王毅. *Yuanlin yu zhongguo wenhua* [Garden and Chinese culture] 园林与中国文化. (Shanghai: Renmin Chubanshe, 1990), p. 434; Zhou, Wei-quan 周维权. *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi* [The history of Chinese traditional garden] 中国古典园林史. (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 1999), p. 19.

⁴⁰ The story was mentioned in Keswick, Maggie. *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), pp. 163-167. It was also highlighted in contemporary China to demonstrate the importance of literary dimension in garden making. See Shui, Mu 水木. 'Yuanlin li de bian'e yu duilian' [The inscribed board and couplet in gardens] 园林里的匾额与对联. *Renmin Ribao* (February 17, 1962).

with reference to the neighbouring lotus pond. The name recalled the famous eulogistic lines of the lotus flower by Zhou Dunyi (1017-1073), one of the founders of Neo-Confucianism: 'Its subtle perfume pervades the air far and wide. Resting there with its radiant purity, the lotus is something to be appreciated from a distance, not profaned by intimate approach.'⁴¹ Also, those poetic and normally four-character descriptions for traditional 'Eight Landscape Scenes' were obvious examples, which always corresponded to distinctive scenic areas of a garden or imperial resort. While literary and written traditions were quite important to promote *yijing* (mental imagery) of gardens in the past, they were equally important for the creation of new socialist landscapes after the Liberation, since most new leaders of the People's Republic had a preference for them. It was notable that Chairman Mao had extensive knowledge of traditional culture and participated in this with the related arts of poetry and calligraphy. While the 'Three Big Mountains', namely feudalism, imperialism, and capitalism, were the archetypal class enemies in striving for socialism, Mao maintained in 1952 that calligraphy, despite it being traditionally a special skill of the literati, a social minority, 'was a neutral battleground on which class conflict was taking place. He asserted that if the proletariat did not take the lead in calligraphy... then the bourgeoisie certainly would.'⁴²

Buildings played such an important role in gardens that some scholars have understood gardens as part of Chinese architecture.⁴³ It is true that garden spaces were often organised by buildings, and the manner of arrangement became an important tool for the generation of *yijing* (mental imagery). Thus from the ideal of having a sense of the infinite within boundaries and the indirect way of delivering the ultimate cause, came the various design characteristics such as 'avoiding seeing everything at a glance', 'dividing and multiplying', garden within a garden, spatial segmentation and layers, scene framing, contrast in spatial sequences, beyond the boundary or scene borrowing, and a sinuous layout.

Plants served a role also in the pursuit of *yijing* (mental imagery). Human virtues were to be found in plants according to their visual characteristics or growth attributes. For example, pine, bamboo and plum trees made up the popularly celebrated 'three friends of winter', all of which were personified to have an indomitable spirit, and it was commonly practiced to plant them in one garden. Pine, as an evergreen aging with gaunt and bent configurations, suggested tenacity and persistence and was seen as a symbol of longevity. Bamboo, another evergreen, tall and straight, bending in the wind but never breaking, suggested strength and resilience and was a Confucian symbol of a true gentleman. Plum trees (*Prunus mume* Siebold et Zucc.), blooming

⁴¹ Quoted in Keswick, Maggie. *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), p. 192.

⁴² Kraus, Richard Curt. *Brushes with Power: Modern Politics and the Chinese Art of Calligraphy* (Berkeley, Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), p. 78.

⁴³ Zhu, Ya-xin. *Landscape Design in Chinese Gardens* (New York, London: McGraw-Hill, 1988), p. 15. This phenomenon was noted in Hardie, Alison. 'Introduction'. In Keswick, Maggie. *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), p. 9.

before any other plant during severe winter snow with flowers on bare stalks, symbolised an unconquerable spirit such as the struggle of humankind with hardship and survival.⁴⁴ Similarly, it was common to grow tree peony and sweet osmanthus (*Osmanthus fragrans* Lour.) together in a garden as a representation of honour. The tree peony, referred to as the 'king of flowers', was opulent and colourful acting as a symbol of wealth, nobility, and prosperity. Sweet osmanthus also signified wealth, since the homophone of its Chinese name, *gui*, meant high rank.⁴⁵ Also, the chrysanthemum, described as the 'late fragrance', was extensively cultivated as a symbol for 'those who defy frost' and 'those who survive all others.'⁴⁶ Moreover, the cymbidium orchid was regarded as a prototype of a perfect personality. Blooming in the woods with its perfume probably unappreciated by men, it nonetheless exuded a pleasing but not overbearing fragrance. Just as the Qianlong Emperor (1711-1799) said, 'When I find pleasure in orchids, I love uprightness.'⁴⁷ The lotus flower served as a Confucian model for the 'superior man' and a symbol of purity, as it emerged uncontaminated from the muddy dirt.⁴⁸ It is clear that plant symbolism for the *yijing* (mental imagery) purpose, like the treatments of other garden elements, demonstrated the Chinese outlook towards nature and the identification of man with nature.

- *Shan shui* (mountains and water, 山水)

The traditional Chinese concept for landscape is *shan shui*, that literally means 'mountains and water'.⁴⁹ It is in garden making that 'digging ponds and piling mountains' became a common phrase.⁵⁰ The relationship between mountains and water was so inextricable that an old saying went, 'Where there are mountains, there is bound to be water in the same place.'⁵¹ As a representation of the cosmic scheme, mountains were regarded as the bones of heaven and earth, and water the blood of heaven and earth.⁵² While an understanding of traditional painting principles was essential for the appreciation of traditional gardens, this importance of 'mountains and water' could be further demonstrated by the fact that *shan shui* painting enjoyed the highest

⁴⁴ Morris, Edwin T. *The Gardens of China: History, Art, and Meanings* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), pp. 167-174; Zhu, Ya-xin. *Landscape Design in Chinese Gardens* (New York, London: McGraw-Hill, 1988), p. 114; Keswick, Maggie. *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), p. 192.

⁴⁵ Zhu, Junzhen. *Chinese Landscape Gardening* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1992), p. 14.

⁴⁶ Zhu, Ya-xin. *Landscape Design in Chinese Gardens* (New York, London: McGraw-Hill, 1988), p. 114.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Keswick, Maggie. *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), p. 191.

⁴⁸ This quality was highly praised in the famous essay, 'Ai lian shuo' (Loving lotus) of Zhou Dunyi (1017-1073), which was memorized by every schoolchild in traditional China. It read: 'I myself love the lotus because it grows out of the shiny mud, and yet is not defiled, and because it lives in the pure and rippling water without appearing like a too fascinating and seductive lady.' Quoted in Morris, Edwin T. *The Gardens of China: History, Art, and Meanings* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), p. 180; Keswick, Maggie. *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), p. 192.

⁴⁹ Some scholars have noted this conception. See Graham, Dorothy. *Chinese Gardens* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1938), p. 5; Makeham, John. 'The Confucian Role of Names in Traditional Chinese Gardens'. *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*. Vol. 18, No. 3, (Autumn 1998), p. 190; Zhou, Weiquan 周维权. *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi* [The history of Chinese classical garden] 中国古典园林史. (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 1999), p. 13; Keswick, Maggie. *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), p. 170.

⁵⁰ This was also noted in Zhu, Ya-xin. *Landscape Design in Chinese Gardens* (New York, London: McGraw-Hill, 1988), p. 49; Keswick, Maggie. *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), p. 182.

⁵¹ Quoted in Keswick, Maggie. *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), p. 178.

⁵² The Northern Song (960-1126) landscapist Guo Xi (c. 1023-1085) said that 'Water is the blood of heaven and earth' and 'Stones are the bones of heaven and earth.' See Morris, Edwin T. *The Gardens of China: History, Art, and Meanings* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), pp. 146, 148.

status among the several classes of traditional Chinese paintings.⁵³

The status of 'mountains and water' in the Chinese idea of 'landscape' resulted from their crucial role in the man-and-nature relationship. 'Mountains' were important first of all because of the mountainous topography of China. Second, while agriculture favoured first low areas, mountains were perceived as wilderness. They were associated with primordial worship and endowed with animism, while awe and respect were reinforced by the perception that mountains were the nearest to Heaven. 'Water' was considered as a source of life (as indeed it is in other cultures). It also became an object with animism, as it was observed that, 'In ancient China, when so much depended on the yearly rain cycle, it is not surprising to kind [sic: find] water infused with the power of immortality.'⁵⁴

All these gave birth to the Kunlun fable, which believed that Immortals inhabited the western Kunlun Mountains with water surrounding the feet of the Mountains. This mountain-and-water pattern was developed in the Penglai fable around the age of Warring States (403-221 B.C.). The 'mountains' then came to be the three magical isles, i.e. Penglai, Yingzhou and Fangzhang, in the eastern sea, where one could get an elixir for eternal life. Water occupied a significant part in the imagery here. It was because of the boundless stretch of water, providing a greater ideal than the towering mountain in symbolising the immense universe of the Chinese cosmos, that the Penglai fable was favoured over the Kunlun one.⁵⁵ While the magical isles could never be successfully reached, replicas of the abodes of the Immortals were firstly built in the grand imperial garden under the auspices of the Emperor Wudi (141-86 B.C.) in the Han Dynasty (202 B.C. - A.D. 220). Here three rocky islands created in the middle of a lake symbolised the fairyland, with the expectation that the Immortals would mistake them for their true homes, thus generating the possibility of obtaining the secret of longevity from them.⁵⁶ This mountain-and-water composition, i.e. so called 'one pond three islands', became a basic pattern in the creation of Chinese gardens. While this juxtaposition of mountains and water was the result of the aspiration for Heaven, it further contributed to the cosmological connotation, as mountains and water respectively represented the cosmic pairs of *yang* and *yin*, the positive and negative elements fundamental to the Chinese world view. The segmentation of the horizontal plane of the water with the mountainous protrusions also happened to accord with the design principle of 'dividing

⁵³ The first class is landscape, or *shan shui*, painting; the second is painting of 'flower and birds'; the third is that about humans or social events.

⁵⁴ Keswick, Maggie. *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), p. 185. The animism of water was also discussed in Wang, Yi 王毅. *Yuanlin yu zhongguo wenhua* [Garden and Chinese culture] 园林与中国文化. (Shanghai: Renmin Chubanshe, 1990), p. 13.

⁵⁵ Wang, Yi 王毅. *Yuanlin yu zhongguo wenhua* [Garden and Chinese culture] 园林与中国文化. (Shanghai: Renmin Chubanshe, 1990), p. 58. Indeed, the fable well matched the conceived cosmic scheme at the time: nine continents located within the four seas (Small Sea), beyond which was the Big Sea stretching to the fusion of the Heaven and the Earth; and China, which literally means 'Central Kingdom', was the central continent.

⁵⁶ For more details of the story, see Morris, Edwin T. *The Gardens of China: History, Art, and Meanings* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), p. 13; Wang, Yi 王毅. *Yuanlin yu zhongguo wenhua* [Garden and Chinese culture] 园林与中国文化. (Shanghai: Renmin Chubanshe, 1990), pp. 57-58; Keswick, Maggie. *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), p. 50.

and multiplying' developed later.

This provided evidence of the importance of mountains and water of the Chinese world view, Heaven and nature. It was therefore not surprising that traditionally they were a favourite place for solitary contemplation and meditation. This was also a reason why scenic qualities reserved such a strong emphasis in garden making, where nature was to be miniaturised and represented.

Ideology and policy in the modern Chinese landscape

The development of Mao's China was guided by a strong socialist-communist ideology, as Mao deemed that rectitude of political thought was of paramount importance in accomplishing a revolution. Official policies for the landscape development were established within the ideological framework. They were the vehicles to achieve the socialist or communist ideal.

Chinese communist ideology

Mao Zedong Thought issued by the CCP was the core of the Chinese communist ideology.⁵⁷ It was known as the 'sinification of Marxism', which meant the attaining of revolutionary progress and socialist ideals, and was established as a general guideline in 1945 at the Seventh Party Congress held in Yan'an.⁵⁸ The Party Constitution read: 'The Chinese Communist Party takes the theories of Marxism-Leninism and the combined principles derived from the practical experience of the Chinese Revolution – the ideas of Mao Tse-tung – as the guiding principles of all its work.'⁵⁹ In September 1956 this statement was amended at the Eighth Party Congress as 'The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism as its guide to action',⁶⁰ in which Mao Zedong Thought was not mentioned. This was because of the criticism of the personality cult after the death of Joseph Stalin (1879-1953). However, this did not mean that Mao Zedong Thought was not decisive for the Chinese society thereafter. In April 1969, at the Ninth Party Congress, the resolution of the Seventh Party Congress was re-presented, with Mao Zedong Thought considered as a new development phase of Marxism-Leninism, i.e. 'Marxism-Leninism

⁵⁷ Outside the People's Republic, the term Maoism has been used to refer to the Mao Zedong Thought since the 1960s. This was most probably a result of the Sino-Soviet Split in the early 1960s, and the term 'Maoism' became a convenient way of condemning any policies or ideological innovations that were not deemed acceptable by the Soviet Union.

⁵⁸ Yan'an was the destination of the Long March (October 1934 - October 1935) and the centre of the Chinese communist revolution from 1935 to 1948.

⁵⁹ Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz, and John K. Fairbank. *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 422. The Chinese text is '中国共产党，以马克思列宁主义的理论与中国革命的实践统一的思想——毛泽东思想，作为自己一切工作的指针'. See 'Party Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party (Passed in the Seventh Party Congress on June 11, 1945)' 中国共产党党章（中国共产党第七次全国代表大会一九四五年六月十一日通过）. <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64168/64559/4442095.html>, accessed on 29/08/2007.

⁶⁰ Chinese Communist Party. *The Constitution of the Communist Party of China; Report on the Revision of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China (Teng Hsiao-ping)* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1956), p. 9.

of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory.⁶¹ As a result of the ultra-leftist political climate of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969), this view was rather heroic or over-optimistic, but Mao Zedong Thought had guided the ideology of the CCP since.

The Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CCP held on 27 June 1981 officially summarised and evaluated Mao Zedong Thought in *Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China*.⁶² The 'living soul' of Mao Zedong Thought for all the activities of socialist revolution and construction was identified as seeking the truth from the facts, mass line, independence and self-reliance. These had been developed in CCP's search for the modernisation of the backward agricultural country since the early twentieth century and have been recognised also in the West as positive elements in Mao's heritage.⁶³

The idea of 'seeking truth from the facts' was put forward as early as 1930 by Mao in his article 'Oppose Dogmatism', in which he made the famous statement: 'With no concrete investigation, one is not qualified to speak'.⁶⁴ This suggested that the success of the socialist revolution should be achieved through strategies based on self-generated economic, social, and political measures. Chairman Mao once talked of devising a 'Chinese Road to Socialism', which first of all suggested an emphasis on the peasant issue, the majority of the people. Mao highlighted the significance of this issue as early as 1923 at the Third National Congress of the CCP, stating that, while in Hunan province there were few workers and even fewer members of the Communist Party and the Nationalist Party, peasants abounded.⁶⁵ In other words, the industrial proletariat, considered as the principal force in a socialist revolution in Marxism, only constituted a minor part of the population in China. Since in any nation the capitalists, aristocracy or other oppressors always formed the minority and the proletariat the majority, Mao suggested that the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, i.e. the poor peasants, should be relied on for the revolution. Additionally, Mao considered that peasants could also be regarded as proletariats if they were indoctrinated with proletarian ideology. The peasant issue was further articulated in his 1926 article 'Analysis of the Classes of Chinese Society'⁶⁶ and in 1927 in a

⁶¹ Chai, Winberg, ed. *Essential Works of Chinese Communism* (Toronto, London: Bantam, 1972), p. 431. The Chinese text is '毛泽东思想是在帝国主义走向全面崩溃、社会主义走向全世界胜利的时代的马克思列宁主义'. See 'Party Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party (The Ninth Party Congress)' 中国共产党章程（九大）. <http://bjzbsb.bidi.gov.cn/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=22433>, accessed on 29/08/2007.

⁶² 'On Questions of Party History – Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China'. *Beijing Review*. No. 27 (July 6, 1981), p. 33.

⁶³ Schram, Stuart. *The Thought of Mao Tse-Tung* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 201.

⁶⁴ Author's translation. The Chinese text was '没有调查，没有发言权'. See Mao, Zedong. 'Fandul benben zhuyi (1930 nian 5 yue)' [Oppose Dogmatism (May 1930)] 反对本本主义（1930年5月）. <http://www.marxists.org/chinese/17/marxist-org-chinese-mao-193005.htm>, accessed on 29/08/2007.

⁶⁵ Tang, Zongli, and Bing Zuo. *Maosism and Chinese Culture* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 1996), p. 188.

⁶⁶ Mao, Zedong. 'Analysis of the Classes of Chinese Society (March, 1926)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 1* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), pp.13-21.

'Report of An Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan'.⁶⁷ 'Every revolutionary comrade', he said, 'should know that the national revolution requires a great change in the countryside. The Revolution of 1911 did not bring about this change, hence its failure.'⁶⁸ Whilst being in favour of the peasantry in the revolution, Mao put forward his unique and effective military strategy of 'encircling the cities from the rural areas', which was indicated in his 1930 article entitled 'A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire'.⁶⁹ Since Mao favoured the peasantry, the countryside became regarded as progressive and revolutionary, while cities were treated as conservative, the domain of the elite, such as bureaucrats and intellectuals.

This favouring of the peasants, the Mass Line was the perceived notion of representation of the majority of the people. There were three levels of meaning of the Mass Line. Firstly, it represented the revolution for the masses, which meant proletarian egalitarianism and public morality as features of a communist utopia. It was thus intended to serve the public heart and soul as a prerequisite to achieve this ultimate goal. Secondly, the force of the revolution derived from the masses who should be relied on to play a leading role, as Mao said once: 'With many people, strength is great'.⁷⁰ Thirdly, the approach should be 'from the masses, and to the masses',⁷¹ which implied a respect for the common people and the close relationship between the leading cadres and the masses. This exemplified the nature of egalitarianism.

The spirit of independence and self-reliance emerged during the pre-Liberation period especially in the Yan'an era (1935-1948), when backwardness and hardship of the Border Region were exacerbated by the Japanese invasion of the 1930s and by the Nationalists' blockade. Thus independence and self-reliance were initially promoted to overcome economic difficulties during wartime. In doing so, proletarian egalitarianism was emphasised, production aspiration was reinforced, and a range of moral values were generated.

As a strategy against foreign aggressors, Mao in December 1935 in 'On Tactics against Japanese Imperialism', stated that 'We Chinese have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations.'⁷² Independence and self-reliance had been

⁶⁷ Mao, Zedong. 'Report of An Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan (March, 1927)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 1* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), pp. 23-59.

⁶⁸ Mao, Zedong. 'Report of An Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan (March, 1927)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 1* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p. 27.

⁶⁹ Mao, Zedong. 'A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire (January 5, 1930)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 1* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p. 126.

⁷⁰ The Chinese text is '人多力量大'. Translated in Shapiro, Judith. *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (New York, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 20.

⁷¹ 'On Questions of Party History -Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China'. *Beijing Review*. No. 27 (July 6, 1981), p. 33.

⁷² Mao, Zedong. 'On Tactics against Japanese Imperialism (December 27, 1935)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 1* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p. 170. The self-reliance as wartime strategy was further emphasised in 1939 and 1940. See Mao, Zedong. 'Interview with Three Correspondents (September 16, 1939)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 2* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p. 270; Mao, Zedong. 'The Identity of Interests between the Soviet Union and All Mankind (September 28, 1939)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 2* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p. 282; Mao, Zedong. 'On Policy (December 25, 1940)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 2* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p. 444.

highlighted for economic construction since the 1940s.⁷³ In 1942, Mao summarised his wartime experiences in Yan'an in 'Economic and Financial Problems In the Anti-Japanese War':

In the last five years we have passed through several stages. Our worst difficulties occurred in 1940 and 1941, when the Kuomintang [Nationalist Party] created friction by its two anti-Communist drives. For a time we had a very acute scarcity of clothing, cooking oil, paper and vegetables, of footwear for our soldiers and of winter bedding for our civilian personnel. The Kuomintang tried to strangle us by cutting off the funds due to us and imposing an economic blockade; we were indeed in dire straits. But we pulled through. Not only did the people of the Border Region provide us with grain but, in particular, we resolutely built up the public sector of our economy with our own hands. The government established many industries to meet the needs of the Border Region, the troops engaged in an extensive production campaign and expanded agriculture, industry and commerce to supply their own needs, and the tens of thousands of people in the various organizations and schools also developed similar economic activities for their own support. This self-supporting economy, which has been developed by the troops and the various organizations and schools, is a special product of the special conditions of today. It would be unreasonable and incomprehensible in other historical conditions, but it is perfectly reasonable and necessary at present. It is by such means that we have been overcoming our difficulties.⁷⁴

Thus on the rural land emerged the practice of associating industry and education with production whilst adhering to independence and self-reliance.⁷⁵ Although Mao at the time thought this approach was not applicable to all circumstances, due to the special attachment to the peasantry, it was to be emphasised in egalitarian policies after the Liberation, such as 'Walking on Two Legs' and the 'elimination of the Three Great Differences'⁷⁶ of the Great Leap Forward (GLF). Additionally, production was very important to build up the economic foundation for revolutionary success. In view of the economic difficulties, Mao put forward the slogan of 'Use our own hands and attain the objective of ample food and clothing'.⁷⁷ Thus it was not surprising that the pursuit of production came to be seen as an indicator of being revolutionary. This was

⁷³ See Mao, Zedong. 'Economic and Financial Problems in the Anti-Japanese War (December 1942)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 3 (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), pp.111-116; Mao, Zedong. 'Get Organized! (November 29, 1943)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 3 (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p.154; Mao, Zedong. 'We Must Learn to Do Economic Work (January 10, 1945)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 3 (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p.241; Mao, Zedong. 'On Production by the Army for Its Own Support and on the Importance of the Great Movements for Rectification and for Production (April 27, 1945)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 3 (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p. 325; Mao, Zedong. 'Situation and Our Policy after Victory over Japan (August 13, 1945)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 4 (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1961), p. 20; Mao, Zedong. 'Smash Chiang Kai-shek's Offensive by A War of Self-defence (July 20, 1946)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 4 (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1961), p. 91.

⁷⁴ Mao, Zedong. 'Economic and Financial Problems in the Anti-Japanese War (December 1942)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 3 (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p.112.

⁷⁵ The significance of this practice was also mentioned in Meisner, Maurice. *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic* (New York: Free Press, 1999), p. 48.

⁷⁶ The 'Three Great Differences' were the distinction between town and countryside, the distinction between industry and agriculture, the distinction between mental and manual labour. Although the slogan was not advocated until the GLF, the idea was put forward by Mao just a few months before the declaration of the founding of the PRC in the report of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the CCP in March 1949: 'Since 1927, our work has been concentrated in the countryside... From now on, it will be a period when the emphasis shifts to the cities from the countryside and the cities lead the countryside... [But] consideration must be given to both the cities and the countryside. The work in the cities and in the countryside, workers and peasants, and industry and agriculture must be closely interrelated.' See 'Zai zhongguo gongchandang diqi jie zhongyang weiyuanhui dier ci quanti huiyi shang de baogao' [Report of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the CCP] 在中国共产党第七届中央委员会第二次全体会议上的报告. <http://www.marxists.org/chinese/17/marxist.org-chinese-mao-19490305.htm>, accessed on 27/08/2007.

⁷⁷ The Chinese text is '自己动手，丰衣足食'. Mao, Zedong. 'Get Organized! (November 29, 1943)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 3 (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p.154.

evident throughout Mao's era, and whether an activity was favourable for production was thus a criterion for being socialist, or not. For example, with their consumption-based economies, cities were traditionally considered conservative, but after the 1949 Liberation they were generally required to be production-based. Chairman Mao envisioned an industrialised Beijing with the sky filled with smokestacks.⁷⁸ At the same time, 'consumption' was looked down upon, exemplified by the slogan, 'production first and livelihood second' which rang out during the Thirty Years.

Besides the egalitarian vision and the aspiration of production associated with the spirit of self-reliance, the adherence to the spirit necessitated restrained social conduct and certain moral values that advocated mutual aid or cooperation and some ascetic values, such as hard work, self-abnegation, altruism and frugality. In the Yan'an base area, these conduct and values were of particular importance in view of the limited resources, the underdeveloped agricultural production and the harsh living conditions. They were elaborated in three articles by Mao, later canonised as the 'Three constantly read articles' in the early Cultural Revolution (1966-1969):⁷⁹ 'In Memory of Norman Bethune' (1939) praising the Canadian communist Bethune (1890-1939)'s 'utter devotion to others without any thought of self';⁸⁰ 'Serve the People' (1944) commemorating Comrade Zhang Side (1915-1944) whose death for the interests of the people was praised as being weightier than Mount Tai;⁸¹ and 'The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains' (1945) encouraging diligent work no matter what hardships there would be, through retelling a traditional Chinese fable.⁸²

With such ideological indoctrination, the slogan of 'self-reliance' was later expanded and became generally known as 'Relying on our own efforts, and working hard for prosperity'.⁸³ While this spirit of self-reliance was required for subsistence, development and ultimately emancipation of the Chinese people, it was not surprising that Mao considered suffering as essential for revolutionaries to acquire a lofty character. Characteristically, peasant-orientated thinking was strengthened by these advocacies, which intended to benefit poor peasantry

⁷⁸ Fairbank, Wilma. *Liang and Lin: Partners in Exploring China's Architectural Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), p. 170.

⁷⁹ 'Maxims for Revolutionaries – The "Three Constantly Read Articles"'. *Peking Review*, (January 6, 1967), pp. 7-8.

⁸⁰ Mao, Zedong. 'In Memory of Norman Bethune (December 21, 1939)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 2* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p. 337.

⁸¹ Mao, Zedong. 'Serve the People (September 8, 1944)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 3* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), pp. 227-228.

⁸² Mao retold the story: 'There is an ancient Chinese fable called "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains". It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. He called his sons, and hoe in hand they began to dig up these mountains with great determination. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?' See Mao, Zedong. 'The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains (June 11, 1945)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 3* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p. 322.

⁸³ The Chinese text is '自力更生，艰苦奋斗' or '自力更生，奋发图强'.

particularly. Traditionally, since poor peasants had to sustain themselves through toil while being exploited by the ruling class, they remained in poverty. Diligence and thrift were thus regarded as good characteristics for a proletarian orientation. On the other end, indolence, extravagance, desire for luxury goods and physical comfort, associated with the traditional exploitation by landlords, were considered as crimes. These were associated with deviation from 'correct thought'.

The Maoist ideology of seeking truth from the facts, mass line, independence and self-reliance was instrumental to the revolutionary triumph of 1949. In the socialist era they remained valuable when ideological rectitude was emphasised for the ideal future. However, within the political and economic development that followed, their original intentions were often lost. These resulted from the negative elements of the Maoist ideology: the overestimation of the role of man's subjective will, the personality cult of Mao himself, and the obsession with class struggle. In these, people's capacity to change the world by an act of will was exaggerated, personal loyalty to the superior in the same logic of the old social order and hierarchy rooted in Confucianism was intensified, and the difficulty and ambiguity in classifying people based on subjective criteria resulted in indiscriminate persecution of numerous 'class enemies' or 'people's enemies'.⁸⁴ These activities were virtually characterised by impatience for the accomplishment of the socialist ideal and excessive stress on politics.

Development phases

Under the Maoist ideology, the Thirty Years' socialist development consisted of several distinctive phases with economic construction programmes, and political movements and events. A brief review of these phases is helpful in understanding how landscape policies developed within evolving economic, social and political situations. Six phases were identified: Rehabilitation (1949-1952), Progress (1953-1957), High Tide (1958-1960), Readjustment (1961-1965), Destruction (1966-1969) and Revival (1969-1979).

- **Rehabilitation (1949-1952)**

Since the mid-nineteenth century, China had regularly been on the receiving end of foreign aggression as well as internal political and social turbulence with the decline of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). The defeat of the Qing troops in the Opium War in 1840 marked the beginning of the semi-colonial society and China's modern endeavours to fight against imperialist powers in order to achieve national independency. The 1911 Revolution overthrew Qing rule resulting in the

⁸⁴ Schram, Stuart. *The Thought of Mao Tse-Tung* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 202.

founding of the Republic of China. However, the new regime failed to provide stable political and social conditions for building a modern country, and was followed by warfare among warlords, the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-1927), the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-1937), the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945), and the Third Revolutionary Civil War (1945-1949). All these not only undermined the economic basis for a modern country, but also left devastation everywhere upon the Chinese communists' 1949 takeover. The economy was thus weakened and the industrial output in 1949 was only half that of 1936, the highest figure during the twentieth century, which was low compared with many other developed countries.⁸⁵ Social inequality, corruption, inflation, crimes, food shortages and famine were common. Whilst measures were taken to tackle these to pave the way for socialist development, the CCP generally felt that three years would be required for a necessary rehabilitation. With the economic constraints, the ascetic values developed in the harsh conditions during the pre-Liberation era continued to take effect. Immediately after the declaration of the founding of the PRC, Mao called upon the revolutionary personnel of the whole country to 'always keep to the style of plain living and hard struggle'.⁸⁶ In cities, the imperative of responsible use of limited resources and the practice of thrift in the design professions and urban construction works, were reinforced by the struggle against the 'three evils' (corruption, waste and bureaucracy) waged in December 1951 and the struggle against the 'five evils' (bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information) started in January 1952. Being essential to maintain revolutionary spirit and ideological rectitude, this strict practice of thrift was of lasting significance for years to come.⁸⁷ On the other hand, in the countryside Land Reform, as an egalitarian movement already carried out well before 1949 in the 'liberated areas', was continued to pave the way for agricultural collectivisation.

- Progress (1953-1957)

In international politics, China naturally allied with the Soviet Union, not only because the two countries shared the same ideological ground, but also because China needed national security against the hostility of the capitalist world and economic and technical assistance for the

⁸⁵ Zou, Denong 邹德侗. *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhu shi* [The history of modern Chinese architecture] 中国现代建筑史. (Tianjin: Tianjin Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 2001), p. 87.

⁸⁶ Mao, Zedong. 'Always Keep to the Style of Plain Living and Hard Struggle (October 26, 1949)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol.5 (Oxford: Distributed by Pergamon, 1978), p. 23.

⁸⁷ Thrift was constantly emphasised during the Mao era. See 'Fandui jianzhu zhong de langfei xianxiang' [Fight against waste in architectural constructions] 反对建筑中的浪费现象. *Renmin Ribao* (March 28, 1955); 'Quanmian kaizhan jiejue yundong' [Launch a movement for practising economy in an all-round way] 全面开展节约运动. *Renmin Ribao* (May 14, 1955); Cao, Baoming 曹葆铭. 'Bixu zhizhi langfei tudu de xingwei' [Land wasting must be checked] 必须制止浪费土地的行为. *Renmin Ribao* (August 23, 1955); 'Jianjue jiangdi fei shengchanxing jianzhu de zhibiao' [Firmly reduce the standard of the non-productive architecture] 坚决降低非生产性建筑的指标. *Renmin Ribao* (June 19, 1955); 'Chengshi jianshe bixu fube jiejue yuanze' [Economical principles must be followed in city construction] 城市建设必须符合节约原则. *Renmin Ribao* (May 24, 1957); 'Women de xingdong kouhao: fandui langfei, qinjian jianguo!' [Our slogan for action: fight against waste, build up the country through thrift and hard work!] 我们的行动口号——反对浪费, 勤俭建国!. *Renmin Ribao* (February 2, 1958); 'Jiejue shi shehui zhuyi de jingji yuanze' [To be thrifty is the socialist economic principle] 节约是社会主义的经济原则. *Renmin Ribao* (October 17, 1972).

socialist construction with the state of 'poverty and blankness',⁸⁸ in other words, starting with a blank sheet to build up from a state of poverty. Only five months after the founding of the PRC, the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Aid was signed during Mao's visit to Moscow in February 1950. 'Learn from the Soviet Union' became the prevalent slogan under the policy of 'Leaning to One Side'⁸⁹. The First Five-Year Plan (FYP) (1953-1957) was modelled on the Soviet First Five-Year Plan (1928-1932). The Soviet Union was now the main source of help and became the model to be emulated in various spheres of the socialist development (Fig. 2.3).

With the implementation of the First FYP, considerable economic achievement was made with an annual growth of 18.4 percent in gross value of industrial output (14.7 percent in the original Plan) and an annual growth of 4.5 percent in gross value of agricultural output (4.3 percent in the original Plan).⁹⁰ Additionally, the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production was carried out during these years and was completed by 1956. All these demonstrated a promising socialist future for China. However, these were at the same time achieved at the expense of social equality and flexible political control of the CCP.

The Hundred Flowers Campaign (1956-1957) was launched in order to address these problems. Under the slogan of 'Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend', intellectuals were invited and encouraged to have free discussions and even criticise the defects in governing by the CCP since Liberation and of problems generated in the First FYP (such as bureaucracy), to enable a more healthy development towards socialist ideals. Unfortunately, the Campaign was short-lived since the CCP soon perceived criticism as a threat to governance. Numerous intellectuals were classified as rightists. The Anti-Rightist Campaign launched in June 1957 dampened enthusiasm for beneficial explorations and actually marked the beginning of the distorted development of Chinese socialism.

- High tide (1958-1960)

In view of the economic achievement of the First FYP and with the criticism of conservative ideas for development, the Great Leap Forward (GLF) campaign, a fanatical attempt to achieve full communism as if overnight, was launched in May 1958 with the General Line, 'Go all out, aim

⁸⁸ Mao explicitly put forward the 'poor and blank' thesis when launching the GLF (1958-1960) in his article 'Introducing a cooperative'. See Mao, Zedong. 'Jieshao yige hezuoshe' [Introducing a cooperative] 介绍一个合作社. *Hongqi* (June 1, 1958), pp. 3-4. For an English translation, see Mao, Zedong. 'Introducing a Co-operative'. *Peking Review*, (June 10, 1958), p. 6.

⁸⁹ In one of his 1949 articles, Mao explicitly and firmly expressed the one side stand on socialism: "You are leaning to one side." Exactly. The forty years' experience of Sun Yat-sen and the twenty-eight years' experience of the Communist Party have taught us to lean to one side, and we are firmly convinced that in order to win victory and consolidate it we must lean to one side. In the light of the experiences accumulated in these forty years and these twenty-eight years, all Chinese without exception must lean either to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. Sitting on the fence will not do, nor is there a third road. We oppose the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries who lean to the side of imperialism, and we also oppose the illusions about a third road.' See Mao, Zedong. 'On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (June 30, 1949)'. In Mao, Zedong. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 4* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1961), p. 415.

⁹⁰ Documentary Research Unit of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party 中共中央文献研究室, ed. *Mao Zedong zhuan (1949-1976)* [Biography of Mao Zedong (1949-1976)] 毛泽东传 (1949-1976). (Beijing: Zhongyang Wenxian Chubanshe, 2003), p. 763.



Figure 2.3 A propaganda poster from the 1950s when the slogan 'learning from the Soviet Union' was current. A building worker is laying bricks, with a Soviet style building in the background with a portrait of Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) on the main facade. The caption in the top left corner reads, 'The Soviet Union is our model (蘇聯是我們的榜樣).'

Source: IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection (<http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>).

high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism⁹¹ formulated in the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the CCP (Fig. 2.4). But the GLF was also launched to address social problems, such as inequality, resulting from the First FYP based on the Soviet model. While the First FYP concentrated on the development in the cities, Mao at this time turned to the countryside where the CCP triumphed to seek revolutionary power by praising the 'poverty and blankness' and 'advantages of backwardness' of the majority poor peasants:

Apart from their other characteristics, China's six hundred million people are, first of all, poor, and secondly, 'blank'. That may seem like a bad thing, but it is really a good thing. Poor people want change, want to do things, want revolution. A clean sheet of paper has no blotches and so the newest and most beautiful words can be written on it, the newest and most beautiful pictures can be painted on it.⁹²

Through this shift from the cities to the countryside, the movement was intended to eliminate the so called 'Three Great Differences': between mental and manual labour, city and countryside, and workers and peasants. As a result, the Second FYP to be implemented from 1958, similar to the first one based on the Soviet model, was to be replaced by a particular Chinese approach.

In August 1958, the Beidaihe Conference was organised by the Central Political Bureau of

⁹¹ The Chinese text is '鼓足干劲，力争上游，多快好省的建设社会主义'

⁹² Mao, Zedong. 'Introducing a Co-operative'. *Peking Review*, (June 10, 1958), p. 6.

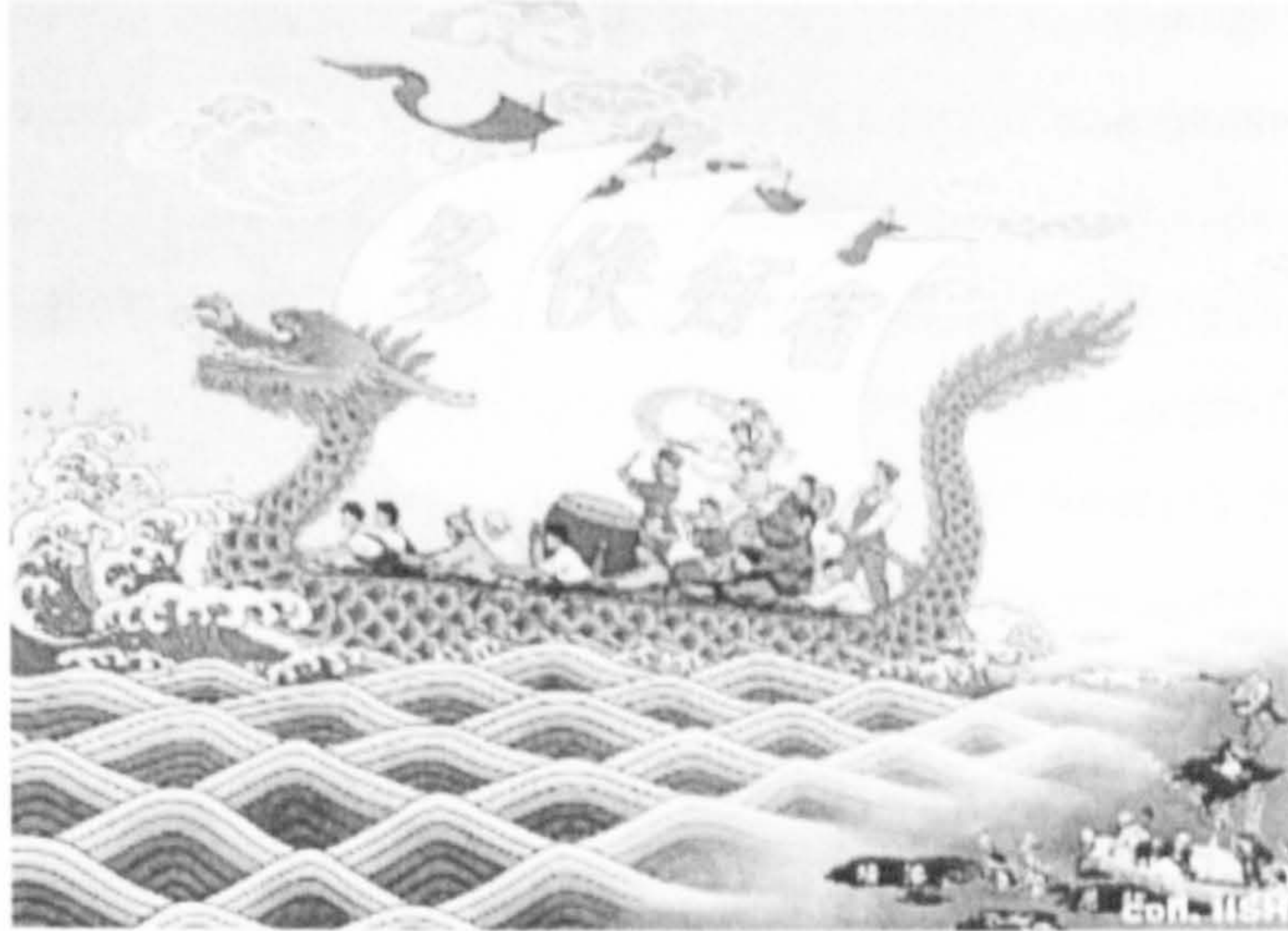


Figure 2.4 A propaganda poster in 1958 when the GLF campaign (1958-1960) was launched. It visualised the editorial, 'Riding wind and cleaving waves', from *People's Daily* on 1st January 1958. The four characters on the sail were the key words of the 'General Line': 'greater, faster, better and more economical (多快好省)'.

Source: IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection (<http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>).

the CCP, and specific proposals were provided for the GLF.⁹³ Largely, the emphasis was on two movements. One was to establish the people's communes to operate the agricultural collectivization on a much larger scale. The other one was to engage in steel making, as Mao proposed that China should catch up with Britain within seven years and the United States within eight to ten years in steel making, with the policy to 'Take Steel as the Key Link, Leap Forward in an All-round Way'.

The GLF was characterised by rapid and far-ranging developments. Unusual emphasis was placed on production with the strategy of 'high accumulation and low consumption'. However, the economy was still too weak and social conditions too uncertain to serve as a solid foundation for the envisioned communism and to withstand radical transformations. Also, the flashy 'Wind of Exaggeration' exacerbated the economic imbalance. All these resulted in the dejected failure evidenced by the Three Difficult Years (1959-1961), in which millions of Chinese starved to death.⁹⁴

- Readjustment (1961-1965)

After the failure of the GLF, Mao's radical development policies gave way to more practical and cool-headed ones aimed at economic and social recovery. In the Ninth Plenary Session of

⁹³ Forty resolutions were adopted in the Beidaihe Conference. Two of them were the most important and influential. One was 'The enlarged conference of the Political Bureau of CCP Central Committee calls the whole Party and people to strive for the production of 10.7 million tons of steel' (中共中央政治局扩大会议号召全党全民为生产 1,070 万吨钢而奋斗), and the other was 'CCP Central Committee's resolution of establishing People's Communes in the rural areas' (中共中央关于在农村建立人民公社问题的决议).

⁹⁴ Accounts about this famine abound. One of the latest estimated number of the people who died is 32.5 million. See, Cao, Shuji 曹树基. *Dajihuang: 1959-1961 nian de zhongguo renkou* [Great Famine: Chinese population 1959-1961] 大饥荒: 1959-1961 年的中国人口. (Hongkong: Xianggang shidai guoji chubanshe youxian gongsi, 2005).

the Eighth Central Committee of the CCP held in January 1961, the Eight-Character Principle, 'Readjustment, Rectification, Supplementation and Improvement' was adopted. However, this policy did not result in an egalitarian society but led once again to a privileged class. With a fear of ideological degradation, Mao created his now famous slogan 'Under no circumstances should we forget class struggle' in the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CCP in September 1962, which finally resulted in the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969).

In addition to the internal predicament of China, the international politics was equally problematic with the loss of the Soviet Union as an ally. Actually the abandonment of the Soviet model for development in the late 1950s raised much anger in the Soviet Union. Additionally, since Nikita Khrushchev's coming into power, there had been ideological divergences between the two socialist countries. The Soviet communist tenets were labelled and condemned as revisionism, which meant unorthodox Marxism, by the Chinese. In the summer of 1960, Khrushchev abruptly recalled the Soviet specialists in the Chinese enterprises, which finally resulted in the Sino-Soviet split and the exacerbation of the Chinese economic debacle. China also became isolated on the international stage, which had two immediate implications: first, the policy of self-reliance was required to be further emphasised; second, military aggression was a serious problem for the security of China within the antagonistic international environment.

- Destruction (1966-1969)

Officially dated from May 1966 to October 1976, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was another utopian movement, which like the previous GLF campaign brought about terrible turmoil and deep disaster for the whole nation. But the most appalling destruction occurred in the first three years of the movement. The Ninth Party Congress held in 1969 marked its climax when Mao Zedong Thought was upheld to a paramount status it had never enjoyed before. Unlike the utopianism of the GLF, the movement 'was marked by a strange negative utopianism, its author far more preoccupied with the weight of the past than with any positive vision of the future.'⁹⁵ Whilst striving for proletarian ideological rectitude, the period was largely characterised by violent assault upon so-labelled feudalism, revisionism, capitalism and with the intention of obliterating vicious elements both materially and spiritually (Fig. 2.5).

- Revival (1969-1979)

The Cultural Revolution began to be less violent and the domestic situation was somewhat improved from the late 1960s due to changes of the national and international political climate. At the time, there were some significant events in the communist world, especially the 1968 invasion by the Soviet Union of Czechoslovakia. Another one was the Sino-Soviet border conflict

⁹⁵ Meisner, Maurice. *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic* (New York: Free Press, 1999), p. 299.

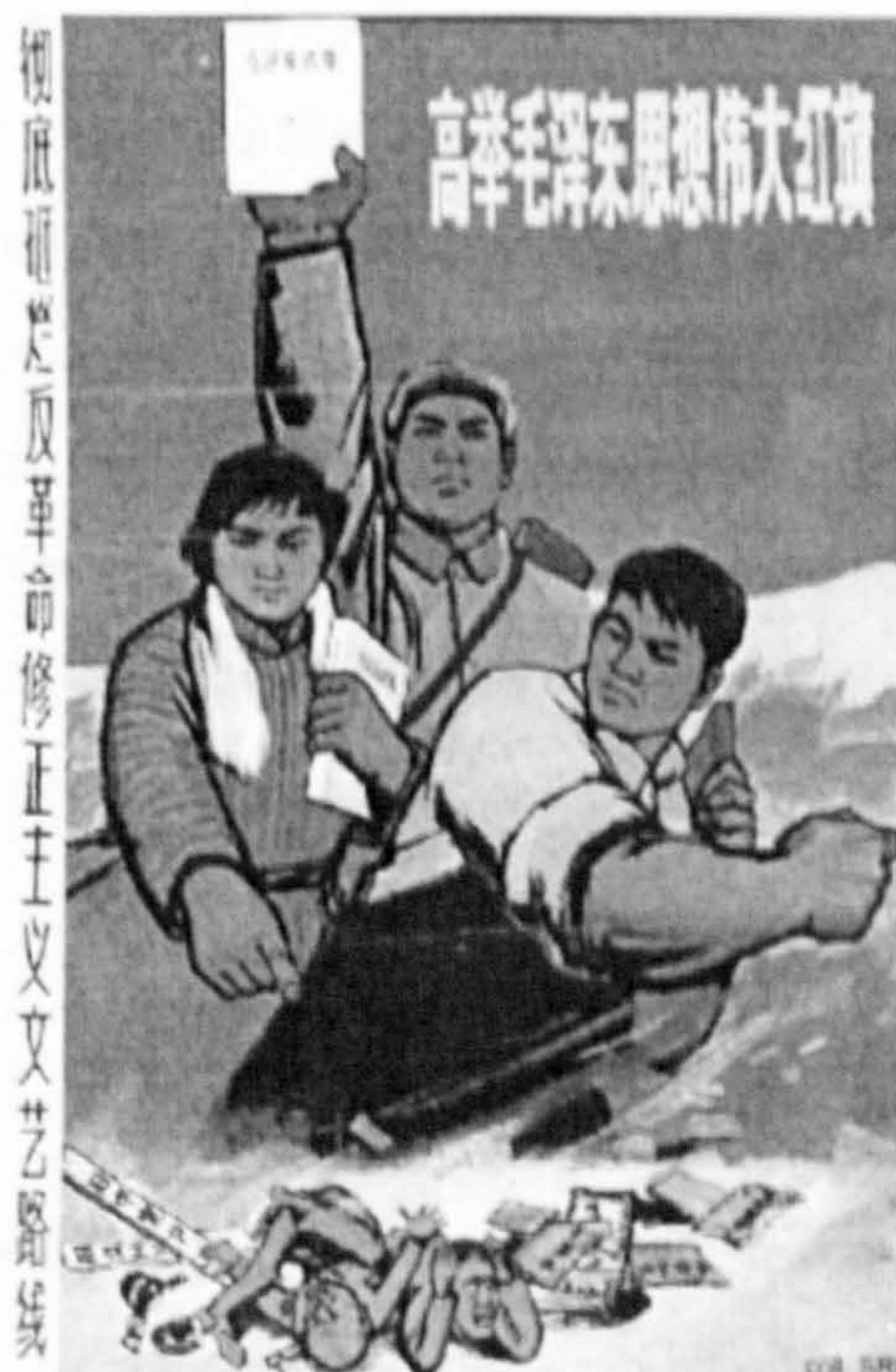


Figure 2.5. A propaganda poster from the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969). The Little Red Book is held high by a soldier; meanwhile the counter-revolutionaries are dealt a severe blow by the workers. The caption reads, 'Hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought – thoroughly smash the rotten counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art.'

Source: IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection (<http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>).

which happened at Zhenbao Island in the Ussuri River in March 1969. In view of these incidents, China required a revision of its foreign policy to counter the menace from the Soviet Union, and to act as another considerable socialist power in the international politics.

The Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the CCP held in late August 1970 announced that China's foreign policy was now based on the principle of 'peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems'. This meant the capitalist countries could also be 'friends' and the policy was obviously directed to the amelioration of the relationship between China and the United States, another world power that matched the Soviet Union. The implementation of the policy was effectively followed by the 'ping-pong diplomacy' in early April of 1971,⁹⁶ China's entry into the United Nations in October 1971,⁹⁷ and the visit of the American President Nixon in February 1972.⁹⁸ Within these circumstances, previous destruction was replaced by construction for the socialist development.

When Mao died on 9 September 1976, Hua Guofeng succeeded as Chairman of the CCP on 6 October. He continued Mao's political orientation and policies by claiming that 'to support

⁹⁶ In early April of 1971 a Chinese table tennis team in Nagoya, Japan, invited the American team who also attended the match to visit the People's Republic. Along with the U.S. players were a number of American journalists. They had been the first group of Americans to be permitted entry to China since 1949. On 11 April 1972, the Chinese table tennis team paid a return visit to the United States.

⁹⁷ Nixon, Richard M. *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1978), pp. 556-557.

⁹⁸ Nixon, Richard M. *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1978), pp. 559-580.

whatever policy decisions were made by Chairman Mao' and 'unswervingly follow whatever instructions were given by Chairman Mao.' But this meant largely a return to policies implemented during the pre-1957 period, rather than those of Mao's last leftist twenty years. However, Maoist ideology was now a spent force with the entire society disappointed after the GLF, and severely wounded during the Cultural Revolution. The convening of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CCP from 18 to 22 December 1978 marked the fundamental alteration of national policies, stressing more on economic construction rather than ideological struggles to build the modern nation.

Modernity versus tradition

Many policies affecting the landscape profession in the new era demonstrated a concern about the nation's age-old traditions, either the incorporation or the obliteration of them. Since socialism aimed to benefit the ordinary masses and traditions were often represented by elite culture of the past, such as Confucianism, the tension between modernity and tradition was one between the majority and the minority. Specifically, this issue related to the assumed suspect role of intellectuals in the socialist construction, in which it was thought that the masses should take the lead. On the other hand, since socialism was after all a theory imported from the West and modernity was also initially a European concept, and the traditions were of China itself, the tension between modernity and tradition was one between the foreign and the native. In this respect, tradition was related to the issue of nationalism. With the spirit of independence and self-reliance, Mao once talked of devising a 'Chinese Road to Socialism'.⁹⁹ These two aspects resulted in the pattern of Chinese socialist development where inspirations were often derived from the nation's own traditions.

- To be functional, economical and where possible beautiful (1955)¹⁰⁰

After the Liberation, with the consistent emphasis on plain living and hard struggle for building the modern country, the policy, 'To be functional, economical and where possible beautiful', was issued initially for architectural development in February 1955 in the Working Conference on Design and Construction held by the Architectural Engineering Ministry. This policy was later generally applied to construction activities, including that of the landscape.¹⁰¹

With economic constraints, this statement stressed pragmatism in design and construction

⁹⁹ Schram, Stuart. *The Thought of Mao Tse-Tung* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 198.

¹⁰⁰ Author's translation of '适用、经济、在可能条件下注意美观'.

¹⁰¹ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 6.

and the cutting down of expenses. On the other hand, 'to be beautiful' or aesthetic pursuit was considered not an immediate necessity and was actually rather sensitive, since it was not relevant to 'plain living', but might actually relate to something enjoyed by social minorities in the past. This notion could be confirmed by the sharp contrast between the war-torn lands of the then new China and its once cultural and material splendour of the imperial era. This reluctance of mentioning aesthetic issues was also demonstrated by the fact that, although a similar policy was put forward as early as July 1952,¹⁰² the careful wording qualifying the 'beautiful' was not fixed until three years later.

- 'National in Form, Socialist in Content' and 'Socialist Realism' (early 1950s)

When in the early 1950s the 'Leaning to One Side' policy was implemented, the design principle of 'national in form, socialist in content' and the design theory of 'socialist realism' were introduced from the Soviet Union. These originated in early twentieth century Soviet art and literature to oppose the modern styles of constructivism, cubism and impressionism in Western capitalist countries, which were regarded as associated with decadent bourgeois art. The design principle was put forward by Stalin in 1925:

For the proletarian culture we currently construct in the various nationalities involved in the socialist undertaking, according to the differences in languages and life styles, it is correct to adopt different techniques and forms of expression. Its content is of the proletariats and the form is of the nation. This is the culture of mankind in the world which socialism follows.¹⁰³

The concept of 'socialist content' included the whole gamut of ideological constituents: Party spirit, socialist spirit, progressiveness, popular spirit, etc.; and while criticising bourgeois arts, the diversity of the nation's own past, i.e. the traditional arts, were the source of inspiration for the 'national form'.¹⁰⁴ These actually became the Stalinist annotation of 'socialist realism', which was promulgated in October 1932 in his famous address to writers: 'An artist must above all portray life truthfully. And if he shows our life truthfully, on its way to socialism, that will be socialist realism.'¹⁰⁵ It was further explained by Soviet scholars:

For the art of socialist realism, it certainly has the relationship with the tradition of classical art, because the

¹⁰² In July 1952, the First National Architectural Engineering Conference issued the design guideline: 'To be functional first, firm and safe second, and economical third. In view of architecture as a cultural product, visual effects and quality should be considered only when the above three are not compromised.' Translated from: 'Zhongguo xiandai jianzhu lishi (1949-1984) dashi nianbiao' [Great events in the history of Chinese modern architecture (1949-1984)] 中国现代建筑历史 (1949-1984) 大事年表. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 10 (1985), p. 10.

¹⁰³ Quoted from Zou, Denong 邹德侬. *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhushi* [The history of modern Chinese architecture] 中国现代建筑史. (Tianjin: Tianjin Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 2001), p. 145. Author's translation.

¹⁰⁴ Golomstock, Igor. *Totalitarian Art: in the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, Fascist Italy and the People's Republic of China*, trans. by Robert Chandler (London: Collins-Harvill, 1990), p. 147.

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in Kemp-Welch, A. *Stalin and the Literary Intelligentsia, 1928-39* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), p. 131, and Gutkin, Irina. *The Cultural Origins of the Socialist Realist Aesthetic, 1890-1934* (Evanston, Ill.: North Western University Press, 1999), p. 38.

art of socialist realism does not drift off the broad road of the history of the art and culture in the world, but rather the continuation and development of them... Also, to overcome formalism with subjectivism, those artists investigating new approaches feel it is urgent to study the experiences and lessons of traditional realism.¹⁰⁶

In China the guidelines of 'national in form, socialist in content' and 'socialist realism' thus resulted in the exploration of the nation's cultural heritage and the incorporation of traditional elements in new landscapes created. Soon after Stalin's death in 1953, the guidelines were criticised by Nikita Khrushchev in an architectural conference in November 1954. It was considered that the consequent unnecessary and over-elaborate formalities and ornamentations were a deflection of the proper direction that Soviet architectural art should follow. This problem was also pointed out in China in the First National Conference of the Director Generals of the Provincial and City Architectural Engineering Bureaus held by the Architectural Engineering Ministry from 27 December 1954 to 8 January 1955. The problem arose from economic considerations, i.e. the heavy expenses for the intricate traditional features, such as the 'big roof' of traditional architecture. It was against the principle of being economical which had been established as a socialist principle since the early 1950s.

- Make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China (1956)

However, the exploration of traditional heritage was not entirely inhibited or abandoned in China after the criticism of the Stalinist theory, because the Hundred Flowers Campaign, launched in April 1956, brought about a slightly more enlightened atmosphere in which professional and academic explorations were not subject to rigorous ideological constraints. Besides the slogan of 'Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend', Mao put forward the statement of 'Make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China' in his *Conversation with musicians* on 24 August 1956.¹⁰⁷ In the practices of design professions, applicable traditional techniques and even valuable design experiences of capitalist countries were critically assimilated rather than rejected indiscriminately.

Although the Hundred Flowers Campaign ceased shortly after, the search for rewarding traditions still continued and there was a revival of the Soviet guidelines of 'national in form, socialist in content' and 'socialist realism' due to some utopian policies issued in the GLF

¹⁰⁶ Quoted from Zou, Denong 邹德侬. *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhushi* [The history of modern Chinese architecture] 中国现代建筑史. (Tianjin: Tianjin Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 2001), p. 146. Author's translation.

¹⁰⁷ The title is in Chinese '同音乐工作者的谈话'. The statement was restated by him in February 1964 in a letter to the students of the Central Conservatory of Music. Its influence in the landscape profession could be identified in: Zhang, Yongzhu 张永朱. 'Shinian lai de yuanlin xiushan' [Ten years of garden and park repairs] 十年来的园林修缮. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 61; Yang, Hongxun 杨鸿勋. 'Beijing zizhuyuan gongyuan nan damen sheji' [Design of the south gate of Purple Bamboo Park in Beijing] 北京紫竹院公园南大门设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1977): pp. 44-45.

campaign (1958-1960).¹⁰⁸UNIVERSITY
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- Walking on Two Legs (1958)

The GLF (1958-1960) policy of 'Walking on Two Legs' partly encouraged the investigation of how applicable traditional elements could be incorporated in new creations. It was originally an industrial policy which envisioned rapid development of both the large-scale modern sector in cities and small and medium-scale labour-intensive industries in the countryside. Thus the 'Two Legs' consisted of an urban one and a rural one. As cities were considered conservative and the countryside progressive, the policy contained two concepts that were opposite in meaning. Many pairs were conceived under different circumstances for different purposes in order to have a balance in various spheres of the socialist construction. Obviously, modernity and tradition constituted a pair. Others included mass movement and professional involvement,¹⁰⁹ long-term and short-term goals,¹¹⁰ 'greenization' and beautification, and the popular slogan 'red and expert'. While the GLF was a movement that stressed the countryside, it was the 'revolutionary leg' representing the interests of the majority people that was more emphasised.

- Design Revolution (1964)

In November 1964, two years after class struggle was explicitly advocated, Mao called for a Design Revolution in design professions, in which both the modern and the traditional issues became rather problematic.

The modern mainly consisted of Soviet elements, which were then the target of criticism because of the deteriorated relationship between China and the Soviet Union since the GLF. Indeed, Soviet design practice, now labelled as revisionism, was conspicuous in the design professions due to the previous 'Leaning to One Side' Policy in the 1950s. For this mobilization, the then Vice-Premier Li Fuchun proclaimed:

It is fundamental to firmly break with Soviet conventions. Without eliminating the influences of the modern revisionism and dogmatism, we could not proceed in all cases from the reality of China and the creativity of the people. But breaking with the conventions could not be achieved through amelioration bit by bit. We

¹⁰⁸ The Soviet concepts re-appeared in some project reports and research in the late 1950s and early 1960s. See Chen, Lifang 陈丽芳. 'Zhongguo yuanlin de tantao' [An exploration of Chinese gardens and parks] 中国园林的探讨. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 12 (1958), p. 33; Liu, Shaozong 刘少宗. 'Gongyuan ludi de guihua buju' [Planning of parks] 公园绿地的规划布局. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局 ed. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 28; Li, Jiale 李嘉乐. 'Jicheng yu fazhan zhongguo yuanlin chuantong fengge de tujing' [Approaches to inherit and develop the traditional style of Chinese gardens] 继承与发展中国园林传统风格的途径. In *Beijing shi yuanlin luhua nianbao 1961-1962* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture 1961-1962] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 1961-1962. (June, 1963), p. 102.

¹⁰⁹ Greening Office 绿化办公室. 'Chengshi qunzhong luhua diaocha baogao' [Findings report of the urban greening by masses] 城市群众绿化调查报告. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin luhua gongzuo nianbao (1961-1962)* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture (1961-1962)] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 (1961-1962). (June, 1963), pp. 57, 96.

¹¹⁰ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin luhua gongzuo nianbao (1960)* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture (1960)] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 (1960). (April, 1961), p. 5.

must dare to think, dare to act, and do away with superstitions or blind faith to have our thinking and working revolutionised.¹¹¹

It was further expounded in *Instructions for Design Revolution*¹¹² issued on 4 December:

It is a design revolution from design concepts to design practices and principles, from technological theories to technological norms and management regulations. The basic objectives are to break with the old conventions and foreign conventions in the development of design activities; shake off the Soviet regulations; get rid of the influence of bourgeois ideas; create and find the way for the design profession with Mao Zedong Thought in command, in accordance with the reality of our country, and in line with the General Line of being greater, faster, better and more economical; and have our design profession and design stewardship revolutionized. This is also a struggle in the design domain between being greater, faster, better and more economical and being less, slower, worse and more wasteful; a struggle in design ideas between being socialist and being capitalist; and a class struggle to foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology.¹¹³

With a proletarian ideal, the General Line of the GLF was now re-emphasised regardless of its fatal consequences. While ideological and economic issues were highlighted, design pursuits were simply associated with an unusual emphasis on politics and the requirement to be austere and economical.

Traditional elements also became the target of liquidation, because the Revolution directly aimed at design professionals who were then representatives of the elite culture and whose professional knowledge distinguished them from the ordinary masses. They were criticised for having the defect of 'three separations', i.e. separation from politics, separation from the masses, and separation from realities. For an ideological re-education and rectification, they were forced to 'go downstairs and come out of design institutions' and practice 'three combinations' which meant the combination of the work of officials, mass workers, and professionals. However, the implementation of these policies resulted in chaos. As the role of professionals was seriously undermined and that of the masses heightened, practical work was always done by the masses who did not have adequate and appropriate skills. Design quality was therefore inevitably weakened.

Professionals were subjected to further expulsion in 1968, when the Cultural Revolution had resulted in significant turbulence in cities and the movement of 'up to the mountains and down to the countryside' was launched to control the chaos. They were dispatched to the countryside to be 're-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants'. Professional organs were paralysed

¹¹¹ Quoted from Zou, Denong 邹德侬. *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhushi* [The history of modern Chinese architecture] 中国现代建筑史. (Tianjin: Tianjin Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 2001), p. 291. Author's translation

¹¹² The title is in Chinese '关于设计革命的指示'.

¹¹³ Quoted from Zou, Denong 邹德侬. *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhushi* [The history of modern Chinese architecture] 中国现代建筑史. (Tianjin: Tianjin Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 2001), p. 292. Author's translation.

and caused to malfunction by the transfer. For example, the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks was disbanded on 14 October 1968. All these meant nothing but a disaster for the development of modern Chinese landscape architecture.

- To Destroy the 'Four Olds' (1966)

'To Destroy the "Four Olds" ' was initially the slogan of the Red Guards in 1966 when they advocated to 'destroy the old to establish the new'. The 'Four Olds' were defined as old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits, in other words all associated with 'feudalism', denoting the deemed decadent past. But the idea had been put forward simultaneously with the Design Revolution two years earlier. Mao stated his disgust at the 'olds' through the criticism of potted flowers in a conversation with Wang Dongxing in 1964:

The ornament of potted flowers is what is left behind in the old society. It was enjoyed by the feudal literati and officialdom class, the capitalist class, sons of the feudal princes or high officials, and those people carrying birdcages. Only those who are well-fed and have nothing else to do will have the spare time to plant it and place it. Although the whole country has been liberated for more than ten years or so, the number of potted flowers does not decrease, but increases instead, which situation should be changed now... From now on, more trees, especially fruit trees, should be planted in courtyards. Grain crops, vegetables and oil-bearing crops could also be planted. In Zhongshan Park and on Fragrant Hill in Beijing, fruit trees and oil-bearing crops should be replanted step by step. In this way, it is nice-looking, of substantial benefits, and good for future generations.¹¹⁴

This denunciation of the past was in essence the criticism of hedonism. In advocacy of proletarian ideology, this idea again originated from the peasant-oriented thinking characteristic and the emphasis on ascetic values. The ornamental elements in landscapes, which had no practical value and were not regarded as a basic living necessity, were therefore criticized in fear of ideological deviance. While this denunciation was obviously a political issue, it can also be considered as a reflection of the low cultural level of contemporary Chinese society, which resulted in an inappropriate understanding and thus depreciation of landscapes.¹¹⁵ The specific action towards potted flowers was later officially announced in September that year in *The Report of Abolishing Potted Flowers in Government Organisations, Enterprises and Institutions* by the State Council,¹¹⁶ which could be considered the herald of 'Cultural Revolution' in the landscape architectural profession.

¹¹⁴ Quoted from Red Flag of Faculty of South China College of Technology 华南工学院教工红旗 ed. *Tao Zhu zai jianzhu lingyu de zuixing pipan ji* [A collection of criticisms of the crimes of Tao Zhu in architectural profession] 陶铸在建筑领域的罪行批判集. (Guangzhou: South China College of Technology, 1967), p. 2. Author's translation.

¹¹⁵ Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 31.

¹¹⁶ Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, shizheng juan, yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Beijing landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 9. The title of the report in Chinese is '关于取消机关、企事业单位摆放盆花的报告'.

For the same reason of stressing ideological rectitude, landscape architecture departments in universities, in which issues relating to traditional gardens were important components in the curriculum, were among the first to be suspended. The staff were charged with being 'an agglomeration of feudalism capitalism, and revisionism' and 'training spoilt boys and girls'. The official documents issued by the Forestry Ministry for the suspension were dated 22 March and 20 April 1965. It was notable that the Forestry Ministry was in charge of the landscape architecture education. This was most probably a result of the emulation of the Soviet education system. As landscape architecture department was actually 'yuanlin' department in Chinese, this connection to 'forestry' reinforced the revolutionary understanding of the *yuanlin* concept as tree planting in a confined area. It also showed the revolutionary greening vision, in which extensive tree planting was considered as something implemented by the masses and garden making was perceived as a field of work of some social minorities.

Greening visions

Greening, often referred to as the planting of trees, was one of the important elements to improve the visual and environmental quality of land in China, which upon the Liberation was a scene of devastation after decades of warfare. Clearly, this showed concerns about image construction, as Chairman Mao later expressed his vision 'to change the face of China'¹¹⁷ with greening establishment when launching the National Landscaping and Gardening Movement in 1958. On the other hand, production would be an enduring pursuit in greening activities to contribute to the socialist economy throughout the Thirty Years.

- *Lùhua zúguó* (Making Green the Motherland, 绿化祖国) (1956)

'*Lùhua zúguó* (Making Green the Motherland, 绿化祖国)' was a great call, which first appeared in the editorial of *People's Daily* on 17 February 1956, for a nationwide campaign of extensive tree planting.¹¹⁸ On 1 March that year Chairman Mao again highlighted this issue in *Chinese Communist Party Central Committee's Congratulatory Telegram to the Five Provinces (Autonomous Regions) Youth Afforestation Conference*.¹¹⁹ It was notable that Mao also provided his personal calligraphy of the four-character slogan that year for the mobilisation (Fig. 2.6). This official call was a natural outcome when further stressing the greening movement

¹¹⁷ Editorial Board of *Chinese agricultural encyclopaedia, gardening volume* 中国农业百科全书总编辑委员会观赏园艺卷编辑委员会, 中国农业百科全书编辑部 ed. *Chinese agricultural encyclopaedia, gardening volume* 中国农业百科全书, 观赏园艺卷. (Beijing: Nongye Chubanshe, 1996), p. 58.

¹¹⁸ 'Lùhua Zúguó' [Making Green the Motherland] 绿化祖国. *Renmin Ribao* (February 17, 1956).

¹¹⁹ The title is in Chinese '中共中央致五省(自治区)青年造林大会的贺电'. See 'Dang he guojia lingdaoren youguan zhishu zaolin lùhua guotu de zhishi he tici' [Party and national leaders' instructions and dedications for tree planting, afforestation, and Making Green the Motherland] 党和国家领导人有关植树造林、绿化国土的指示和题词. http://www.chinagreen.gov.cn/ywzs/ywzs_ldtc_c01.htm, accessed on 17/08/2006.

stated in the *National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967)* first drafted in January 1956 by the CCP Central Committee:¹²⁰

In the twelve years starting from 1956, where natural conditions permit and where there is enough manpower to undertake the task, bare waste land and mountains should be clothed with green. Where possible trees should be planted in a planned way near houses, villages, and along roads and rivers¹²¹... In addition to timber trees (including bamboo groves), the utmost use should be made of all manpower and uncultivated land in the cities and countryside to plant other trees of economic value, such as fruit trees, mulberries, Mongolian oak, tea plants, varnish trees and oil-bearing trees.¹²²

Although the official call was not issued until the mid-1950s, tree planting gained significance for the socialist undertaking from the founding of the People's Republic. From 1949 to 1955, about 85,550,000 *mu* (5,703,333 hectares) lands were afforested (Fig. 2.7).¹²³ Actually, this planting activity had been emphasised in the previous Republic era (1912-1949) and had its root in the Chinese tradition. Thus, rather than an effort in search of modernity with tradition reluctantly explored or adopted, the movement in the new era appeared as a continuous effort for greening establishment from the pre-modern times.

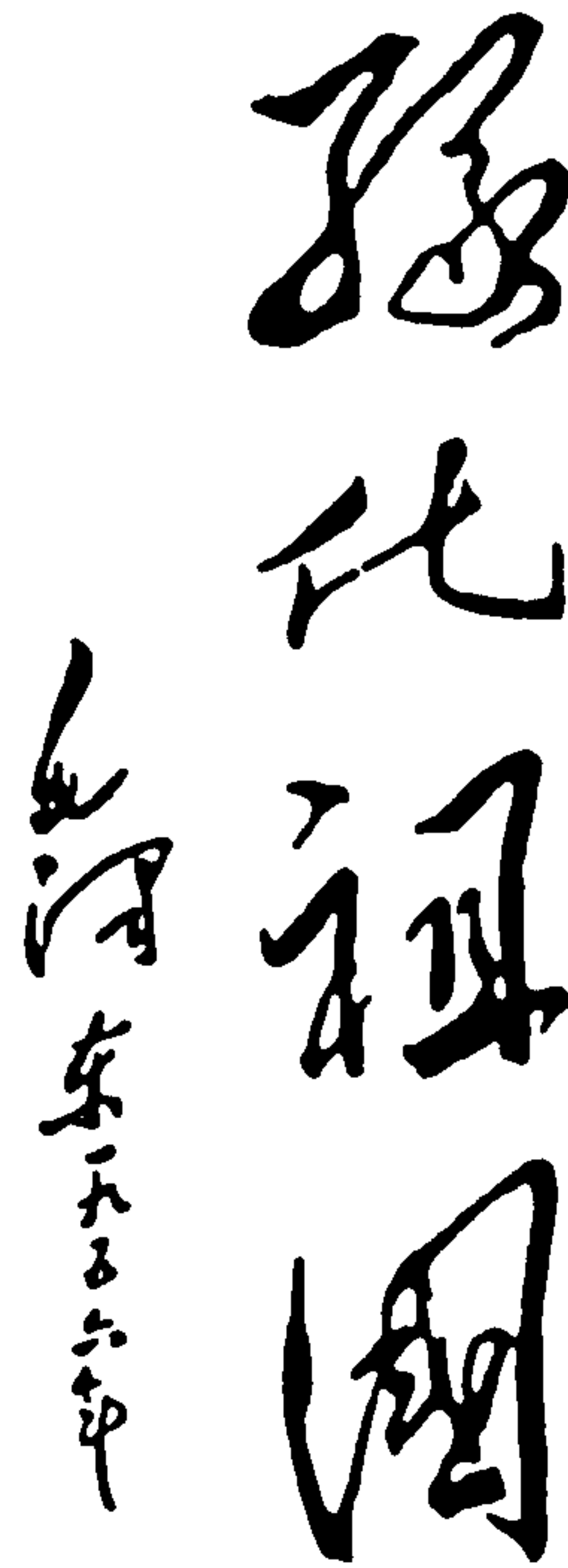


Figure 2.6. Mao's calligraphy of the four-character slogan 'Lùhua zǔguó' (Making Green the Motherland, 绿化祖国) in 1956.

Source: <http://www.greenbeijing.org/sysmanage/editor/UploadFile/200612/2006125152822838.gif>, accessed on 15/08/2007

¹²⁰ The draft of *National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967)* was revised in October 1957 and finally adopted in April 1960 by the Second Session of the Second National People's Congress of the PRC.

¹²¹ These constituted the popularly defined 'four-side' greening.

¹²² *National Programme for Agricultural Development 1956-1967* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1960), p. 18.

¹²³ Publicity Department of the Forestry Ministry of the People's Republic of China 中华人民共和国林业部宣传科. *Lùhua Zǔguó* [Making Green the Motherland] 绿化祖国. (Peking: Zhonghua Quanguo Kexue Jishu Puji Xiehui, 1956), p. 10.



Figure 2.7 A stamp issued in 1958, showing tree planting and mass mobilisation for the 'Making Green the Motherland' campaign.

Source: private collection.

In traditional China, to plant trees was a custom in the solar term of Pure Brightness.¹²⁴ The Pure Brightness originated more than 2,500 years ago in the Zhou Dynasty (c. 1122 - 771 B.C.) and always heralded warm weather of the spring. For this timing, peasants' proverbs ran: 'Around the Pure Brightness, plant melons and sow beans'¹²⁵ and 'For afforestation, never miss the Pure Brightness'.¹²⁶ In addition, the Pure Brightness was traditionally the day to offer sacrifices to ancestors and to sweep graves to pay respects to the dead. It was important to add new soil to the tomb as a report to the ancestors and a symbol of the beginning of work in the new year. It was the disposition of soil that links the activity of tree planting and the sacrifices.

In the modern era, Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen) (1866-1925), who was often referred to as the 'father of modern China', attached special importance to tree planting. As early as 1893, he advised in his *Statement to Li Hongzhang*¹²⁷ that to make China prosperous and powerful there was dire need for the development of agriculture and arboriculture. Soon after the 1911 Revolution, the Nationalist government formally decreed adhering to the Chinese tradition that there should be a Tree Planting Festival on the Pure Brightness. In 1928, to commemorate Sun, it was stipulated that the Festival should be on 12 March, the date of his death, every year.

Whilst tree planting was emphasised on the war-torn lands after the Liberation 'to change the face of China', its importance was strengthened due to its connection with agricultural production. While this was the case in tradition, it was also no doubt crucial for the new developments, clearly stated in the above quotation in the *National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967)*. The Soviet soil chemist and agronomist Williams V. R. (1863-1939) also said that 'Farming, forestry and animal husbandry depend on each other. Not a single one could be dispensed with, and they should be of equal importance.' This was later re-emphasised by Mao in October 1959¹²⁸ and even appeared as one of Mao's great quotations in the many subsequent publications on agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, or other numerous pamphlets for mobilisation or publicity.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ Among the twenty-four solar terms in Chinese traditional calendar, the Pure Brightness is the 5th one.

¹²⁵ The proverb is in Chinese '清明前后，种瓜点豆'.

¹²⁶ The proverb is in Chinese '植树造林，莫过清明'.

¹²⁷ The title is in Chinese '上李鸿章书'.

¹²⁸ Mao, Zedong 毛泽东. 'Guanyu fazhan xumuye wenti' [On issues of developing animal husbandry] 关于发展畜牧业问题. (October 31, 1959). <http://www.wenshu.net/lszl/mzd/8/27.htm>, accessed on 05/08/2007.

¹²⁹ See for example, 'Dagao zhishu zaolin, jiasu linye jianshe' [Go in for afforestation in a big way, accelerate forestry industry] 大

- General greening (1956)

The call for 'Making Green the Motherland' received an immediate response from the National Working Conference on Urban Construction held by the Urban Construction Ministry in November 1956 with the concept of 'general greening' for the urban areas put forward:

With limited financial investment for urban greening, the emphasis is not to lay out large parks, but to develop nurseries first, conduct a widespread distribution of trees, add more green to the city, improve the climate gradually, and spend less money but with greater effect. Only on the basis of the urban general greening, requirements, and availability of funding, can the creation of parks be considered step by step. Do not just pay attention to the creation of parks whilst ignoring the urban general greening, especially that of greening of residential areas which is the principal guideline and task for the urban greening development at present. Therefore, current work is mainly to actively take various measures and mobilise the masses to plant trees and flowers to make the residential areas green.¹³⁰

This statement corresponded to the concepts of *yuanlin* and *lùhua*, with *yuanlin* mainly referring to parks and *lùhua* mainly referring to tree planting of other sites. By assessing parks from the total area covered, they were considered to have only limited effect on the overall urban landscape and the greening of residential areas was therefore of widespread significance. The concern was in 'striving for general greening and improvement at key points'.¹³¹ In addition, restricted by the financial situation, the implementation of the policy was best manifested in the slogan of 'Popularization first and improvement second'¹³² or 'Greening first and beautification second'¹³³ to have 'something' out of 'nothing'¹³⁴. All these resonated with the policy of 'To be functional, economical and where possible beautiful'.

Besides tree planting, lawn also became an issue in the general greening. This was most probably a direct result of 'Learning from the Soviet Union' from the early 1950s, in that it was an integral feature of greenspaces discussed in several handbooks then translated from the

搞植树造林, 加速林业建设. *Henan Ribao* (February 20, 1973); Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Dili* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 69.

¹³⁰ Quoted from Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), pp. 4, 19. Author's translation.

¹³¹ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 5; Editorial Board of the Historical Records of the Construction of Beijing 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe* [The constructions of Beijing city from the founding of PRC] 建国以来的北京城市建设. Restricted publication (1986), p. 351; Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, shizheng juan, yuanlin lùhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, City construction volume, Landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 8.

¹³² Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, shizheng juan, yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, City construction volume, Landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 8.

¹³³ The Chinese text is '先绿化后美化'. Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 87.

¹³⁴ Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 19.

Russian.¹³⁵ While in China lawns had been well developed with special maintenance techniques since the sixth century,¹³⁶ their development in the modern Chinese landscape might also be promoted by the English style landscape garden which was introduced by British colonists from the late nineteenth century.¹³⁷

Moreover, it is notable that the concept of 'general greening' was at the time popularly associated with the terminology of 'point, line and plane', with 'plane' denoting general greening, or mainly the greening of residential areas, 'line' denoting linear forms of greening, such as shelterbelts, and 'point' denoting public parks. From the concept of 'point' also came the term of 'scenic spot' which referred to small green areas with scenic values. Not surprisingly, this terminology also found its way in the greening of residential areas, a major issue of general greening, with small greenspaces around houses regarded as 'points', tree planting along roads as 'line', and larger communal greenspaces as 'planes'. This classification demonstrated a search for order with strategic manipulation whilst building new landscapes rather than a concern about the natural attribute of landscapes.

Although the terminology was employed for the Chinese socialist undertaking, it originated in modernism in the West. It was first developed in the research on painting by Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944) in the Bauhaus.¹³⁸ This terminology was introduced into China most probably via the United States, which had felt influence from modernism during the first half of the twentieth century, when some prominent Chinese architectural scholars, including Professor Liang Sicheng (1901-1972), either pursued their studies or practiced there.¹³⁹ While the terminology had a Western origin, its connotation was more complex in the Chinese context. With various types of forms included, what was envisioned was a comprehensive greening

¹³⁵ Lunts, Leonid Borisovich. *Lùhua jiànshè* [Greening construction] 绿化建设, trans. by Zhu Junzhen 朱钧珍, Liu Chengxian 刘承翔, Ma Shiwei 马士伟, and Shen Dalun 沈大伦. (Beijing: Jianzhu Gongcheng Chubanshe, 1956); Krugliakov, Yu.G. Ю. Г.Кругляков 克鲁格梁柯夫. *Chengshi ludi guihua* [Planning of urban greenspaces] 城市绿地规划, trans. by Cheng Zhu 成勤. (Beijing: Chengshi Jianshe Chubanshe, 1957); A. H. 马尔捷耶夫. *Huanjing weisheng xue* [Environmental Hygienics] 环境卫生学, trans. by Jin Jingwu 金经武. (Beijing: Renmin Weisheng Chubanshe, 1957); Urban Construction Research Institute of the Architectural Science Academy of USSR 苏联建筑科学院城市建设研究所. *Sulian chengshi luhua* [Urban landscape architecture of the Soviet Union] 苏联城市绿化, trans. by Lin Maosheng 林茂盛, Yang Chunsheng 杨春生, and Wei Zhaoxuan 魏翌玄. (Beijing: Jianzhu Gongcheng Chubanshe, 1959).

¹³⁶ Chen, Zhiyi 陈志一, 'Chutan caoping qi yuan yu yanhua, jianlun caoping de gainian' [On the origin, evolution and the concept of lawn] 初探草坪起源与演化, 兼论草坪的概念, *Caoyuan yu Caoping*, 3 (2001), p. 9; Chen, Zhiyi 陈志一, 'Zaitan caoping de qi yuan yu yanhua jiqi gainian: zhongwen, hanyu de "caoping" yici ji qita' [Re-discussion on the origin, evolution and the concept of lawn: the Chinese word 'caoping' and other related issues] 再探草坪的起源与演化及其概念——中文·汉语的“草坪”一词及其他, *Caoyuan yu Caoping*, 1 (2002), pp. 7-12.

¹³⁷ Some scholars confirmed the influence from the English landscape garden on the use of lawns, but these arguments were not supported by persuasive evidence. See Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价 (Beijing: Beijing kexue jishu chubanshe, 1987), pp. 116-118; Zhu, Ya-xin. *Landscape Design in Chinese Gardens* (New York, London: McGraw-Hill, 1988), p. 30. In the contrary, contemporary landscape architects acknowledged that lawns might be incorporated in Chinese traditional gardens where appropriate, in other words, the development of such landscape feature was not without precedent in Chinese garden or landscape history. See Sun, Xiaoxiang 孙筱祥, and Hu Xuwei 胡绪渭. 'Hangzhou huagangguanyu gongyuan guihua sheji' [The planning and design of the Flower Harbour and Viewing Fish Park in Hangzhou] 杭州花港观鱼公园规划设计, *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 5 (1959), p. 24.

¹³⁸ Kandinsky, Wassily. *Point and Line to Plane* (New York: Dover Publications, 1979). This work was originally published in 1926 as *Punkt und Linie zu Fläche*, the ninth in a series of fourteen Bauhaus books edited by Walter Gropius and L. Moholy-Nagy.

¹³⁹ Liang Sicheng (1901-1972) studied in the School of Architecture in the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard University successively from 1924 to 1927. He was appointed the visiting professor by Yale University and the Chinese delegate of the Design Consultant Committee for the New York United Nation Headquarters mansion in 1946.

system in which each and every aspect of greening would be attended to, exactly conforming to the ideal of 'general greening'. It was also observed by Galen Cranz after a 1977 visit to China that 'Parks are some of many green "spots" linked by lines of green to form an integrated green-space system.'¹⁴⁰

- *Dadi yuanlin hua* (National Landscaping and Gardening Movement,¹⁴¹ 大地园林化) (1958)

The greening movement reached its climax in the GLF campaign (1958-1960), where Chairman Mao issued another great call, *Dadi yuanlin hua* (National Landscaping and Gardening Movement), proposing a dramatic transformation of the Chinese land under the communist ideal. It at the time acted as one of the supreme goals of the people's commune movement, stipulated in the *Resolution on Several Issues of the People's Communes*¹⁴² adopted in the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party on 10 December 1958.

Based on the concept of *yuanlin hua* conceived four months earlier at the Beidaihe Conference, it was an elevation of the greening ideal of the 1956 slogan, 'Making Green the Motherland'. Mao stated in the Conference, 'We should turn all the lands of our country green and further into a garden (*yuanlin hua*), make it beautiful everywhere, and change the face of China.'¹⁴³ This again conformed to the higher level of *yuanlin* concept than that of *lùhua*. But ironically, it indicated that the revolutionary vision of the future was grounded on Chinese garden traditions of the past. It was further explained by a practitioner:

Yuanlin hua is extraordinarily broad in scale and bold in vision. It means that, where necessary and possible, trees should be planted, grasses be grown, and flowers be cultivated step by step, reasonably and taking into account local conditions, on all the lands of urban and rural areas of our nation, at the same time taking production as the central task, considering living requirements, and developing other provisions (such as sideline productions, cultural and recreational facilities, water features, rockeries and pavilions in scenic areas). Obviously, these much exceed the scope of placing potted flowers, creating gardens or parks, four-side greening,¹⁴⁴ or afforestation in the mountain areas in the past.¹⁴⁵

According to this explanation, the whole nation was looked upon as a garden. In other

¹⁴⁰ Cranz, Galen. 'The Useful & the Beautiful: Urban Parks in China'. *Landscape*. 23.2 (1979), p. 6.

¹⁴¹ 'National Landscaping and Gardening Movement' is a translation of '*Dadi yuanlin hua*' in Editorial Board of *Chinese agricultural encyclopaedia, gardening volume* 中国农业百科全书总编辑委员会观赏园艺卷编辑委员会, 中国农业百科全书编辑部 ed. *Chinese agricultural encyclopaedia, gardening volume* 中国农业百科全书, 观赏园艺卷. (Beijing: Nongye Chubanshe, 1996), p. 58.

¹⁴² The title is in Chinese '关于人民公社若干问题的决议'.

¹⁴³ Quoted from Editorial Board of *Chinese agricultural encyclopaedia, gardening volume* 中国农业百科全书总编辑委员会观赏园艺卷编辑委员会, 中国农业百科全书编辑部 ed. *Chinese agricultural encyclopaedia, gardening volume* 中国农业百科全书, 观赏园艺卷. (Beijing: Nongye Chubanshe, 1996), p. 58. Author's translation.

¹⁴⁴ The 'four-side greening' referred to tree plantings near houses, villages, and along roads and rivers, defined in the *National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967)*.

¹⁴⁵ Quoted from Chen, Junyu 陈俊愉. 'Cong lùhua dao yuanlin hua' [From greening to gardening] 从绿化到园林化. *Renmin Ribao* (November 18, 1958). Author's translation.

words, while a garden had a limited area, its boundary was now extended to be the borderline of the country. All garden features and functions were to be included and provided within this broad range of land. In addition, it was notable that production was now particularly emphasised as the core issue after being mentioned in the *National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967)*. To realise the ideal landscape of *yuanlin hua*, a 3-third system was proposed, i.e. one third of the land would be cultivated for grain crops; one third be reserved as fallows for the cultivation of grass for animal husbandry or manure; and one third for greening and gardening.¹⁴⁶

The concept of *Dadi yuanlin hua* covered all the above programmes. Of the additional word *Dadi*, *Da* means 'big' or 'great', and *di* means 'land'. Although it is not fully appropriate to understand *Dadi* with a combination of the two meanings, the slogan simply meant to turn the whole land into a garden and implied the range, quality and comprehensiveness of the movement within the enthusiastic GLF campaign. It was interesting that Mao also provided his artistic calligraphy for this mobilisation (Fig. 2.8).

But the policy was elaborated in a somewhat different way in the editorial of the *People's Daily* in 1959:

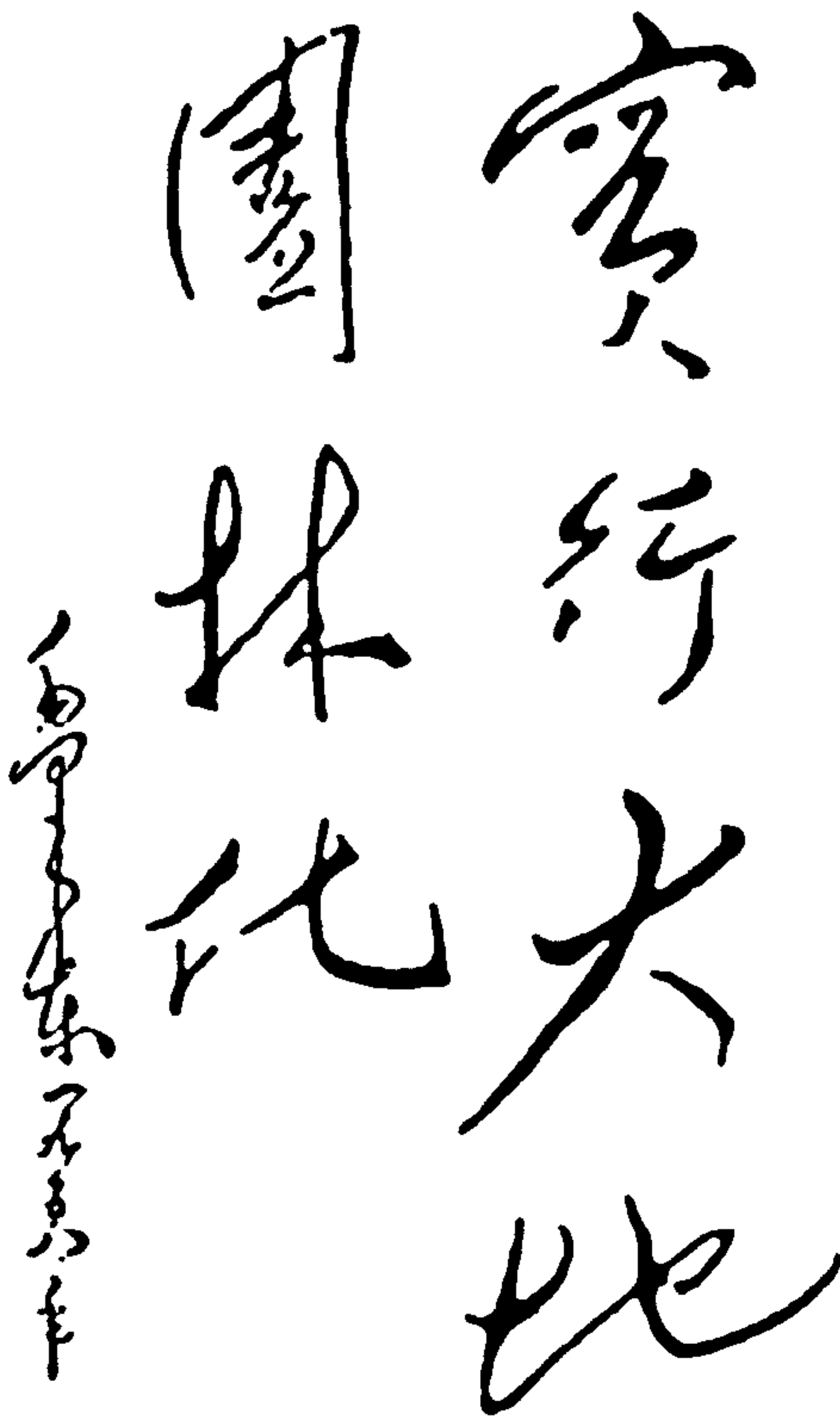


Figure 2.8 Mao's calligraphy for the National Landscaping and Gardening Movement: 'Shixing dadi yuanlin hua' (To turn the whole land into a garden, 实行大地园林化) in 1958.

Source: <http://www.greenbeijing.org/sysmanage/editor/UploadFile/200612/2006125152656557.gif>, accessed on 15/08/2007

¹⁴⁶ Chen, Junyu 陈俊愉. 'Cong lühua dao yuanlin hua' [From greening to gardening] 从绿化到园林化. *Renmin Ribao* (November 18, 1958).

Dadi yuanlin hua is the lofty ideal of making green the motherland. It requires that various trees be planted on all the lands of our country according to the overall planning and in line with local conditions. Through afforestation, get rid of barren mountains, wastelands, and even the Gobi Desert, reduce natural calamity, regulate climate, beautify environments, and create the conditions which will benefit both production and living. The goal of *Dadi yuanlin hua* is not only to transform nature and beautify the lands, but also to take advantage of the mountain, water and plantings to promote production.¹⁴⁷

This statement was most probably not provided by a landscape professional, and revealed that the policy was mainly interpreted as a mobilisation for afforestation, simply taking the literal meaning of *yuanlin* as planting trees in a confined area. This differed from the professional definition of *yuanlin hua*, in which the nation was to be seen as a garden. But clearly, both definitions acted to stimulate and promote the greening movement.

With the different interpretations of the policy, the direct result of its implementation was the great expansion of tree planting or afforestation on the one hand, and the creation of gardens or parks with traditional approaches on the other. With the implied value of traditions, the policy encouraged the revival of the Soviet guidelines of 'national in form, socialist in content' and 'socialist realism', this despite the increasing criticism towards the Soviet model during the late 1950s.

- Combine greening with production (1958)

Production was established as the pivotal issue in the National Landscaping and Gardening Movement. But the slogan of 'combine greening with production' was explicitly issued ten months earlier in February 1958 in the First National Working Conference on Urban Landscape Architecture held in Beijing, to highlight the production issue already mentioned in the *National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967)*. The slogan was reiterated in the Second National Working Conference on Urban Landscape Architecture held in Wuxi in December 1959:

To develop urban landscape architecture in a greater, faster, better and more economical way, combining greening with production must be paid attention to... It should be carried out without doing harm to sanitary conditions, cultural recreation and city beautification. Since it is to combine greening with production, production is not the complete concern and visual quality is needed... To combine greening with production, the principal functions of the green spaces should not be impaired and at the same time economic benefits should be achieved.¹⁴⁸

In this policy, it was proposed that production should not be over-emphasised in the

¹⁴⁷ Quoted from 'Xiang Dadi Yuanlinhua Qianjin' [Towards National Landscaping and Gardening] 向大地园林化前进. *Renmin Ribao* (March 27, 1959). Author's translation.

¹⁴⁸ Quoted from Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianshu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 25. Author's translation.

greening development, despite it being given such a central position at the time. However, production was wholeheartedly advocated to achieve full communism, and as a result of the great failure of the GLF campaign it continued to be crucial during the Three Difficult Years (1959-1961).

- **Take Grain as the Key Link and Ensure an All-round Development (1960)**

The over-optimistic GLF campaign ended as a huge failure resulting in significant economic and social disorder. The most well-known tragedy was the great famine during the Three Difficult Years (1959-1961). During this calamity, the policy of 'combine greening with production' was stressed to tide over food shortages. On 7 March 1960, the policy of 'Take Grain as the Key Link and Ensure an All-round Development' was issued in the National Working Conference on Agriculture.¹⁴⁹ Agricultural production was conceived even in greenspaces in cities, such as public parks. Additionally, it encouraged utilisation of verges of roads, embankments of water conduits, steep banks and even graves, which with various other locations of this kind of 'leftover' land were jointly termed 'ten-side land',¹⁵⁰ on the basis that ten such types of land could be distinguished.

While 'production' was emphasised in greening activities as a result of considerable economic constraints, it was also of crucial importance in case of war, particularly during the 1960s when China was isolated in international politics. Slogans then issued included 'Prepare for war, prepare for famine, for the sake of the people' (1965)¹⁵¹ and 'Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony' (1969)¹⁵².

But as an expedient to alleviate the then grave economic condition, 'production' actually had nothing to do with a healthy landscape development, and the excessive stress on it rather undermined the aesthetic value of landscapes, with 'All-round Development' becoming empty verbiage. By June 1961 the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks was critical of the fact that the guideline of 'Taking Grain as the Key Link' was taken too far, with ornamental planting being sacrificed for vegetables.¹⁵³ In the autumn of 1962 the Beijing municipal authority provided a political slant on the issue by pointing out that it was a mistake of the city to be 'only green without any red', with red representing ornamental flowers.¹⁵⁴ Although such ornamental

¹⁴⁹ Party Branch of the Agricultural Ministry 农业部党组. 'Guanyu quanguo nongye gongzuo huiyi de baogao' [A report on the National Agricultural Working Conference] 关于全国农业工作会议的报告. (1960).

http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2005-01/21/content_2491042.htm, accessed on 01/06/2006.

¹⁵⁰ The 'ten-side land' means the small plots of lands by the side of fields, trenches, roads, channels, graves, houses, walls, woods, barren banks, and ponds. The Chinese text is '地边、渠边、道边、沟边、坟边、房边、墙边、树林边、荒滩边、水坑边'.

¹⁵¹ The slogan is in Chinese '备战、备荒、为人民'. Translations quoted from Shapiro, Judith. *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (New York, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 138.

¹⁵² The slogan is in Chinese '深挖洞、广积粮、不称霸'.

¹⁵³ Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 31.

¹⁵⁴ Editorial Board of the Historical Records of the Construction of Beijing 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing*

elements as potted flower were criticised by Mao when denouncing 'feudalism' in 1964, there was a return of them in September 1965, when the then vice-mayor of Beijing, Wan Li (b. 1916), came from his visits to the Soviet Union and East Europe. He instructed at the time that lawns be laid and flowers be planted in order 'not to have bare earth under the sky'.¹⁵⁵ However, this might be seen as heterodoxy from the Maoist vision, and it was shortly invalidated and criticised as revisionism during the Cultural Revolution launched in May 1966.

Transforming the countryside

While the communist revolution triumphed with the support of the majority peasants, the transformation of the countryside was the result of the continued mass mobilisation as a practice of the Mass Line. The movements during the Thirty Years consisted of Land Reform (1950), agricultural collectivisation (1953), the people's communes (1958), and the 'Learning from Dazhai' movement (1964).

- Land Reform (1950)

Based on the socialist promises of 'the equal distribution of land' and 'land to the tillers', the Land Reform campaign was a massive redistribution of the land from the landlords to the poor and lower-middle peasants. The properties of the middle and rich peasants were left untouched in the process.¹⁵⁶ These different strategies towards different social classes were due to the consideration for the economic and social stability during the Recovery (1949-1952), as Mao in 1950 maintained that 'Don't hit out in all directions',¹⁵⁷ which meant to unite all possible forces, though probably bourgeois or capitalist in nature, for the initial economical recovery and social support.

As the landlords constituted only four percent of the rural population,¹⁵⁸ the elimination of this class was not expected to bring about social resistance or disorder. Meanwhile, this action

chengshi jianshe [The constructions of Beijing city from the founding of PRC] 建国以来的北京城市建设. Restricted publication (1986), p. 353; Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 471.

¹⁵⁵ Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Beijing landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 353.

¹⁵⁶ Landlords referred to those who owned extensive lands, and only depended on rents from their landholdings for income or hired peasant labour for the cultivation without working themselves. Rich peasants referred to those who owned extensive lands, though collecting rents or hiring labour, also made contributions to the cultivation. Middle peasants referred to those who owned lands, but did not collect rents and was basically economically self-sufficient. There were variations in this middle peasants category: when during busy seasons additional hired labour was needed, the work done by others would be calculated against that by themselves; if the proportion was higher than 20 percent, they were categorised as rich-middle peasants; if lower than 20 percent, they remained middle peasants; if they were however needed to be hired to generate income to make up the financial deficiency of their family, they were categorised as lower-middle peasants. Poor peasants referred to those who owned limited lands and largely depended on employment for income.

¹⁵⁷ Mao, Zedong. 'Don't Hit Out in All Directions (June 6, 1950)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 5* (Oxford: Distributed by Pergamon, 1978), pp. 33-36.

¹⁵⁸ 2.6 percent stated in Fairbank, John King and Merle Goldman. *China: A New History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 352.

was desirable because the landlords allegedly did not contribute to production, but solely depended on the rents from their landholdings for accumulation of wealth, and were therefore considered useless economically, socially and politically. In contrast, the middle and rich peasants, who constituted thirty percent of the rural population with traditionally much better farm implements than the poor and lower-middle peasants, contributed nearly half of the agricultural production. It was therefore essential to protect their interests in providing a secure economic base.¹⁵⁹

Land Reform was completed in spring 1952 (Fig. 2.9). The poor and lower-middle peasants benefited greatly from the movement, as they now could make their own living on their land. However, this redistribution of land did not fully achieve its objectives, as the rich and middle peasants were still better off than the average, with some vestiges of the traditional exploitative social hierarchy remaining. In addition, private ownership meant the land was as fragmented in small parcels as before. However, the fact that the communists got the political support of the majority of the peasants through the campaign was of great importance for further social re-organisation and subsequent mass mobilisation for agricultural transformations.



Figure 2.9 A propaganda poster from 1952 announcing that, 'Land Reform across the whole nation has basically been completed.'

Source: IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection (<http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>).

- Agricultural collectivisation (1953)

Collectivisation was of such importance for agricultural production that it was considered by Mao as the only way to escape from mass impoverishment, improve peasants' livelihoods and

¹⁵⁹ Wong, John. *Chinese Land Reform in Retrospect* (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1973); Meisner, Maurice. *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic* (New York: Free Press, 1999), pp. 92-94.

fight natural calamities.¹⁶⁰ It would be implemented through three development phases. The first step would be the organisation of mutual-aid teams (MATs), in which peasants were organised in teams of six or more households that would assist each other. Secondly, mutual aid teams would be combined into 'semi-socialist' or 'lower' agricultural producers' cooperatives (APCs), where land would be pooled and farmed cooperatively. Finally, 'lower' cooperatives would be amalgamated into 'higher' or 'advanced' cooperative farms, i.e. collectives, which would abolish private land ownership and remunerate its members in accordance with the socialist principle of 'to each according to one's contribution'.¹⁶¹

Although collectivisation was carried out upon the Liberation and from 1953 would be facilitated by the completion of the Land Reform, only after 1955 did it start to be proceed at a strikingly rapid pace. By early 1955, while sixty-five percent peasant households had joined MATs, only fifteen percent had been organised into 'lower' cooperatives. The progress seemed slow and at the same time the fragmentation of plots restricted the introduction of more efficient work patterns and the use of modern agricultural technology, thus limiting productivity. The poor harvests during the years further indicated the need for an accelerated collectivisation, particularly as the weak agricultural economy would be a threat for the scheduled industrial development of the First FYP as well as the national economy as a whole.¹⁶²

In his speech of 'On the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture' on 31 July 1955, Mao criticised the conservative ideas in the CCP on the one hand, and encouraged radical agricultural transformation praising the immense enthusiasm for socialism of the mass peasants on the other:

An upsurge in the new, socialist mass movement is imminent throughout the countryside. But some of our comrades, tottering along like a woman with bound feet, are complaining all the time, 'You're going too fast, much too fast.'... The high tide of social transformation in the countryside, the high tide of co-operation, has already swept a number of places and will soon sweep the whole country. It is a vast socialist revolutionary movement involving a rural population of more than 500 million, and it has tremendous, world-wide, significance... the leadership should never lag behind the mass movement. Yet, as things stand now, it is the mass movement which is running ahead, while the leadership cannot keep pace with it.¹⁶³

With this mobilisation, by December 1955, sixty-three percent of peasant households had joined cooperatives. Collectivisation was essentially completed during the first half of 1956, and

¹⁶⁰ Mao, Zedong. 'On the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture (July 31, 1955)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 5* (Oxford: Distributed by Pergamon, 1978), p.195.

¹⁶¹ Meisner, Maurice. *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic* (New York: Free Press, 1999), pp. 130-131. The socialist principle of 'to each according to one's contribution' is considered by Marxists and other socialists as a characteristic of society after a socialist revolution and before the transition to communism. See for example, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. *Constitution (fundamental law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: adopted at the extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. December 5, 1936* (Moscow: Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., 1936).

¹⁶² Meisner, Maurice. *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic* (New York: Free Press, 1999), pp. 134-135.

¹⁶³ Mao, Zedong. 'On the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture (July 31, 1955)'. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. 5* (Oxford: Distributed by Pergamon, 1978), pp.184-185.

virtually all the rest were incorporated before the spring planting of 1957 (Fig. 2.10).¹⁶⁴ The process and result of collectivisation altered the social organisation in the countryside and the manner of managing land. It was the collective strength of the cooperatives that were decisive for massive agricultural transformations.¹⁶⁵



Figure 2.10 A propaganda poster from 1956, which encouraged taking 'the road of collectivisation in order to advance agricultural production'. Source: IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection (<http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>).

- People's communes (1958)

Agricultural collectivisation achieved further momentum one year later when the GLF was launched for radical transformation of the countryside. It was suggested that collectivisation would be carried out in a much expanded scale with several cooperatives consolidated into people's communes in the *CCP Central Committee's Resolution on Establishing People's Communes in the Rural Areas*¹⁶⁶ passed in the Beidaihe Conference. Mao praised this much larger organizational form in the Conference on August 30, 1958:

The characteristic of the people's communes is firstly large, and secondly of public nature... It comprises industry, agriculture, commerce, education and soldiers, as well as agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sidelines and fishery. Being large is amazing. With more people, the strength is tremendous. Whilst being public, it is more socialist than cooperatives.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Meisner, Maurice. *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic* (New York: Free Press, 1999), pp. 141-143.

¹⁶⁵ It was stated in the *National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967)* that 'we much count on the agricultural co-operatives to plant trees and adhere to the policy that trees planted by co-operatives belong to them.' See *National Programme for Agricultural Development 1956-1967* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1960), p. 18.

¹⁶⁶ 'Zhonggong zhongyang guanyu zai nongcun jianli renmin gongshe wenti de jueyi' [CCP Central Committee's Resolution of Establishing People's Communes in the Rural Areas] 中共中央关于在农村建立人民公社问题的决议. *Renmin Ribao* (September 10, 1958).

¹⁶⁷ Quoted from Song, Liansheng 宋连生. *Zongluxian, dayuejin, renmin gongshe hua yundong shimo* [General line, Great Leap Forward, the beginning and end of people's commune movement] 总路线, 大跃进, 人民公社化运动始末. (Kunming: Yunnan Renmin Chubanshe, 2002), p. 173. Author's translation.

With the various components and functions included, the people's commune was conceived as not only a productive organization but also a new social organization. It was believed to be the basic economic, social and political unit of the communist utopia (Fig. 2.11). By the end of 1958, virtually all the rural population was organised in some 24,000 people's communes, which was realised through the amalgamation of 750,000 collective farms.¹⁶⁸ But with the failure of the GLF campaign, radical policies were abolished and the movement for people's communes also came to an end in 1960.



Figure 2.11 A propaganda poster from 1958 praising the 'People's Communes'. The photo featured was taken during the summer of 1958 when Mao inspected crops in Henan Province. The five characters in Mao's calligraphy at the bottom read, 'The People's Communes are fine (人民公社好)!'.

Source: IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection (<http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>).

- In Agriculture, Learn from Dazhai (1964)

Dazhai village in Shanxi Province underwent the above three movements, and came to prominence as a model in agricultural development with the slogan 'In Agriculture, Learn from Dazhai', issued by Mao in 1964. This was because it exemplified the power of collective efforts and the desired effects demonstrated in its remarkable village development through the people's strict adherence to self-reliance. This social conduct and moral values needed to be further promoted, when, after the 1960 Sino-Soviet split, China became isolated on the international stage.

From then on, 'Learning from Dazhai' became a nationwide movement and Dazhai an absolute model for emulation in the radical transformation of the countryside (Fig. 2.12). After

¹⁶⁸ Meisner, Maurice. *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic* (New York: Free Press, 1999), p. 220.

Hua Guofeng succeeded to Chairman Mao, carrying on Mao's ideology he convened a series of conferences on agriculture under the famous slogan. But the Hua government was short-lived, and the slogan was finally invalidated in 1979 as one of the instances demonstrating the break with Mao's policies for development.



Figure 2.12 A propaganda poster from the 'Learn from Dazhai' Movement depicting crowds of people wholeheartedly trying to catch up with Dazhai for the sake of the socialist and communist undertaking with absolute enthusiasm.

Source: IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection (<http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>).

Conclusion

China has been an agricultural country for centuries. This provides the social and economic context for the understanding of the various cultural and material traditions. The agricultural foundation was also of crucial importance for the modern development under the communist rule, in that the revolution succeeded with the general support of the poor peasants, the majority of the Chinese population upon the Liberation, and many social conducts and moral values of the poor peasants, such as hard work and frugality, were emphasised in the Chinese communist ideology for achieving socialist ideals.

Of the thirty years' development of Chinese socialism, the 1950s was mainly characterised by a pattern of 'Leaning to One Side' with the policy of 'Learning from the Soviet Union' implemented. From the late 1950s to the late 1970s, China strived to explore her own road to development, with enthusiastic and radical campaigns or movements, such as the GLF (1958-1960) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969). This period was however considered as the 'twenty lost years',¹⁶⁹ often with disastrous consequences and expedient or remedial readjustment measures.

¹⁶⁹ Fairbank, John King and Merle Goldman. *China: A New History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 366.

With the variation of the economic and social situations, the political ideology either encouraged or rejected the exploration or incorporation of Chinese traditions in pursuit of socialist ideals. Chinese traditions were valued for advancement largely during the 1950s with the policies including the Soviet principle of 'National in Form, Socialist in Content', Mao's directive of 'Make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China', the GLF slogan 'Walking on Two Legs', and the National Landscaping and Gardening Movement. Traditions became the target of liquidation mainly during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969), when professionals were required to engage in 'design revolution' and the masses were mobilised to 'To Destroy the "Four Olds"'.

It seemed that the greening movement and the transformation of the countryside were not in a dilemma as to whether to explore traditions for modern development. The former acted as a continuous effort for greening from the pre-modern times, and the latter an immediate break with the past in search of an egalitarian landscape.

Chapter 3

Garden in the City: Public Parks

When in 1987 the first handbook on public parks appeared in China, they were being referred to as the 'face of the city'.¹ The concept of 'face' was an age-old Chinese metaphor, later incorporated in Confucianism, used to describe power and social status of an individual who should evade humiliation resulting from being challenged about personal emotions or feelings.² Its use as a metaphor in the context of the city therefore not only provides evidence of the significance of public parks in the cultural context, but also how they were representative for what the city had to offer in terms of range of provisions and aesthetic quality. Public parks thus reflected Chinese social life and economy, and were an important political tool after the 1949 Liberation when Mao Zedong (1893-1976) came to power.

While Mao as a revolutionary is normally associated with a break with the past, this was not necessarily the case in the creation of public parks as they had to respond to both functional and aesthetic criteria. While foreign rational models were initially adopted, historic features and indigenous traditions in garden making soon proved just as important in the creation of new parks. For example, surviving historic features were upon the Liberation valued as cultural relics of the nation and were emphasised as a starting point for new design. Despite the fact that indigenous garden making was an expression of the former elite culture, it was eagerly adopted as a basis for the creation of modern parks, since it could then be demonstrated to express nationalistic values. This chapter explores which and how new public parks evolved as influenced by modern communist ideals, how they expressed modern values and how compromises were reached with respect to various demands and traditions.

The emergence of public parks (1840-1949)

By the time of the 1949 Liberation there had been public parks in China for some hundred years. These were however initially created not by the Chinese, but by residential foreign communities after the defeat of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) during the Opium War, or the First Anglo-Chinese War (1840-1842), after which China was forced to open its doors to foreign trade. As a result large numbers of foreign nationals from the United Kingdom, the United States, Japan,

¹ Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 39.

² For more details of the historical development of the concept, see Jia, Wenshan. *The Remaking of the Chinese Character and Identity in the 21st Century: The Chinese Face Practices* (Westport, Connecticut: Ablex, 2001), pp. 15-22.

France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Austria-Hungary and Belgium settled in cities in strategic coastal or riverside locations, such as Shanghai, Tianjin, Hankou, Guangzhou (Canton), Jiujiang, Xiamen, Zhenjiang, Suzhou, Hangzhou, Chongqing, Qingdao, Weihai and Dalian. In these colonial 'concessions', foreigners traded and spent their leisure time. Here public parks provided a focus for social life and tended to reflect national styles from the respective home countries. The British laid out parks in the English manner, including Public Park (1868),³ Hongkou Park (1898),⁴ and Shooting Range Park (1909)⁵ in Shanghai, which were intended for foreign nationals and not open to the Chinese population.⁶ Thus the concept of 'public' park was not understood by the Chinese, which is clear from the fact that Public Park, Shanghai, was named Foreign Garden.⁷ Other examples of nationalistically themed public parks included in Tianjin Victoria Park (1887) created by the British,⁸ and Germany Park (1900)⁹; in Dalian North Park (1898) and West Park (1898) by the Russians, and Electrical Park (1909)¹⁰ and Xinggepu Park (1909)¹¹ by the Japanese; and in Shanghai French Park (1909)¹². In respect of design, these foreign style parks comprised functional zones for recreational activities, such as children's play, rambling and boating, and some park features, such as lawn and lake, uncommon in Chinese traditional literati gardens. But more importantly, these parks demonstrated to the Chinese people an open recreational pattern quite different from that of the traditional gardens characterised by an inward-oriented and sometimes reclusive nature.¹³ It was in this context that some private gardens, such as Shen Garden (1881) and Yu Garden (1890) in Shanghai, were transformed and opened to the public to cater for the recreational needs of the Chinese society, and at the same time to build up Chinese people's self-respect in view of the humiliation caused

³ The park was renamed as Bund Park (外滩公园) in 1936, Spring Shanghai Park (春申公园) in 1945, and Huangpu Park (黄浦公园) in 1946 by the Concession Bureau.

⁴ The park became Kun Hill Park (昆山公园) in 1934. See Editorial Board of *Shanghai landscape architecture records* 《上海园林志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai yuanlin zhi* [Shanghai landscape architecture records] 上海园林志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 2000), p. 182.

⁵ The park was renamed as Hongkou Park (虹口公园) on 1922. See Editorial Board of *Shanghai landscape architecture records* 《上海园林志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai yuanlin zhi* [Shanghai landscape architecture records] 上海园林志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 2000), p. 284.

⁶ The Public Park was not accessible to the Chinese public until 1928, Shooting Range Park until 1922 when it was renamed as Hongkou Park, and Hongkou Park until 1934 when it was renamed as Kun Hill Park.

⁷ The name was in Chinese '外国花园'. Other local names referred to it with reference to the geographical location, including Outer Ferry Park (外摆渡公园), Bridge Park (大桥公园) or Bund Park (外滩公园). See Editorial Board of *Shanghai landscape architecture records* 《上海园林志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai yuanlin zhi* [Shanghai landscape architecture records] 上海园林志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 2000), p. 94. The inadequacy of the understanding of the concept of 'public park' was also noted in Zhou, Xiangpin 周向频, and Chen Zhehua 陈喆华. 'Shanghai jindai zujie gongyuan xixuedongjian xia de yuanlin fanben' [Concession parks in modern Shanghai: model gardens in the Western influences] 上海近代租界公园西学东渐下的园林范本. *Chengshi Guihua Xuekan*, 4 (2007), p. 117.

⁸ The park was also called English Park, created to commemorate Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee.

⁹ The park became Liberation South Park (解放南园) after the 1949 liberation.

¹⁰ After the Liberation, the park was re-named by the Dalian Government as Culture Park on 1 June 1948, and as Lu Xun Park on 11 May 1948. It was turned into Dalian Zoological Garden in September 1966 proposed by the Lúda Basic Construction Committee (旅大市基本建设委员会).

¹¹ The park became Star Sea Park after the 1949 Liberation.

¹² The park was also named Gu Residence Park (顾家宅公园) after the village on the original site. It was renamed as Prosperous Park (大兴公园) in 1944 and Revival Park (复兴公园) in 1946 by Shanghai Municipal Government.

¹³ Zhou, Xiangpin 周向频, and Chen Zhehua 陈喆华. 'Shanghai jindai zujie gongyuan xixuedongjian xia de yuanlin fanben' [Concession parks in modern Shanghai: model gardens in the Western influences] 上海近代租界公园西学东渐下的园林范本. *Chengshi Guihua Xuekan*, 4 (2007), pp. 113-118.

by the foreign colonists.¹⁴

But the Chinese indeed in response also created public parks. These however again tended to be exclusive, catering for special needs of individual groups. One example is Cangxi Park (1897) in Qiqihar¹⁵, where the local authority created a park for the amusement of soldiers stationed in this quiet border area, established at the instigation of general Cheng Dequan (1860-1930).¹⁶ An example of a more enlightened approach was that of Xijin Park (1906) in Wuxi¹⁷ created for the benefit of the country residents, with funds raised by local gentry.¹⁸ The best known example was that of Leshan Garden in Beijing, where in 1908 an imperial garden was transformed into a public zoological garden due to the personal largesse of the Empress Dowager Cixi (1835-1908). The various animals for this garden had been bought by, and presented to Cixi by an imperial delegation who had studied foreign affairs in Germany as part of the New Policies reform of 1906. Thus the establishment of this zoological garden derived from Western influences. It was officially opened to the public in 1908 with an admission charge of sixteen coppers for adults and eight for children.¹⁹ Despite the imminent collapse of the Qing court, it does not appear to have been intended as a gesture to appease the general public.²⁰

Despite the dramatic developments that coincided with the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) and the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, lauding an end to the imperial era bringing in Nationalist rule, this did not prevent foreign communities from creating parks in their colonial concessions, such as Jessfield Park (1914) by English in Shanghai²¹, and Japanese Park (1925) in Wuhan²². But more important from a Chinese perspective was the newly established Nationalist government led by President Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen) (1866-1925) which intended to shape society with the declaration of 'Three Principles of the People', i.e. nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood. This was promoted with the slogan 'For the sake of all the public', thus providing the political underpinning for a nationwide public park movement (Fig. 3.1). Initially this concentrated on opening imperial sites and private

¹⁴ Zhou, Xiangpin 周向频, and Chen Zhehua 陈喆华. 'Shanghai gudian sijia huayuan de jindai shanbian: yi wanqing jingyingxing sijia huayuan weili' [Transition of Shanghai private gardens: an investigation of the profit-oriented private gardens of Shanghai in late Qing] 上海古典私家花园的近代嬗变——以晚清经营性私家花园为例. *Chengshi Guihua Xuekan*, 2 (2007), pp. 87-92.

¹⁵ It is now Longsha Park (龙沙公园).

¹⁶ Tian, Hezhuang 田禾壮. 'Longsha Gongyuan' [Longsha Park] 龙沙公园. <http://www.lnkp.gov.cn/tykp.asp?act=showdetail&id=1481>, accessed on 24/09/2007.

¹⁷ It is now Inner City Park (城中公园).

¹⁸ 'Xiandai chengshi weidao de Wuxi xian' [Wuxi county as a modern city] 现代城市味道的无锡县. <http://www.jgqw-wuxi.gov.cn/jqwh/mwxs/80511.shtml>, accessed on 24/09/2007.

¹⁹ This admission charge 'were usually more than an urban worker (who on average made only 40 coppers a day in the early twentieth century) could afford' and prevented 'almost 80% of the urban population from frequenting the parks.' See Shi, Mingzheng. 'From Imperial Gardens to Public Parks: The Transformation of Urban Space in Early Twentieth-Century Beijing'. *Modern China*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Jul., 1998), p. 245.

²⁰ Shi, Mingzheng. 'From Imperial Gardens to Public Parks: The Transformation of Urban Space in Early Twentieth-Century Beijing'. *Modern China*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Jul., 1998), pp. 228-230.

²¹ The park became Zhongshan Park (中山公园) in 1944. See Editorial Board of *Shanghai landscape architecture records* 《上海园林志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai yuanshan zhi* [Shanghai landscape architecture records] 上海园林志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 2000), p. 104.

²² Editorial Board of *Wuhan gardens* 《武汉园林》编辑部. *Wuhan yuanshan (1840-1985)* [Wuhan gardens (1840-1985)] 武汉园林 (1840-1985). (Wuhan: Wuhan Municipal Bureau of Parks, 1987), p. 58.

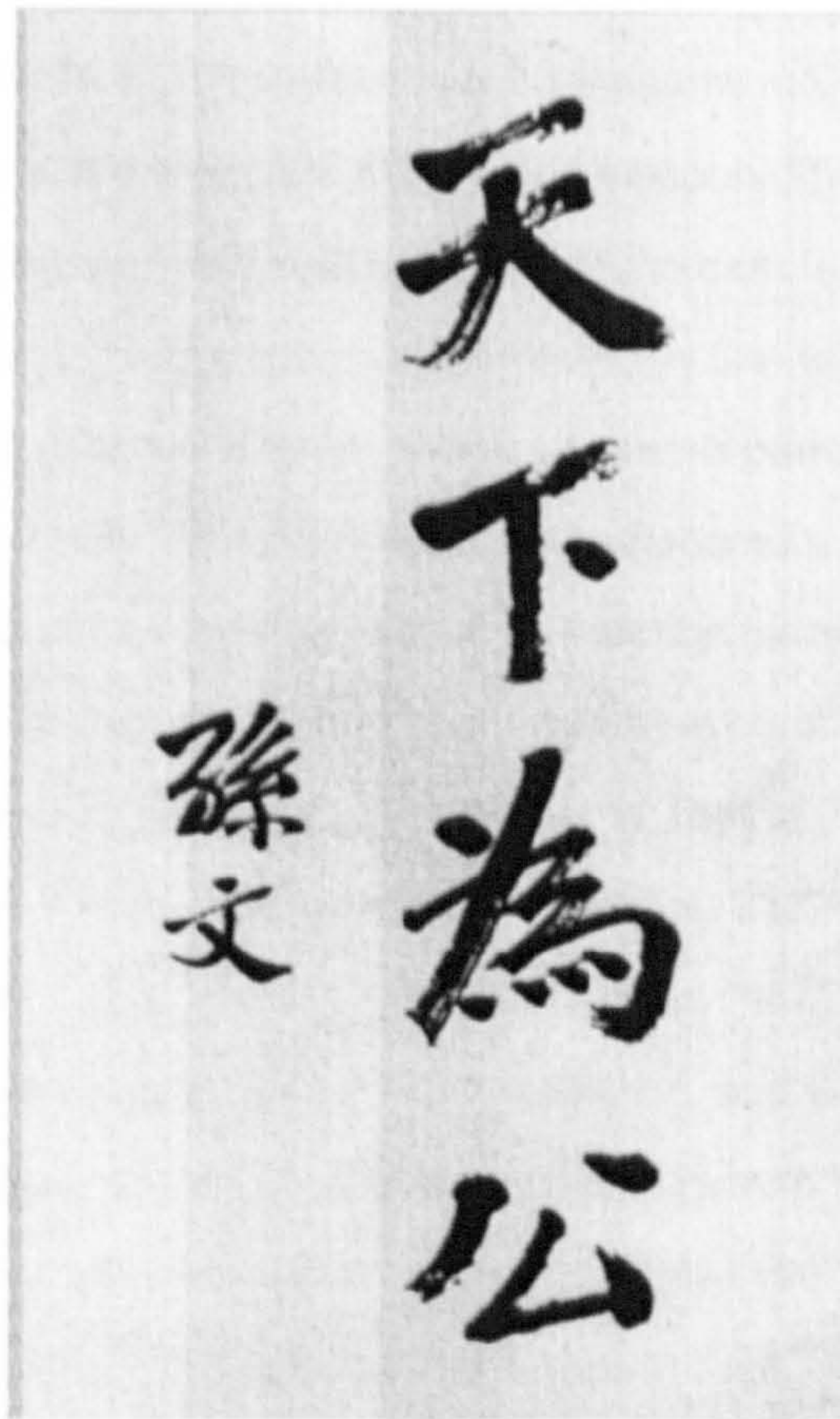


Figure 3.1 The calligraphy of President Sun Zhongshan (1866-1925), 'For the sake of all the public (天下为公)'. This showed the advocated social value and political vision of the Republican era.

Source: Shanghai Museum of Sun Yat-Sen's Former Residence 上海孙中山故居纪念馆 ed. *Sun zhongshan: jinian Sun Zhongshan xiansheng danchen 130 zhounian* [Sun Zhongshan: In commemoration of the 130th anniversary of Dr. Sun's birth] 孙中山：纪念孙中山先生诞辰 130 周年. (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1996).

gardens to the public, including: the Altar of Agriculture transformed into South City Park (1912), the Altar of Soil and Grain transformed into Central Park (1914), Temple of Heaven Park (1918), the Summer Palace (1924) all in Beijing; Liu Garden (1913) in Hankou; and West Lake Park (1914) and South Park (1915) in Fuzhou.

At this time Japan, which had just undergone a process of westernisation, became the great inspiration, with Chinese students being sent over there to investigate the various processes and practices. This included horticultural studies and forestry, with some returning students becoming influential proponents in modern landscape architecture in China, including Wu Gengmin (1896-1991), who returned in 1920,²³ Zhang Shouyu (1897-1985)²⁴ and Chen Zhi (1899-1989)²⁵ in 1922, and Hu Changzhi (1899-1972) in 1928²⁶. It was through this route that

²³ Wu, Guanglin 吴光林. 'Zhongguo jindai yuanyi shiye de dianji ren: Wu Gengmin' [The founder of the modern Chinese horticulture: Wu Gengmin] 中国近代园艺事业的奠基人——吴耕民. http://www.gmw.cn/content/2005-06/10/content_248979.htm, accessed on 29/11/2006.

²⁴ Deng, Jiguang 邓继光. 'Woguo jindai huahui xue de dianji ren: Zhang Shouyu' [The founder of the modern Chinese flower studies: Zhang Shouyu] 我国近代花卉学的奠基人——章守玉. http://www.gmw.cn/content/2005-06/10/content_248989.htm, accessed on 29/11/2006.

²⁵ Yang, Shaozhang 杨绍章. 'Zhongguo jindai zaoyuan xue de dianji ren' [The founder of the modern Chinese gardening: Chen Zhi] 中国近代造园学的奠基人——陈植. http://www.gmw.cn/content/2005-10/25/content_318887.htm, accessed on 29/11/2006.

²⁶ Chen, Junyu 陈俊愉. 'Woguo yuanyi zhiwu fenlei xue de xianqu: Hu Changzhi' [The forerunner of Chinese planting taxonomy: Hu Changzhi] 我国园艺植物分类学的先驱——胡昌炽. http://www.gmw.cn/content/2005-06/10/content_249004.htm.

public parks were popularized. With most existing public parks in China being exclusive places, the concept of public park was introduced primarily from Japan. This can be well illustrated with the use of the Chinese compound word *gongyuan* (公园) to denote 'public park'. It had originally referred to private gardens,²⁷ but the term was borrowed by the Japanese in the Meiji period (1868-1912) as a translation for the western concept of public park, founding their first public park, Ueno Park, in Tokyo in 1873.²⁸ When public parks became a more general concept in China the Japanese *gongyuan* was reintroduced to describe them.

Ideas about public parks and their design not only came from Japan however, with Chinese students studying in different countries. These included Li Ju (1900-1982) who from 1915 to 1922 studied horticulture in France and returned to China in 1923. From 1927, he produced various proposals for public parks, including Dragon Pavilion Park, Multi-layered Pagoda Temple Park and South City Park in Kaifeng, Five-Prefecture Park²⁹ and Qinhuai River Park in Nanjing, Lakeshore Park in Hangzhou, and Junior City Park, South Suburb Park and Xindu Laurel Lake Park in Chengdu.³⁰ Another important figure was Chen Shifu (1907-1988), who from 1929 to 1932 studied landscape architecture in the United States and returned to China in 1933. His field of work included city planning, landscape planning and park design, and he was responsible for the design of Xikou Park in Zhejiang and the completion of Junior City Park in Chengdu.³¹ All these returning students also became important figures for the landscape development of the subsequent socialist era, either in education in universities or in practice in design bureaus.

When President Sun Zhongshan died in 1925, a mausoleum was created in his honour, with contributions from Li Ju (1900-1982) and Zhang Shouyu (1897-1985). Capturing the mood of the time, the loss of China's reformer was commemorated as a nationwide movement in which every self respecting town would have a Zhongshan Park. There were parks with that name in Beijing, Tianjin, Nanjing, Shenyang, Dalian, Jinan, Qingdao, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Wuhan, Shashi, Zhongshan, Xiamen, and Shantou. These parks brought about a change of perception of public parks which were now regarded as places for 'noble-minded recreation',³² as a contrast to the debauched life styles of those who indulged in opium or gambling as a form of recreation.³³

accessed on 29/11/2006.

²⁷ Chen, Zhi 陈植. *Chen Zhi zaoyuan wenji* [Collected works on landscape architecture of Chen Zhi] 陈植造园文集. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1988), pp. 175, 181; Shi, Mingzheng. 'From Imperial Gardens to Public Parks: The Transformation of Urban Space in Early Twentieth-Century Beijing'. *Modern China*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Jul., 1998), p. 227.

²⁸ Shi, Mingzheng. 'From Imperial Gardens to Public Parks: The Transformation of Urban Space in Early Twentieth-Century Beijing'. *Modern China*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Jul., 1998), pp. 226-227.

²⁹ It is now Xuanwu Lake Park (玄武湖公园).

³⁰ Li, Shuhua 李淑华. 'Woguo jindai gongyuan jianshe de xianqu zhiyi: Li Ju' [One of the forerunners of modern Chinese park movement: Li Ju] 我国近代公园建设的先驱之一——李翊. http://www.gmw.cn/content/2005-08/22/content_289549.htm, accessed on 29/11/2006.

³¹ Cheng, Xuke and Zhang Zugang 程绪珂, 张祖刚. 'Da huanjing lüdi xitong de tichu zhe: Cheng Shifu' [The initiator of the greenspace system: Cheng Shifu] 大环境绿地系统的提出者——程世抚. http://www.gmw.cn/content/2006-06/01/content_417492.htm, accessed on 29/11/2006.

³² Liu, Wendao 刘文岛. 'Hankou shi zhi xianzai jianglái' [Hankou at present and in the future] 汉口市之现在将来. *Zhongguo Jianshe* (1 November 1930); Xu, Yuanquan 徐源泉. *Shashi shizheng zhi jianshe* [Municipal construction of Shashi] 沙市市政之建设 (1936).

³³ For one of the excellent accounts on the social problems and the intention for the creation of parks in the late 1920s, see Wu,

Another concept was that of People's Park, to indicate the intention to benefit the general public. The first one was created in Baoding in 1936, in which South City Park had been transformed with the donation from Song Zheyuan (1885-1940), the Nationalist Chairman of Hebei Province. This example was also followed by others and pre-dated the socialist era. It seems that it was the modern ideal of promoting public life for the well-being of the wider society, received, adapted and finally accepted by the Chinese people during the Republican era, that most inspired the subsequent park development.

The 1949 Liberation

Internal Liberation wars and international warfare of the 1930s and '40s provided a politically tumultuous period and created social and economic instability which was not conducive to the creation of new parks, not to mention the maintenance of existing ones, with many falling into disrepair. Most parks were therefore in a dire condition in 1949 when the CCP liberated the population from the semi-colonial society. The endurance necessary to regain economic and social strength was popularly perceived as 'poverty and blankness'³⁴, with the notion that 'full-scale reconstruction [was] under way'³⁵. There were only 112 public parks in the entire China, amounting to a grand total 2,961 hectares,³⁶ a provision wholly inadequate. Even in Beijing, where former imperial sites made the city relatively well-endowed, a total of 772 hectares of parks for a total of some 2.1 million residents amounted to only 3.6 square metres per capita.³⁷ This shortfall was to be made up under a socialist-communist agenda.

However, as a result of the general devastation of cities and the limited resources for any construction upon the Liberation, little progress could actually be made in creating new parks. With initial concerns about urban hygiene, the creation of any new public park at this time occurred as a by-product of the mass movement of Patriotic Health Campaign. While restrained by the weak economy, a cost-effective, but conspicuous way to reflect the new political and cultural values was the practice of re-naming existing parks. This was particularly so while the

Guobing 吴国柄. 'Wo he Hankou Zhongshan gongyuan ji shizheng jianshe' [My personal involvements in the construction of Zhongshan Park and Hankou city] 我和汉口中山公园及市政建设. In Historical Studies Committee of Wuhan Political Consultative Committee 政协武汉市委员会文史学习委员会 ed. *Wuhan wenshi ziliao wenku (di san juan)* [Collections of Wuhan historical accounts (Vol. 3)] 武汉文史资料文库(第三卷). (Wuhan: Wuhan Chubanshe, 1999), pp. 450-484.

³⁴ The Chinese text is '一穷二白'. It was upon the Liberation the popular description of the social and economic situations.

³⁵ The Chinese text is '百废待兴'. It was upon the Liberation the common but inspiring advocacy for development.

³⁶ Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 34; Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 3.

³⁷ Beijing Statistic Bureau. *Xinxinxiangrong de Beijing: sanshiwu nian lai Beijingshi guoming jingji he shehui fazhan gaikuang* [Thriving Beijing: brief accounts of the national economy and social development of Beijing of the thirty-five years] 欣欣向荣的北京——三十五年来北京市国民经济和社会发展概况. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1984), p. 81. Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Dangdai Beijing yuanlin fazhan shi* [Modern history of Beijing landscape architecture] 当代北京园林发展史. (October, 1987), p. 11.

policy of self-reliance was promoted as one of the most important directives by the CCP's coming to power. While this policy had effectively commenced under the economic constraints in the pre-Liberation era, it continued to be crucial during the first years of recovery (1949-1952). Park development was certainly not exempted from this policy, since it was a concern that parks would not just require resources in their creation, but also for upkeep.

Digging lakes and raising mountains under the Patriotic Health Campaign

Within these impoverished economic circumstances, the only possibility for the creation of new parks was by means of mass mobilisation of volunteer labour (including officials, students, workers and soldiers). This became a possibility during the Patriotic Health Campaign launched in 1952, which strove after basic sanitary provisions in order to provide a healthier environment. The objective of this Campaign was to prevent and cure contagious diseases by cleaning up urban and rural areas, advocating the so-called 'eight cleanliness', i.e. the cleanliness of children, body, indoor environment, courtyards, streets, kitchens, toilets, and barns; and 'five eliminations', i.e. the eliminations of fly, mosquito, louse, flea, and bedbug; and 'one capture', i.e. the capture of rats (Fig. 3.2).³⁸

With these objectives, rubbish dumps were cleared, sewage ditches were dredged, and sumps were levelled or excavated. As a result, the undesirable derelict sites within cities that proved unsuitable for building were proposed as parks and subjected to extensive earth works. Since these operations were carried out without much forward planning, they generally caused existing conditions to be accentuated, deepening the lower lying land and raising higher areas. Stagnant pools were dredged and further excavated, with the spoil used to create artificial



Figure 3.2 Stamps issued in 1960 depicting the Patriotic Health Campaign (1952): successively 'Sanitation in Mines and Factories', 'To Wipe out the Four Pests', 'To Pay Attention to Hygiene', 'Prevention of Diseases', and 'Physical Drill'. What was more relevant for the development of public parks was the second one. The 'Four Pests' referred to rats, bedbugs, flies, and mosquitoes, which were included in the 'five eliminations' and 'one capture'.

Source: Private collection.

³⁸ Xiao, Aishu 肖爱树. '1949-1959 nian aiguo weisheng yundong shulun' [An investigation of Patriotic Health Campaign (1949-1959)] 1949-1959 年爱国卫生运动述论. *Dangdai Zhongguo Shi Yanjiu*. Vol. 10, No. 1 (January 2003), p. 98.

mounds, resulting in a process that was very similar to the mountain-and-water composition in traditional gardens.³⁹ This 'digging and mounding' tended to create the basic spaces that were planted with a framework of fast growing trees. Yet it soon became evident that these new parks were badly arranged and devoid of the artistic quality of traditional gardens. They also proved expensive to modify.⁴⁰ Examples of parks that were created using mass mobilisation include Aquatic Park (1950) in Tianjin, North Cemetery Park (1950) in Shenyang, Zhongshan Park (1950) in Shantou, Egret Island Park (1951) in Nanjing, Jade Pool Park (1951), Dragon Pool Park (1952) and Joyous Pavilion Park (1952) in Beijing (Fig. 3.3). Yet despite the physical and artistic shortcomings these parks were eagerly adopted as a clear representation of the new age since they had been created by the ordinary people who were enthusiastic and proud whilst participating in these projects as an act of patriotism.⁴¹



Figure 3.3 Digging and mounding project with mass manual volunteers for the creation of Joyous Pavilion Park, Beijing, in 1952.

Source: Han, Jiang 涵江. *Taoranting* [Joyous pavilion] 陶然亭. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1958).

³⁹ See for example the project of Joyous Pavilion Park in Beijing: Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. 'Beijing shi Taoranting gongyuan guihua sheji' [Planning and design of Joyous Pavilion Park of Beijing] 北京市陶然亭公园规划设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 4 (1959), pp. 26-29; Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Beijing landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), pp. 155-156.

⁴⁰ Liu, Shaozong 刘少宗. 'Gongyuan ludi de guihua buju' [Planning of parks] 公园绿地的规划布局. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局 ed. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 27; Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 55.

⁴¹ Hua, Lanhong 华揽洪. *Chongjian zhongguo: chengshi guihua sanshinian, 1949-1979* [Reconstruction of China: thirty years of urbanism, 1949-1979] 重建中国：城市规划三十年，1949-1979, trans. by Li Ying 李颖. (Beijing: Shenghuo-dushu-xinzhi Sanlian Shudian, 2006), p. 211. Originally published as Hoa, Léon. *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme, 1949-1979* (Paris: Éditions du Moniteur, 1981). This sentiment was similar in the Soviet Union where after they were liberated from an oppressive regime volunteers, largely young people of secondary school and college age, eagerly contributed to the creation of their park of culture and rest. See Brodsky, Boris. 'The Psychology of Urban Design in the 1920s and 1930s'. *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, Vol. 5, Russian/Soviet Theme Issue. (Summer, 1987), p. 87.

Public parks as celebrations of ideology and culture

With mass involvement public parks became a focus of, and resource for, the revolutionary effort of promoting socialism. This becomes clear in their naming⁴² as 'People's Park' (for about 10 percent of new parks according to a 1982 statistic⁴³), including examples in Ji'nan (1949), Shijiazhuang (1949), Chengdu (1950), Chongqing (1950), Shanghai (1950), Taiyuan (1950), Nanning (1951), and Tianjin (1951). Other parks celebrated military triumphs in the founding of the nation: in Anshan the former Morning Sunlight Mountain Park⁴⁴ was renamed as 219 Park after the city was liberated on 19 February 1948. Similarly, there were a Liberation Park in Dalian (1945), a Liberation North Park (1949) and a Liberation South Park (1951) in Tianjin; a Victory Park in Changshun (1948) and in Xi'ning (1949); and 81 Park (1950) in Nanchang referring to the Army Day of 1st August in memory of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Revolutionary heroism was celebrated in the naming of Hunan Martyrs Park in Changsha (1951), while new social values were celebrated in Culture Park (1946), Sino-Soviet Friendship Park (1949), and Labour Park (1949) in Dalian; Labour Park in Jilin (1949); Youth Park in Ji'nan (1950); Mass Park in Fuzhou (1952)⁴⁵; Culture Park in Qingdao (1952), and Youth Park in Shenyang (1952). Further parks celebrated revolutionary figures, such as Zhongshan Park (1946), Lenin Park (1947)⁴⁶ and Lu Xun Park (1948)⁴⁷ in Dalian, and Lu Xun Park (1950) in Qingdao.

Though revolutionary, it would be easily acknowledged that the practice of naming had a long tradition associated with poetry and artistic written forms in the Chinese garden design. This connection with the past was indeed demonstrated in the calligraphy of the names displayed at park entrances. But to further promote the revolutionary connotation, park names were sometimes written by the revolutionaries themselves, such as that by Marshal Chen Yi (1901-1972) produced for People's Park in Shanghai in 1950 (Fig. 3.4),⁴⁸ or for People's Park in Tianjin by Chairman Mao (1893-1976) in 1956 (Fig. 3.5). Such inscriptions became an important tool in promoting communism, and in their language were more immediate and readily understood than the traditional florid poetry of before. It highlighted that even with the greatest ideals for innovation it was impossible to shake off history, but also that it might be used for new purposes.

Indeed, while not all names of parks acted as the manifestation of contemporary politics, the historical appeal was clear in many other park names, such as Jade Pool Park⁴⁹ (1951) and

⁴² According to the preliminary survey of 203 public parks, out of the seventy four parks rehabilitated or created during the period from 1949 to 1952, thirty three (forty five percent) parks were named with a clear manifestation of the contemporary politics.

⁴³ Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 34.

⁴⁴ The name was in Chinese '朝日山公园'.

⁴⁵ In 1962, Mass Park was renamed as South Park, the original name in the early twenty century.

⁴⁶ This park was renamed as Labour Park on 3 March 1949.

⁴⁷ This was derived from the name of Lu Xun (1881-1936), an important revolutionist, thinker and writer in the modern era.

⁴⁸ Editorial Board of *Shanghai landscape architecture records* 《上海园林志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai yuanlin zhi* [Shanghai landscape architecture records] 上海园林志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 2000), p. 4.

⁴⁹ The name of 'Jade Pool' came into being in the Yuan Dynasty (1260-1368).



Figure 3.4 The entrance of today's People's Park, Shanghai. The calligraphy work of 'People's Park' (人民公园) inscribed on the tablet was made by Marshal Chen Yi (1901-1972) in 1950.

Source: Photograph by Li Songfeng on 31/12/2007.



Figure 3.5 The entrance of today's People's Park, Tianjin. The calligraphy work of 'People's Park' (人民公园) inscribed on the horizontal panel of the archway was made by Chairman Mao Zedong (1893-1976) in September 1956.

Source: Photograph by Fu Junming in July 2006.

http://109616.ccnpic.com/user/User_Temple/2/magnify.php?userid=109616&img_id=109616-00548, accessed on 31/01/2008.

Joyous Pavilion Park⁵⁰ (1952) in Beijing; Unmoored Ferry Park⁵¹ (1950) in Hefei; Black Dragon Pool Park⁵² (1950) in Kunming; and Canton Elegant Park⁵³ (1951) in Guangzhou, which were all related to relevant history of the site. Actually, the Chinese communists upon the Liberation showed a concern about the respect to and protection of historic remains.⁵⁴ Especially, prior to

⁵⁰ 'Joyous Pavilion' had been named in 1695 after a poem composed by Bai Juyi (772-846), which read, 'When chrysanthemums are golden and our homebrew is ready, you and I shall drink and be joyous (更待菊黄家酿熟, 与君一醉一陶然).' Translated in *Peking: a tourist guide* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1960), p. 97.

⁵¹ The name of 'Unmoored Ferry' recalled the famous warfare at the unmoored ferry between Wei and Wu during the Three Kingdoms Era (220-280).

⁵² The name of 'Black Dragon Pool' was derived from the Black Pool Temple (黑水祀) originally on the site dated back to the Han Dynasty (202 B.C. - A.D.220).

⁵³ The name was derived from one of the Eight Landscape Scenes of Guangzhou included in the park, i.e. Canton Elegant Pine Waves (粤秀松涛) built in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).

⁵⁴ Before Beijing surrendered, Professor Liang Sicheng (1901-1972) was brought a map of the city by an officer of the People's Liberation Army and 'was asked to designate areas where precious buildings and cultural relics must be preserved if artillery should be called into action.' See Fairbank, Wilma. *Liang and Lin: Partners in Exploring China's Architectural Past*

the construction of Joyous Pavilion Park in Beijing. Chairman Mao stressed in 1950 that its traditional name should be retained: 'Joyous Pavilion is a place of historic interest in Beijing, and its name should be kept.'⁵⁵ This care of traditional past was largely a result of the national pride after the victory over the foreign imperial powers and the founding of an independent nation. This signified that, besides promoting socialism, the country's history was also important to reinforce nationalism. As upon Liberation there were limited resources for the creation of parks it was necessary to preserve what was inherited from the past so that this would not only contribute to the nationalist spirit but also enhance park spaces both materially and culturally.

Practicing self-reliance: the policy of Yi Yuan Yang Yuan (以园养园)

As a result of the grave economic circumstances, any creation of parks was promoted through self-reliance, which was advocated as a national policy to overcome economic constraints and uphold the revolutionary spirit for socialist construction. It was extended in 1950 for park construction with *Yi Yuan Yang Yuan (YYYY)*,⁵⁶ a policy of economic self-sufficiency which determined that parks should be considered as a resource and that they should be self-financing. This might be achieved for example through admission tickets, franchises, and shop rents, thus being able to settle the salaries of staff and workers and costs of management and maintenance, without having to rely for income on taxation. This policy effectively encouraged parks to be run as businesses, rather than being perceived as places encouraging social welfare by means of free access. However within the light of the economic circumstance of the time, this situation was perhaps inevitable, with the government maintaining free access was the intention once the economic situation had recovered.⁵⁷

Moreover, the idea of self-sufficiency was explored through 'production' which was actually a general requirement for building up a socialist economy. Parks would contribute to the necessities of life, such as vegetables, and forage for animals. Water bodies were used for fish farming, starting in Beijing in 1951 when 1.7 million fish were bought from Wuhan and released in the lakes of the Summer Palace and North Sea Park.⁵⁸ With 'lake digging' and 'hill mounding' of

(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), p. 169.

⁵⁵ Quoted from Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 26. Author's translation.

⁵⁶ Issued on 11 August 1950 during the Second Plenary Session of Park Management Committee of the People's Government of Beijing. The four Chinese characters 'Yi Yuan Yang Yuan' respectively and literally mean 'to use or take', 'park or garden', 'to support or maintain', and 'park or garden'.

⁵⁷ The Beijing People's Government stated in 1951 that: 'Free admission is the aim, but it could only be realised providing various other [economic] conditions are well settled.' See: Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 486.

⁵⁸ Jin, Guangjin 新光琴. 'Beijing gongyuan xitong yangyu shengchan de fazhan guocheng' [The development of fish farming in the parks of Beijing] 北京公园系统养鱼生产的发展过程. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局 ed. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 248.

other sites, such as Joyous Pavilion Park, Shichahai Lake, Dragon Pool Lake, and Jishui Pool, being completed in 1953, delegates of the First People's Congress in Beijing suggested that all the water bodies of parks should be utilised for fish farming. This directive was followed by the establishment of the Fish Farming Section of the Municipal Park Bureau in Purple Bamboo Park in April 1954, with concerted fish farming activities in the subsequent years (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Statistics of fish farmed in lakes of Beijing parks (1954-1958)

	Lake area (<i>mu</i>)	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958
The Summer Palace	2,000	409,375	30,413	38,066	150,853	3,198,992
North Sea Park	580	120,555	72,150	70,729	77,662	1,349,773
Joyous Pavilion Park	250	70,308	57,267	34,511	39,131	974,092
Shichahai Lake	440	n/a	56,060	n/a	45,998	n/a
Dragon Pool Lake	600	143,263	198,235	90,769	118,558	1,337,251
Jishui Pool	120	90,346	39,770	80,752	35,588	612,626
Purple Bamboo Park	180	430,000	n/a	44,697	44,724	n/a
Zhongshan Park	200	73,352	63,329	48,426	81,638	1,240,908

Note: 1 *mu* is equivalent to 1/15 hectare or 1/6 acre. The statistics for 1958 might have been over-inflated under the 'Wind of Exaggeration' of the GLF (1958-1960), but nonetheless indicated the much expanded scale of fish farming.

Source: Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局 ed. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 253. The figure of the Purple Bamboo Park in 1954 is from Editorial Board of Garden History of Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局园林建设史编委会, ed. *Beijing yuanlin dashi ji, shang (1949-1965)* [Great events of Beijing landscape architecture, Vol. 1 (1949-1965)] 北京园林大事记, 上 (1949-1965). (July, 1984), p. 26.

But production was not limited to fish farming. It was one of the necessary functions of the greening movement stipulated in the *National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967)*,⁵⁹ under which a 1957 directive suggested that 'Greening should be seen as an undertaking of production.'⁶⁰ This helped to emphasise that greening not only made environmental differences, but that this also made economic sense and meant the planting of fruit trees, farming, and communal food production in parks. This was to be largely practiced in the following GLF campaign (1958-1960). Yet despite its close association with the national policy of self-reliance, the policy of YYY remained contentious, since the above activities often undermined the recreational and aesthetic value of parks and the goal of self-financing meanwhile proved not to be achievable. It was later re-considered during the economic recovery of the Readjustment period (1961-1965) and heavily criticised under the altered political circumstances of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969).

⁵⁹ *National Programme for Agricultural Development 1956-1967* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1960).

⁶⁰ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局 ed. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), pp. 2, 6; Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Dangdai Beijing yuanlin fazhan shi* [Modern history of Beijing landscape architecture] 当代北京园林发展史. (October, 1987), pp. 16, 224.

Soviet Influences versus Chinese approaches

The Park of Culture and Rest Model: Gorki Park

While during the pre-Liberation era it was mainly ideas from West European countries and the United States that influenced culture, including park design, in China, after Liberation the Soviet Union became the prime model. This was especially so during the 1950s when the 'Leaning to One Side' Policy (1949), which promoted a sense of political alliance and thus a socialist representation, was implemented. With it came models for virtually every aspect of urban development, such as planning, housing, greening, industry, infrastructure, as well as park design. The 'Park of Culture and Rest', created in Gorki Park, Moscow in 1928, became a model for the organisation and design of socialist parks and was celebrated for its technical accomplishments throughout the communist world.⁶¹ It was promoted in China by means of visiting specialists and handbooks, translated from the Russian, such as *Greening Construction* by Leonid Borisovich Lunts, translated in 1956.⁶² This elaborated on the philosophical and technical aspects of Parks of Culture and Rest as well as other greenspaces. In all, Gorki Park (276.5 hectares) which had been transformed from a rubbish heap to a flower garden for the people, was described as symbolising the height of socialism built on 'the rotting rubbish of tsardom'.⁶³

The layout, proposed by Stalin (1879-1953), was a grandiose axial arrangement stretching from Red Square to Lenin Hills. The site itself was divided into four 'zones', distinguished as Lenin Hills, Big Parterre, Neskuchny Garden and the Lushniki (Fig. 3.6). The Lenin Hills, located to the south, served for popularization of cultural and scientific knowledge, with a museum of fossils and a zoological garden to west, and a museum of plants and a botanical garden to east. With its extensive green spaces, this zone also served for rambling and rest. The Stalin Constitution Commemorative Tower placed at the hilltop provided a domineering monument at the end of the main axis. The Big Parterre designed as a 'place for mass rest and the place for mass work',⁶⁴ was intended for mass assemblage and meeting. The area was entered through a monumental archway from Moscow's main traffic artery, the Garden Ring. The main avenue was symmetrically aligned with flowerbeds, fountains and gravel walks. The structural planting consisted of shrubs and trees that were clipped to geometric shapes with height restricted in order to retain an open vista, ideal for grand events. In contrast, the Neskuchny Garden, based

⁶¹ It was not only a model for the creation of subsequent parks within the Soviet Union, but also one for many other countries, such as Hungary, Romania, Poland, East Germany, Cuba, and China. This was also mentioned in Hayden, Peter. *Russian Parks and Gardens* (London: Lincoln, 2005), p. 231, in which Japan was also included in the list.

⁶² Lunts, Leonid Borisovich. *Lùhua jiànshè* [Greening construction] 绿化建设, trans. by Zhu Junzhen 朱钧珍, Liu Chengxian 刘承翔, Ma Shiwei 马士伟, and Shen Dalun 沈大伦. (Beijing: Jianzhu Gongcheng Chubanshe, 1956).

⁶³ Hayden, Peter. *Russian Parks and Gardens* (London: Lincoln, 2005), p. 231.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Floryan, Margarethe. *Gardens of the Tsars: A Study of the Aesthetics, Semantics, and Uses of Late 18th Century Russian Gardens* (Aarhus, Denmark, Sagaponack, N.Y.: Sagapress: Aarhus University Press, 1996), p. 53.



Figure 3.6 The design proposal of Gorki Park of Culture and Rest in Moscow, USSR (late 1920s)

Figure 3.6 The design proposal of Gorki Park of Culture and Rest in Moscow, USSR (late 1920s)

Big Partere	1.	Exhibition hall at the main entrance	2.	Small garden in front of the main entrance	
	3.	Sports ground	4.	Public playground and recreational area	
	5.	Existing hospital buildings	6.	Young Pioneers' Pond	
	7.	Cultural and educational exhibition hall			
	Neskuchny	8.	Green Courtyard	9.	Recreational Palace
		10.	Offices	11.	Music theatre
		12.	Museum of Garden Arts	13.	Rest pavilions
Lenin Hills	14.	Greenhouse of the Botanical Garden	15.	Museum of Plants	
	16.	Entrance and exit of the Botanical Garden	17.	Public buildings	
	18.	Stalin Constitution Commemorative Tower	19.	Skating rink	
	20.	Sports ground	21.	Museum of Fossils and Zoological Garden	
	22.	Entrance and exit for the southwest area of Moscow			
	Lushniki	23.	Youth Palace	24.	Sports ground
		25.	Pond with world map	26.	Housing

Source: Lunts, Leonid Borisovich. *Lùhua jiànshè* [Greening construction] 绿化建设, trans. by Zhu Junzhen 朱钧珍, Liu Chengxian 刘承翔, Ma Shiwei 马士伟, and Shen Dalun 沈大伦. (Beijing: Zhongguo Gongye Chubanshe, 1962), p. 129.

on an English landscape park created in 1834, provided intimate spaces with mature vegetation, ideal for quiet rest.⁶⁵ The Lushniki zone, at the foot of the Lenin Hills alongside the main axis, provided multiple sports facilities, including football fields, ski tracks, boating lake and a youth palace. Throughout the park there were also a great many other facilities and provisions, including theatres, a circus, bandstands, exhibition halls, lecture rooms, laboratories and reading rooms. In fact, the range of facilities so much determined the fondness of the people for the park and its popularity in the Soviet Union that it was largely perceived as a recreational centre rather than a designed landscape.⁶⁶ It became a symbol for the masses who could now exercise their right to enjoy life and work in the new Soviet era. Throughout, however, educational aspects were emphasised by commentators and state alike.⁶⁷

The creation of Gorki Park provided the experiences from which some design guidelines were derived for a Park of Culture and Rest in general. This was done in a rational manner based on allocation of functional zones and strict land quotas for various social activities, defined as culture and recreation zone, sports activities zone, children's play zone, quiet rest zone, and administration and management zone. Each of these zones had requirements for hard surfaces, grass and planting, which were individually quantified. The 'land quota' for park elements was recommended as follows (Table 3.2):

⁶⁵ Despite the current informality, the Neskuchny was originally a formal garden laid out in the middle of the eighteenth century with a number of enclosures framed by clipped hedges. See Hayden, Peter. *Russian Parks and Gardens* (London: Lincoln, 2005), p. 184.

⁶⁶ Ivanova, K. *Parks of Culture and Rest in the Soviet Union* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1939), pp. 6-9.

⁶⁷ Ivanova, K. *Parks of Culture and Rest in the Soviet Union* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1939), p. 17; Floryan, Margarethe. *Gardens of the Tsars: A Study of the Aesthetics, Semantics, and Uses of Late 18th Century Russian Gardens* (Aarhus, Denmark, Sagaponack, N.Y.: Sagapress: Aarhus University Press, 1996), p. 52.

Table 3.2 Recommended 'land quota' for elements of a Park of Culture and Rest (%)

Functional zones	Area		
	Roads, squares, buildings	Lawns	Shrubs and trees
Cultural and educational zone	35	25	40
Sports activities zone	40	25	35
Children's play zone	20	30	50
Quiet rest zone	10	30	60
Administration and management zone	50	30	20
Average in the park	15-20	25-30	55-60

Source: Urban Construction Research Institute of the Architectural Science Academy of USSR 苏联建筑科学院城市建设研究所. *Sulian chengshi luhua* [Urban landscape architecture of the Soviet Union] 苏联城市绿化, trans. by Lin Maosheng 林茂盛, Yang Chunsheng 杨春生, and Wei Zhaoxuan 魏要玄. (Beijing: Jianzhu Gongcheng Chubanshe, 1959), p. 57.

Thus the concept of Park of Culture and Rest became identified with this rational approach, which provided an easy solution to complicated problems. It readily influenced the design of Chinese parks with functional considerations becoming the prime objective and quotas correspondingly being stipulated for designated zones. This planning-led approach for park features aimed to uphold and represent the socialist spirit, but meant, just as it did at Gorki Park, that new parks would be regarded as autonomous institutions, dominated by buildings providing cultural and recreational venues, rather than as a provision of public greenspace. In China, this directive tended to encourage the erection of buildings which could be let so that they might contribute to being self-financing. This seems to have reinforced the popular notion that 'a garden in the Occident is planted but a Chinese garden is built'⁶⁸ and may be why building structures continued to be of such significance in the new Chinese parks.

Emulation of the Soviet Model versus traditional Chinese approaches

Parks in China that followed the Soviet model of Park of Culture and Rest with its emphasis on functional zones and land quotas included Unmoored Ferry Park (1950) in Hefei, Star Sea Park (1950) in Dalian, North Cemetery Park (1950) in Shenyang, Canton Elegance Park (1951) in Guangzhou, Joyous Pavilion Park (1952) in Beijing, People's Park (1952) in Shanghai, Liberation Park (1953) in Wuhan, and People's Park (1955) in Nanchang. While zones were devised so as not to interfere with each other, they were 'rational' zones that enabled allocation for individual functions to be varied with respect to topography and local environmental conditions. For example in Beijing Joyous Pavilion Park (1952), a site bordered by Joyous Pavilion Road to north, Peace and Tranquility Road to east, Dragon Claw Pagoda Tree Street

⁶⁸ Zhu, Ya-xin. *Landscape Design in Chinese Gardens* (New York, London: McGraw-Hill, 1988), p. 73.

and a residential area to west, and the city wall to south, consisted of five zones: an adult sports zone in the northeast, a children's play zone in west, a cultural recreational activities zone covering the vast area in the middle, an administration and management zone in southeast, and a quiet rest zone in southwest (Fig. 3.7). Besides consideration of specific site conditions, these zones also conformed to the wider context by locating the first four zones close to the urban infrastructure for ease of access, while the zone intended for quiet rest was well screened by the south city wall⁶⁹. With similar rational considerations, the zones within Unmoored Ferry Park (1950) in Hefei included a youth recreational zone beside the south entrance, a cultural activities zone in north stretching over the east and west of the park with an extensive water body, lawns and woods, a quiet rest zone in southwest with winding watercourse and isles, a zoological garden in southeast on an independent island, and a *penjing*⁷⁰ garden in the northwest corner (Fig. 3.8). Those of People's Park (1952), Shanghai, included a children's play zone in the northeast, an adult recreational zone in southwest, and a rest zone to north and in the centre.⁷¹

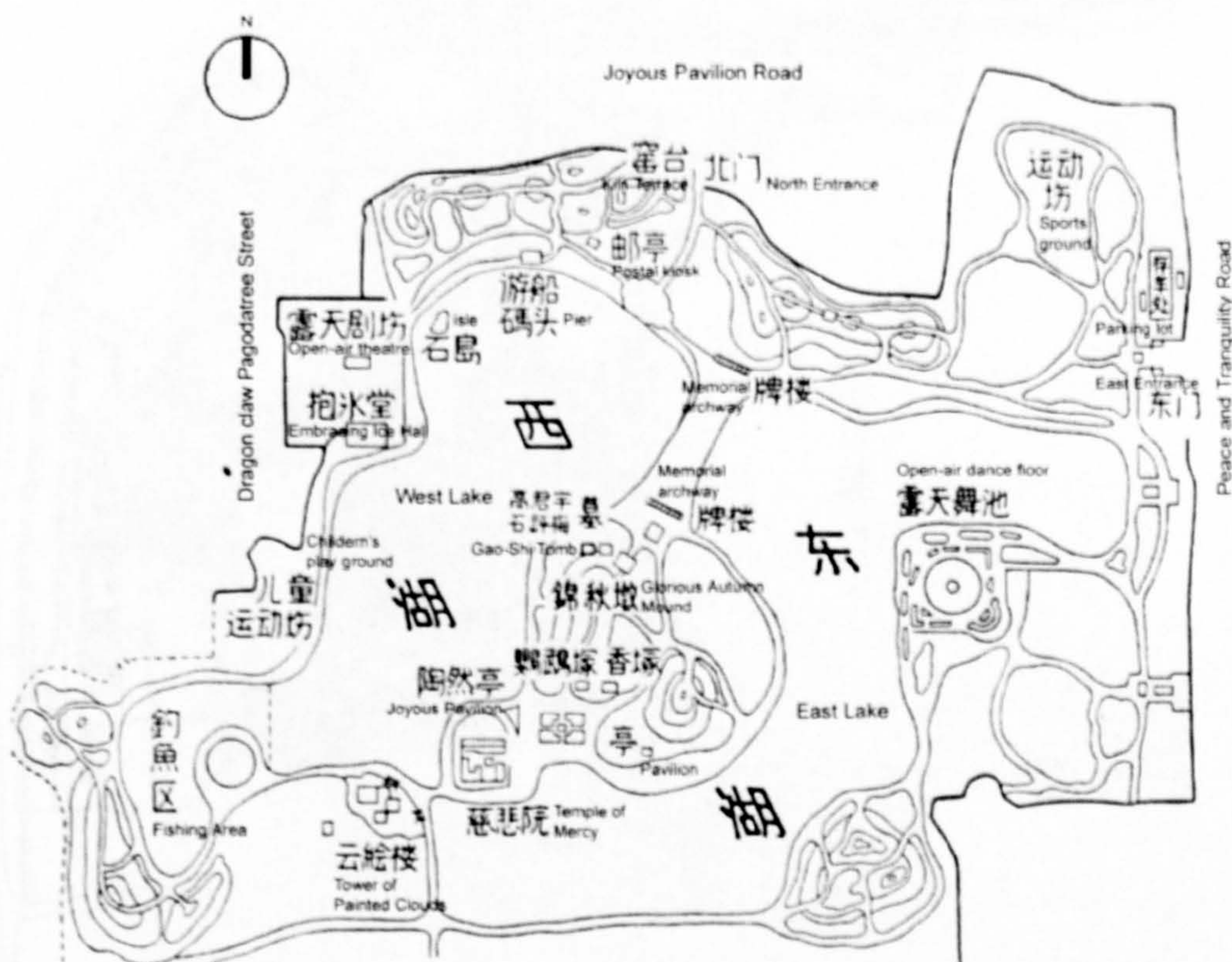


Figure 3.7 Plan of Joyous Pavilion Park, Beijing (1950s) shows the influence of the Soviet design approach through the allocation of functional zones, and the Chinese garden making tradition, the mountain-and-water pattern.

Source: Han, Jiang 涵江. *Taoranting* [Joyous pavilion] 陶然亭. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1958).

⁶⁹ The south city wall was demolished in 1956. But the vacated site was soon occupied by some factories. As a result, the south boundary of the park was still blocked. The park did not have a south entrance until 1987.

⁷⁰ *Penjing* is known in the West as bonsai which is a Japanese term, since this horticultural art, though originated in China, was first encountered by Westerners in Japan. This was also noted in Morris, Edwin T. *The Gardens of China: History, Art, and Meanings* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), pp. 153-154.

⁷¹ The park was significantly destroyed and the differentiation of functional zones was totally obliterated during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969). In the late 1970s, the park was restored with another three zones arranged: a youth recreational zone in east, a sightseeing and rest zone in west, and a cultural and publicity zone in the centre. See: Editorial Board of *Shanghai landscape architecture records* 《上海园林志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai yuanlin zhi* [Shanghai landscape architecture records] 上海园林志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 2000), p. 111.



Figure 3.8 Plan of Unmoored Ferry Park, Hefei (early 1980s).

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. South entrance | 2. West entrance | 3. Ticket office |
| 4. Electric hobbyhorse | 5. Children's play ground | 6. Pergola corridor |
| 7. Exhibition hall | 8. Teahouse | 9. Pier |
| 10. Unmoored villa | 11. Management office | 12. Flower shop |
| 13. No. 1 Bridge | 14. No. 2 Bridge | 15. South Ferry Bridge |
| 16. North Ferry Bridge | 17. Police substation | 18. Zoological garden |
| 19. Embracing Spring Pavilion | 20. Waterside pavilion | 21. Peony Garden |
| 22. Long corridor | 23. Unmoored Pavilion | 24. Open-air theatre |

25. Skating rink	26. Restaurant	27. Badminton court
28. Goldfish cultivation area	29. <i>Penjing</i> garden	30. <i>Penjing</i> corridor
31. <i>Penjing</i> workshop	32. Nursery	33. Red carp pond
34. Pavilion	35. Tomb of Zhang Liao	36. Sculpture
37. Pergola	38. Toilet	

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 70.

Where Soviet guidelines did not comply with the allocation of zones in China was with respect to waterbodies, notably excluded from the Soviet land quotas, but such an important feature in traditional Chinese landscape design with its mountain-and-water pattern (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 'Land quota' for elements of some Parks of Culture and Rest in China (%)

	Roads, squares and buildings	Planting coverage (lawns, shrubs and trees)	Water bodies	other
Joyous Pavilion Park, Beijing (59 ha)	14.3	55.1	29.5	1.1
Unmoored Ferry Park, Hefei (31.3 ha)	10.1	53.6	35.8	0.5
People's Park, Shanghai (18.9 ha)	18.9	81.1	-	-

Source: Figures of Unmoored Ferry Park and Joyous Pavilion Park are from Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), pp. 41, 44. Those of People's Park are from Xiong, Ming 熊明. *Wenhua xiuxi gongyuan de guihua sheji wenti* [Issues of the planning and design of the Park of Culture and Rest] 文化休息公园的规划设计问题. Master of Architecture Thesis. (Beijing: Tsinghua University, School of Architecture, 1956), p. 44.

Among the Chinese Parks of Culture and Rest, the Culture Park in Guangzhou (Canton) was non-typical. First laid out in 1951 on a 7.7 hectares site, it was conceived for the Exhibition Fair of Specialities of South China and designed by architect Chen Boqi (1903-1973), who formerly studied architecture in Tokyo Institute of Technology (1930-1934) and in Technical University of Berlin (1934-1939). Its layout was grid-like creating twelve rectangular areas dominated by exhibition buildings. There were a children's play zone in the southwest, an elders' zone in the northwest, a cultural and recreational zone in the northeast, and an entertainment zone in the southeast (Fig. 3.9). After the exhibition in 1952 the site became the Lingnan Cultural Relic Palace and due to increasing Soviet influence in 1956 was renamed as Culture Park. It became a place for publicity, exhibitions, sports activity, and entertainment, thus functioning as a Park of Culture and Rest. The various exhibition buildings in separate compartments proved helpful in providing desirable zoning, which was also of importance to emphasise ideology and serve educational purposes. With virtually no deliberate consideration for articulation of outdoor spaces and planting arrangement, this park emphasised that buildings, which would accommodate various social activities, were of greater importance in a Park of Culture and Rest than a well-designed greenspace. This park therefore showed the excesses the pursuit of the

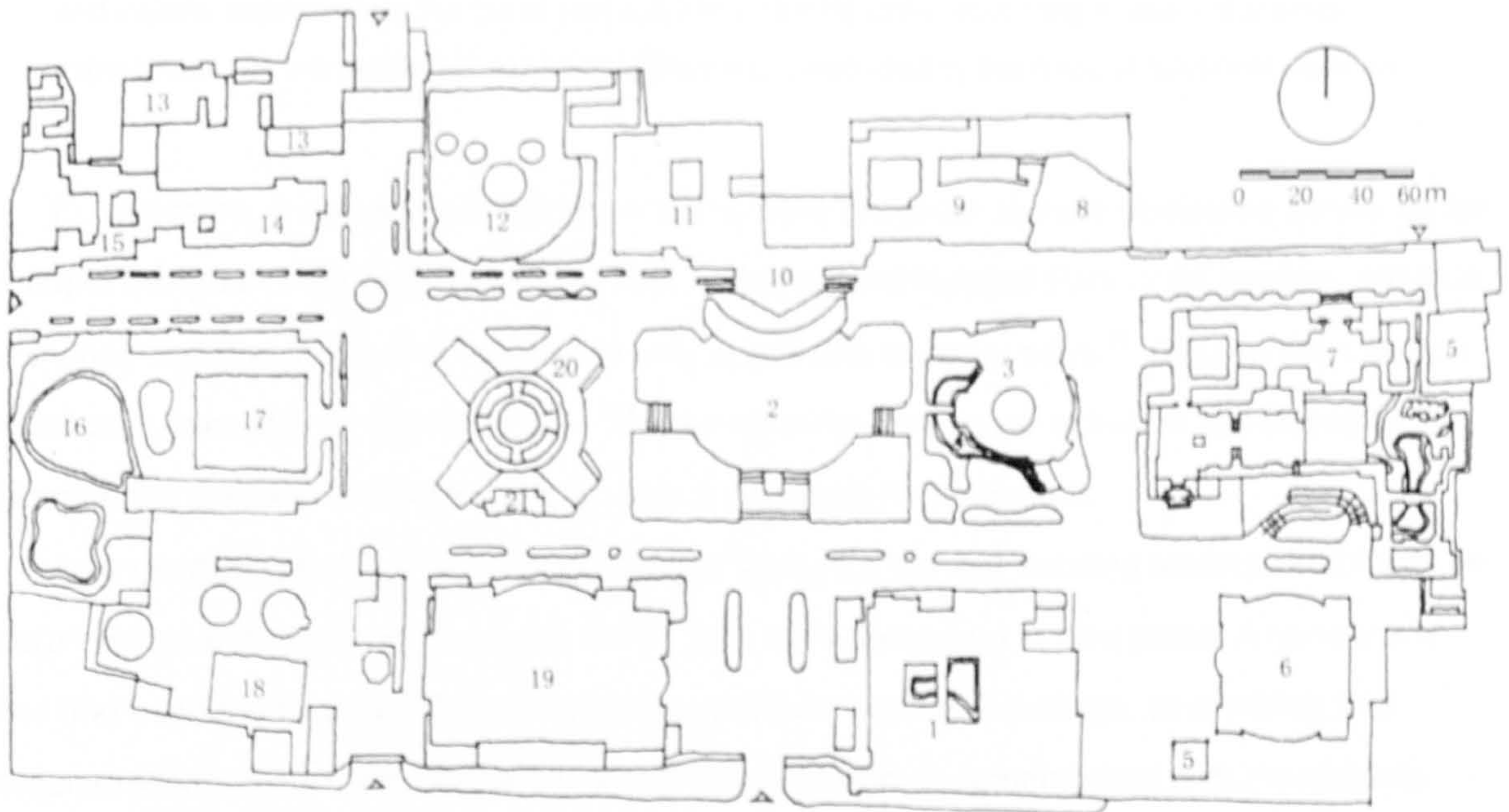


Figure 3.9 Plan of Culture Park, Guangzhou (late 1980s).

1. Garden within a garden	8. Hundred flower theatre	15. Chess hall
2. Central square	9. Ping-pong hall	16. Aquatic pleasure
3. Aquatic product exhibition hall	10. Central entertainment stage	17. Skating rink
4. Rockery	11. Gymnasium	18. Pleasure ground
5. Underground market	12. Dolphinarium	19. Exhibition centre
6. Entertainment square	13. Administration centre	20. Exhibition hall
7. Han complex	14. <i>Penjing</i> garden	21. Reading room

Source: Liu, Tingfeng 刘庭风. *Lingnan yuanlin, Guangzhou yuanlin* [Lingnan and Guangzhou gardens and parks] 岭南园林, 广州园林. (Shanghai: Tongji University Press, 2003), p. 182.

Park of Culture and Rest concept might lead to and how aesthetic pleasure of the outdoor spaces of the park was compromised.

Indeed, the Soviet design guidance was sometimes followed dogmatically in Chinese Parks of Culture and Rest without paying respect to landform, providing a rigid layout that was predictable and boring. In the early 1980s it was suggested by some visitors of these parks that with an admission fee of three *fen*⁷², they were worth a visit of only three minutes.⁷³ As a result the application of the Soviet design guidance was subjected to criticism by some Guangzhou (Canton) architects and landscape architects in the early 1960s:

Parks in some countries have always been planned with rigid allocation of functional zones. In the planning of a Park of Culture and Rest, active activity zone and quiet rest zone are in most cases considered... In fact, it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between the active activity zone neighbouring scenic beauties with trees and the quiet rest zone. Especially for parks with hills and lakes, if the distances between various activities and buildings are arranged appropriately, taking into account the incompatibility between them and with proper treatments, [different zones] could be well integrated and arranged conforming to site conditions

⁷² The '*fen*' is the smallest measurement unit in the Chinese currency system.

⁷³ Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 48.

and visitors' requirements. For the planning of some special parks, according to years of practical experiences, we are aware that we should not be much restricted by the issue of functional divisions.⁷⁴

Furthermore, it was argued that some parks were too small to have distinctive zones, as for example Dongdan Park (4.75 hectare, 1955) in Beijing and Huaihai Park (2.67 hectare, 1958) in Shanghai, and that the Soviet model was only applicable to larger sites.⁷⁵ Despite this criticism Soviet park planning, as represented in the zoning of modern social activities, continued to influence the creation of Chinese parks since it was easy to implement.

As a general rule in the creation of Parks of Culture and Rest, existing features that might be interpreted as part of the glorious and heroic past were preserved in new parks. A good many sites had been the locations for revolutionary activities, such as meetings, assemblies and demonstrations, before the Liberation, which were sometimes remembered with monuments providing an important political and didactic statement. The monument established in 1914 in memory of the martyrs in the 1911 Protecting Railway Revolution in Junior City Park in Chengdu became an important feature of the new People's Park (Fig. 3.10). Similarly, there was a monument erected in 1946 in memory of the martyrs in the 1911 Revolution, and the other one in 1947 in memory of the Chongqing fire-fighting martyrs (Fig. 3.11) in Central Park, later renamed as People's Park, Chongqing. The Gao-Shi Tomb in Joyous Pavilion Park (1952) in Beijing was

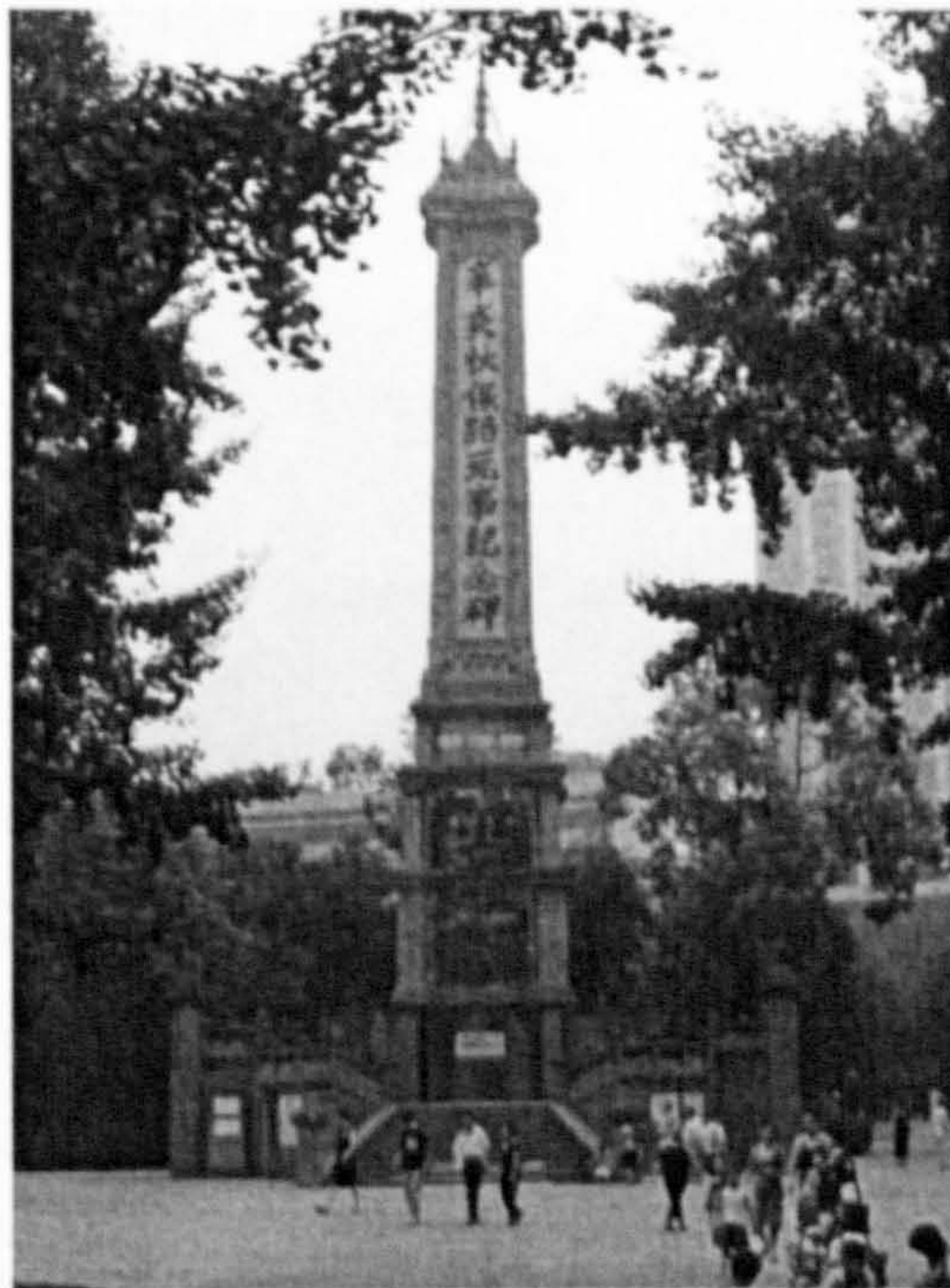


Figure 3.10 The Monument to the Martyrs of the 1911 Protecting Railway Revolution, established in 1914 in People's Park, Chengdu.

Source: <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/original/4093560.jpg>, accessed on 09/10/2007.

⁷⁴ Quoted from Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 48. Author's translation.

⁷⁵ Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), pp. 44-48.

another outstanding example (Fig. 3.12). It was the tomb of Gao Junyu (1896-1925), one of the first few Party members of the CCP, who was broken down from constant overwork fighting against imperialism and warlordism, and his girlfriend, Shi Pingmei (1902-1928), also a progressive youth. Its significance was acknowledged by Premier Zhou Enlai in 1956 when, while examining the master plan of Beijing, he pronounced that 'Revolutionary activities do not conflict with love affairs. The preservation will bear educational significance for the youth.'⁷⁶



Figure 3.11 The monument established in 1947 in memory of the Chongqing fire-fighting martyrs in Central Park, Chongqing.

Source: Supplied by Wan Tingting.



Figure 3.12 The Gao-Shi Tomb in Joyous Pavilion Park, Beijing, was established in 1925 and completed in 1927 in memory of Gao Junyu (1896-1925), one of the first several Party members of the CCP and his girlfriend Shi Pingmei (1902-1927).

Source: Han, Jiang 涵江. *Taoranting* [Joyous pavilion] 陶然亭. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1958).

⁷⁶ Quoted from Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), pp. 29, 102. Author's translation.

For the same purposes, new features were added as an embodiment of the new lives in the socialist era or commemorating revolutionary events. In the Soviet Union round dances on open-air dance floors became a popular pastime in early communism, which were emulated with similar provisions in China. They could be found in many parks, as for example in Joyous Pavilion Park (1952) in Beijing in 1955 (Fig. 3.13),⁷⁷ Unmoored Ferry Park (1950) in Hefei in 1956,⁷⁸ Culture Park (1958) in Harbin in 1958.⁷⁹ Ideological orientation was also emphasised through monuments or statues. The 'Tower Guarding the River',⁸⁰ constructed in 1957 in Stalin Park in Harbin, celebrated the successful defence against the biggest flood since records began. On the top of the monument were represented a worker, peasant, soldier and intellectual holding high a red flag, with a relief base depicting the events. Surrounded by a western classical colonnade, the Tower also transmitted Soviet influences, and provided a statement of man over nature, as well as praising socialist superiority (Fig. 3.14).

With the emphasis on political representation and functional provision with built structures, tree planting remained important so as to improve the urban environment. It also appeared as an issue of politics in that it was carried out under the slogan of 'Popularization first and improvement second'⁸¹ in order to quickly achieve greening. But this was carried out with mass mobilisation of 'Making Green the Motherland' thus without professional input, and was accomplished with little attention as to how this would be delivered to achieve visual pleasure. For example at Joyous Pavilion Park, it was noted that: 'Visiting the park is as if strolling around streets. The wide expanse of roads is just regularly lined with trees... Look! The lake looks like a swimming pool, the revetments of its four sides are bold upright.'⁸² This statement highlights that expectations

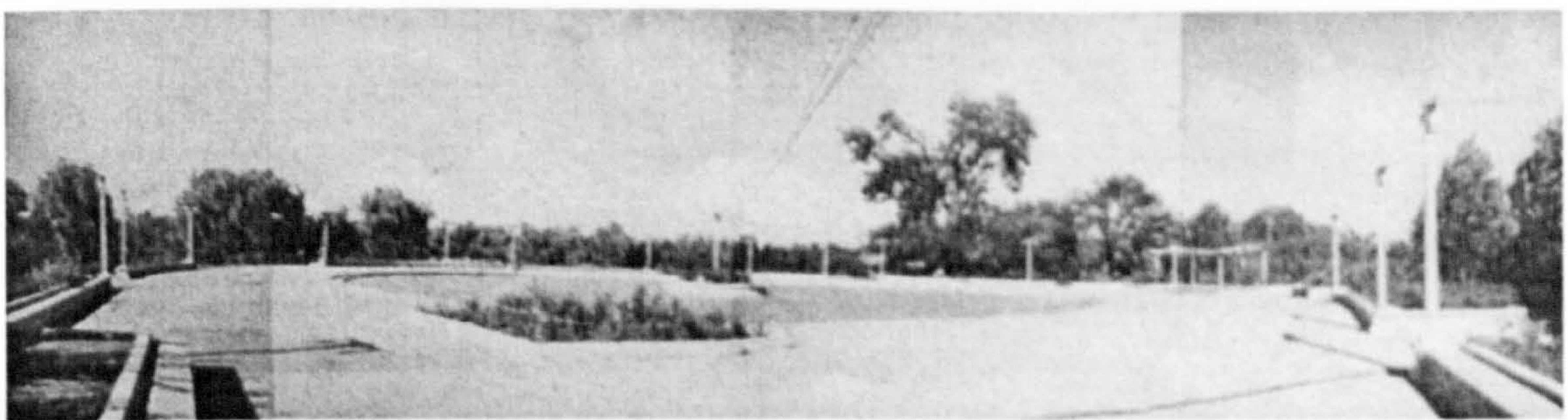


Figure 3.13 The open-air dance floor laid in Joyous Pavilion Park in Beijing in 1955, which was a result of the social fashion to emulate the Soviet style round dances at the time.

Source: Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin lühua gongzuo nianbao (1961-1962)* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture (1961-1962)] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 (1961-1962). (June, 1963).

⁷⁷ The open-air dancing floor in Joyous Pavilion Park in Beijing was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution.

⁷⁸ The open-air dancing floor in Unfettered Ferry Park in Hefei was removed in 1979. A waterside pavilion was built on the site in the next year.

⁷⁹ The open-air dancing floor in Culture Park in Harbin was the largest one in China at the time.

⁸⁰ The name of the monument was in Chinese '塔镇江天'.

⁸¹ Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin lühua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 8.

⁸² Quoted from Wu, Huansun 吴幻荪. 'Lun gongyuan' [On parks] 论公园. *Renmin Ribao* (November 16, 1956). Author's translation.

were not fulfilled. Once the effects of single policy 'irrespective' greening became clear, it was argued that: 'As a park for the Chinese people, the Chinese architectural style should be adopted everywhere. As a scenic area in China, the characteristics of the national arts should be represented everywhere.'⁸³ This statement advocated a return to nationalist policies and values, which was highlighted by the slogans 'National in form, socialist in content'⁸⁴ and 'Make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China'⁸⁵.

These nationalist values might be achieved by revival of traditions or through preservation of existing features. In Joyous Pavilion Park three pavilions, i.e. Brilliant Brightness Pavilion (澄光亭) (Fig. 3.15), Glorious Autumn Pavilion (锦秋亭), and Autumn Refreshing Pavilion (秋爽亭), were built in a traditional style and given names with poetic quality in 1953. With the directive of 'making the past serve the present',⁸⁶ existing buildings, such as the Joyous Pavilion and the Temple of Mercy on the central island, were restored. Additionally cultural relics from other locations in Beijing were rebuilt in the park, such as in 1954 the Tower of Painted Clouds (云绘楼) and the Sweet Sound Pavilion (清音阁), which originated from the Central and South Lakes,

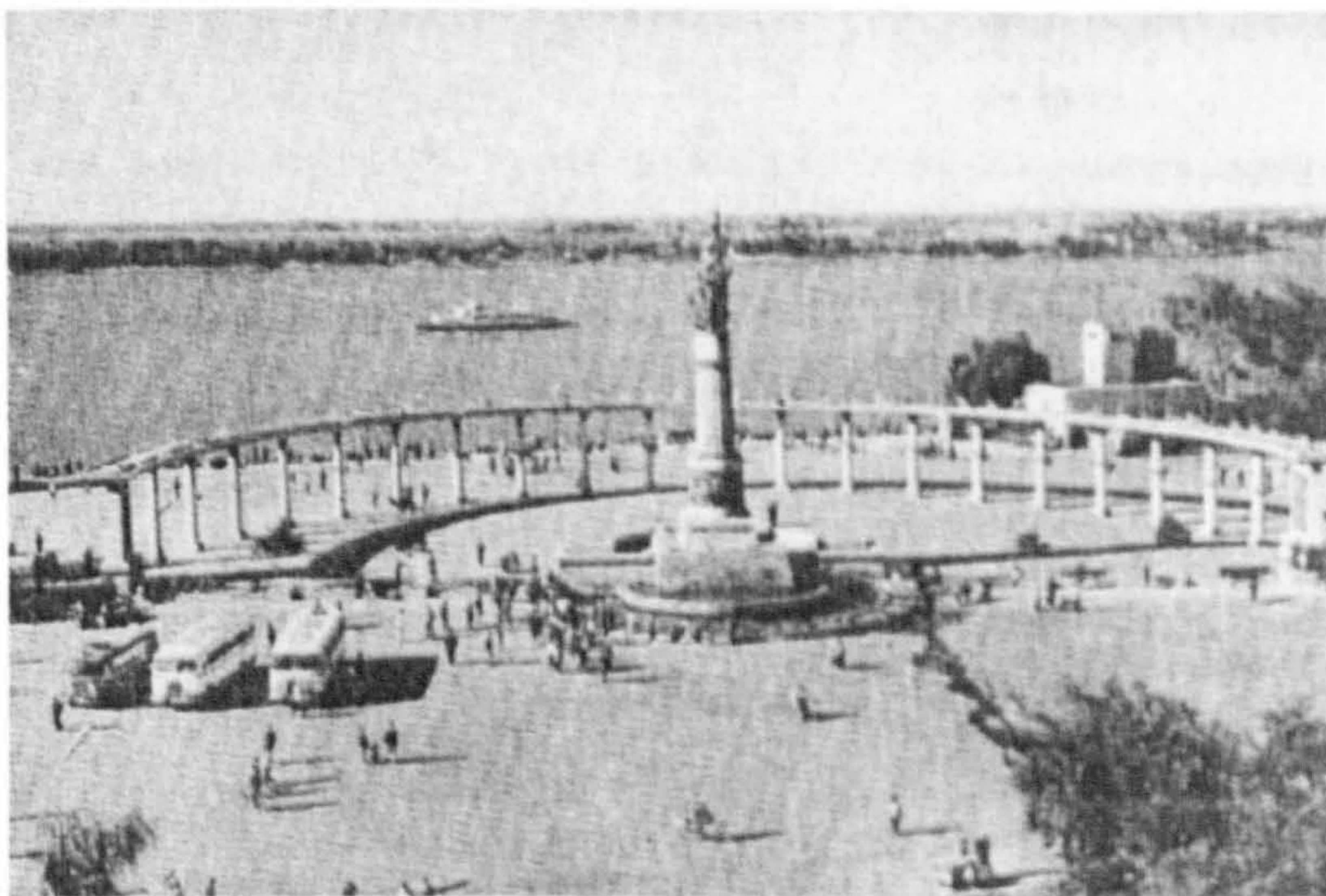


Figure 3.14 'Tower Guarding the River' was constructed in 1957 in Stalin Park, Harbin, to celebrate the successful defence against the biggest flood since records began. It was a political statement in that it not only recognised Soviet influences but also praised the power of the people under socialism.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 42.

⁸³ Quoted from Wu, Huansun 吴幻荪. 'Lun gongyuan' [On parks] 论公园. *Renmin Ribao* (November 16, 1956). Author's translation.

⁸⁴ This was the Soviet design guideline associated with 'socialist realism'.

⁸⁵ This statement was put forward by Chairman Mao in his *Conversation with musicians* (同音乐工作者的谈话) on 24 August 1956 during the 'Hundred Flowers' campaign. It was restated by him in February 1964 in a letter to the students of the Central Conservatory of Music. As a general guideline, it was also of importance for the development of landscape architecture. For example, it was mentioned in: Zhang, Yongzhu 张永朱. 'Shinian lai de yuanlin xiushan' [Ten years of garden and park repairs] 十年来的园林修缮. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian* (1949-1959) [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 61; Yang, Hongxun 杨鸿勋. 'Beijing zizhuyuan gongyuan nan damen sheji' [Design of the south gate of Purple Bamboo Park in Beijing] 北京紫竹院公园南大门设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1977), pp. 44-45.

⁸⁶ Zhang, Yongzhu 张永朱. 'Shinian lai de yuanlin xiushan' [Ten years of garden and park repairs] 十年来的园林修缮. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian* (1949-1959) [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 61.

rebuilt opposite the Joyous Pavilion and the Temple of Mercy. This group of buildings came to form the centre of the park (Fig. 3.16). In 1955, two memorial archways that had originally spanned the East and West Chang'an Avenue were moved into the park in order to make way for a road widening scheme. These were placed across the main access route to the Joyous



Figure 3.15 The Brilliant Brightness Pavilion, constructed in traditional style in 1953 in Joyous Pavilion Park, Beijing, was originally thatched.

Source: Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 69.



Figure 3.16 View from the north of Joyous Pavilion Park. The Tower of Painted Clouds and Sweet Sound Pavilion (above centre in the picture) stood opposite to the Joyous Pavilion and the Temple of Mercy (right), together forming a conspicuous traditional feature in the centre of the park.

Source: Han, Jiang 涵江. *Taoranting* [Joyous pavilion] 陶然亭. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1958).

Pavilion on Central Island, thereby emphasising a processional approach (Fig. 3.17). While the park consisted of several rationally devised functional zones, there was thus a curious mixture between Soviet and traditional Chinese elements. This mixture was typical of the half-hearted response of the Soviet model, which was primarily used to provide a convenient design methodology for otherwise traditional features. But it is clear that modern socialist parks only found acceptance with the Chinese, if they appeared Chinese.

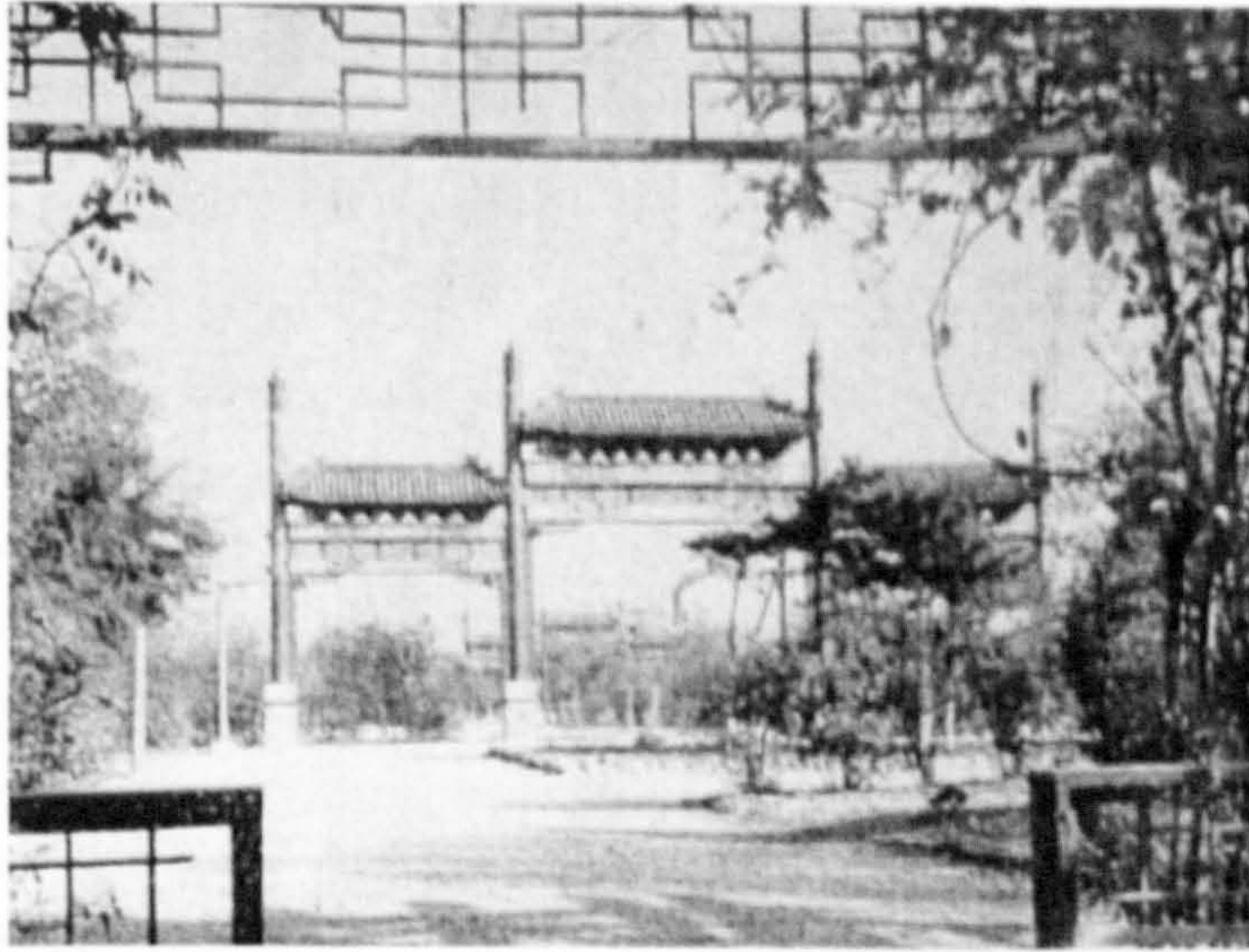


Figure 3.17 The memorial archways, saved from the expansion of Chang'an Avenue, emphasised the main approach to the Central Island of Joyous Pavilion Park.

Source: Han, Jiang 涵江. *Taoranting* [Joyous pavilion] 陶然亭. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1958).

The pursuit of tradition: the example of Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park

It is therefore not surprising that the best regarded public park was not one that followed the Russian model, but one that explored Chinese traditions. Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park in Hangzhou, designed by Sun Xiaoxiang (b. 1921) in 1953 and largely completed by 1955, was exhibited both in the Soviet Union and at the first International Congress in Parks and Recreation in the United Kingdom in 1957.⁸⁷ It exhibited excellence under socialism to the outside world, and continued its exemplary role even during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969) when it was proposed that this park should serve as a model in park design and greening.⁸⁸

The park, southwest of West Lake in Hangzhou forms a peninsula between Small South Lake and West Inner Lake (Fig. 3.18). Its history dates back to the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279) when Hangzhou was the capital, when it was praised as one of the 'Ten Landscape Scenes of the West Lake'⁸⁹, with a private residence and garden, the Lu Garden – renowned for

⁸⁷ Interview with Professor Sun Xiaoxiang, 2 December 2006.

⁸⁸ 'Tao Zhu zai Guangdong yuanlin jianshe zhong ganlexie shenme?' [What has Tao Zhu done in the development of Guangdong landscape architecture?] 陶铸在广东园林建设中干了些什么? In Faculty Red Flag of South China College of Technology 华南工学院教工红旗 ed. *Tao Zhu zai jianzhu lingyu de zuixing pipan ji* [A collection of criticisms of the crimes of Tao Zhu in architectural profession] 陶铸在建筑领域的罪行批判集. (Guangzhou: South China College of Technology, 1967), p. 14.

⁸⁹ The 'Ten Landscape Scenes of the West Lake' are Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour (花港观鱼), Spring Dawn at the Su

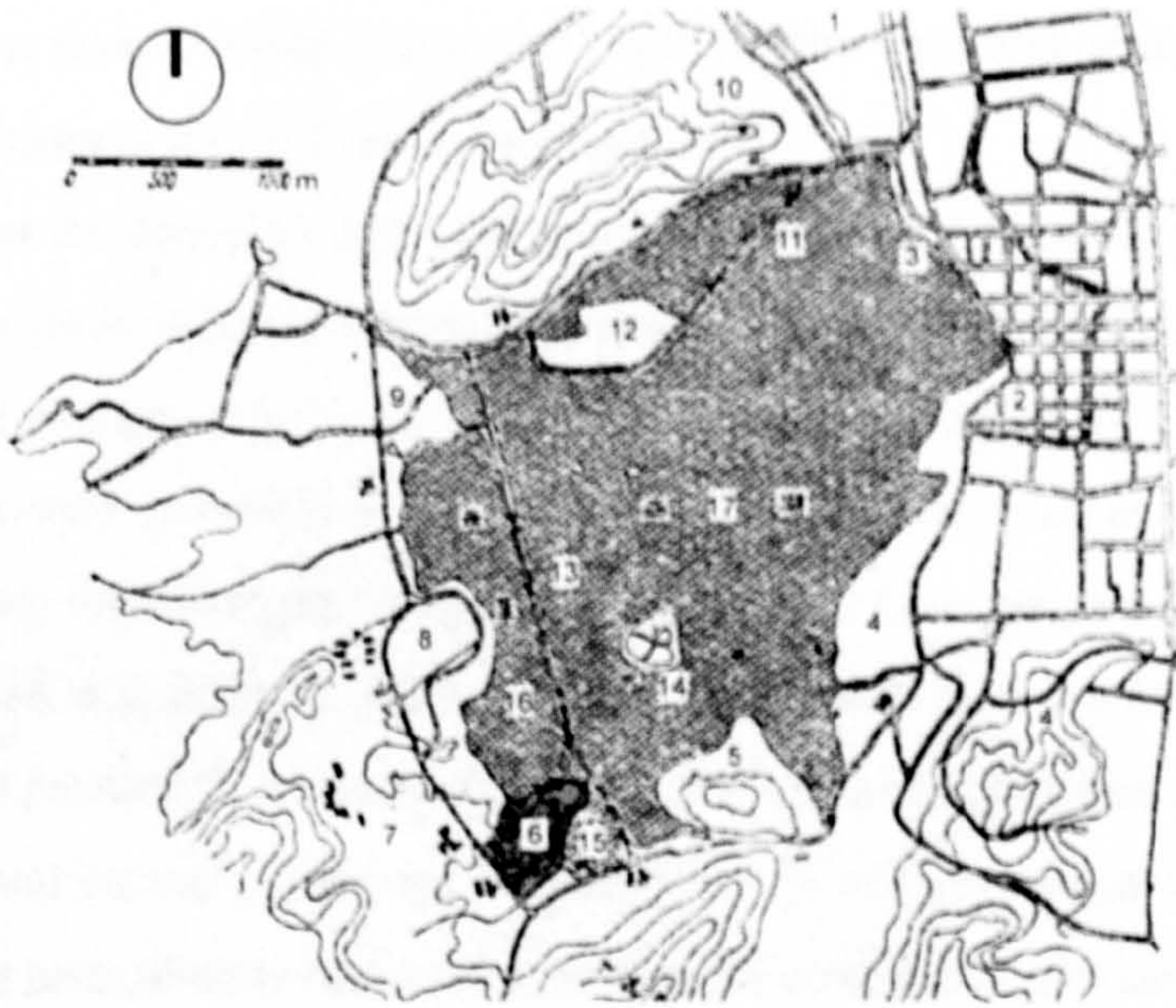


Figure 3.18 The location of Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park (6) in Hangzhou (early 1950s).

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. Provincial authority | 10. Jewellery Mountain |
| 2. Municipal authority | 11. White Causeway |
| 3. Lakeshore Park | 12. Lone Mountain |
| 4. Park of culture and rest | 13. Su Causeway |
| 5. Evening Glow Mountain Park | 14. Three Pools Mirroring the Moon |
| 6. Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park | 15. Small South Lake |
| 7. Rest Area | 16. West Inner Lake |
| 8. Ding Family Mountain Park | 17. West Lake |
| 9. Lotus in the Breeze at Crooked Courtyard Park | |

Source: Sun, Xiaoxiang 孙筱祥, and Hu Xuwei 胡绪渭. 'Hangzhou Huaganguanyu gongyuan guihua sheji' [Planning and design of Flower Harbour and Viewing Fish Park of Hangzhou] 杭州花港观鱼公园规划设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 5 (1959), p. 20.

its flowers and fish – built there later. Although it was neglected afterwards, there was a revival in 1699 when Emperor Kangxi (1654-1722)⁹⁰ erected a stele here with an inscription of 'Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour'. A poem later composed by his grandson, Emperor Qianlong (1711-1799),⁹¹ engraved on the back of the stele, promoted the poetic imagery of the landscape, commencing with:

At the foot of Flower Home Mountain flows the Flower Harbour.
On the bodies of fish fall flowers which are in turn kissed by the fish.⁹²

花家山下流花港，
花著鱼身鱼嚼花。

Destroyed during the 1861 Taiping Uprising at the end of the reign of Xianfeng (1851-1861), the site was restored in 1869 during the reign of Tongzhi (1862-1874). It was again neglected at

Causeway (苏堤春晓), Autumn Moon on Calm Lake (平湖秋月), Listening to Orioles Singing in the Willows (柳浪闻莺), Twin Peaks Piercing the Clouds (双峰插云), Three Pools Mirroring the Moon (三潭印月), The Glow of the Setting Sun at Thunder Peak Pagoda (雷峰夕照), Evening Bell at Nanping Hill (南屏晚钟), Lotus in the Breeze at Crooked Courtyard (曲苑风荷), and Melting Snow at Broken Bridge (断桥残雪).

⁹⁰ The reign of Kangxi was from 1662 to 1722.

⁹¹ The reign of Qianlong was from 1736 to 1795.

⁹² Author's translation.

the end of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), with just the stele and an adjacent fish pond remaining covering an area of only 0.2 hectares (Fig. 3.19).⁹³

This was the condition of the site in which Sun found it, becoming inspired by the rich history for its further development. Having been raised in a peasant family in Zhejiang, Sun loved painting and studied under Shi Shizhen (1908-1970)⁹⁴ and Sun Duoci (1912-1975).⁹⁵ This generated a deep understanding of Chinese traditional arts, such as drama, calligraphy and seal carving, laying the foundation for his understanding of Chinese gardens, from which, despite further studies in agriculture and horticulture, he came to perceive Chinese garden art as rooted in traditional painting.⁹⁶ So when the mayor of Hangzhou suggested a Soviet style park with a grand axis and imposing buildings Sun suggested a more traditional Chinese approach.⁹⁷ By that time the town already had a number of parks around the site: Lakeshore Park (for the recreation of neighbouring residents to the northeast), Lone Mountain Park (for cultural and educational services to the north), the Rest Area (with sports facilities to the west), and two Parks of Culture and Rest (proposed to the east). These helped to provide an argument that further similar parks were not necessary, which, added to the fact that Hangzhou had become the most



Figure 3.19 The only surviving historic artefacts upon the Liberation, the stele with the inscription of 'Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour (花港观鱼)' and the adjacent fish pond, Hangzhou.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 60.

⁹³ China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 59.

⁹⁴ Shi Shizhen (施世珍) graduated from the Department of Fine Arts of Nanjing Central University.

⁹⁵ Sun Duoci (孙多慈) was a student of Xu Beihong (徐悲鸿) (1895-1953).

⁹⁶ After being admitted to the Zhejiang University in 1942, Sun successively studied agriculture, agrochemistry and horticulture, and graduated in 1946 from the Horticulture Department. After the liberation, he taught painting and professional drawing in the Horticulture Department of Zhejiang University, planting design and garden art in the Landscape Department of Beijing Agricultural College from September 1953 to July 1954, and garden art and landscape design in the Landscape Department of Beijing Forestry College from August 1956. The mimeographed text books *Garden art* (园林艺术) edited by him in 1958 and *Landscape planning and design* (园林规划设计) in 1962 became the Chinese classics used by all of the landscape departments of the universities in China. In 1981 the two text books were combined as *Garden art and landscape design*, later published by the Beijing Forestry University. See Sun, Xiaoxiang 孙筱祥. *Yuanlin yishu ji yuanlin sheji* [Garden art and landscape design] 园林艺术及园林设计. (Beijing: Department of Landscape Architecture of Beijing Forestry University, 1986).

⁹⁷ Interview with Professor Sun Xiaoxiang, 2 December 2006.

famous tourist destination in China after the 1911 Revolution as a result of its location near Shanghai,⁹⁸ provided an argument for a new park with a scenic emphasis.⁹⁹

The new design respected the stele and the fish pond which was restored, while the site was much expanded to the west, incorporating an area of paddy fields, ponds, graveyards and woodland, totalling 18 hectares.¹⁰⁰ The existing undulating topography naturally divided the site in five areas which were each given a different scenic character (rather than zones for different functional purposes of the Soviet model) (Fig. 3.20). These included a Peony Garden, Goldfish Garden, dense woodland, lawn area, and the Flower Harbour (Fig. 3.21).

The Peony Garden was located on the hillock in the centre of the park, and was conceived



Figure 3.20 Site survey of area proposed for Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park, Hangzhou (early 1950s).

- | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Fish pond | 2. Stele Pavilion | 3. Jiang Village | 4. Lotus pond |
| 5. Graveyard | 6. Hillock | 7. Woodland | 8. Paddy fields |

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 59.

⁹⁸ Shanghai people had easy access to Hangzhou after 1909 when the Shanghai-Hangzhou railroad was completed. See Wang, Liping, 'Tourism and Spatial Change in Hangzhou, 1911-1927'. In Esherick, Joseph W. ed. *Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900-1950* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000).

⁹⁹ Sun, Xiaoxiang 孙筱祥, and Hu Xuwei 胡绪渭. 'Hangzhou huagangguanyu gongyuan guihua sheji' [The planning and design of the Flower Harbour and Viewing Fish Park in Hangzhou] 杭州花港观鱼公园规划设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 5 (1959), p. 19.

¹⁰⁰ China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 59.

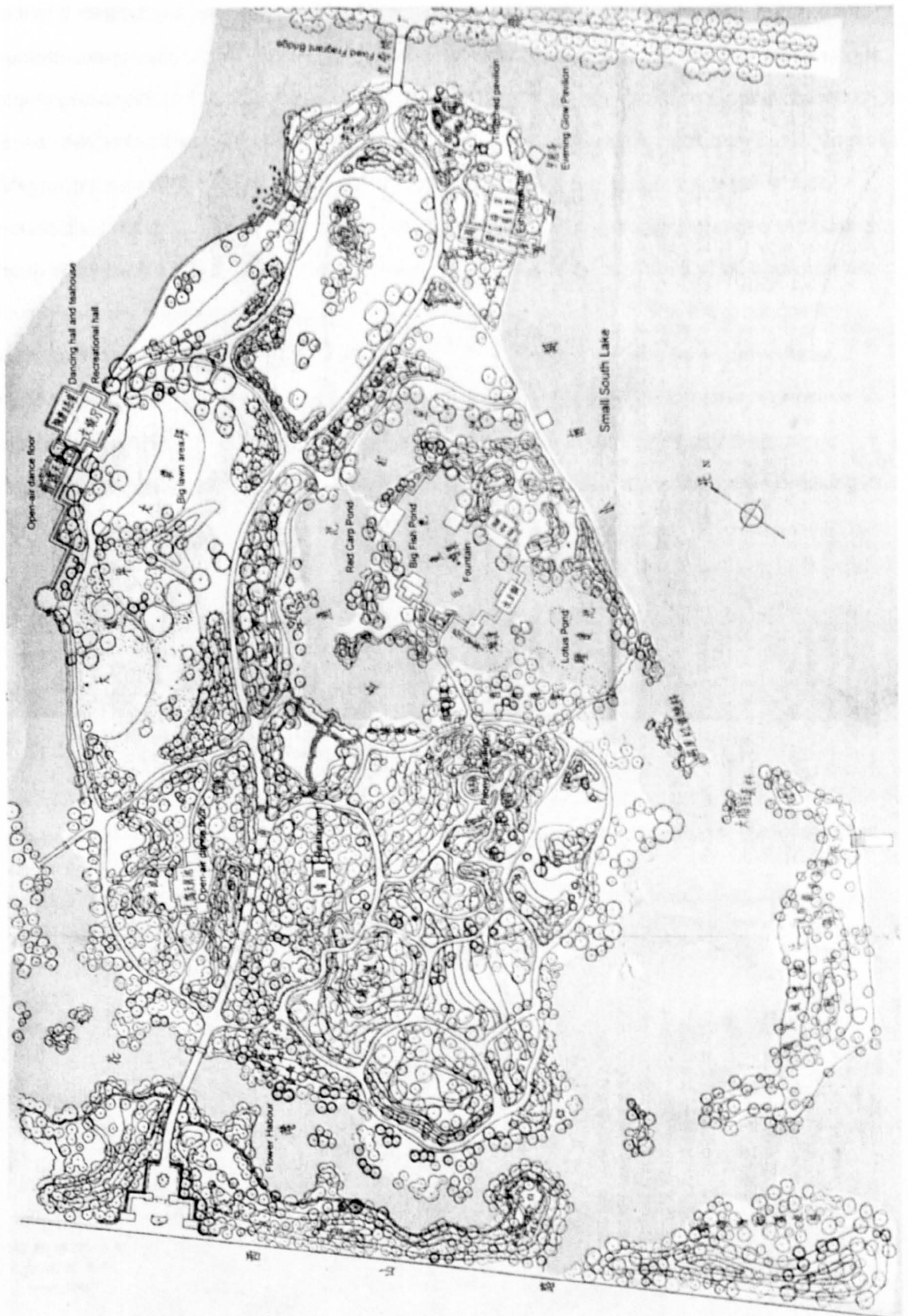


Figure 3.21 The design proposal for Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park, Hangzhou (c. 1955).

Source: Sun, Xiaoxiang 孙筱祥, and Hu Xuwei 胡绪渭. 'Hangzhou Huagangguanyu gongyuan guihua sheji' [Planning and design of Flower Harbour and Viewing Fish Park of Hangzhou] 杭州花港观鱼公园规划设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 5 (1959), pp. 20-21.

so that it made optimum use of borrowed views of the extensive West Lake (Fig. 3.22). Some intimate spaces were provided in the Goldfish Garden to east (Fig. 3.23) and the dense woods largely preserved in their original condition to west (Fig. 3.24). The Goldfish Garden, based on a series of existing lotus ponds, was enclosed by dense evergreen trees, including Lotus Magnolia (*Magnolia grandiflora* L.) and Camphor tree (*Cinnamomum camphora* L.). A small artificial mound divided the water surface in three different areas, and was initially intended to house a group of traditional buildings, but this, like a proposed waterside pavilion and an open corridor along the north bank, was not realized due to a lack of resources.¹⁰¹ The flat ground with graveyards northwest of the Goldfish Garden was turned into a large lawn, to serve as a multifunctional space for youth activities. Adhering to the traditional garden design principle 'to avoid total exposure of everything at a glance', a group of Sweet Osmanther (*Osmanthus fragrans* Lour.) embracing a small space was placed in the centre of the lawn area breaking its



Figure 3.22 The Peony Pavilion in Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park is located at a commanding position on top of the hillock. It was planted with a wide range of trees and flowers.

Source: Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Zhongguo yuanlin zhiwu jingguan yishu* [The art of planting design in Chinese landscape architecture] 中国园林植物景观艺术. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 2003), p. 96.



Figure 3.23 Bird's-eye view showing the proposed Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park, seen from east. The Goldfish Garden with a group of traditional style buildings dominates the centre.

Source: Supplied by Professor Sun Xiaoxiang.

¹⁰¹ The group of traditional buildings of the Goldfish Garden was designed with a reference to the Garden of Harmonious Interest (谐趣园) in the Summer Palace in Beijing which Sun visited in the early 1950s when he lectured in the Beijing Agricultural College. The Scenery Rich Court (景福阁), also in the Summer Palace, provided the original inspiration for the design of the waterside pavilion.

expansive flatness (Fig. 3.25). The Flower Harbour was developed for pleasure-boats by the creation of an irregularly shaped watercourse through the former paddy fields connecting Small South Lake and West Inner Lake. The excavated earth was piled up along the western boundary of the park and planted with dense evergreens (Fig. 3.26).

Thus the design of the park emphasised scenic qualities (rather than functional objectives), which while this was intended to promote aesthetic pleasure and recreation, was common in traditional Chinese gardens. The latter aimed to achieve articulated spaces and layering, so as to generate a sequence of intimate spaces that were perceived as representing the wider world, even the cosmos. This spatial characteristic was fully explored in the new park, which in this context reintroduced the traditional feature of 'garden within a garden' in the Peony Garden and the Goldfish Garden. But different from the past, the spaces were created with planting rather



Figure 3.24 The dense plantations to the north of the Peony Garden were mostly incorporated as features in the new design.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 62.



Figure 3.25 The big lawn area in Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park for youth activities. Groups of Lotus Magnolia (*Magnolia grandiflora* L.) and Deodar Cedars (*Cedrus deodara* G. Don) defined the southern boundary of the area, with the immense water body of the West Inner Lake and the West Lake to north. A group of Sweet Osmanther (*Osmanthus fragrans* Lour.) was placed in the centre to create some depth.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 60.

than buildings. It was this use of planting to create spaces that was considered to be groundbreaking of this park.¹⁰² This innovation was officially acknowledged at the National Working Conference on Urban Parks held in 1986.¹⁰³



Figure 3.26 A wandering watercourse for pleasure-boats in the Flower Harbour was bordered by a dense plantation of evergreen trees that also defined the western boundary of the park.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 60.

Transitions with the Leap: revolutionary experiments versus tradition

When in 1958 the GLF campaign was launched in order to rapidly realize full communism, the National Landscaping and Gardening Movement was initiated later that year which encouraged the creation of public parks, as well as the creation of 'garden-like' places.¹⁰⁴ The total number of public parks in the country had increased from 112 in 1949 to 509 by 1959, with a total area of 16,581 hectares.¹⁰⁵

While over the previous years it had not been uncommon to explore and incorporate traditional elements, or the 'olds', in the creation of public parks, the 'olds' now became indispensable for building the communist future, or the 'new'. This was led mainly by the maturing of communist ideology in China as being distinct from that of the Soviet model, which had been followed since the early 1950s. The official policy of the National Landscaping and Gardening Movement responded to this new vision, particularly as in the case of the creation of new public parks the irrespective use of the Soviet model could be demonstrated to be rather

¹⁰² Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 62.

¹⁰³ Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 105.

¹⁰⁴ Mao stated in the Beidaihe Conference in 1958 for the mobilisation, 'We should turn all the lands of our country green, create garden-like places, make it beautiful everywhere, and change the face of China.' See Editorial Board of *Chinese agricultural encyclopaedia, gardening volume* 中国农业百科全书总编辑委员会观赏园艺卷编辑委员会, 中国农业百科全书编辑部 ed. *Chinese agricultural encyclopaedia, gardening volume* 中国农业百科全书, 观赏园艺卷. (Beijing: Nongye Chubanshe, 1996), p. 58.

¹⁰⁵ Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 6.

incompatible with present needs. A landscape professional suggested that: 'It was indeed feasible to apply Chinese garden making principles to the creation of relatively larger scale public parks.'¹⁰⁶ This meant that garden traditions were considered as providing legitimacy and authenticity in creating new parks. Yet despite its rejection as a model, the Soviet design theory of 'National in Form, Socialist in Content' and 'Socialist Realism' continued to provide the theoretical basis for the incorporation of traditions.

The return of the mountain-and-water pattern

'Lake digging' and 'hill mounding' projects, considered as representing the mountain-and-water pattern of traditional gardens, became the basis for the creation of a new generation of public parks, including Youth Lake Park (1958), Young Pioneer Park (1958), Unity Lake Park (1958) and Man Must Lake Park (1958) in Beijing, Yangpu Park (1958) and Long Wind Park (1958) in Shanghai, Xingqing Park (1958) in Xi'an, and Flowing Flower Lake Park (1958) and Lychee Bay Lake Park (1958) in Guangzhou. But of course these large-scale engineering works could be argued from a functional perspective in that they improved the urban hygiene and created recreation grounds as formerly pursued in the Patriotic Health Campaign; achieved flood control through lakes acting as holding ponds; and created the opportunity for fish farming for production. Also, within the highly moralistic GLF campaign, these projects were again carried out with large scale mobilisation of mass volunteer manual labour, which represented one of the basic socialist principles of 'from the masses, and to the masses'. For example, 270,000 official cadres, workers, students, housewives participated in the construction of Long Wind Park enlarging the water surface from 69 *mu* (4.6 hectare) to 214 *mu* (14.27 hectare);¹⁰⁷ 170,000 volunteers shifted 395,000 cubic metres of earth in Xingqing Park;¹⁰⁸ and 106,700 volunteers expanded the lakes of fish farming in Purple Bamboo Park within the fierce winter conditions from November 1958 to January 1959 with immense revolutionary zeal (Fig. 3.27).¹⁰⁹

While public parks of the early 1950s had been laid out without a design being produced, the park projects of the late 1950s developed methodologies in order to prevent wasted labour and aesthetically poor results. At Xingqing Park, for example, design proposals were requested

¹⁰⁶ Quoted from Chen, Lifang 陈丽芳. 'Zhongguo yuanlin de tantao' [An exploration of Chinese gardens and parks] 中国园林的探讨. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 12 (1958), p. 33. Author's translation.

¹⁰⁷ Editorial Board of *Shanghai landscape architecture records* 《上海园林志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai yuanlin zhi* [Shanghai landscape architecture records] 上海园林志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 2000), p. 115.

¹⁰⁸ China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 111.

¹⁰⁹ Zhao, Chunru 赵春如 and Ma Hongtu 马鸿图. 'Zizhuyuan wahu gongcheng' [Lake digging projects of the Purple Bamboo Park] 紫竹院挖湖工程. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian* (1949-1959) [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 258.



Figure 3.27 Mass volunteers took part in the digging and mounding project in Purple Bamboo Park, Beijing. This was carried out in a severe winter with immense revolutionary zeal from November 1958 to January 1959 and aimed to expand the fish farming as part of the production programme.

Source: Zhao, Chunru 赵春如 and Ma Hongtu 马鸿图. 'Zizhuyuan wahu gongcheng' [Lake digging projects of the Purple Bamboo Park] 紫竹院挖湖工程. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 258.

from the citizens, and were examined by the Park Development Committee. This committee agreed an approach and continued to work on site with the volunteers to address every detail. The final result was a park dominated by the 800 metres long Xingqing Lake, oriented northeast to southwest, with an undulating bank including several peninsulas. In the lake three islands: Lotus Island, West Hill Island, and East Hill Island were formed, the composition of which was said to follow the traditional mountain-and-water pattern of 'one pond with three isles'.¹¹⁰ The material generated by digging the lakes had been used to create three distinct spaces: East Lake in the northeast, Big Lake in the centre, and West Lake in the southwest. These were connected by a serpentine watercourse which created a variety of spaces and a contrast of openness and enclosure, one of the traditional objectives of Chinese garden art. As a whole, the layout, with a scale much larger than traditional literati gardens, might also show the influence of imperial gardens, such as the Summer Palace (Fig. 3.28). Similar traditionally shaped water bodies were included in other parks, such as in Shanghai, Yangpu Park (Fig. 3.29), and Long Wind Park (Fig. 3.30); in Guangzhou, Flowing Flower Lake Park, and Lychee Bay Lake Park¹¹¹.

¹¹⁰ This mountain-and-water ideal was first developed around the age of Warring States (403-221 B.C.) in the Penglai fable. See Chapter 2. This traditional representation in Xingqing Park was mentioned in: Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 51.

¹¹¹ Jin, Zeguang 金泽光, Zheng, Zuliang 郑祖良, and He Guanglian 何光瀛. 'Guangzhou sange rengong hu' [Three manmade lakes in Guangzhou] 广州三个人工湖. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 8 (1959), pp. 39-40, 45-46.

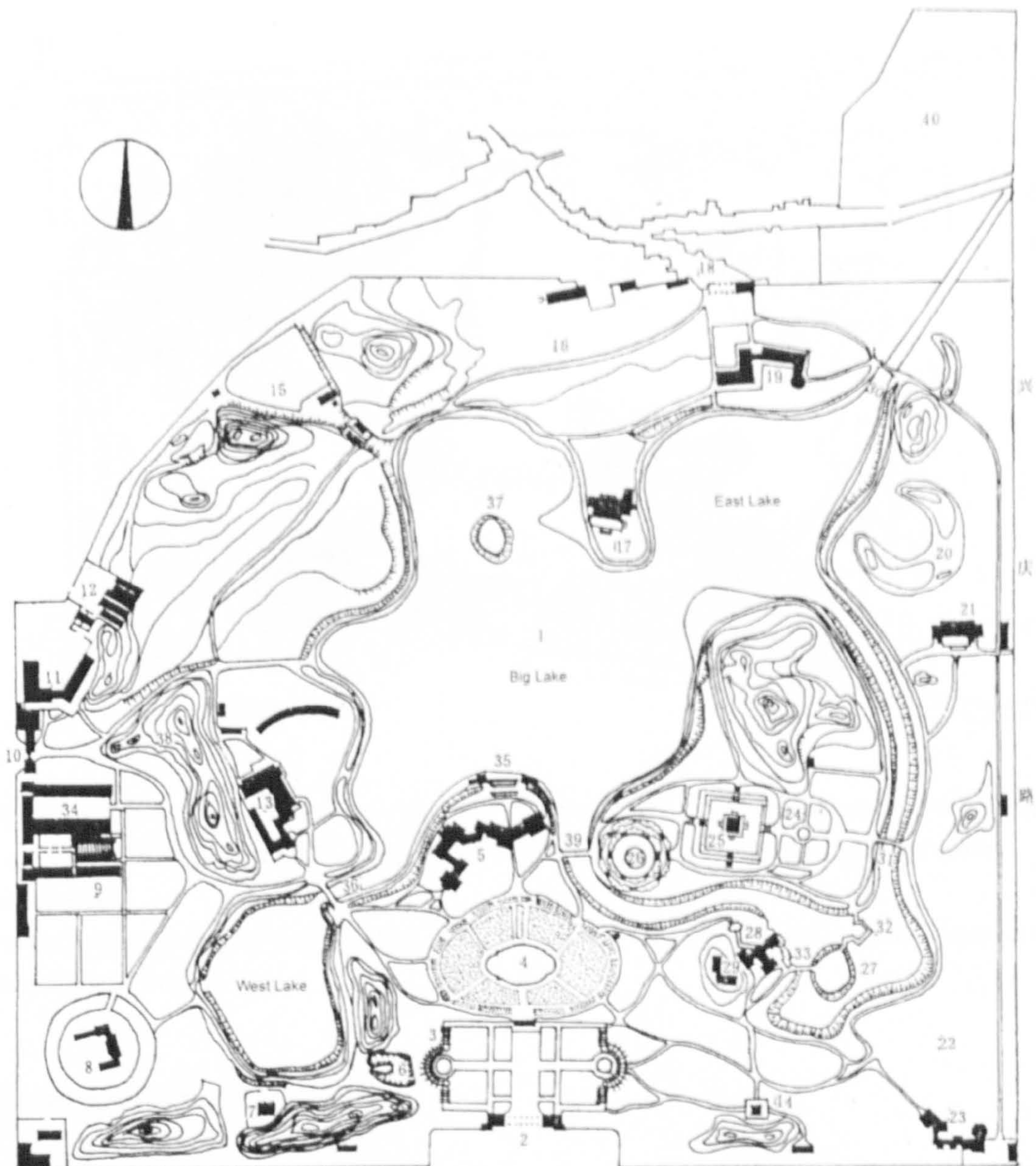


Figure 3.28 Plan of Xingqing Park, Xi'an (late 1970s).

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Xingqing Lake | 2. South entrance | 3. Pergola |
| 4. Fountain | 5. Dragon hall | 6. Remnant of the Diligent |
| 7. Reading room | 8. Aquatic product research office | Administration and Working |
| 9. Conservatory | 10. West entrance | Mansion |
| 11. Police substation | 12. Lodging house | 13. Flower Glowing Hall |
| 14. Monumnet to Chao Heng | 15. Swimming pool | 16. Fruit trees |
| 17. South Fragrant Pavilion | 18. North entrance | 19. Great Harmony and East Wind |
| 20. Bandstand | 21. Exhibition hall | Pavilion |
| 22. Children's play ground | 23. Electric hobbyhorse | 24. Chinese rose garden |
| 25. Chenxiang Pavilion | 26. Peony Platform | 27. Lotus Island |
| 28. Changqing Pavilion | 29. Bamboo Pavilion | 30. Water Gap Bridge |
| 31. East Wind Bridge | 32. Crooked Bridge | 33. Lotus Bridge |
| 34. Management office | 35. Ticket office for pleasure-boats | 36. Greeting Spring Bridge |
| 37. West Hill Island | 38. Pavilion | 39. Peony Bridge |
| 40. Xingqing nursery | | |

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 110.

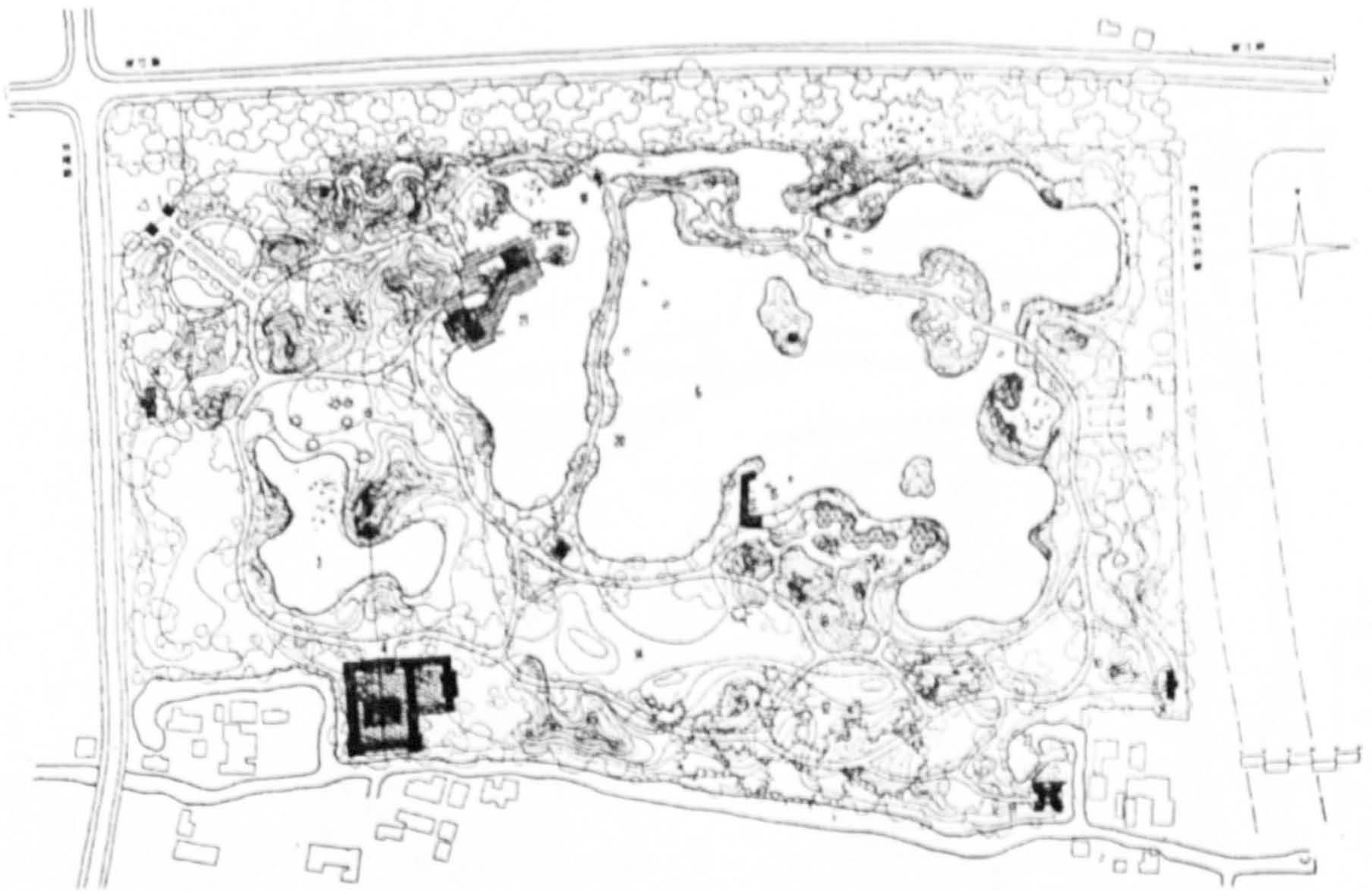


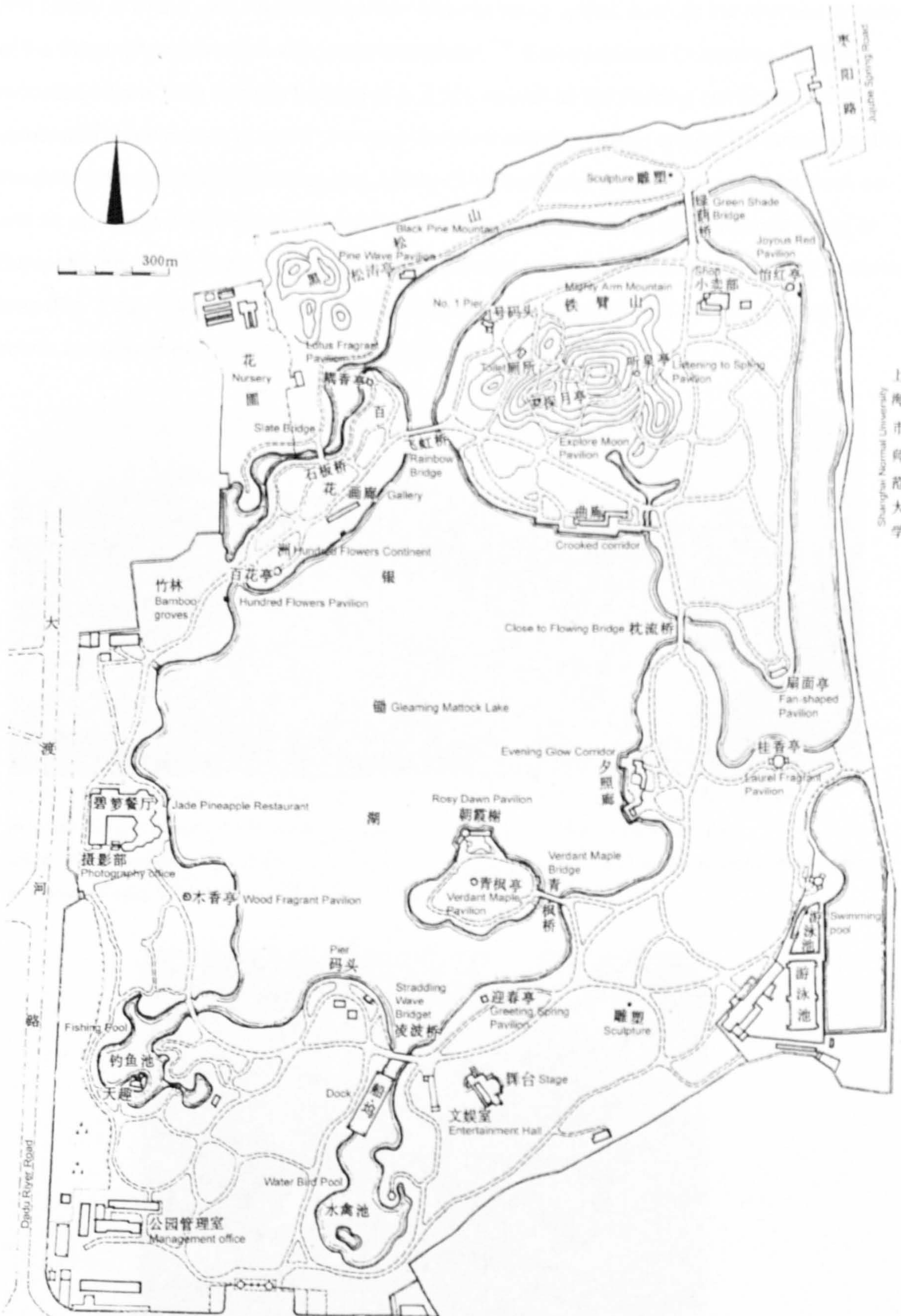
Figure 3.29 Plan of Yangpu Park, Shanghai (1958), shows a mountain-and-water pattern with the waterbody subdivided by causeways and islands to provide visitors with a variety of visual attractions and spatial experiences.

Source: Chen, Lifang 陈丽芳. 'Zhongguo yuanlin de tantao' [An exploration of Chinese gardens and parks] 中国园林的探讨. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 12 (1958), p. 35.

The continuing scenic tradition

While scenic areas were uncommon in parks of the early 1950s they did occur in Viewing Fish at Flower Harbour Park, and were at this time generally applied in the layout of public parks. It appears that the application of scenic beauties, a traditional objective in Chinese gardens, was promoted by the National Landscaping and Gardening Movement, because the Movement encouraged 'to turn the whole land into a garden', with traditional gardens serving as an inescapable source of inspiration in creating new parks. Yet the emphasis on functional areas of the Soviet model was not departed from, but incorporated in the arrangement of scenic areas. This was again a mixture of the Soviet modern and the Chinese tradition, since such rational consideration of functional divisions did not exist in traditional Chinese gardens where scenic beauties were mainly emphasised and appreciated for their naturalistic quality.

The mountain-and-water pattern enabled a great variety of scenic spaces to be created, such as in Xingqing Park (Fig. 3.31) with distinct areas of the South Entrance area, Chenxiang Pavilion area, Flower Glowing Hall area, and Changqing Pavilion area. The ruins of Xingqing Palace of the Tang Dynasty (618-906) were exploited for ideological purposes as evidence of the



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Figure 3.30 Long Wind Park, Shanghai (1958), was also based on a mountain-and-water pattern with the water body subdivided into a variety of spaces in order to create contrasts of openness and enclosure.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 10.

rich history of China, with traditional garden features being added, such as the restored remnant of the Diligent Administration and Working Mansion.¹¹² It also included Chenxiang Pavilion, modelled after a Tang Dynasty building (Fig. 3.32); as well as the planting composition of the celebrated 'three friends of winter', i.e. pine, bamboo and plum trees, around the Green Bamboo Pavilion in the Changqing Pavilion area. While some functional zones were arranged, such as one for children's play in the southeast corner, some specific features also revealed Soviet or European influences, such as the symmetrical fountain on the central axis of the South Entrance area (Fig. 3.28). Foreign style elements were incorporated into the park without violating the scenic framework and the mountain-and-water pattern.



Figure 3.31 The waterbody was a dominant scenic feature of Xingqing Park, Xi'an (1958), and the mountain-and-water pattern provided a framework for subsequent creation of scenic areas.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 113.



Figure 3.32 The Chenxiang Pavilion built in 1958 was modelled after the building style of the Tang Dynasty (618-906) became the central feature of the Chenxiang Pavilion area of Xingqing Park, Xi'an.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 114.

¹¹² Its name is in Chinese '勤政务本楼'.

Seven-Star Park in Guilin was a celebrated example, it being situated in a region well-blessed with beautiful scenery, where there was a popular saying that: 'East or west, Guilin landscape is best!'¹¹³ With its dramatic limestone or karst topography, the region had been a popular tourist destination since the Tang Dynasty (618-906), since when this scenery occurred in literature, poetry and folklore, with some poems inscribed locally on cliffs. The new park borrowed from this tradition and conceived seven scenic areas within its confines (Fig. 3.33): the Flower Bridge area nearby the main entrance in west, the Seven-Star Karst area east as the central feature of the park (Fig. 3.34), the Sand Continent area northwest for youth recreation, the Crescent Moon Mountain area southwest with the Accompanying Moon Pavilion and the Facing River Hall (Fig. 3.35), the Sweet-scented Osmanthus and Lawn area to north of the Crescent Moon Mountain (Fig. 3.36), the Camel Hump area south (Fig. 3.37), and the Meeting Immortal Karst area at east.¹¹⁴ In this instance the naming of the various areas emphasised scenic values rather than functional ones.



Figure 3.33 The seven scenic areas of Seven-Star Park, Guilin (late 1950s), were arranged according to the limestone topography and scenic characteristics of the site.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 102.

¹¹³ The Chinese text is '桂林山水甲天下'. Translated in 'Huojiang yiwen' [Awarded translations] "桂林山水甲天下"获奖译文. <http://www.guilin.com.cn/cn/News/xwdt/200511/1584.html>, accessed on 09/10/2007

¹¹⁴ The Chinese names for these scenic areas were '花桥景区, 沙洲景区, 月牙山景区, 桂花草坪景区, 驼峰景区, 七星岩景区, 会仙岩景区'. See China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 104. For some other accounts, See The Landscape Architecture Group of Architectural Theory and History Research Section of the Architectural Science Research Institute 建筑科学研究院建筑理论及历史研究室园林组, 'Qixingyan gongyuan guihua' [The planning of Seven-Star Park] 七星岩公园规划. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 6 (1960), pp. 17-20; Shang Kuo 尚廓, 'Rong rengong yu daziran: Guilin fengjingqu qixingyan' [Incorporating the artificial into the natural: Seven-Star Park of Guilin] 融人工于大自然——桂林风景区七星岩. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 6 (1980), pp. 25-28.

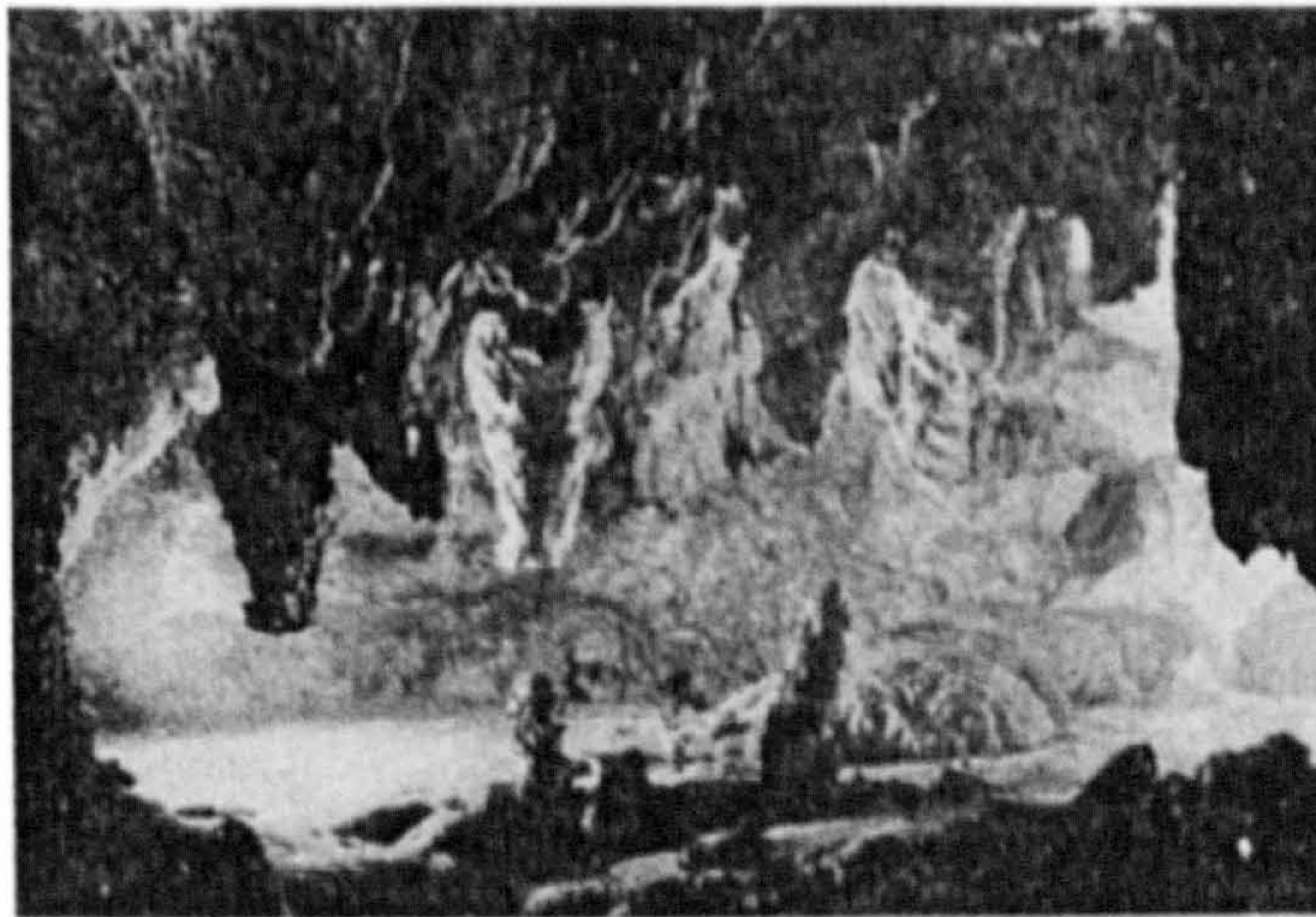


Figure 3.34 The Seven-Star Park was renowned for its spectacular grottos.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 106.

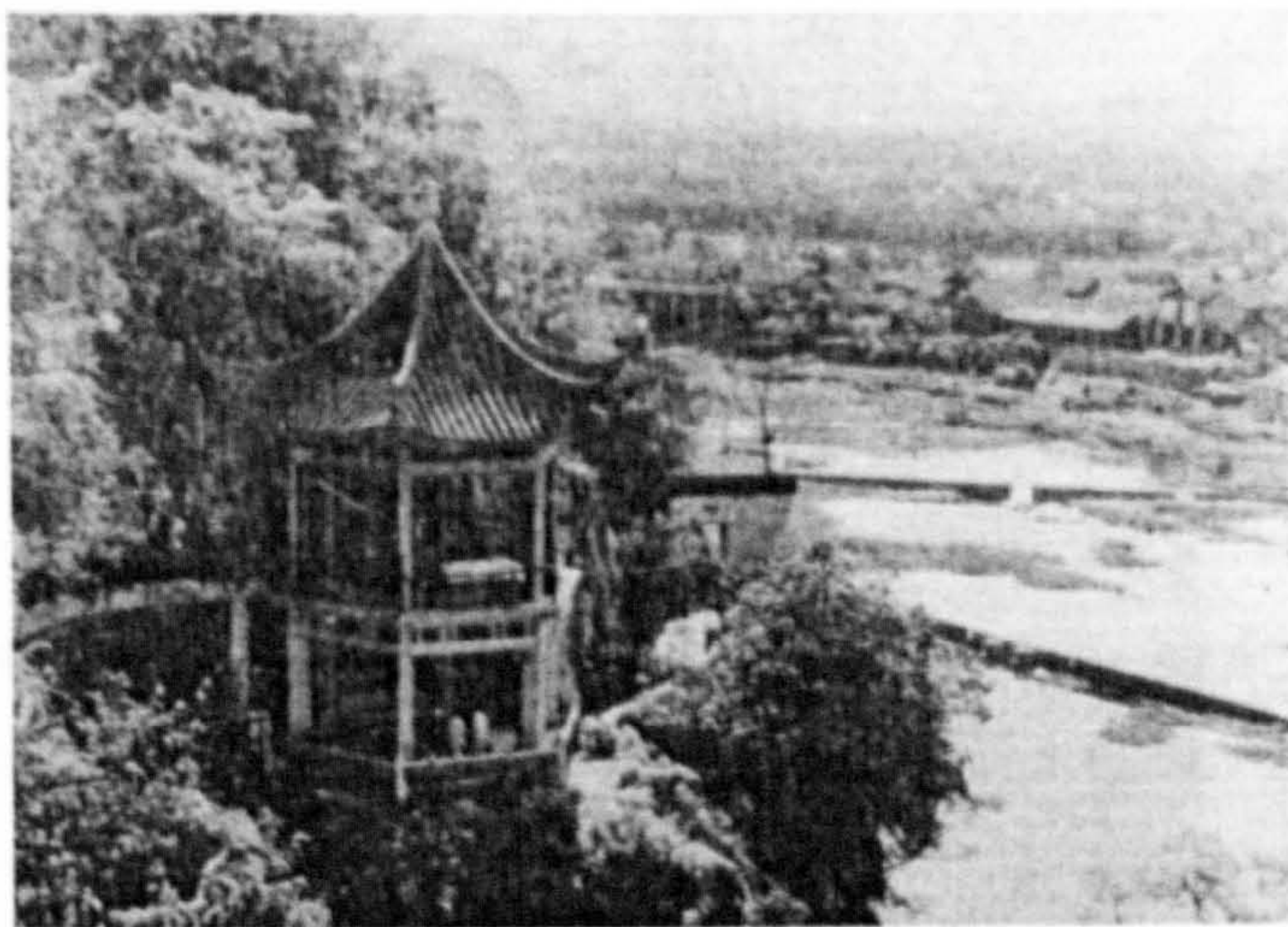


Figure 3.35 The Facing River Hall at the foot of the Crescent Moon Mountain provided the possibility of good views and was a focal point itself.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 104.



Figure 3.36 The expansive lawn with *Osmanthus fragrans* Lour. planted to the north of the Crescent Moon Mountain of Seven-Star Park.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 108.

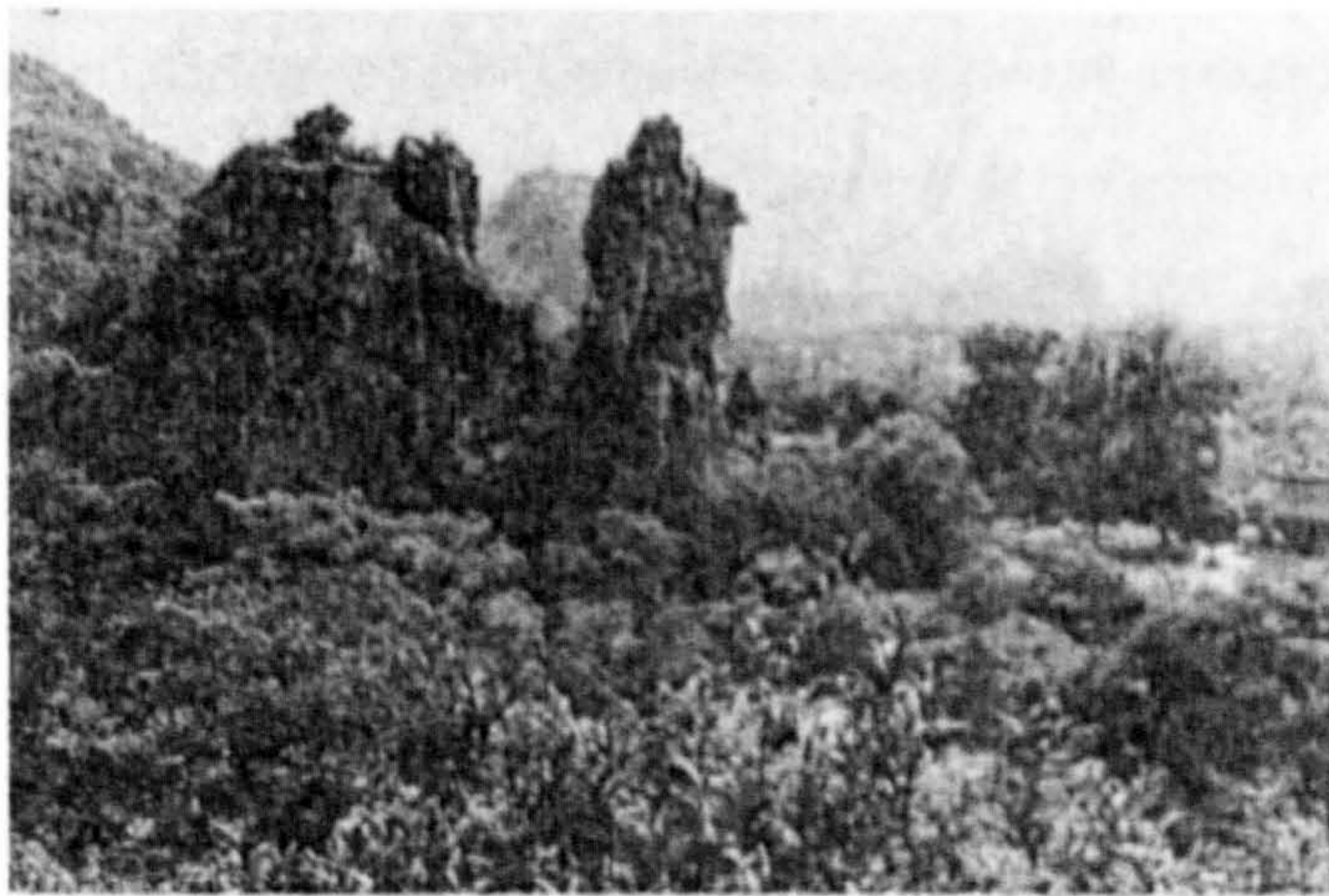


Figure 3.37 The Camel Hump Mountain in Seven-Star Park resembles a camel hump, from which the name of the scenic area was derived.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 104.

The revival of the 'literary' tradition

It was noteworthy that literary associations of traditional gardens, continued to be of significance in the advancement of meaning and mental imagery in new public parks, now being employed for revolutionary purposes as well as evoking scenic associations.

Some parks were referred to with names deriving from poetry, traditional in form but revolutionary in content. Chairman Mao's famous *ci* poem, *Changsha*, composed in 1925, which read: 'Alone I stand in the autumn cold, On the tip of Orange Island, The Hsiang flowing northward'¹¹⁵ served as an inspiration for the naming of Orange Island Park (1959) in Changsha. The name 'Long Wind Park' (1959) as a contrast derived from a classical Chinese text, 'Wish to ride the long wind and cleave the ten thousand *li*¹¹⁶ waves'¹¹⁷, but was re-interpreted from a revolutionary perspective, with it being used by a newspaper editor the year before as 'Riding wind and cleaving waves' in harnessing the revolutionary mood, which was signified by the opening of the park on the National Day, 1959. The emotional mood was reinforced with the new lake being named Gleaming Mattock Lake (银锄湖) and the newly created hill within the lake Mighty Arm Mountain (铁臂山). These were both directly excerpted from the poem 'Farewell to the God of Plague', composed by Chairman Mao on 1 July 1958, which read 'Gleaming mattocks fall on the Five Ridges heaven-high; Mighty arms move to rock the earth round the Triple River'.¹¹⁸ This kind of revolutionary naming excerpted from traditional style poetry went

¹¹⁵ Translated in Salter, Christopher L. 'In Memoriam: Selected Landscape Poetry of Mao Tse-Tung'. *The China Geographer*, No. 5 (Fall, 1976), p. 52. The original Chinese text is '独立寒秋，湘江北去，橘子洲头'.

¹¹⁶ A measurement unit in the Chinese Market System. One *li* equals 500 metres.

¹¹⁷ Author's translation. The original Chinese text is '愿乘长风破万里浪'. Within the high tide context, this traditional text was used one more years earlier on 1 January 1958 in the editorial, 'Riding wind and cleaving waves', of the *People's Daily*. See 'Chengfeng polang' [Riding wind and cleaving waves] 乘风破浪. *Renmin Ribao* (January 1, 1958).

¹¹⁸ Translated in Salter, Christopher L. 'In Memoriam: Selected Landscape Poetry of Mao Tse-Tung'. *The China Geographer*, No. 5 (Fall, 1976), 60. The original Chinese text is '天连五岭银锄落，地动三河铁臂摇'.

alongside others which highlighted political events or ideological gestures, as is clear from Youth Lake Park, Young Pioneer Park, and Unity Lake Park in that the names commemorated the mass manual labour that created them. Also, the upsurge of the GLF is commemorated in Man Must Lake Park, which was derived from the revolutionary slogan of 'Man must conquer Nature'. Another example that does not just use naming, but also again the traditional art of calligraphy to emphasise revolutionary events was the monument commemorating the martyrs in the People's War of Liberation located in Hunan Martyrs Park. This was established in September 1959 and contained Chairman Mao's inscription 'The Monument of Hunan Martyrs Park'¹¹⁹.

Expansion of production

While tree planting had previously been considered as an undertaking of production, this gradually became to be considered as a passive, rather than active production, meaning that no immediate return was expected.¹²⁰ This becomes clear from the policy to 'combine greening with production',¹²¹ first issued in February 1958 at the First National Working Conference on Urban Landscape Architecture and was in line with the bombastic style of the GLF. Production now did not just consist of greening or fish farming, but included various other economic activities that would all contribute to the socialist ideal.

The renewed emphasis on fish farming meant an astounding increase in the number of fish bred in Beijing parks during 1958 (Table 3.1) with existing lakes being extended or further excavated to enable this expansion to materialise. In Purple Bamboo Park, from late 1958 to early 1959, the 130 *mu* (9 hectare) lake was excavated by a further 1.1 metres with some 100,000 cubic metres of earth being excavated.¹²² This had been a pilot project, which was followed by further excavation in the Zoological Garden and the Summer Palace. To maintain a concerted effort, the Aquatic Product Office of the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks was established in February 1959, which maintained the momentum for the next five years.

The cultivation of fruit and vegetables, formerly regarded as agricultural produce, was now a directive for public parks. In Beijing, three orchards with a total of more than 600 apple and peach trees were planted in the Inner Altar of Zhongshan Park in the spring of 1958. In Temple of Heaven Park, fast growing timber in the Inner and Outer Altars was replaced by enclosed

¹¹⁹ The Chinese text is '湖南烈士公园纪念碑'.

¹²⁰ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局 ed. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 2.

¹²¹ The Chinese text is '绿化结合生产'.

¹²² Zhao, Chunru 赵春如 and Ma Hongtu 马鸿图. 'Zizhuyuan wahu gongcheng' [Lake digging projects of the Purple Bamboo Park] 紫竹院挖湖工程. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 258.

orchards containing more than 10,000 fruit trees. By 1960, some 150,000 fruit trees, including apple, pear, peach, walnut, and almond trees, grapevines, and hawthorn, had been planted in forty-five Beijing parks.¹²³ In Hunan Martyrs Park in Changsha, terraced fields with an area of 18,100 square metres were created on a mountainside promoting water and soil conservation, planted with tea bushes.¹²⁴ In Shanghai, Caoyang Park (1954) was closed in July 1958 in order to create a vineyard, which was not re-opened to the public until the next year.¹²⁵

Production was of such importance for the socialist undertaking that it was upheld as central in the National Landscaping and Gardening Movement. Its significance was again highlighted in the Second National Working Conference on Urban Landscape Architecture held in December 1959, with the additional requirement for financial self-sufficiency and the policy of YYY being re-emphasised also. But it was clear by this stage that profit from produce could not be achieved overnight, which was the case in horticultural endeavour now incorporated in greening. The general enthusiasm for the GLF created a desire for quick results. This resulted in the introduction of animal husbandry in parks. An Eight-year Plan for Production (1960-1967) confirmed all these ideas and pronounced that parks were not only the places for culture and recreation, but also for production. It was recommended that animal husbandry with pigs, goats, chicken and deer, bee keeping, and fishery, as well as cultivation of fruit trees, and flower crops such as rose, peony, lily, and mint, should be increased further.¹²⁶ Thus while there were only 354 pigs and 729 chickens in Beijing parks in early 1960, the number respectively increased to 1,049 and 7,100 by the end of the year.¹²⁷

While production was essential as a consequence of the still weak economy, it also served as a symbol of the hardship in the realisation of the communist utopia. Although production had little to do with recreation, agricultural fields and barns became important features of the socialist parks. While this was intended to assist an economic upsurge projected by the GLF, it continued to be of importance as the GLF failed and dire economic conditions prevailed.

Expedient with the economic readjustment

It was the unusual emphasis on production with the directive of 'high accumulation and low consumption' and the flashy 'Wind of Exaggeration' (i.e. the exaggeration of the statistics to show

¹²³ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Dangdai Beijing yuanlin fazhan shi* [Modern history of Beijing landscape architecture] 当代北京园林发展史. (October, 1987), p. 224.

¹²⁴ 'Hunan Martyrs' Park' 湖南烈士公园. <http://qb.chinabroadcast.cn/3821/2005/07/25/1566@635085.htm>, accessed on 19/10/2006.

¹²⁵ Editorial Board of *Shanghai landscape architecture records* 《上海园林志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai yuanlin zhi* [Shanghai landscape architecture records] 上海园林志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 2000), p. 153.

¹²⁶ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Dangdai Beijing yuanlin fazhan shi* [Modern history of Beijing landscape architecture] 当代北京园林发展史. (October, 1987), p. 224.

¹²⁷ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin luhua gongzuo nianbao (1960)* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture (1960)] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 (1960). (April, 1961), p. 3.

economic growth) in the GLF, as well as natural calamities that followed, that were largely responsible for the serious economic shortfall. The Three Difficult Years (1959-1961) that resulted from the faltering economy were a massive disaster for the nation as a whole, with millions of Chinese starving to death. Thus cautious new measures were adopted to promote economic recovery. The Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CCP held in January 1961 issued the Eight-Character Principle: Readjustment, Rectification, Supplementation and Improvement. Within the economic constraints, few new public parks were being created. The earlier policy of combining greening with production was further emphasised, but the requirement for parks to be self-financing was being re-evaluated.

Further emphasis on production

In order to feed the population and to revive the economy, production continued to remain of significance. During the Three Difficult Years (1959-1961), there was the guideline of 'The whole Party and people go in for grain in a big way'¹²⁸ and 'Take agriculture as the foundation and go in for grain in a big way.'¹²⁹ The Beijing Municipal Government confirmed that the problem was 'not having sufficient food supplies'.¹³⁰ There had been the fervour in the reclamation of the 'ten-side land'.¹³¹ This indicated the urgency to make full use of any possible land resources for production. This policy also affected public parks in that cultivation was intensified. The scale of production in Joyous Pavilion Park was greatly increased with the expanded farming and the raising of an additional 487 chickens, ducks, pigs, and goats.¹³² In their effort to comply, facts were sometimes distorted, even suggesting that an area of 13 *mu* (0.87 hectare) set aside for cultivation of produce in 1959, was increased by 1961 this figure reaching some 100,000 *mu* (6,700 hectares)¹³³, a measurement far exceeding the actual size of the park. This shift towards production of course meant that recreational and aesthetic potential of parks were being compromised.

The much intensified fish farming also resulted in disaster when the large quantity of fish feed caused severe pollution of lakes resulting in algae growth and the killing off any biological

¹²⁸ The Chinese text is '全党全民大办粮食'. See Editorial Board of the Historical Records of the Construction of Beijing 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe* [The constructions of Beijing city from the founding of PRC] 建国以来的北京城市建设. Restricted publication (1986), p. 352.

¹²⁹ The Chinese text is '以农业为基础, 大办粮食'. See Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin luhua gongzuo nianbao (1960)* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture (1960)] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 (1960). (April, 1961), p. 4.

¹³⁰ Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 31.

¹³¹ For details, see Chapter 2.

¹³² Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 32.

¹³³ Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), pp. 32, 194.

life in the water and stench. This caused a political issue and during his inspection to the Garden of Harmonious Interest in the Summer Palace in July 1964, Premier Zhou Enlai advised that: 'From now on, fish should not be raised in the Garden, and lotus should be well planted.'¹³⁴ However during the economic readjustment there remained a political urgency to strive for produce, and despite this advice public parks became the necessary sacrifice for the nation's survival.

Reconsideration of YYY

Yet despite the numerous efforts of public parks to balance the books following the introduction of the YYY policy in 1950, few were in fact able to do so. The 1961 statistics for Beijing, for example, showed that only the Summer Palace, Zhongshan Park and North Sea Park, were able to earn the required revenue, but this was mainly as a result of pronounced historic interest that drew large numbers of visitors. All other parks, including Joyous Pavilion Park, Purple Bamboo Park, Temple of Heaven Park, Zoological Garden, and Botanical Garden, had to be subsidized by the Municipal Bureau of Parks to meet the deficit.¹³⁵ This added to the environmental costs of agricultural production led to the YYY policy to be re-considered, with a statement issued at the Third National Working Conference on Urban Construction of the Architectural Engineering Ministry¹³⁶ in January 1963 that confirmed:

YYY does not mean to be fully self-sufficient, but to serve the undertaking of landscaping and gardening with the income generated. It is essential to first improve the quality of urban greening, horticulture and services before enhancing income where possible ... YYY should be implemented in line with specific conditions of each city.¹³⁷

It should be acknowledged that this statement was generated with the understanding of the spirit of self-reliance, and the objective of self-sufficiency implied in the YYY policy was thus considered problematic. However this was refuted shortly after, since it seemed that the firm adherence to the former would be best demonstrated by the accomplishment of the latter. By late February that year, in a working conference on landscape architecture held by the Beijing Municipal Committee, YYY was thought to be an essential goal determined by the attributes of

¹³⁴ Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 29.

¹³⁵ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Dangdai Beijing yuanlin fazhan shi* [Modern history of Beijing landscape architecture] 当代北京园林发展史. (October, 1987), p. 222; Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 487.

¹³⁶ The name of the conference is in Chinese '中央建筑工程部第三次全国城市建设工作会议'.

¹³⁷ Quoted from Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 487. Author's translation.

the parks of the people. There would be two levels of its realisation: one was of low demands, i.e. the running expenses could be settled by the operation of those businesses; the other was of high demands, i.e. apart from the running expenses, self-financing should be achieved in five years to cover such programmes as restoration of old buildings, planting maintenance, and some additional small-scale building projects, such as pavilions. By March these ambitious visions were confirmed in *Several Stipulations for the Development of Urban Parks and Greening* issued by the Architectural Engineering Ministry, in which was stated that: 'All parks and nurseries, according to their respectively different conditions, should try to realise YYY. Where possible, besides the realisation of self-sufficiency, some other essential construction programmes could also be carried out.'¹³⁸ But it remained problematic to achieve and in Beijing most parks continued with deficits for a number of years, with in February 1966 the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks conceding that it was not appropriate to enforce YYY without considering the individual cases.¹³⁹

In pursuit of 'Red Parks' within the political fervour of the Cultural Revolution

Any progress during the period of the Readjustment (1961-1965) was slow, both in the economy and in the creation of new parks. By then the new public parks had suffered from development, change of use and neglect. The start of the Cultural Revolution in May 1966 meant another onslaught on public parks which lasted till the early 1970s. Overall this can now be considered as a great calamity for the nation, not only with respect to loss of heritage and resulting connectedness, but also as a result of diminishing civility. The Revolution emphasised the political consciousness and ideological correctness in order to dissolve social inequality, shape a pure proletarian society, and retain the 'red' colour of the Party. It was considered by Mao at the time, that there were some 'capitalist roaders' in the Party who attempted to pull the revolution in a capitalist direction, whilst pretending to uphold socialism. 'Destroy the old to establish the new' was now the popular slogan and a permanent revolution was envisaged. However the central message of the Cultural Revolution remained: 'Under no circumstances should we forget class struggle', which was first expressed four years before the revolution commenced. Similarly, potted plants were criticised as being associated with 'feudalism' in 1964.¹⁴⁰ It also jumpstarted a

¹³⁸ 'Jianzhu gongchengbu guanyu chengshi yuanlin luhua gongzuo de ruogan guiding' [Several Stipulations for the Development of Urban Park and Greening] 建筑工程部关于城市园林绿化工作的若干规定. In Urban Construction Department of the Ministry of Construction 建设部城市建设司, ed. *Chengshi yuanlin luhua hangye zhongyao wenjian huibian* [A collection of important documents for landscape architecture profession] 城市园林绿化行业重要文件汇编. (1998), p. 315.

¹³⁹ Editorial Board of Garden History of Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局园林建设史编委会, ed. *Beijing yuanlin dashi ji, xia (1966-1982)* [Great events of Beijing landscape architecture, Vol. 2 (1966-1982)] 北京园林大事记, 下 (1966-1982). (July, 1984), p. 3; Editorial Board of Joyous Pavilion Park records 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 34.

¹⁴⁰ See Chapter 2.

design revolution that aimed to quash foreign conventions. The basis for the new philosophy lay in revolutionary guidelines for park development that had been issued before the Revolution. The Fifth Urban Construction Conference held by the Architectural Engineering Ministry¹⁴¹ in June 1965 pronounced:

Parks and greenspaces are where people go for sight-seeing and rest, and also where socialist education is carried out. We must implement the class line of the Party, foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology, and fight against the doctrine of 'back to the ancients'. We should better serve the proletarian politics, production, and the broad masses of the people... and be industrious and thrifty in building parks. Currently parks should not be created or extended. The development of zoological gardens should be restricted.¹⁴²

In this official instruction little progress was envisioned, but any new park 'created' that followed the ultra-leftist proletarian ideological orientation, was issued with label of 'Red Park'.¹⁴³ Under the ideology of the Cultural Revolution, this terminology showed the aspiration for a site that represented socialist or communist ideology and was without flaws. In such parks, recreation would be rather a minor issue and what would be brought into full play was the power of politics, the latest Maoist ideology.

Destruction and 'construction'

With 'destruction' being the catchword of the Cultural Revolution within a newly envisioned proletarian state, anything reminiscent of the imperial past was first targeted. In Joyous Pavilion Park murals were erased, panels with inscribed couplets were taken down, and Buddha statues were removed in 1966. Also in the park, the two magnificent imperial memorial archways, saved from the road widening scheme of Chang'an Avenue in 1955, were considered inappropriate and demolished in September 1971 as a result of the inspection of Jiang Qing (1914-1991), one of the notorious Gang of Four, since they were regarded as emblematic of the 'three big mountains lying like a dead weight on the Chinese people.'¹⁴⁴ Their removal was followed by the erection of enormous boards with quotations from Chairman Mao and his portrait providing political

¹⁴¹ The name of the conference in Chinese is: '建工部第五次城建会议'.

¹⁴² Quoted from Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 29. Author's translation.

¹⁴³ 'Liangge jieji, liangtiao luxian, liangzhong yuanlin' [Two kinds of classes, two kinds of lines, two kinds of parks] 两个阶级、两条路线、两种园林. *Yuanlin Geming*. 5 (1968), p. 4.

¹⁴⁴ Zheng, Jiang 正江 and Ding Shan 丁山. *Taoranting* [Joyous pavilion] 陶然亭. (Beijing: Beijing Luyou Chubanshe, 1983), p. 7; Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 35. The 'three big mountains' were imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. While the archways were removed during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969), many uninformed people constantly raised the question how they disappeared even till the late 1980s. See Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 95.

propaganda, highlighting proletarian ideology.

Remarkably some revolutionary and political monuments were also targeted, such as the Gao-Shi Tomb in Joyous Pavilion Park, since this not only celebrated the revolutionary past, but also a love affair. Within the climate where hard struggle was promoted, enjoyment or amusement was not appropriate to the proletarian ultra-leftist ideology. Similarly the open-air dance floor was cleared away also, not only because of any criticism of enjoyment, but also because it was a product of 'Learning from the Soviet Union' and was then labelled revisionism. Another notable instance was that the dove sculpture in Peace Park (1958), Shanghai, erected to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic as a praise of the new socialist era in 1959, was demolished. This action embodies the confusion, upheaval and turbulence of the time.

Some 'constructions' were simple and naive, without any deliberate design technique or consideration for existing site fabric. For example, in People's Park, Shanghai, in 1967 a north-south oriented road, 200 metres long and 15 metres wide, was laid across its centre and a further two secondary walks connected the two entrances to east. These road and walks were lined with plane trees (*Platanus* spp.) and caused the park to be divided in quarters, thereby significantly altering its appearance.¹⁴⁵ Such insensitive interventions could be found elsewhere: in the Summer Palace where 'the old enclosed, circuitous, and tortuous courtyards' caused visitors to lose their way, were 'transformed into open and straightforward corridors.'¹⁴⁶ The ignorance shown in these examples was largely due to the lack of professionals and intellectuals to both prepare and discuss design proposals. Their shortage was a direct result of the targeting of these groups who were then driven to the countryside to engage in agricultural production to 'learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants' for ideological transformation.

Further 'constructions' took place as a result of the Cold War when China introduced a national policy of 'Prepare for War, Prepare for Famine, for the Sake of the People'.¹⁴⁷ This resulted in incorporation of air defence positions and nuclear bomb shelters. In Joyous Pavilion Park, Beijing, these constructions started in October 1970 and took nearly two years to complete, shifting 150 thousand cubic metres of soil in the process and creating 18 metres high hills.¹⁴⁸ Even higher hills of up to 32 metres in Temple of Heaven Park significantly affected the appearance of the original design concept, where thus far the Hall of Annual Prayer had been the

¹⁴⁵ Editorial Board of *Shanghai landscape architecture records* 《上海园林志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai yuanlin zhi* [Shanghai landscape architecture records] 上海园林志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 2000), p. 111.

¹⁴⁶ Publicity Group of the Summer Palace 颐和园宣传组. 'Yiheyuan gaige tongxin' [Revolutionary report of the Summer Palace] 颐和园改革通信. *Yuanlin Geming*. 5 (1968), p. 13.

¹⁴⁷ Translation quoted in Shapiro, Judith. *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (New York, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 138.

¹⁴⁸ Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 35.

dominant feature.¹⁴⁹ In Shanghai, most parks (People's Park, Transportation Park, Penglai Park, Shaoxing Children's Park, Quiet and Peace Park, and Xikang Park) were closed during the early 1970s due to earth work schemes associated with national defence issues. These had a severe aesthetic impact, particularly as they were conceived as engineering solutions without any professional design input. Yet within the spirit of the time the people came to accept these intrusions as part of the revolutionary effort, not least because they created them with their own physical labour. In addition, it is clear that the loss of the recreational space was not a consideration, as hardship and suffering could be enjoyed for ideological rectitude and hedonism had to be criticised.

Intensification of production

Within the context of the perceived threat of an international war and stagnating economy it is not surprising that the emphasis continued to be on production. This could not be achieved without hard labour and struggle, with leisure, luxury and enjoyment being taboo. This became a criterion for the creation of parks:

Combining greening with production is an important guideline in the development of socialist parks... [We should] be clear about the direction in parks and greening of serving the proletarian politics, serving the socialist production and construction, and serving the living of the labouring people... Combining greening with production is not a pure technological issue and not an expedient for a short period of time, but a fundamental sign of the difference between the socialist park and those of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism, and an issue of political orientation and revolutionary line.¹⁵⁰

In 1964 Mao used ornamental potted plants as a focus for criticism, with those in Zhongshan Park, Beijing, singled out as requiring too much time in order to maintain them, while there was an urgent need to further expand farming and fishery in the park.¹⁵¹ Apple and peach trees in the Inner Altar planted during the GLF were added to with large-fruited Chinese hawthorns (*Crataegus pinnatifida* Bunge. var. *major*) being planted. These fruit trees were interplanted with medicinal plants, such as cockscomb, chrysanthemum, *Isatis tinctoria* L. and herbaceous peony. In the Outer Altar, crab apples (*Malus spectabilis* Borkh.) were planted in the west and persimmon trees (*Diospyros kaki* L. f.) in the south (Fig. 3.38). While tall fences had previously

¹⁴⁹ Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 20.

¹⁵⁰ Quoted from Hangzhou Park Management Bureau 杭州市园林管理局. 'Yuanlin jiehe shengchan hao, xihu fengjing mianmiao xin' [It is good to combine parks with production, and the West Lake takes on a new look] 园林结合生产好, 西湖风景面貌新. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 1 (1976), p. 44. Author's translation.

¹⁵¹ Horticultural Team of the Management Department of Beijing Zhongshan Park 北京中山公园管理处园艺班. 'Yuanlin jiehe shengchan dayou kewei' [There is plenty of scope to combine landscaping and gardening with production] 园林结合生产大有可为. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1974), pp. 30-33.

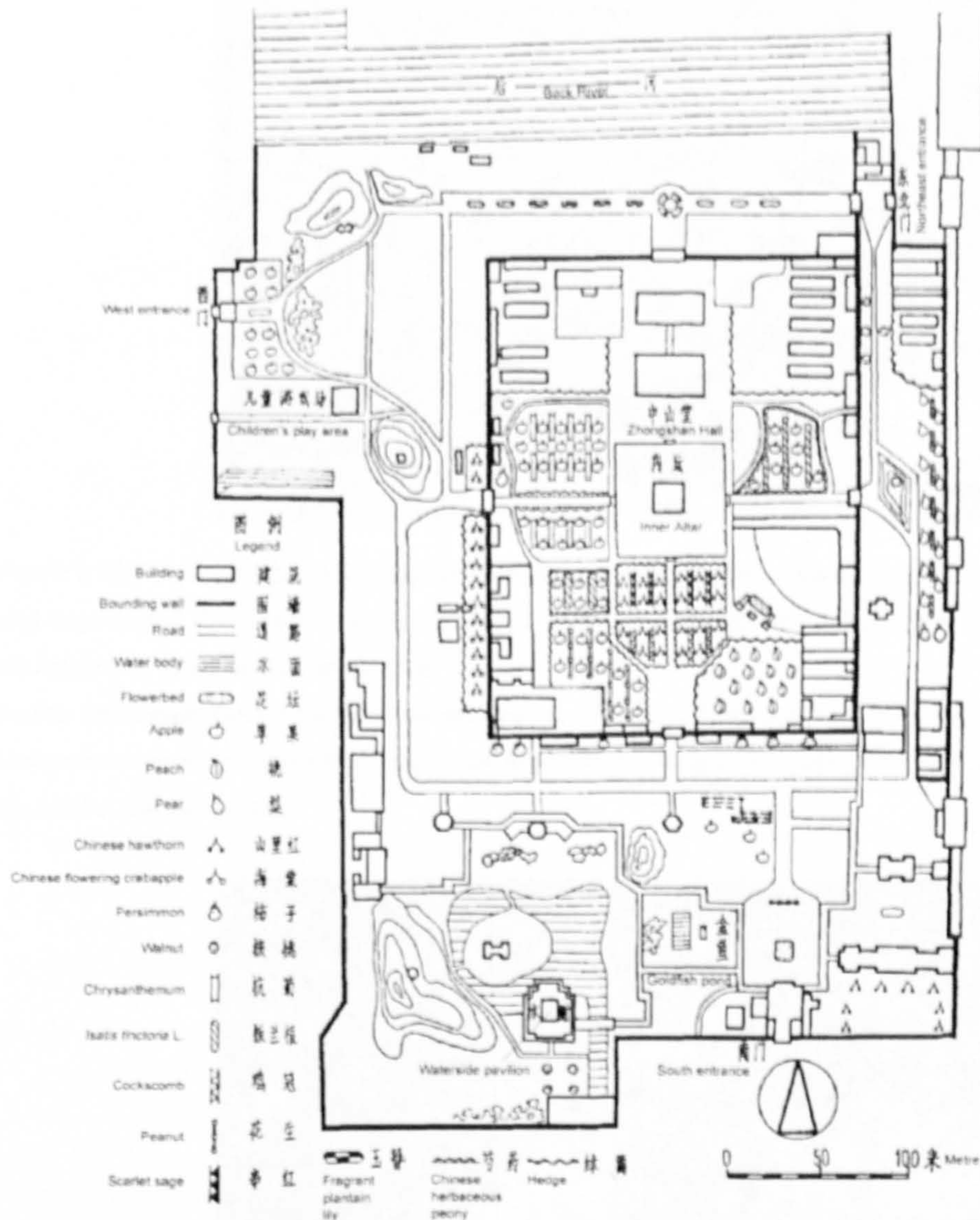


Figure 3.38 The productive plantings in Zhongshan Park, Beijing (c. 1968), included various fruit trees, walnuts, peanuts and a range of herbs.

Source: Horticultural Team of the Management Department of Beijing Zhongshan Park 北京中山公园管理处园艺班. 'Yuanlin jiehe shengchan dayou kewe' [There is plenty of scope to combine landscaping and gardening with production] 园林结合生产大有可为. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1974), p. 30.

been used to enclose orchards, lower hedges now bordered them. This enabled the public to view the fruit and flowers for visual enjoyment.¹⁵² It proved that production could be beautiful also with flowers in spring and fruit in summer and autumn (Fig. 3.39, 3.40). These orchards created an awareness of the production effort and the flowering and fruiting was seen as a reflection of socialist prosperity.¹⁵³

However, production was not always aesthetically pleasing or environmentally responsible, particularly when the balance was lost, such as in West Lake Park in Fuzhou, which in 1969 was

¹⁵² Hua, Lanhong 华揽洪. *Chongjian zhongguo: chengshi guihua sanshinian, 1949-1979* [Reconstruction of China: thirty years of urbanism, 1949-1979] 重建中国: 城市规划三十年, 1949-1979, trans. by Li Ying 李颖. (Beijing: Shenghuo-dushu-xinzhishi Sanlian Shudian, 2006), p. 206. Originally published as Hoa, Léon. *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme, 1949-1979* (Paris: Éditions du Moniteur, 1981).

¹⁵³ Horticultural Team of the Management Department of Beijing Zhongshan Park 北京中山公园管理处园艺班. 'Yuanlin jiehe shengchan dayou kewe' [There is plenty of scope to combine landscaping and gardening with production] 园林结合生产大有可为. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1974), p. 31.



Figure 3.39 The Inner Altar of Zhongshan Park (seen from northeast to southwest), where apple trees, peach trees and large-fruited Chinese hawthorns (*Crataegus pinnatifida* Bunge. var. *major*) were planted to be both visually attractive and economically productive.

Source: Horticultural Team of the Management Department of Beijing Zhongshan Park 北京中山公园管理处园艺班. 'Yuanlin jiehe shengchan dayou kewe' [There is plenty of scope to combine landscaping and gardening with production] 园林结合生产大有可为. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1974).



Figure 3.40 The Outer Altar of Zhongshan Park, with fruit bearing persimmon trees in late autumn.

Source: Horticultural Team of the Management Department of Beijing Zhongshan Park 北京中山公园管理处园艺班. 'Yuanlin jiehe shengchan dayou kewe' [There is plenty of scope to combine landscaping and gardening with production] 园林结合生产大有可为. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1974).

turned into May Seventh Farm.¹⁵⁴ Zhongshan Park, Shantou, was turned into a pig farm, with the number of pigs peaking in 1971 at 2,526.¹⁵⁵ With such emphasis and little sympathy shown for aesthetic considerations or public recreation it is clear that the definition of production could be further extended. It soon came to include 'productive institutions' or factories, for which parks were appropriated. Areas within Joyous Pavilion Park, Beijing, were usurped by the Real Estate

¹⁵⁴ The name of 'May Seventh Farm' was derived from the 'May Seventh' rural cadre school which was first established on May 7, 1968 for officials and 'brain workers' to regularly participate in productive labour as a process of 'ideological revolutionization'.

¹⁵⁵ 'A brief history of the construction of Zhongshan Park, Shantou' 汕头中山公园建设史略. <http://stcg.shantou.gov.cn/stgk4-b.htm>, accessed on 22/12/2006.

Management Bureau, a shoe factory, tannery, etc., and by 1971 some 37,100 square metres had been built over.¹⁵⁶ In Shanghai, 6,547 square metres of Fahua Park was appropriated for a kiln, brickyard, and rubber plant in 1966,¹⁵⁷ and Lujiazui Park was lost as a result of being built over for the No. 5 Public Transportation Company¹⁵⁸ in 1972. This illustrates the much reduced emphasis with respect to greening, and the fatal consequences for public parks as a result of the increasing pressure asserted by production.

'Red' parks

Most of the losses with respect to parks were as a result of the policies of the Far Left. These losses were not just material but also manifested themselves in the re-naming of parks and features. For example, Fragrant Hill Park, Beijing, was renamed as Red Hill Park,¹⁵⁹ in 1967 Revival Park in Shanghai was renamed as Red Guard Park,¹⁶⁰ in 1968 Liberation Park in Shijiazhuang was renamed as East Red Park. Park features were not excluded from this ideological cleansing: the Hall of Incense to the Buddha in the Summer Palace was renamed as Hall of Facing the Sun,¹⁶¹ in 1969 West Lake in West Lake Park, Fuzhou, was renamed as Red Lake.¹⁶² It is clear that the predominant leftist ideology was reflected by means of the red colour.

Criticism of YYYYY

Although the problems of YYYYY were recognised well before the Cultural Revolution, the policy was now questioned as a result of the criticism toward profit making. Admission fees as part of the efforts to realise YYYYY remained a political issue; during her inspection to Joyous Pavilion Park in September 1971 Jiang Qing (1914-1991) pronounced: 'Public parks should not charge admission fees. How could they take money from the working people?'¹⁶³ By this stage this had,

¹⁵⁶ Among the misappropriations, an area of 5,028 square metres was occupied by the Real Estate Management Bureau of Xuanwu District in 1966 for establishing a residential area; 218 square metres by Beijing Qianxiang Leather Shoes Factory in April 1967; and 900 square metres by Beijing Tannery in April 1970. See Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), pp. 34-35.

¹⁵⁷ Editorial Board of *Shanghai landscape architecture records* 《上海园林志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai yuanlin zhi* [Shanghai landscape architecture records] 上海园林志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 2000), p. 145.

¹⁵⁸ The Chinese name of the company is '市公交公司汽车五场'.

¹⁵⁹ Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 20. The site was first developed in 1186 during the Jin Era (1115-1234).

¹⁶⁰ Editorial Board of *Shanghai landscape architecture records* 《上海园林志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai yuanlin zhi* [Shanghai landscape architecture records] 上海园林志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 2000), p. 98.

¹⁶¹ Publicity Group of the Summer Palace 颐和园宣传组. 'Yiheyuan gaige tongxin' [Revolutionary report of the Summer Palace] 颐和园改革通信. *Yuanlin Geming*, 5 (1968), p. 13; Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 20.

¹⁶² Li, Min 李敏. *Zhongguo xiandai gongyuan: fazhan yu pingjia* [Modern parks of China: development and evaluation] 中国现代公园——发展与评价. (Beijing: Beijing Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1987), p. 20.

¹⁶³ Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park

in line with the revolution, already been included as an objective for the management of public parks, but economic constraints left but few options. In 1974, the *Findings Report of Several Issues of Political Orientation and Proletarian Line in the Stewardship of Parks*¹⁶⁴ issued by the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks stated that:

We must... further clarify the major differences between parks of socialism and parks of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. This is a fundamental issue of struggle between the two lines. The policy of YYY must be criticised thoroughly. It is actually a revisionist policy encouraging the covert act of 'profiting in command', which resulted in 'ignoring revolutionary line and only paying attention to money'... Self-reliance and YYY are two diametrically opposed lines and share no common ground. Only adhering to self-reliance is the correct political direction.¹⁶⁵

In this statement the reference to self-reliance provides a new meaning in that it excludes any financial concerns. The policy of YYY was at this stage generally considered as a means of villainous profiteering, since it encouraged income generation. This financial issue remained a sensitive one, particularly as it contradicted thrift and plain living desired of poor peasants, to whom policies were now clearly directed. This favouring of poor peasants, rather than the revolutionary, might to some extent be considered as a strange manifestation of a long tradition, where the small-scale peasant economy was regarded as superior to commerce.¹⁶⁶ It was therefore ironic that a policy, which intended to promote self-reliance for parks, was deprecated in this way. On the other hand, the policy, originally generated within the economic constraints of China itself, became a revisionist one, as if it were a product under the Soviet ideology. This was eccentric, but it seemed that the label of revisionism then became a convenient tool for the criticism towards any suspicious ideological deflection.

While now out of favour the YYY policy was never forgotten. It was one of the policies that aimed to establish some order out of chaos in the immediate aftermath of the Cultural Revolution. The Third National Working Conference on Urban Landscaping and Gardening held in Ji'nan in December 1978 passed *Opinions for Improving Urban Landscaping and Gardening*,¹⁶⁷ requiring that 'where applicable, YYY should be realised in parks step by step.'¹⁶⁸ The Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks again stressed the issue of self-sufficiency in the implementation of the policy

records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 35.

¹⁶⁴ The title was in Chinese '关于公园工作中若干带有方向路线性问题的调查报告'.

¹⁶⁵ Quoted from Editorial Board of Garden History of Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局园林建设史编委会, ed. *Beijing yuanlin dashi ji, xia (1966-1982)* [Great events of Beijing landscape architecture, Vol. 2 (1966-1982)] 北京园林大事记. 下 (1966-1982). (July, 1984), p. 40. Author's translation.

¹⁶⁶ In the imperial era, the grading of Chinese people was, from the higher to the lower, intellectuals, peasants, artisans, and merchants.

¹⁶⁷ The title was in Chinese '关于加强城市园林绿化工作的意见'.

¹⁶⁸ Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 34; Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 488.

and estimated that it would be achieved before 1980. However, this policy was unachievable in reality and was finally abandoned in the National Working Conference on Urban Parks held in October 1986.¹⁶⁹

The return of Chinese garden and park culture

With the return of China to international politics marked by the visit by President Nixon of the United States in February 1972, the tensions between the East and the West gradually diminished. For diplomatic purposes it was now desirable to generate a favourable urban image, with the development of parks and greening being resumed with the guideline issued in 1972 recommending 'having trees and flowers well planted for the revolution'.¹⁷⁰ Professional bodies were being re-formed, and the issue of garden design could once again be explored in earnest without the threat of persecution.

Old parks were regenerated and new ones created. Fahua Park, Shanghai, appropriated by factories for production in 1966 with the remainder becoming neglected and overgrown with weeds, was re-developed in 1973, directed by landscape architect Zhou Zaichun¹⁷¹. Despite historic criticism of the Soviet model, the allocation of functional zones continued to be a convenient approach in the re-design of this park. Similar to the design practice of the late 1950s, scenic areas and functional zones worked together to achieve an aesthetically pleasurable and spatially exciting experience (Fig. 3.41, 3.42). But the importance of the scenery issue was more emphasised with scenic areas arranged along the central axis and articulated in a series of contrasting spaces: an open lawn (Fig. 3.43) and a small lotus pond (Fig. 3.44) were laid out in the south of the park; in the north of the park mountain-and-water pattern demanded an extensive programme of earth movement with a commanding hillock set on the north bank and crowned with a hexagonal pavilion signifying the end of the north-south axis. Functional zones were located around the central area, with a children's play zone in the southwest, a youth recreational zone in the northwest, and an elders' recreational zone in the northeast. At the main southern entrance, a flower bed was placed and a small mound was raised and planted with shrubs and trees, serving as a screen which resulted in spatial segmentation, so that visitors could not view the whole scenery of the park in one glance (Fig. 3.45). Traditional design

¹⁶⁹ 'National Working Conference on Urban Parks' was in Chinese '全国城市公园工作会议'. See Liu, Shanghai 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), pp. 12, 101.

¹⁷⁰ Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 159; Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 472.

¹⁷¹ A 1961 graduate from the Beijing Forestry College, in the Design Section of Shanghai Park Department. See: 'Resume of Zhou Zaichun' 周在春简历. <http://www.y1103.com/y1103/12/zhouzaichun/index.html>, accessed on 19/09/2007.



Figure 3.41 Plan of Fahua Park, Shanghai, after a regeneration programme in 1973, which introduced a mountain-and-water pattern that incorporated scenic areas and functional zones.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 210.



Figure 3.42 Bird's-eye perspective of the re-developed Fahua Park (1985) (seen from south).

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 212.

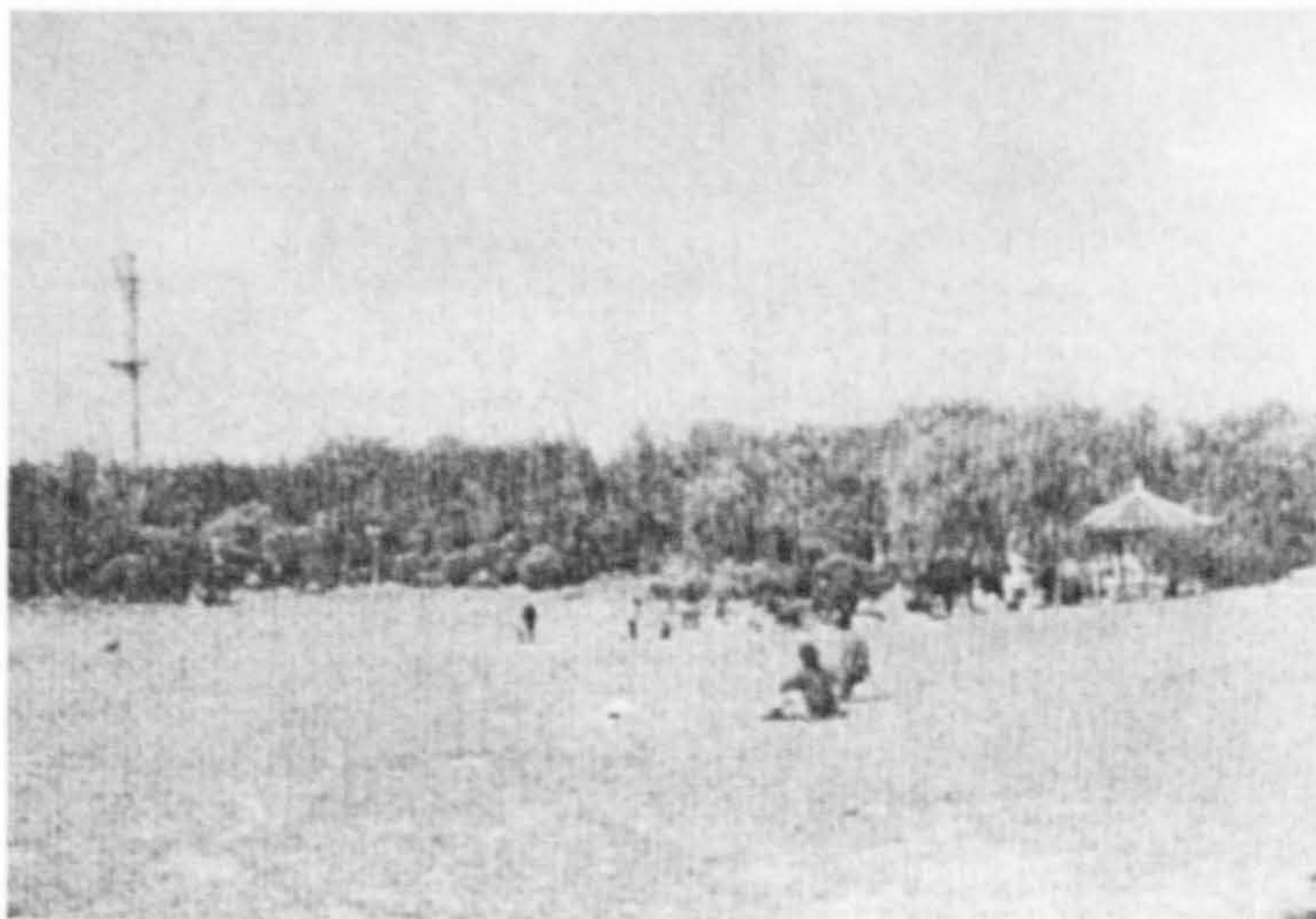


Figure 3.43 The open lawn of Fahua Park (seen from east), with the Lotus Fragrant Pavilion located to north. A parachute tower is shown in the background.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 213.

principles about the spatial and scenic quality were further revived by the creation of a 'garden within a garden', with in 1977 a *penjing* garden created in Seven-Star Park, Guilin,¹⁷² and a 1.7 hectare garden named Crooked Pool in Flourishing Spring (曲池胜春) created in Ritan Park, Beijing, in 1978.¹⁷³

¹⁷² China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), pp. 108-109.

¹⁷³ China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), pp. 204-209.



Figure 3.44 The Lotus Pond with the Lotus Fragrant Pavilion in Fahua Park, provided an intimate space as a contrast to the open lawn to south and the extensive lake to north.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 213.

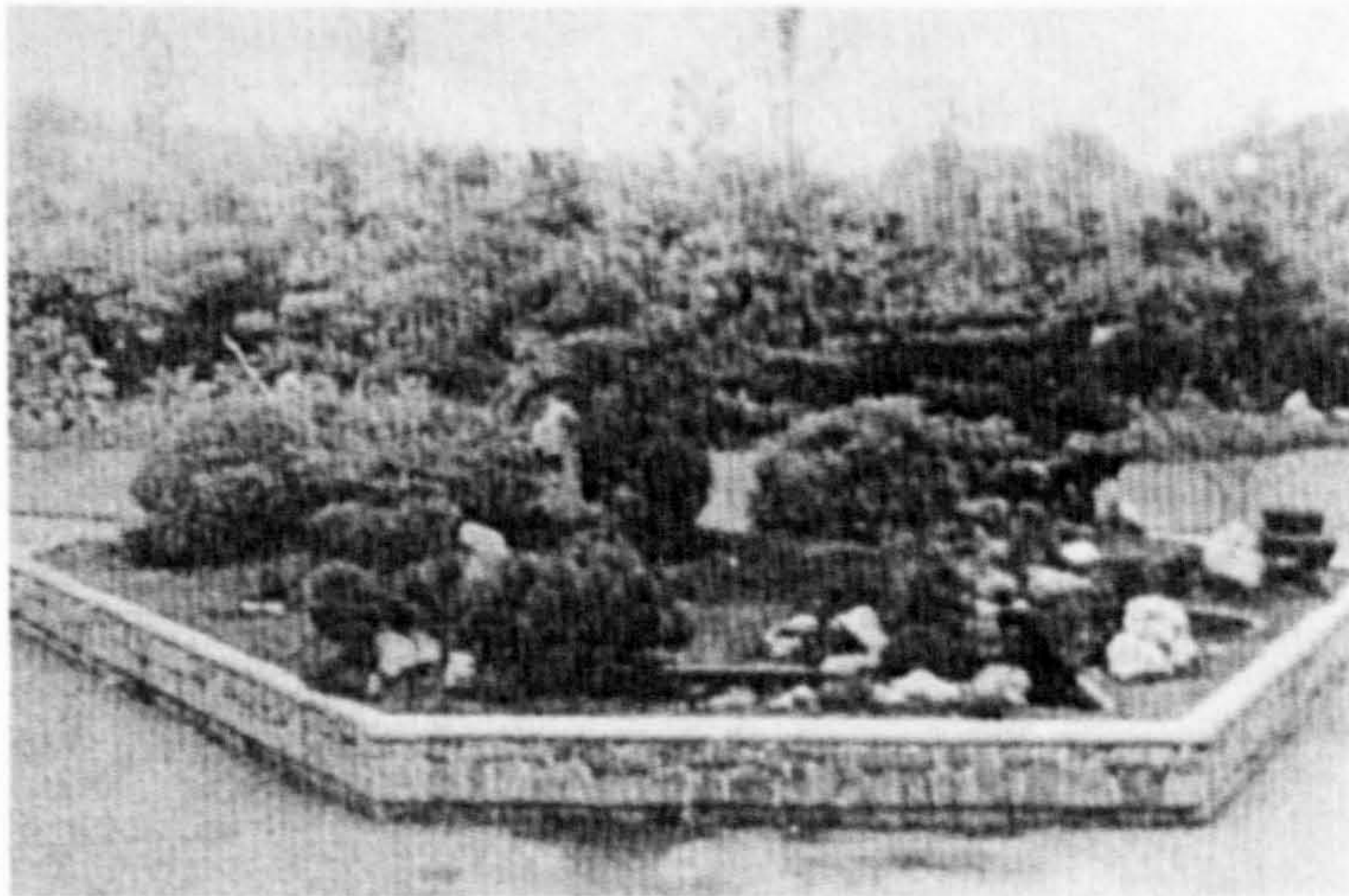


Figure 3.45 Flower bed at the entrance of Fahua Park in front of a raised area with shrubs and trees, which prevent views into the park.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 213.

Poetic quality was once again stressed in the naming practice. In Joyous Pavilion Park, the Jade Rainbow Bridge (玉虹桥) was completed in April 1975; the Carefree-Joyful Pavilion (旷怡楼) and the Containing Jade Pavilion (涵碧亭) in September; the Expecting Auspicious Pavilion (望瑞亭) in July 1976; the Pure Minded Pavilion (澄怀亭), the Knowing the Way Pavilion (知津亭) and the Delighting in Guests Room (悦宾轩) in 1977. Besides aesthetic pleasure, this tradition of naming features associated with poetry and calligraphy also became an important tool to convey revolutionary policies. In Children's Park (1972), Dalian, a stele incorporated Mao's revolutionary poem, 'The Red Army, never fearing the challenging Long March; looked lightly on the many peaks and rivers'¹⁷⁴ composed in 1935. It was set at the entrance of the children play zone and

¹⁷⁴ Translated by Edgar Snow in 1936, in <http://archives.openflows.org/zhongguo/doc00000.doc>, accessed on 7/12/2006. The

served the practical purpose of dividing the space (Fig. 3.46). Similarly, in Children's Park (1977) in Hangzhou, a screening wall with Chairman Mao's inscription 'Aim high, go ahead, and you will win',¹⁷⁵ was placed on the main access road (Fig. 3.47). These inscriptions continued the concern about the education of future generations for the communist revolution.

The emphasis of ideological orientation with respect to new features and naming thereof was with respect to the revolutionary past, with a particular emphasis on the pre-Liberation legacy. Statues continued to serve an important purpose in commemorating events and heroes. One of Zhang Side (1915-1944), an early Red Army member who died as a result of a tragic

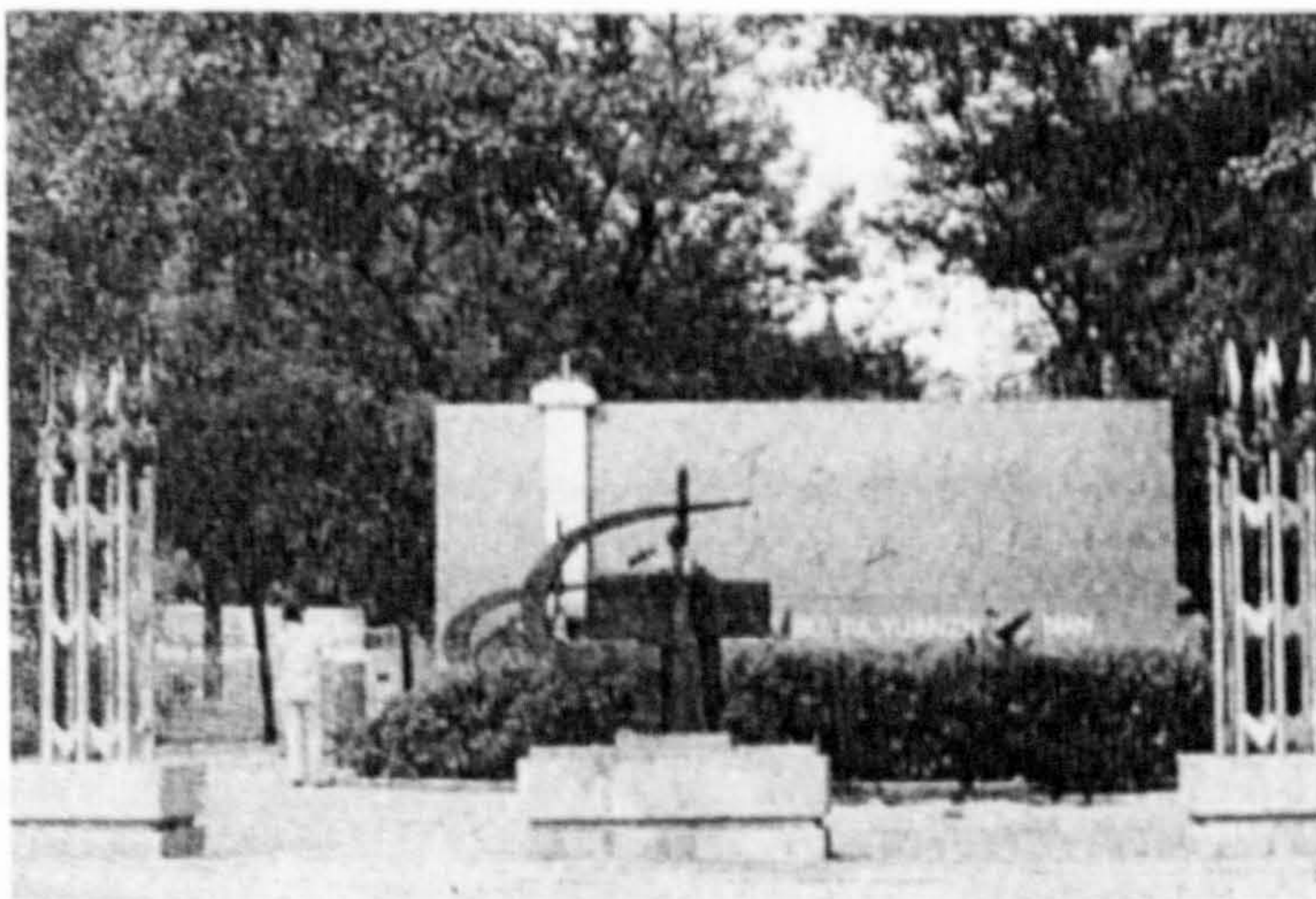


Figure 3.46 The stele incorporating Mao's revolutionary poem, set at the entrance of the youth play zone of Children's Park, Dalian.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 136.

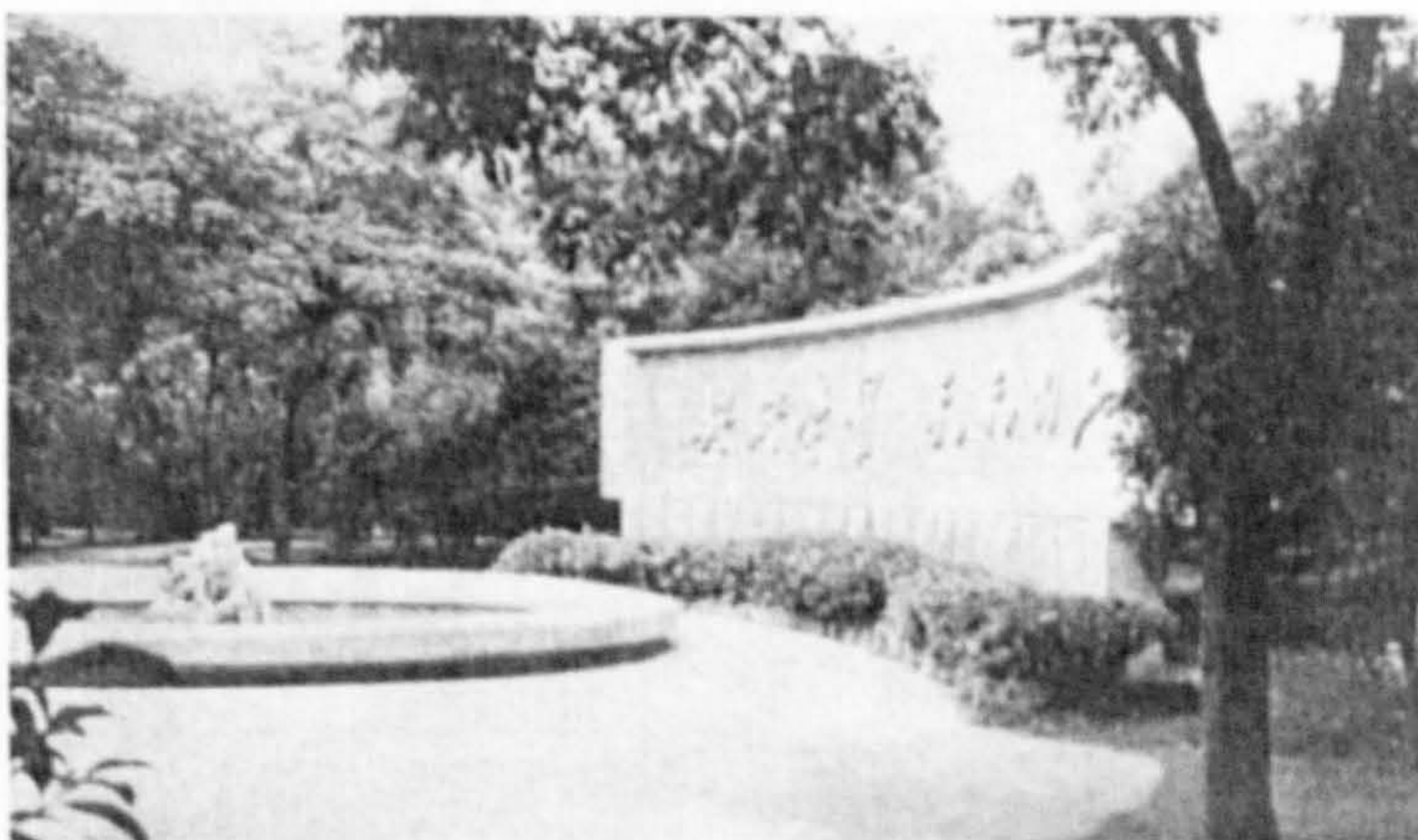


Figure 3.47 The screen wall with Mao's inscription 'Aim high, go ahead, and you will win', placed on the main approach of Children's Park, Hangzhou.

Source: Teaching and Research Section of the School of Architecture of Tongji University 同济大学建筑系园林教研室, ed. *Gongyuan guihua yu jianzhu tuji* [A collection of designed parks] 公园规划与建筑图集. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1986), p. 168.

original Chinese text is '红军不怕远征难，万水千山只等闲'.

¹⁷⁵ The Chinese text is '好好学习，天天向上'.

accident through the collapse of a charcoal kiln,¹⁷⁶ was erected in People's Park, Shanghai in 1971. In the youth recreational zone of Unmoored Ferry Park (1950), Hefei, two statues, of which one carried 'an urgent despatch with a feather attached'¹⁷⁷ – depicting the decisive military contact – and the other 'little heroic sisters of the prairie'¹⁷⁸ – denoting the brave participation of youngsters in the liberation wars – were erected in 1974. In Children's Park, Zhanjiang, a statue named 'South Sea young pioneer', was erected in 1974; and one of comrade Lei Feng (1940-1962) in Children's Park, Hangzhou in 1977.

The 'Long March', the 12,500 kilometres heroic journey of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army (1934-1935) and an important 'strategic moment' in the Chinese revolution, became a preferred theme for children's facilities, which in execution tended to often resemble landscape features along the journey. There was a slide symbolising the 'snow-capped mountain' in Children's Park (1974), Zhanjiang (Fig. 3.48); one in Children's Park (1977), Hangzhou, and one in Joyous Pavilion Park (1978), Beijing (Fig. 3.49). Also 'single-log bridge' and 'chain bridge' were commemorative themes in children's play equipment, serving to allude to the adventure of the expedition. It was clear that all these provisions again served didactic ends.

Thus by the late 1970s park politics had returned to the endeavours and policies of the 1950s, except that it was more open to the outside world, and indeed attempted to woo international opinion. A delegation of Americans in 1977 compared with envy the ideological

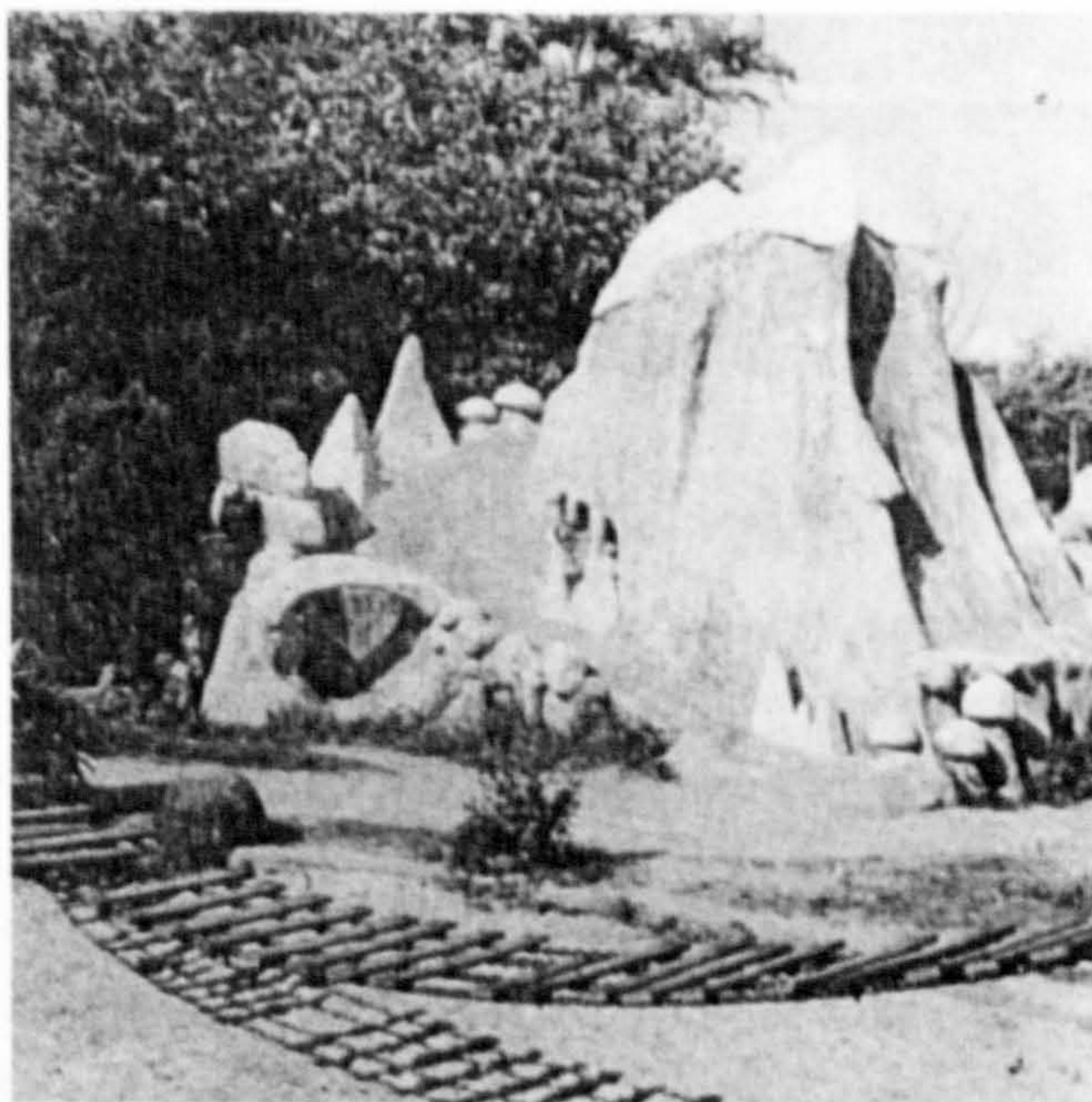


Figure 3.48 The slide symbolising the 'snow-capped mountain' in Children's Park, Zhanjiang.

Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design 中国城市规划设计研究院, ed. *Zhongguo xin yuanlin* [New gardens and parks of China] 中国新园林. (Beijing: Zhongguo Linye Chubanshe, 1985), p. 143.

¹⁷⁶ Zhang Side (张思德) joined the Red Army in 1933 and the CCP in 1937. He died a heroic death in 1944 in a collapse of charcoal kiln. Mao made his famous speech of *Serving the People* in the memorial meeting.

¹⁷⁷ Author's translation of '鸡毛信'.

¹⁷⁸ Author's translation of '草原英雄小姐妹'.

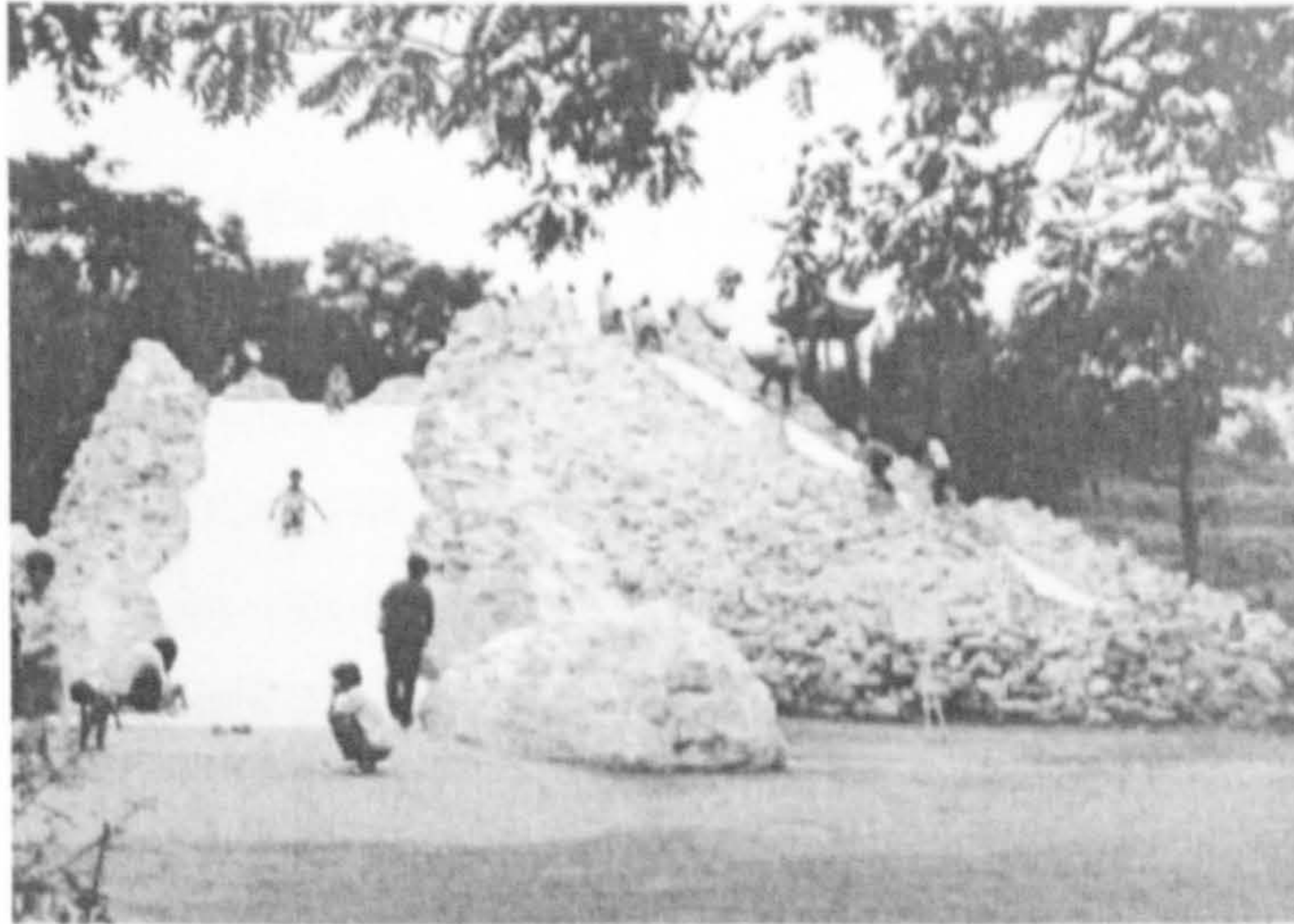


Figure 3.49 The slide symbolising the 'snow-capped mountain' in Joyous Pavilion Park, Beijing.

Source: Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999).

stance of public parks with the lack of interest exhibited then in the West. Although the pursuit of production as a result of political urgency formerly often had negative effects on the recreational and aesthetic values of parks, it was seen as an impressive programme that distinguished the Chinese parks from those of the West. It was through the integration of production and consumption, it was noted by Galen Cranz, that Chinese parks were created '(1) to contribute to economic productivity, (2) to provide a place for workers to rest, (3) to raise political consciousness, (4) to popularize science, (5) to show special exhibits, and (6) to beautify the city and extend the regional "greenization" program.'¹⁷⁹

The stipulation issued in the Third National Working Conference on Urban Landscaping and Gardening, held in December 1978, officially and more clearly showed the new direction for park development with the ideas of the 1950s reinstated:

For the development of urban landscape architecture, general greening should be realised first, and turn the city into a garden step by step... Garden art must serve the socialist undertaking and be loved by the broad masses of the people. The guidelines of 'Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend' and 'Make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China' should be conscientiously adhered to. Earnestly study and inherit the legacies of our nation's excellent garden art, carry forward our nation's fine tradition, assimilate the achievements of foreign garden art, and make great efforts to create a new style with national form and socialist content.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Cranz, Galen. 'The Useful & the Beautiful: Urban Parks in China'. *Landscape*. 23.2 (1979), pp. 3-10.

¹⁸⁰ Quoted from Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), pp. 35, 41. Author's translation.

Post-Mao parks

From the directive of 'turning the whole land into a garden' of the National Landscaping and Gardening Movement (1958), then came the vision of 'garden city', i.e. turning the city into a garden.¹⁸¹ Along with the increasing attention paid to the environmental and living quality against the background of economic construction from the 1980s, this effectively promoted the development of public parks. While in the whole country there were 579 parks with a total area of 15,200 hectares by 1978, and 679 parks of 16,192 hectares by 1980, these figures increased by nearly three to four times to 2,405 parks of 45,700 hectares by 1992, and 3,990 parks of 73,197 hectares by 1998.¹⁸² It was also notable that in 1992 the Construction Ministry initiated the appraisal of 'garden city', whilst singling out Beijing, Hefei and Zhuhai as the first three such cities, based on a comprehensive assessment of the urban environmental quality.

It was not surprising that garden traditions, with the reiteration of the Soviet guideline of 'National in Form, Socialist in Content', were further explored in new development in pursuit of 'garden city'. Historic artefacts on sites were valued and preserved or restored, such as the Fang Pagoda, originally built during the reign of Xi'ning and Yuanyou (1068-1093) of the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1126), incorporated in Fang Pagoda Park (1982), Shanghai, and the remnants of the city wall of Yuan Dadu (1260-1368) preserved in Yuan Dadu City Wall Relic Park (1987), Beijing. In terms of garden features, 'garden within a garden' became a popular approach to create interesting spaces, and quality places as well, such as a building complex with delicate courtyards built in 1981 in Culture Park, Guangzhou,¹⁸³ and a Peony Garden (1981), a Peach Garden (1983), a Splendid Autumn Garden (1988), and a *Penjing* Garden (1995) in Beijing Botanical Garden.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, while scenic areas had been developed especially since the late 1950s, the naming tradition of 'Eight Landscape Scenes', i.e. poetic naming normally with four characters, was then explored in the creation of them from the 1980s. For example, eight scenic areas were proposed in Joyous Pavilion Park in 1985, the names of which were respectively Famous Pavilions in China (华夏名亭), Mountain Hall in Blooming Spring (胜春山房), Fleet Cloud over Ocean Island (瀛岛飞云), Vast Expanse of the Nine Continents (九州方圆), Mirrored Moon

¹⁸¹ This was different from the concept of garden city as satellites to overcrowded industrial cities promoted by Ebenezer Howard at the turn of the twentieth century. See Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1902).

¹⁸² Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), pp. 43, 50, 100.

¹⁸³ Zheng, Zuliang 郑祖良, and Liu Guanping 刘管平, 'Guangzhou wenhua gongyuan "yuan zhong yuan"' [The 'garden within in a garden' in Culture Park, Guangzhou] 广州文化公园 "园中院", *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 9 (1981), pp. 24-28.

¹⁸⁴ Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Beijing landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 206; Lin, Guangsi 林广思, 'Zhongguo dalu diqu xiandai yuanlin sheji sichao yu shijian' [Trend of thought and practices in Chinese modern landscape design in the mainland] 中国大陆地区现代园林设计思潮与实践. In *2006 nian quanguo boshisheng xueshu luntan: linye ji shengtai jianshe lingyu xiangguan xueke lunwen ji* [Proceedings of 2006 symposium of Chinese PhD students in forestry and ecological studies] 2006 年全国博士生学术论坛——林业及生态建设领域相关学科论文集 (Beijing: Beijing Forestry University, 2006), pp. 2253-2260.

and Pine Waves (水月松涛), Fairyland of Childlike Innocence (仙境童心), Noble Character and Refreshed Prestige (望春浴德), and Joyous and Delightful Imagery (陶然佳境).¹⁸⁵ Similarly approach could be found in Liberation Park, Wuhan.¹⁸⁶

While the Soviet principle of 'National in Form, Socialist in Content' continued to take effect in encouraging the exploration of garden traditions, the rational design approach as identified in the Soviet Park of Culture and Rest model also remained a convenient tool in the creation of parks. The allocation of functional zones with specified land quotas became a norm in *Park Design Standards*, a manual for the landscape profession published in 1993.¹⁸⁷

In the operation and management of parks, the invalidation of the YYY policy, and the consideration of parks as part of the public welfare in the National Working Conference on Urban Parks held in 1986, demonstrated a pursuit of the true meaning of 'public parks'. However, it was not until the turn of the twenty-first century that the issue of free access was particularly addressed in the Enlarged Conference of Secretary-General of Chinese Park Association (April 2001). But at this time, it was still impossible to abolish admission charge for all parks in view of some economic constraints.¹⁸⁸

Conclusion

Public parks in China are an excellent measure of the various political directions and arguments that dominated the twentieth century. They formed the main focus of the landscape architectural profession and helped to re-establish a design tradition which had been broken during the social and political unrest of the first half of the century. Foreign influences were consciously rejected as it continued to be necessary to re-affirm a Chinese identity after a period of wars and colonisation. The establishment of socialism under Mao provided a great incentive for the creation of public parks and the majority of parks were created during the 1950s under the relatively stable political and economic conditions with the numbers peaking in 1958 when the high-spirited GLF (1958-1960) was launched. However, the ten years of deprivation from the

¹⁸⁵ Editorial Board of *Joyous Pavilion Park records* 陶然亭公园志编纂委员会. *Taoranting gongyuan zhi* [Joyous Pavilion Park records] 陶然亭公园志. (Beijing: Beijing Linye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 46; Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Beijing landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 156.

¹⁸⁶ The 'Eight Landscape Scenes' planned in Liberation Park, Wuhan, were Plums in the Morning Sun (朝梅晨曦), Lotus in the Breeze Embracing Jade Green (风荷拥翠), Laurel at Sunset and Studying at Night (夕桂夜读), Jumping Shark with the Rising Sun (旭日腾蛟), Stringed and Woodwind Instrument with Tones (丝竹鼓音), Listening to Bird Singing in Spring Dawn (晓春听鸣), Knotweed Pool Mirroring the Moon (蓼汀漫月), and Blue Ripples and Spindrift (鳞浪浣花). See Teaching and Research Section of the School of Architecture of Tongji University 同济大学建筑系园林教研室, ed. *Gongyuan guihua yu jianzhu tuji* [A collection of designed parks] 公园规划与建筑图集. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1986), p. 103.

¹⁸⁷ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局, ed. *Gongyuan sheji guifan* [Park design standards] 公园设计规范 (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1993).

¹⁸⁸ Li, Min 李敏. 'Guanyu chengshi gongyuan mianfei kaifang wenti de sikao' [On the free access of urban parks] 关于城市公园免费开放问题的思考. *Guangdong Yuanlin*. 2 (2002), pp. 3-6.

early 1960s to the early 1970s, which included the Three Difficult Years (1959-1961) and the effects of the Cultural Revolution, had a devastating effect on public parks, with few new ones being created and areas within existing parks being appropriated for other purposes, such as agricultural production, or even built over. Yet some parks were refurbished from the early 1970s onwards when China saw a re-opening of international politics and thereby the need to display a coherent image of communism, coinciding with alleviation of some of the strictures that had been imposed as a result of the weak economy and leftist policies. After the mid-1970s public parks once again served as a mirror for the communist ideology and professional values, just as they had done in the 1950s (Fig. 3.50).

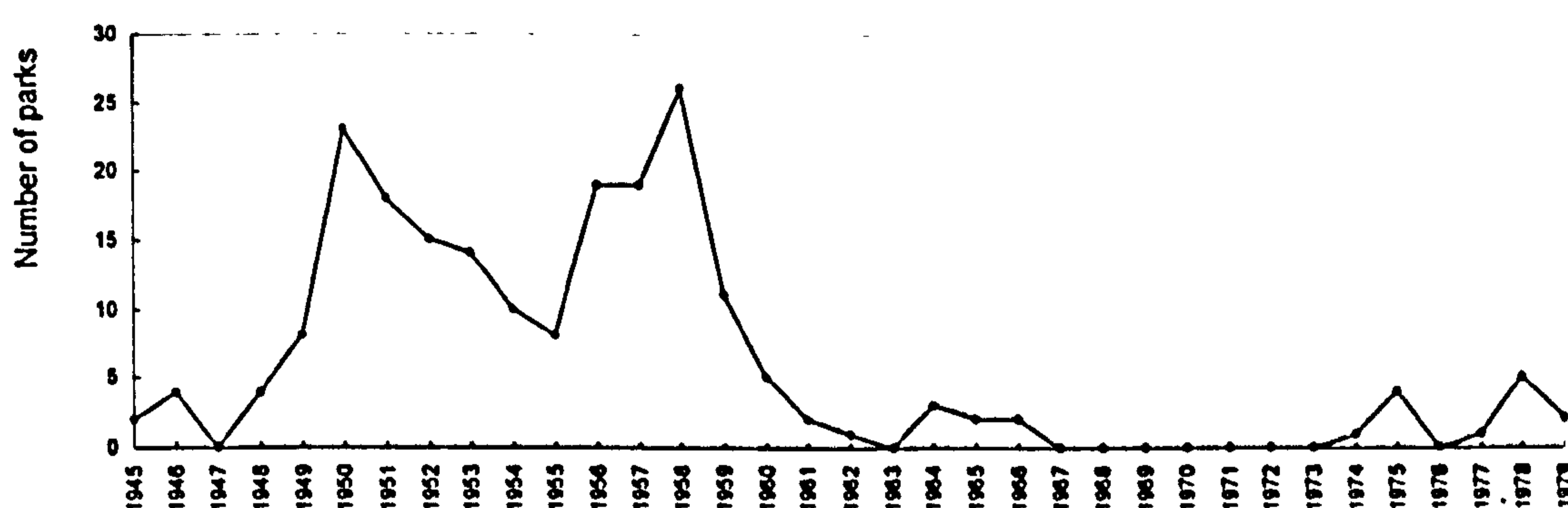


Figure 3.50 Number of public parks constructed in China between 1949 and 1979

Note: This figure is produced based on the sample of 209 public parks. Some years before 1949 are included, as some cities were liberated earlier and parks were already constructed during these earlier years.

Thus the experience of the Thirty Years under the socialist regime demonstrates the upheavals that characterised the journey from a semi-colonial society to a communist one. The stages of development are revealing of the political processes that worked on parks, from the search for the new or the modern, the interpretation of theoretical models and prototypes, to attempts at defining a local or nationally appropriate style. Initially the Soviet Park of Culture and Rest provided a model upon which many Chinese parks were based, with the 'new' consisting of the representation of the communist or socialist ideals and modern design methodologies, especially in the rational framework provided by the Soviet prototype. Through this public parks could be realised, without the incorporation of the 'olds' or traditions that characterised Chinese private gardens in the past, such as the mountain-and-water pattern, naming or the poetic quality, and the aesthetic appreciation of scenery. The return to traditional values was a result of the preoccupation of nationalism on the one hand and a continuing affection for nature in garden-making on the other.

The continuing interest in the past was dealt a severe blow during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s, when significant damage was inflicted upon any historic fabric, but this coincided with a decline in creating new parks. During this time the unusual emphasis on self-reliance and

self-sufficiency resulted in varying interpretations of the YYYY policy, through which the recreational and aesthetic values of public parks were compromised. This policy also affected access to public parks, which, despite requests otherwise, charged for entry during most of the era, a situation which has only altered as the economy has grown. The current study shows that communist ideals with respect to park provision were not achievable with a faltering national economy, and that public and professional acceptance of new parks was not achieved until the re-discovery of the nation's cultural roots from the early 1970s onwards.

Chapter 4

Opting for General Greening: Housing Environments

In the eyes of landscape professionals during the Mao era, greening was the principal concern in the design and construction of housing environments. The two handbooks about the housing environment of the era were exclusively discussions about greening arrangement in residential areas: *Neighbourhood Greening (1959)*¹ and *Greening of Residential Areas (1981)*². Additionally, the greening of residential areas was the principal concern in the 'general greening' policy (1956) 'to change the face of China'. However, the implementation of the policy did not bring about the desired greening effect in residential areas. In Beijing, for example, by the late 1970s, the greening standard of 0.4 square metres per capita of the communal greening was only achieved in Peace Lane Residential Area, and that of Xinyuan Lane Residential Area was only 0.2 square metres per capita, with most other residential areas being terribly short of greening coverage.³ This poor condition of housing environment could be one of the crucial reasons why there has been virtually no research on it. Indeed, for the housing issues of the Mao era, research has been concentrated on official policies,⁴ social and economic problems,⁵ planning or architectural issues,⁶ rather than landscapes. While there are certainly investigations on housing environment, they always focus on issues of the post-Mao era, with those of the Mao era not mentioned at all.⁷ This chapter explores the greening development of residential areas during the Thirty Years under Mao, grand in vision but meagre in the ultimate realisation, to fill the gap in current research; reveals the design ideas and approaches under the 'general greening' policy; and analyses the problems resulting in the failure of the greening establishment. Moreover, as greening was only part of the housing environment, this chapter also explores other relevant issues of the outdoor spaces for a more comprehensive understanding of the development.

¹ Research Unit of Regional and City Planning of Architectural Science Research Institute 建筑科学研究院区域规划与城市规划研究室. *Jiefang lùhua* [Neighbourhood greening] 街坊绿化. (Beijing: Jianzhu Gongcheng Chubanshe, 1959).

² Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Juzhuqu lùhua* [Greening of residential areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981).

³ Fan, Yaobang 范耀邦. 'Guanyu juzhuqu heli midu de jidian yijian' [Suggestions for reasonable density of residential areas] 关于居住区合理密度的几点意见. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1980), p. 22.

⁴ Such as Zhang, Xingquan. 'Chinese Housing Policy 1949-1978: The Development of a Welfare System'. *Planning Perspectives*, 12 (1997), pp. 433-455; Wang, Ya Ping and Alan Murie. *Housing policy and practice in China* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

⁵ Such as Howe, Christopher. 'The Supply and Administration of Urban Housing in Mainland China: The Case of Shanghai'. *The China Quarterly*, No. 33 (Jan. - Mar., 1968), pp. 73-97.

⁶ Such as Broudehoux, Anne-Marie. 'Neighborhood Regeneration in Beijing: An Overview of Projects Implemented in the Inner City since 1990' (unpublished Master of Architecture Thesis, School of Architecture, McGill University, 1994); Lü, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001).

⁷ Qian, Qian 千茜. 'Lun woguo dangdai juzhuqu jingguan huanjing de fazhan he yanbian' [Development and evolution of modern Chinese housing environment] 论我国当代居住区景观环境的发展和演变. *Fengjing Yuanlin*. 1 (2007), pp. 72-77.

Socio-economic context for housing development

The pressure of housing supply

During the Thirty Years, housing shortage was always a serious issue to be tackled due to poor housing stock and increasing population. Whilst designing residential areas, there was thus the intention to accommodate more and more people in a given site. This was meanwhile reinforced by policies for land saving, such as 'opposing waste' put forward in the early 1950s, 'saving arable lands as much as possible and not occupying high-yield fields even an inch'⁸ advocated in the GLF (1958-1960), and the leftist slogan, 'Thrifty is revolutionary', during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969). The direct result of these was to increase density in the height of buildings in residential areas. During the 1950s, apartment buildings were normally two to four storeys; during the 1960s, five storeys; and during 1970s, five or six storeys, and some twelve to sixteen-storey high-rise apartments were constructed.⁹ Moreover, excessive stress on thrift, especially in the Cultural Revolution, often led to irrational appropriation of outdoor spaces for building construction and as a result uncontrolled building density.

However, despite the increase in floor areas, with the increasing population density in residential areas, the per-capita floor area kept declining, from 4.5 square metres in 1950 to 3.6 square metres in 1978 (Fig. 4.1).¹⁰ This was an important reason for per-capita floor area, rather than outdoor environments, being regarded as a paramount indicator of the living quality in Mao China. Building construction therefore always received priority, with environmental issues, such as greening, seen as secondary. It was noted that, in the design of residential areas, buildings were always planned first and greening added afterwards.¹¹

The production aspiration

While the outdoor environment was considered to be of lesser importance to the buildings in new residential areas, the continuing emphasis on production due to national policies for economic development led to housing being considered as a secondary issue.

According to Marxist economic principles, 'the production of the means of production being

⁸ The Chinese text is '少占农田，不占良田'. See Zhang, Kaiji 张开济. 'Gaijin zhuzhai sheji, jiejue jianshe yongdi' [Improve housing design and save land for construction] 改进住宅设计，节约建设用地. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 1 (1978), p. 14.

⁹ The increase in house storey to save land was supported by some contemporary research. See, for example, Jin, Zi 今兹. 'Zai zhuzhai jianshe zhong jinyibu jiejue yongdi de tantao' [Discussions of land saving in housing construction] 在住宅建设中进一步节约用地的探讨. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1975), pp. 24, 29-31; LÜ, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), pp. 166-167.

¹⁰ LÜ, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern urban housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 19.

¹¹ Cheng, Shifu 程世抚, Zheng Xiaoxie 郑孝燮, An Yongyu 安永瑜, Zhou Ganshi 周干峙. 'Guanyu juzhuqu guihua sheji jige wenti de tantao' [Discussions of the planning and design of residential areas] 关于居住区规划设计几个问题的探讨. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1962), p. 3.

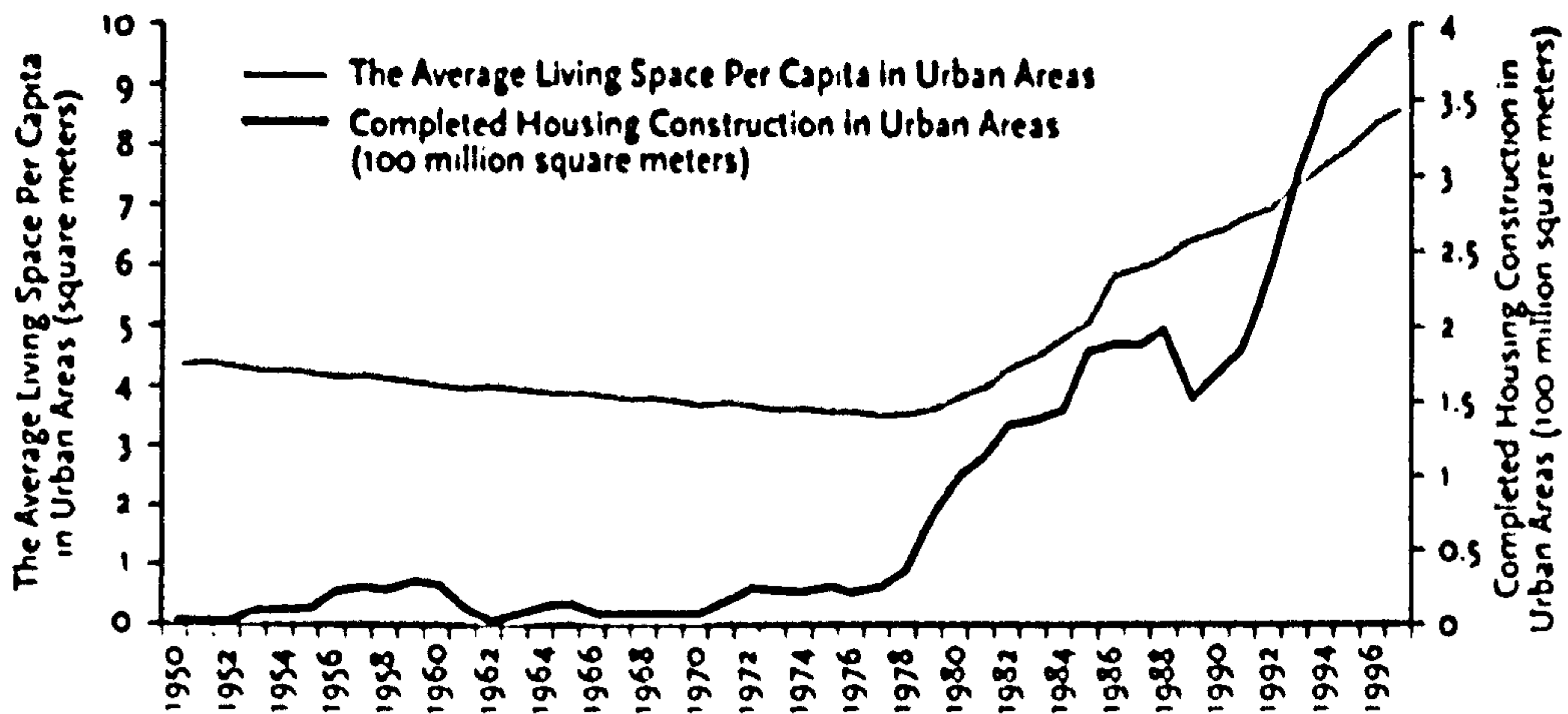


Figure 4.1 Completed housing construction and the average living space per capita in urban areas
 Source: Lü, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 22.

used to make the means of production increases fastest, followed by the production of the means of production used to make the means of subsistence (i.e., production of the means of production increases faster than all other forms of production).¹² Since housing was essentially 'considered as the production of the means of subsistence – a non-productive component in the accumulation of capital,'¹³ it was not a priority in contemporary politics and economy, and 'production first and livelihood second' was a prevalent guideline during the Thirty Years. As a result, government investment in urban housing was generally insufficient, while major investment was channelled to the heavy industry sector. During the First FYP (1953-1957), the investment in new housing constituted only 9.1 percent of the total investment in capital construction, but it dropped even further in the 1960s when it constituted only 4 percent. By the late 1970s, the proportion was slightly increased, but was still only 5 to 7 percent (Fig. 4.2).¹⁴ As investment in new housing was limited, this meant that outdoor environments, considered as being of secondary importance anyway, would have a very low priority indeed. The main impetus in this then did not come from landscape designers, as they were often not involved in these projects, but any achievements were due to enlightened architects involved, cooperation between design professionals, including landscape designers where possible, and effective official coordination and mobilisation of residents.

¹² Lü, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 109.

¹³ Lü, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 112.

¹⁴ Su, Xing 苏星. 'Zenyang shi zhuzhai wenti jieju de kuaixie?' [How to solve the housing problem more quickly?] 怎样使住宅问题解决得快些? *Hongqi*. 2 (1980), p. 8.

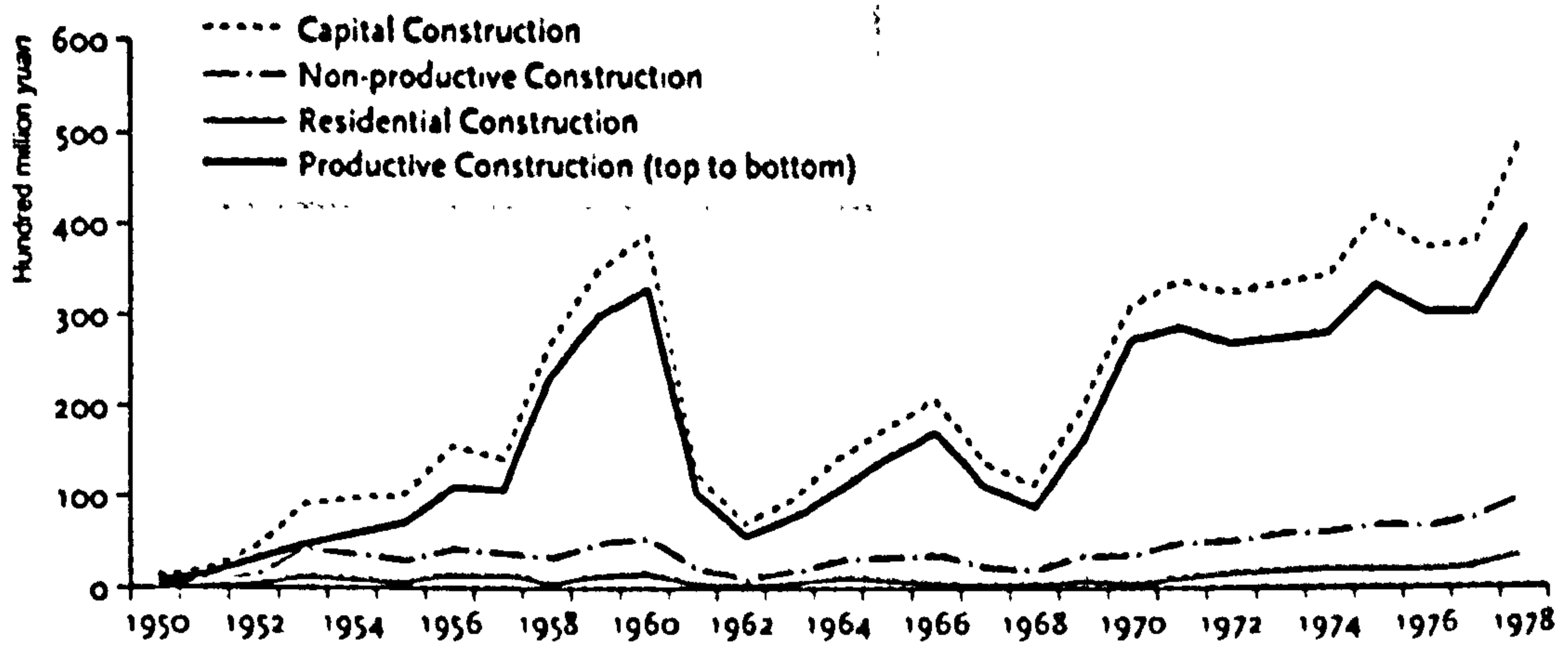


Figure 4.2 Trends of investment in capital construction, and non-productive and residential construction
 Source: LÜ, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 113.

Hanglieshi experiments upon the Liberation

The term, *hanglieshi* (行列式), refers to a planning and design approach in which housing is arranged in parallel blocks.¹⁵ This Bauhaus influenced model characterised Chinese housing design during the economic recovery of the early 1950s. With limited budgets, it proved to be the easiest and most viable form of construction to quickly ease housing shortage. Using apartment blocks was also effective in saving agricultural land from development and was economical in the laying of infrastructure. By introducing the rule to have buildings oriented north-south, with the main rooms, living room and bedrooms, arranged to south, it enabled maximum use of sunlight in winter and avoided the scorching sun in summer in these rooms, because of the continental monsoon climate of China. (Rooms facing east or west were not favoured, since the duration of sunlight for them would be fairly short in winter, whereas in summer they would easily get warmed up.) The north-south orientation also facilitated ventilation, since the prevailing winds come from either southeast, south or southwest.¹⁶ While this solution was considered new in housing design during the twentieth century, in fact the north-south arrangement had been the customary orientation in China for thousands of years, which was confirmed by others who praised it as a living 'national form'.¹⁷

While the orientation might therefore be considered as a traditional arrangement, the innovation in the *hanglieshi* layout was that the courtyard system of traditional housing was

¹⁵ The term, *hanglieshi*, was translated as 'lined up in rows' in LÜ, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 122.

¹⁶ LÜ, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), pp. 122-123; Hua, Lanhong 华揽洪. *Chongjian zhongguo: chengshi guihua sanshinian, 1949-1979* [Reconstruction of China: thirty years of urbanism, 1949-1979] 重建中国: 城市规划三十年, 1949-1979, trans. by Li Ying 李颖. (Beijing: Shenghuo-dushu-xinzhishi Sanlian Shudian, 2006), pp. 172-175. Originally published as Hoa, Léon. *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme, 1949-1979* (Paris: Éditions du Moniteur, 1981).

¹⁷ Wang, Hua 汪晔. 'Guanyu juzhuqu guihua sheji xingshi de taolun' [Discussions of the layout of residential areas] 关于居住区规划设计形式的讨论. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 5 (1956), p. 53.

abandoned. The auxiliary rooms or walls that constituted the east and west boundaries of the traditional courtyards were dispensed with, resulting in open spaces to north and south. While southward rooms were preferred, it was not always possible to achieve this ideal, but eastward rooms were considered acceptable, west facing ones undesirable, and the north facing ones the least tolerable.

Caoyang New Village

The new residential areas were often referred to as 'workers' new villages', since they were located near factories in suburban areas intended for industrial workers. They constituted the major part of urban housing during the 1950s,¹⁸ and followed the construction guideline of 'Serving the Party Central Committee, serving production, and serving the working class'¹⁹. Caoyang New Village (1951) in Shanghai was exemplary as a model (Fig. 4.3), developed on some 3,000 *mu* (200 hectares) of agricultural fields to west.²⁰ The design and construction consisted of several phases. The first phase, known as the '1,002 family' scheme, started in September 1951 and was completed in April 1952. It was reported by Xinhua News Agency as 'the first workers' new village in China.'²¹ While upon the Liberation housing conditions were poor with limited floor space and poor sanitary conditions, workers spoke highly of their new houses: 'We dream of houses all our lives. Today it becomes a reality!'²² The Village became a prototype for housing construction exemplifying socialism and acting as a window through which the lives of ordinary Chinese people were improved, to be seen by the outside world. From 1952, the Village received delegations from other countries, including Poland, Germany, Cuba and Pakistan. It was further expanded from 1952 to 1954, as part of the '20,000 family' scheme in Shanghai proposed by the municipal authority in April 1952 as 'the outset of a much larger scale housing construction for workers in the near future'.²³

The *hanglieshi* layout was proposed in the neighbourhood unit plan for the Village.

Neighbourhood plans had been introduced to China in the Republican era (1912-1949) by

¹⁸ LÜ, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 113.

¹⁹ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 1.

²⁰ Editorial Board of *Shanghai housing construction records* 《上海住宅建设志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* [Shanghai housing construction records] 上海住宅建设志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 1998), p. 144.

²¹ Editorial Board of *Shanghai housing construction records* 《上海住宅建设志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* [Shanghai housing construction records] 上海住宅建设志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 1998), p. 145.

²² Editorial Board of *Shanghai city planning records* 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* [Shanghai city planning records] 上海城市规划志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 1999), p. 528.

²³ Editorial Board of *Shanghai housing construction records* 《上海住宅建设志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* [Shanghai housing construction records] 上海住宅建设志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 1998), p. 146.



Figure 4.3 Plan of Caoyang New Village, Shanghai (late 1950s).

1 Nursery	3 Middle School	5 Shops	7 Housing management office	9 Plant nursery
2 Primary school	4 Cultural centre	6 Cinema theatre	8 Factory	10 Caoyang Park

Source: Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Juzhuqu lühua* [Greening of housing areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981), p. 24.

Western planners and Western-trained Chinese specialists.²⁴ The chief designer of the Village, Wang Dingzeng, a graduate of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, was introduced to the neighbourhood unit idea from a booklet published by the Shanghai Public Affairs Bureau in the mid-1940s.²⁵ According to the design principles of neighbourhood unit, the Village 'was divided into three hierarchical levels: neighbourhood, cluster, and village. Each cluster had its own nurseries, kindergartens and primary schools, which were located at independent blocks within easy walking distance (less than ten minutes). The village had community facilities such as co-op shops, post offices, cinema, theatres, and cultural clubs at the centre, while commercial

²⁴ For details of the introduction of the neighbourhood unit concept to China during the Republican era, see Lu, Duanfang. *Remaking Chinese Urban Form: Modernity, Scarcity and Space, 1949-2005* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006), pp. 24-28.

²⁵ Interview with Wang Dingzeng, 30 October 2004. Lu, Duanfang. *Remaking Chinese Urban Form: Modernity, Scarcity and Space, 1949-2005* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006), p. 29.

establishments [were] at the periphery. Bounded by city thoroughfares, the village street system was laid out in a flexible pattern to accommodate the unevenness of the site.²⁶ Two to three storeys apartment buildings were lined up in rows with the north-south orientation. Where appropriate, the orientation was adjusted to southeast or southwest to have a compatible spatial relationship with the curved streets. The spaces between the houses were intended to be used for functional purposes. There were pathways on the north side, leading to the entrances, while front gardens to south were surrounded with wattled fences, providing adequate space for hanging out washing, raising poultry, floriculture, planting fruit trees, grapevines, and so on, but exclusively by residents on the first floor. While the families on the ground floor would have the privilege to have private gardens, the flats on the third or second floor were generally more preferred because of security issues. Thus the gardens acted as a kind of compensation for ground floor residents and were intended to screen noise and dust from the street also.²⁷ The point of departure for the design however was still a concern about buildings and the way they functioned, rather than any consideration for the wider landscape context, despite the attention to orientation at planning (Fig. 4.4). A good many housing schemes at the time demonstrate a mixture of the *hanglieshi* approach in the arrangement of buildings within a neighbourhood unit context, such as in Beijing, the Fuxingmenwai neighbourhood unit (1951), and in Shanghai, Kongjiang New Village (1952) and Anshan New Village (1952).

While great achievements were accomplished in housing provision, the quality of public greenspaces of Caoyang New Village was far from satisfactory. With the design of the spaces between buildings generally ignored as a separate issue, tree planting seemed to be the only contribution for landscape designers. But as a result of the secondary importance of the environment, planting was postponed and it was not until 1953 that the Park Management Department of the Public Affairs Bureau developed a greening plan for the '20,000 family'



Figure 4.4 Caoyang New Village, Shanghai (seen from east). Private front gardens were to the south sides of houses in order to screen noise and dust from the street, and also provided utilitarian spaces.

Source: *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1959).

²⁶ Lu, Duanfang. *Remaking Chinese Urban Form: Modernity, Scarcity and Space, 1949-2005* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006), p. 30.

²⁷ Wang, Dingzeng 汪定曾. 'Shanghai Caoyang xinshun zhuzhaiqu de guihua sheji' [The planning and design of the Caoyang New Village in Shanghai] 上海曹杨新村住宅区的规划设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1956), p. 7.

scheme. This proposed that in average every four families should volunteer in the planting of 5,000 trees and 20,000 square metres of lawns, and the installation of children's play equipment.²⁸ Additionally, local shortage of trees, with plants having to be transported from other nearby provinces or cities, such as Suzhou, resulted in the difficulty in establishing a greening programme. This was largely completed by October 1954, but with limited effect due to immature planting (Fig. 4.5, 4.6, 4.7). It was however acknowledged that there was a lack of effective cooperation between architects and landscape designers in the design process, which was explained as the project was building led. It was revealed that the greenspaces of various locations within the residential area, i.e. those along the river and the neighbourhood park, were not integrated with each other as one.²⁹

Despite the limited effect of greening, the aspiration to have a comprehensive vision was 'realised' in the naming of roads, where reference was made to a range of trees or flowers, such as Plum Hill Road (梅岭路), Maple Bridge Road (枫桥路), Flower Brook Road (花溪路), Orchid Brook Road (兰溪路), Plum River Road (梅川路), Jujube Spring Road (枣阳路), Apricot Hill Road (杏山路), and Sweet Osmanthus Road (桂巷路) (Fig. 4.3). While at the initial stage of greening establishment, there was generally a lack of variety of trees in provision, this naming approach was so important for the envisioned comprehensiveness of greening that some people in Beijing complained about such scarcity that, 'There was no road with a name associated with trees, such as Bodhi Avenue.'³⁰ This approach at the same time helped create places with distinctive character, so that residents could find their way home effectively among those monotonous buildings of a repetitive pattern.³¹

Emulation of the Soviet super-block

While upon the Liberation the *hanglieshi* layout was conveniently adapted to the economic constraints and the urgency of housing provision within the context of the neighbourhood unit theory, which was practised without alternative approaches, it was soon challenged by an alternative approach, the Soviet super-block (*dajiefang*, 大街坊). This was a direct result of the

²⁸ Editorial Board of *Shanghai housing construction records* 《上海住宅建设志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* [Shanghai housing construction records] 上海住宅建设志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 1998), p. 279.

²⁹ Wang, Dingzeng 汪定曾. 'Shanghai Caoyang xinxun zhuzhaiqu de guihua sheji' [The planning and design of the Caoyang New Village in Shanghai] 上海曹杨新村住宅区的规划设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1956), p. 14.

³⁰ Liu, Zhonghua 刘仲华. 'Fan youqing, gu ganjin, duo kuai hao sheng luhua shoudu' [Oppose Right deviation, go all out, achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in making green the capital] 反右倾, 鼓干劲, 多快好省绿化首都. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 1.

³¹ The road naming approach for the creation of distinctive places was considered effective in residential areas and was reiterated in the 1960s. See Wei, Wenzhen 韦文珍. 'Dui xiaoqu guihua sheji zhong jige wenti de kanfa' [Some issues in the planning and design of residential areas] 对小区规划设计中几个问题的看法. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 12 (1963), p. 24.



Figure 4.5 A view of Caoyang New Village, Shanghai, in mid-1950s, taken soon after trees had been planted.
Source: Wang, Dingzeng 汪定曾. 'Shanghai Caoyang xinxun zhuzhaiqu de gui Hua sheji' [The planning and design of the Caoyang New Village in Shanghai] 上海曹杨新村住宅区的规划设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1956), p. 13.

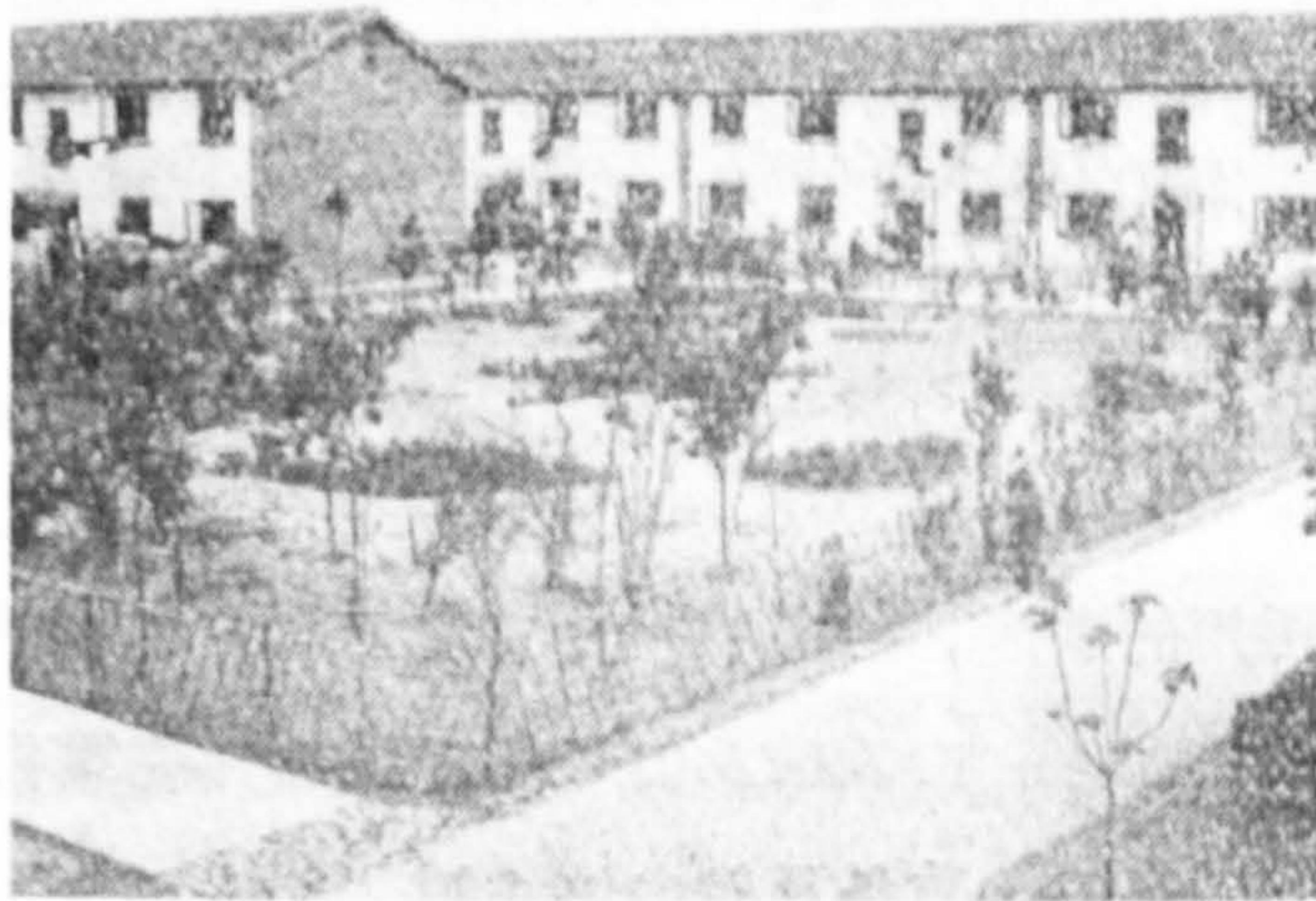


Figure 4.6 A communal green area in Caoyang New Village, Shanghai. Tree planting was limited, and the area was fenced off, probably for better maintenance (mid-1950s).

Source: Wang, Dingzeng 汪定曾. 'Shanghai Caoyang xinxun zhuzhaiqu de gui Hua sheji' [The planning and design of the Caoyang New Village in Shanghai] 上海曹杨新村住宅区的规划设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1956), p. 15.



Figure 4.7 A view of Caoyang Park in Caoyang New Village. Tree planting on the site was limited and the trees themselves still immature (late 1950s).

Source: Research Unit of Regional and City Planning of Architectural Science Research Institute 建筑科学研究院区域规划与城市规划研究室. *Jiefang lü Hua* [Neighbourhood greening] 街坊绿化. (Beijing: Jianzhu Gongcheng Chubanshe, 1959), p. 28.

implementation of the 'Leaning to One Side' Policy (1949).

At this time both *hanglieshi* and neighbourhood unit were criticised, since residential areas so established were considered boring. For Caoyang New Village, some visiting Soviet specialists commented on this shortcoming, recalling their own construction experiences: 'many leftist architects built dull barracks-like and box-like buildings... with the gable walls facing the street, resulting in a streetscape with a sheer sense of monotony.'³² Some Chinese scholars continued the criticism: 'the arrangement was formulaic, dull, like barracks or even prison, and rather ugly'³³ and the 'major defect was the sheer monotony of the outdoor space provided.'³⁴ On the other hand, the neighbourhood unit was considered reactionary: 'In terms of layout of housing, the neighbourhood unit is adopted by capitalist countries while the super-block is adopted by the Soviet Union and other people's democratic countries... The major difference between the two is that the latter considers the city as a whole, and each block is an organic part of the city, while the former does not have anything to do with the city. This reflects the difference in social systems.'³⁵

The Soviet super-block was then established as the new 'orthodoxy'. It was stated in the 1953 proposal of the reconstruction and extension of Beijing:

Residential areas should follow the principles of super-block, normally covering an area of nine to fifteen hectares. To save land and municipal infrastructure, buildings should be generally no lower than four or five storeys... The super-block should be created with unified planning, unified design and comprehensive construction, and provided with cultural and welfare facilities, green spaces and children's playgrounds. Sufficient sunlight and fresh air should be guaranteed.³⁶

But much of this guideline was not effectively implemented except for the architectural form of the Soviet approach which 'consisted of a grouping of four- to six-storey blocks of flats arranged around a quadrangle with public facilities in the centre. The schema stressed symmetrical axes and aesthetically coordinated street facades, which was more directly influenced by the Beaux-Arts for formal grandeur than by Marxist theory',³⁷ 'exhibiting a strong sense of order and formalism (Fig. 4.8).'³⁸ 'It was believed that the neat formation of this

³² Wang, Dingzeng 汪定曾. 'Shanghai Caoyang xinxun zhuzhaiqu de guihua sheji' [The planning and design of the Caoyang New Village in Shanghai] 上海曹杨新村住宅区的规划设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1956), p. 13.

³³ Author's translation. Ji, Ping 纪平. 'Guanyu juzhu jianzhu buzhi fang'an de taolun' [Discussions about the housing layout] 关于居住建筑布置方案的讨论. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1956), p. 103.

³⁴ LÜ, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), pp. 123.

³⁵ Yang, Tingbao 杨廷宝. 'Guoji jianzhushi xiehui disijie dahui qingkuang baodao' [Report on the Fourth Congress of International Architects] 国际建筑师协会第四届大会情况报道. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1955), pp. 73-74. Translation quoted in LÜ, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 140.

³⁶ Quoted from Beijing Jianshe Shishu Bianji Wuyuanhui Bianjibu 北京建设史书编辑委员会编辑部. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: fangwu jianzhu II* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of PRC: architecture II] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 房屋建筑 II. Vol. 5 (1992), p. 267. Author's translation.

³⁷ Lu, Duanfang. *Remaking Chinese Urban Form: Modernity, Scarcity and Space, 1949-2005* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006), p. 31.

³⁸ LÜ, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 128.

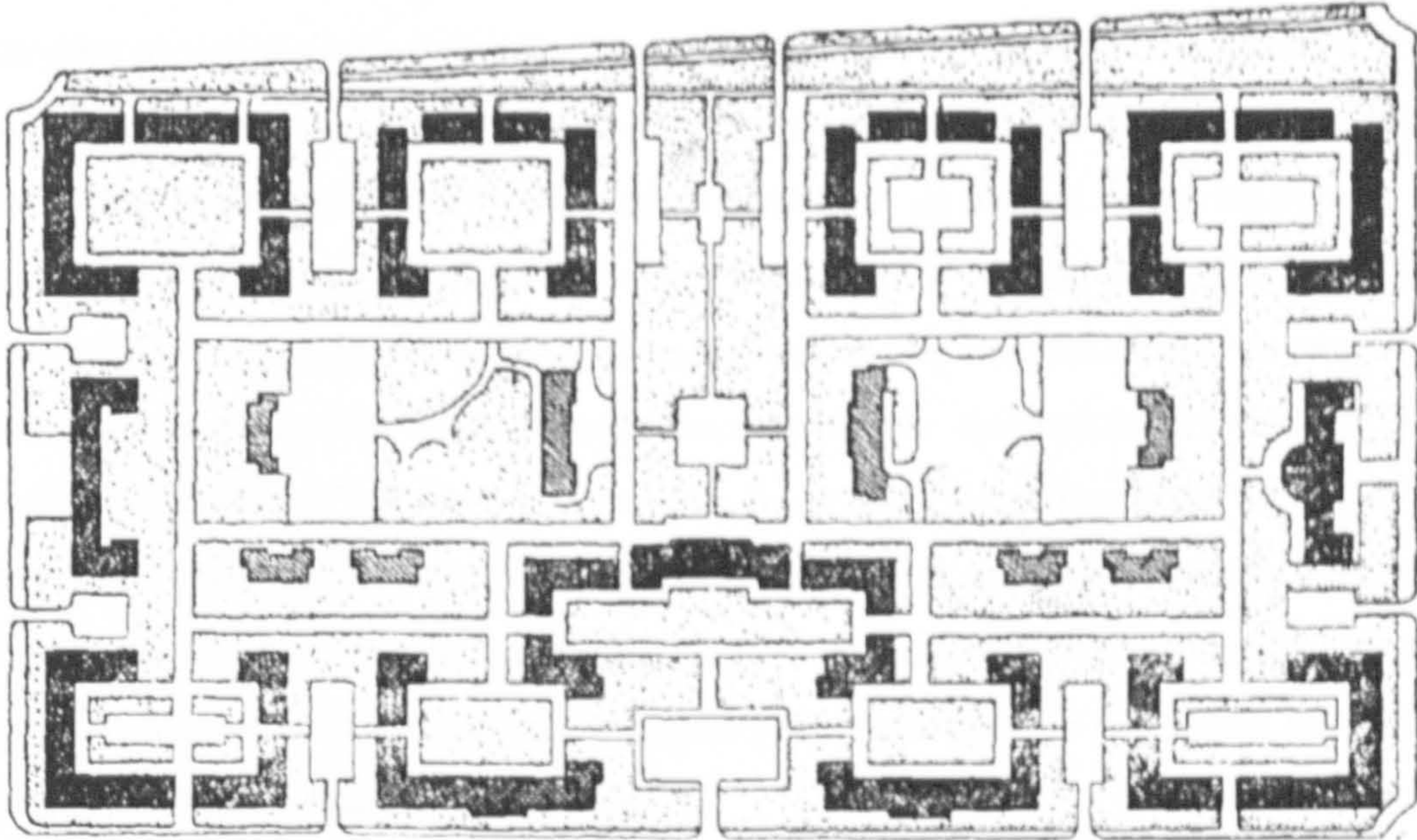


Figure 4.8 Plan of a typical super-block in the Soviet Union. This was published in the most important journal for the architectural and landscape profession during the Mao era, the *Architectural Journal*.

Source: Yang, Tingbao 杨廷宝. 'Guoji jianzhushi xiehui disijie dahui qingkuang baodao' [Report on the Fourth Congress of International Architects] 国际建筑师协会第四届大会情况报道. *Jianzhu Xuebao* 2 (1955), p. 75.

planning model embodied the spirit and order of a socialist society.³⁹ Typical designs following the Soviet model included: in Beijing, Baiwanzhuang Residential Area (1953) and Sanlihe Residential Area (1953) in the Western City District, and the Living Quarter of State Cotton Factory (the 1950s) and the Wine Immortal Bridge Living Quarter (the 1950s) in the eastern suburb; in Changchun, the Living Quarter of No. 1 Automobile Plant (1954); in Wuhan, the Living Quarter of Wuhan Steelworks (1956), and in Shenyang, Tiexi Residential Area (the 1950s).

However, the Soviet super-block model was also soon subjected to critical examination, first of all due to inconvenience caused: while the inner-corridor plan was followed as in the Soviet housing design, cross-ventilation was seriously undermined; since a considerable number of eastward, westward and northward rooms were produced, access to sunlight was far from satisfactory; with some buildings arranged along the streets, the noise and pollution from the streets were found to be annoying.⁴⁰ Secondly, this coincided with the 1955 criticism of the Soviet concept, 'National in Form, Socialist in Content', as 'having ignored the purpose of technology and economy in building construction and management'.⁴¹ The pursuit of formal

³⁹ Lü, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 136.

⁴⁰ Ji, Ping 纪平. 'Guanyu juzhu jianzhu buzhi fang'an de taolun' [Discussions about the housing layout] 关于居住建筑布置方案的讨论. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1956), pp. 103-107; Wang, Hua 汪骅. 'Guanyu juzhuqu guihua sheji xingshi de taolun' [Discussions about the layout of residential areas] 关于居住区规划设计形式的讨论. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 5 (1956), pp. 51-57; Cheng, Shifu 程世抚, Zheng Xiaoxie 郑孝燮, An Yongyu 安永瑜, Zhou Ganshi 周干峙. 'Guanyu juzhuqu guihua sheji jige wenti de tantao' [Discussions of the planning and design of residential areas] 关于居住区规划设计几个问题的探讨. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1962), p. 3; Lü, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), pp. 126, 128, 132, 136. It was at another time noted that the central courtyard was successful to be a children's play ground, and the quietness of the residential quarter on separated grounds was guaranteed. See Li, Hongduo 李宏铎. 'Baiwanzhuang zhuzhaiqu he guomian yichang shenghuoqu diaocha' [Investigation of Baiwanzhuang Housing District and State Cotton Factory No. 1's Neighbourhood District] 百万庄住宅区和国棉一厂生活区调查. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1956), p. 22.

⁴¹ Lü, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 131.

grandeur as was the case in the Soviet prototype was not considered cost-effective. Thirdly, the courtyard system of spaces between the buildings was considered much more complicated than that of the Soviet model. This problem arose particularly as a result of the requirement for high densities within a given site to accommodate the maximum number of people. The courtyards between buildings were illegible and maze-like without any clear landmarks for people to find their way home (Fig. 4.9).⁴² Finally, while the emphasis on symmetrical architectural grandeur resulted in formalism,⁴³ it was argued that the super-block layout presented an 'orderly and stern ambience'⁴⁴ and was thus lifeless. This was considered as not compatible with the lively characteristic inherent to good residential areas.⁴⁵ With the inappropriateness of the Soviet examples in the Chinese context generally acknowledged from the late 1950s, its influence on the design of residential areas was limited.

The acquisition of nursery stock remained a problem with little greening taking place when buildings were completed; as a result the sterile characteristic of the super-block was reinforced (Fig. 4.10). The bleakness of new housing may have been one of the reasons why in 1956 Mao raised the issue and announced 'Making Green the Motherland', thereby launching the movement of general greening.

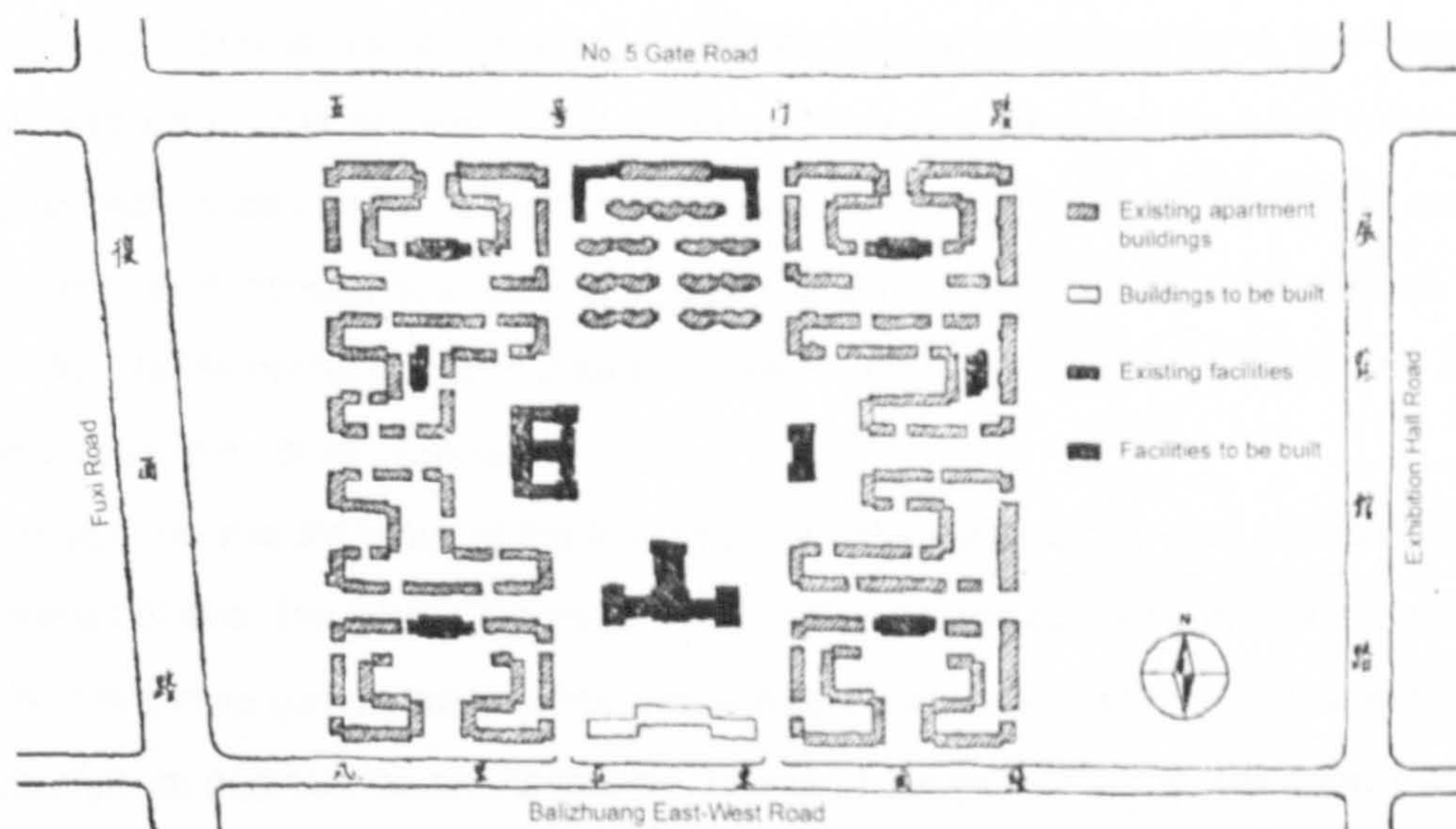


Figure 4.9 Plan of Baiwanzhuang Residential Area (1953). The courtyard system was much more complicated and intricate than that of the Soviet model.

Source: Li, Hongduo 李宏铎. 'Baiwanzhuang zhuzhaiqu he guomian yichang shenghuoqu diaocha' [Investigation of Baiwanzhuang Residential Area and the Living Quarter of State Cotton Factory] 百万庄住宅区和国棉一厂生活区调查. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 6 (1956), p. 20.

⁴² Beijing Jianshe Shishu Bianji Weiyuanhui Bianjibu 北京建设史书编辑委员会编辑部. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: fangwu jianzhu II* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of PRC: architecture II] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 房屋建筑 II. Vol. 5 (1992), p. 270.

⁴³ Wang, Huabin 王华彬. 'Women dui dongbei mouchang juzhuqu guihua sheji gongzuo de jiancha' [Examinations of the planning and design of a residential area of a factory in the Northeast China] 我们对东北某厂居住区规划设计工作的检查. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1955), pp. 20-23.

⁴⁴ Lü, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern urban housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 128.

⁴⁵ Ji, Ping 纪平. 'Guanyu juzhu jianzhu buzhi fang'an de taolun' [Discussions about the housing layout] 关于居住建筑布置方案的讨论. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1956), p. 107; Lü, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 128.



Figure 4.10 Panorama of the Wine Immortal Bridge Living Quarter (the 1950s). The housing environment appeared bleak with the extremely limited establishment of greenery.

Source: Research Unit of Regional and City Planning of Architectural Science Research Institute 建筑科学研究院区域规划与城市规划研究室. *Jiefang lühua* [Neighbourhood greening] 街坊绿化. (Beijing: Jianzhu Gongcheng Chubanshe, 1959), p. 8.

An innovative investigation: the design of Felicity Residential Area (1954)

In terms of housing layout, it was clear that the *hanglieshi* approach and the Soviet super-block model shared the same problem of being boring in appearance. The general dissatisfaction with respect to the uniformity was the main reason why '*huopo* (活泼)' became the catchword in the subsequent search for more interesting spatial arrangements and more pleasing visual and environmental quality of residential areas.⁴⁶ Of the Chinese compound word, '*huo*' means 'lively' or 'vivid', and '*po*' means 'splash'. It was not appropriate to understand the word in this segregated way; it also had a different meaning within different contexts. Within the context of the formalistic and monotonous housing layout, it might mean 'liveliness', 'naturalness' or 'variety'. As long as outdoor spaces created lacked a distinctive character, it was also associated with the pursuit of a sense of place.

Although the shortcomings of the *hanglieshi* and the super-block were acknowledged, their merits were obvious: the former responded well to the climatic condition in China; the latter was effective to organise communal grounds with spatial cohesion for various daily activities. There were attempts to address the shortcomings. The 1954 design of Felicity Residential Area in Beijing marked the beginning of a search for a new form.

Located in the Chongwen District, the trapezium-shaped site of 12 hectares originally consisted of several office buildings and some one-storey houses in south and west, and limited facilities, including a cinema, a clinic, a nursery, a kindergarten and an elementary school. The structure of the layout of the site was determined by designing the main streets, proposed at the location of a T-shaped two-metre deep gully, which was unsuitable for building construction. As a result, the site was divided into three parts to south, east and west. The proposed per-capita floor area was limited to 4 to 4.5 square metres, because the residential area was to be constructed

⁴⁶ See, for example, Lü, Junhua 吕俊华. 'Xiaoqu jianzhuqun kongjian goutu' [Spatial composition of building groups in residential area] 小区建筑群空间构图. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 11 (1962), pp. 1-4.

for circulating purposes for the regeneration of the old city.

The residential area created consisted of a number of apartment blocks which were either north-south or east-west orientated in order to organise communal courtyards for recreational purposes for older people and children (Fig. 4.11). In the design of the apartment blocks, the inner-corridor plan of the Soviet model was criticised for being unable to provide residents with sufficient sunshine and cross-ventilation, leading to an open-corridor plan being proposed. According to the preference of the orientation of rooms successively south, east, west and north, the corridor, where the apartment blocks were entered, was located either at the northern or western side of the buildings; important rooms, i.e. bedrooms or living rooms, were located on the south or east side, while toilets and kitchens were located on the opposite side near the corridor.⁴⁷ As a result, not all of the access pathways to the buildings would be in the courtyards. Additionally, since in this case south or east elevations were considered as the main ones, not all of them would face the courtyards (Fig. 4.12). These resulted in asymmetrical courtyards, devoid of the rigidity of the *hanglieshi* and the super-block. Also, as apartment blocks were arranged either parallel or perpendicular to the boundary line of the site, some of the courtyards were trapezium-shaped, which were thus devoid of the rigidity of rectangle ones, thereby promoting a sense of flexibility and variety.

Besides the communal courtyards for outdoor recreation between apartment blocks, so-called 'household courtyards', fenced by walls, were provided at the end of apartment blocks for the residents to collectively organise household duties, such as bicycle storage, washing lines, poultry pens, and rubbish containers. While these household courtyards were used collectively, it was not uncommon that some private ones were built along apartment blocks. According to a survey in March 1963 of the east part of the residential area, among the 270 households, 80 had private enclosures with an area of four to five square meters. A subsequent survey in November showed that another 30 courtyards had been added.⁴⁸ The function of these courtyards was similar to the front gardens in Caoyang New Village, Shanghai. But in this case, with increased building density and limited floor spaces per capita, they supplemented living space. It was therefore not surprising that these private enclosures were desirable, since floor area was an important indicator of living quality.⁴⁹

Existing trees were preserved as a planning requirement and became important features of the communal courtyards, such as a 200 years old *Sophora japonica* L. in east, and three more in west. These trees provided an immediate effect which was the more important, since quality

⁴⁷ Lü, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 133.

⁴⁸ Zhou, Ganshi 周干峙. 'Guanyu gaijin zhuzhaiqu guihua sheji de jidian yijian' [Some opinions for improving the planning and design of residential areas] 关于改进住宅区规划设计的几点意见. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1964), p. 15.

⁴⁹ In recognition of this requirement, in the early 1960s, there was the recommendation that every housing unit should have a household courtyard with an area of 100 to 150 square metres. See Cheng, Shifu 程世抚, Zheng Xiaoxie 郑孝贤, An Yongyu 安永瑜, Zhou Ganshi 周干峙. 'Guanyu juzhuqu guihua sheji jige wenti de tantao' [Discussions of the planning and design of residential areas] 关于居住区规划设计几个问题的探讨. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1962), p. 3.



Figure 4.11 Plan of Felicity Residential Area, Beijing (mid-1950s).

a	Apartment (three storeys)	1	Primary school	7	Commercial centre
b	Apartment (four storeys)	2	Kindergarten	8	Clinic
c	Apartment (six storeys)	3	Nursery	9	Laundry
d	Apartment (four storeys) with shops on the ground floor	4	Office building (original building)	10	Boiler room (public baths on the ground floor)
e	Household courtyard	5	Cinema (original building)	11	Garage
g	Service point			12	Sports ground
h	Children's play ground	6	Mess hall	13	Small open spaces
j	Playground				

Source: Hua, Lanhong 华揽洪. *Chongjian zhongguo: chengshi guihua sanshinian, 1949-1979*

[Reconstruction of China: thirty years of urbanism, 1949-1979] 重建中国: 城市规划三十年, 1949-1979, trans. by Li Ying 李颖. (Beijing: Shenghuo-dushu-xinzhishi Sanlian Shudian, 2006), p. 179.



Figure 4.12 Schematic plan of Felicity Residential Area, Beijing (mid-1950s), showing important rooms, i.e. bedrooms or living rooms (in bold black lines) faced south or east. Source: Hua, Lanhong 华揽洪. 'Beijing Xingfucun jiefang sheji' [The design of the Felicity Residential Area in Beijing] 北京幸福村街坊设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1957), p. 25.

nursery stock was hard to obtain (Fig. 4.13). In fact, the Chongwen District did not have a nursery until 1958. When available, trees were planted along streets or in courtyards by residents, generally without any professional advice.⁵⁰ The planting of trees, or the greening programme, did not really get underway until the high tide GLF campaign (1958-1960) was launched.

⁵⁰ Interview with Professor Lü Junhua, 17 January 2005.



Figure 4.13 Proposal for greening arrangement of Felicity Residential Area, Beijing (mid-1950s). Existing trees were largely preserved to provide an immediate greening effect, while proposed trees could not be realised as shown in the plan due to insufficient nursery stock.

Source: Hua, Lanhong 华揽洪. 'Beijing Xingfucun jiefang sheji' [The design of the Felicity Residential Area in Beijing] 北京幸福村街坊设计. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1957), p. 30.

Opting for general greening

In early 1956, Mao issued the great call, 'Making Green the Motherland', which mobilised people to plant trees to improve the environment. The greening of residential areas was important in the movement, because residential areas occupied the majority area of the city.⁵¹ Additionally, in

⁵¹ It was estimated that residential areas constituted as much as 60 percent of the urban area. See Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Juzhuqu lühua* [Greening of housing areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981), p. 40.

August that year, the name of the discipline of garden making (造园专业), or landscape architecture,⁵² was changed to 'urban and residential area greening (城市与居民区绿化专业)' in the twelve-year plan of higher education formulated by the Higher Education Ministry.⁵³ Thus for the landscape practitioners, this greening issue became so considerable in the landscape development.

This change was a result of the emulation of the Soviet landscape architectural education system, from which the original name of the discipline was copied. But for the Russians, the 'residential area' referred to satellite towns around the city and to them 'greening' equalled 'landscape architecture'.⁵⁴ Obviously, in the Chinese context the meaning of 'urban and residential area greening' differed from the original Russian one, in that it reinforced the concern about the improvement of the living quality of the broad masses of the people, particularly workers – the proletariat – and their families, under the construction guideline of 'Serving the Party Central Committee, serving production, and serving the working class.' In this respect, the greening development also bore political significance.

The National Working Conference on Urban Construction held in November 1956 confirmed this greening policy and put forward the concept of '*pubian lühua* (general greening, 普遍绿化)' by stating that:

Do not just pay attention to the creation of parks whilst ignoring the urban general greening, especially that of greening of residential areas which is the principal guideline and task for the urban greening development at present. Therefore, current work is mainly to actively take various measures and mobilise the masses to plant trees and flowers to make the residential areas green.⁵⁵

In the general greening policy, mass mobilisation was stipulated as the means for its implementation. Due to the immense scale of the work, it could be only accomplished through collective efforts. This also meant that the involvement of design professionals would be limited. But with limited economic resources and the pressure of housing supply, greening was still an insignificant issue in housing projects, because it was often considered as something that was

⁵² The major of garden making was established in 1951 in Tsinghua University, Beijing, and was considered as the starting point of the modern Chinese landscape architecture education. See Lin, Guangsi 林广思. 'Huigu yu zhanwang: zhongguo LA xueke jiaoyu yantao (2)' [Review and Prospect: A Study of the Landscape Architecture Education in China (2)] 回顾与展望——中国 LA 学科教育研讨(2). *Zhongguo Yuanlin*. 10 (2005), p. 76.

⁵³ Professor Chen Zhi (1899-1989) considered this naming as a result of the erroneous translation from Soviet text, when at the time the Soviet experiences were wholeheartedly followed in all spheres of developments. See Chen, Zhi 陈植. 'Dui woguo zaoyuan jiaoyu de shangque' [Discussions about the landscape architecture education in China] 对我国造园教育的高榷. *Guangming Daily* 光明日报 (October 10, 1956). Lin Guangsi thought the change of the name was perhaps a result of the intervention of some officials yet to be identified. See Lin, Guangsi 林广思. 'Huigu yu zhanwang: zhongguo LA xueke jiaoyu yantao (1)' [Review and Prospect: A Study of the Landscape Architecture Education in China (1)] 回顾与展望——中国 LA 学科教育研讨(1). *Zhongguo Yuanlin*. 9 (2005), p. 6.

⁵⁴ The author would like to thank Du An in Saint-Petersburg State Forest-Technical Academy who explained some issues about the Soviet landscape architecture education system.

⁵⁵ Quoted from Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), pp. 4, 19. Author's translation.

aesthetic and not absolutely required. This attitude could be confirmed by the explanation of the guideline, 'To be functional, economical and where possible beautiful (1955)', in the Architectural Art and Housing Standards Conference in May 1959:

Houses and dormitories should be designed more comfortably to facilitate daily life, in which 'to be functional' is the most important and 'to be beautiful' should not be excessively stressed... Does this mean that 'to be beautiful' would be ignored? No... It could be achieved through enhancement of the relationships between individual buildings and building groups, more disposition of greening, more variations in colours, and some simple artistic treatments.⁵⁶

Despite this attitude towards greening, the high tide of the GLF (1958-1960) was a great incentive for it. The First National Working Conference on Urban Landscape Architecture held in February 1958 in Beijing further advocated '*quanmian lühua* (full-scale greening, 全面绿化)'.⁵⁷ Of the compound word '*quanmian*', '*quan*' literally means 'complete' or 'whole', and '*mian*' means 'face' or 'aspect'. The policy thus acted as an intensification of the general greening movement. It was notable that the term of 'green sea (绿海)' was coined at the time, signifying the greening ideal for residential areas.⁵⁸ Within the movement, the many issues of housing environments were reduced to concerns merely about greening. Moreover, it was at this time that greening really started to be part of the official agenda for the construction of residential areas. In Shanghai, the Park Management Department of the Municipal People's Committee spelt out in 1958 that the Municipal Real Estate Management Bureau was to be responsible for design, construction and management of worker's new villages, in which greening would be an integral part.⁵⁹ The situation in Beijing was similar: from 1958 all houses were managed by the Housing Management Department and greening could then be established in an organised manner.⁶⁰

At the same time, the pursuit of '*huopo* (liveliness, naturalness, variety, or distinctiveness)' in housing projects continued. It was understandable that greening was considered important to complement the stiff and lifeless buildings, and thus improve the environmental quality of residential areas. This confirmed the notion that greening was something that would be done after the building construction had finished and was intended for visual and aesthetic values.

⁵⁶ Author's translation. Wang, Huabin 王华彬. 'Jiji chuanguo, nuli tigao zhuzhai jianzhu sheji shuiping' [Create actively, and make great efforts to improve the housing design standards] 积极创作, 努力提高住宅建筑设计水平. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1962), p. 20.

⁵⁷ Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 20.

⁵⁸ Research Unit of Regional and City Planning of Architectural Science Research Institute 建筑科学研究院区域规划与城市规划研究室. *Jiefang lühua* [Neighbourhood greening] 街坊绿化. (Beijing: Jianzhu Gongcheng Chubanshe, 1959), p. 9. The manuscript of this book was completed in October 1958.

⁵⁹ Editorial Board of *Shanghai housing construction records* 《上海住宅建设志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* [Shanghai housing construction records] 上海住宅建设志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 1998), p. 279.

⁶⁰ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 211.

While the relationship between China and the Soviet Union deteriorated in the late 1950s and China embarked on her own road to socialism, the greening movement was imbued with nationalistic values with several distinctive concepts or slogans put forward. First, the aspiration of comprehensive or full-scale greening would be realised within a 'point-line-plane' framework. Secondly, under the slogan of 'walking on two legs', there would be two complementary levels in greening establishment and management. Thirdly, greening should be an integral part of the so-called 'Six Unifications' of planning, design, investment, construction, distribution and management.

The 'point-line-plane' vision

The terminology of 'point-line-plane' was originally invented for modernist painting. When applied in the greening arrangement of residential areas, it was different from what was defined at the urban scale.⁶¹ 'Point' referred to the small greenspaces around houses, such as front gardens; 'line' referred to the trees lined along streets, or rivers; 'plane' referred to the residential park and nursery, which would cover relatively larger tracts of land. Residential parks were at the time referred to as stamp-like, since they normally appeared stamp-like on plans of residential areas.⁶² This analogy again showed that greening was considered as something that might be done after building construction was completed. The presence of plant nurseries was the result of the pursuit of production, and it was not unusual to 'borrow land to raise seedlings'⁶³ in residential areas. These 'point', 'line', and 'plane' elements could be easily identified in residential areas, such as Caoyang New Village (1951) (Fig. 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7) and Pengpu New Village (1958) (Fig. 4.14), Shanghai. Yet in the Chinese perception, it was the diversity and richness that were felt to be implied with this terminology of greening that counted. It enabled people to envision all kinds of greening at various scales would be ultimately achieved in 'general greening' and 'full-scale greening'.

Under economic constraints, different strategies should be applied for the three elements. This was best manifested by the directive of 'striving for general greening and improvement at key point'.⁶⁴ This concern about development at two levels was derived from the slogan of 'Walking on Two Legs'.

⁶¹ See Chapter 2.

⁶² Interview with Professor Zhu Junzhen, 8 October 2005.

⁶³ The Chinese text is '借地育苗'.

⁶⁴ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 5; Editorial Board of the Historical Records of the Construction of Beijing 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe* [The constructions of Beijing city from the founding of PRC] 建国以来的北京城市建设. Restricted publication (1986), p. 351; Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, shizheng juan, yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, City construction volume, Landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 8.



Figure 4.14 Plan of Pengpu Residential Area, Shanghai (1958). Greening was arranged according to the 'point-line-plane' framework. The main road of the area was mainly lined with *Cinnamomum camphora* L. in order to give it a distinctive character, in contrast with other roadsides, which were planted mainly with *Platanus orientalis* L.

Source: Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Juzhuqu lühua* [Greening of housing areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981).

The practice of 'Walking on Two Legs'

The policy of 'Walking on Two Legs' was issued in the enthusiastic GLF campaign (1958-1960) originally for a balanced development between the countryside and the city. This concept was later expanded to refer to many other bilateral relationships, such as that between the progressive and the conservative, or between development on a larger scale with greater effect and development on a smaller scale with limited impact. In the greening arrangement, then, it consisted of a 'general leg' with low demand for greening at large, and a 'beautification leg' with

high demand for 'improvement' in greening quality.

In 1958, the greening of Sanlihe Residential Area, Beijing, was one of two pilot projects in the Western City District (Fig. 4.15).⁶⁵ As this was adjacent to government organisations, including the National Planning Committee, it was frequently passed by foreign guests and provincial or municipal officials and was therefore of great symbolic importance for image construction and political representation. The residential area accommodated some 3,000 households from about 40 work units.⁶⁶ Greening of this residential area started in 1956 when the greening call was issued, with trees provided for each work unit free of charge by nurseries established locally.⁶⁷ At this early stage, new developments were not yet coordinated by the Housing Management Department, as this did not occur until 1958. As a result, greening efforts were badly coordinated. Each work unit planted trees immediately near their buildings either in lines or randomly. The lack of an overall organisation additionally meant ineffectiveness in management and maintenance, resulting in a poor survival rate with a final result that left much

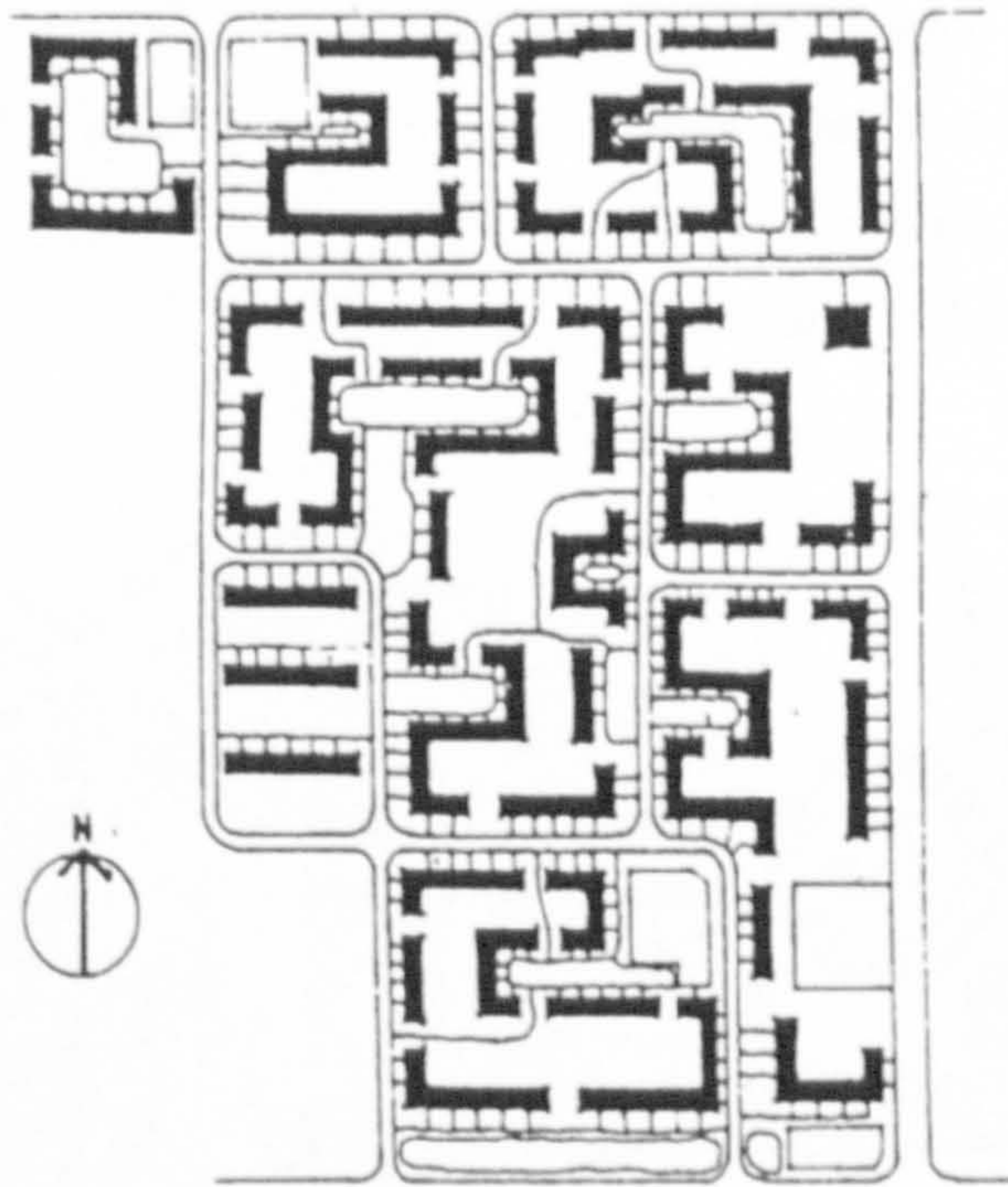


Figure 4.15 Plan of Sanlihe Residential Area, Beijing (1953).

Source: Beijing Jianshe Shishu Bianji Weiyuanhui Bianjibu 北京建设史书编辑委员会编辑部. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: fangwu jianzhu II* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of PRC: Architecture II] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 房屋建筑 II. Vol. 5 (1992), p. 271.

⁶⁵ The other one was Baiwanzhuang Residential Area.

⁶⁶ Fu, Shanyi 傅珊仪. 'Sanlihe juminqu de lühua guihua sheji' [Planning and design of the greening of Sanlihe Residential Area] 三里河居民区的绿化规划设计. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 211.

⁶⁷ In 1956 alone, totally 1,410,000 seedlings were provided by nurseries free of charge to the work units in Beijing. See Fan, Lianshen 范霖申. 'Beijing shinian lai de lühua jianshe' [Ten years of landscape architecture in Beijing] 北京十年来的绿化建设. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 7.

to be desired. When from 1958 the efforts were better organised, they followed the Soviet model.

The Soviet super-block determined a formalistic treatment of the spaces that emulated the French formal style, as advised by Soviet specialists.⁶⁸ The courtyards for 'recreation and rest' were designed as 'focal points' for 'beautification' (Fig. 4.16). The overall design was organised by two crossing axes, creating four quarters with a circular planted bed in the centre. The bed contained flowering shrubs, such as *Syringa oblata* Lindl., *Prunus triloba* Lindl., *Hibiscus syriacus* L. and *Cotinus coggygria* Scop., planted for visual purposes. Moreover, the edge of this planting was decorated with wild flowers, and a line of shallow bricks determined the physical edge. The four quarters provided lawned areas that were planted with trees of medium or small size, such as *Prunus davidiana* Franch. and *Prunus persica* Batsch.. They were edged with *Thuja orientalis* L. hedges, with various openings to enable entry. An additional two rectangular flower beds symmetrically marked the western entrance.

The greening for 'general' purposes lacked such attention to detail and was mostly arranged with practical considerations only, primarily for ease of maintenance and convenience. Between parallel row buildings (Fig. 4.17), clothes lines were provided at each corner, which were screened from the buildings by trees that were planted in lines. On the other sides, lines of shrubs bordered these areas to provide well protected and screened enclosures. The central area was arranged for recreation and rest, providing articulation of spaces with groups of trees.

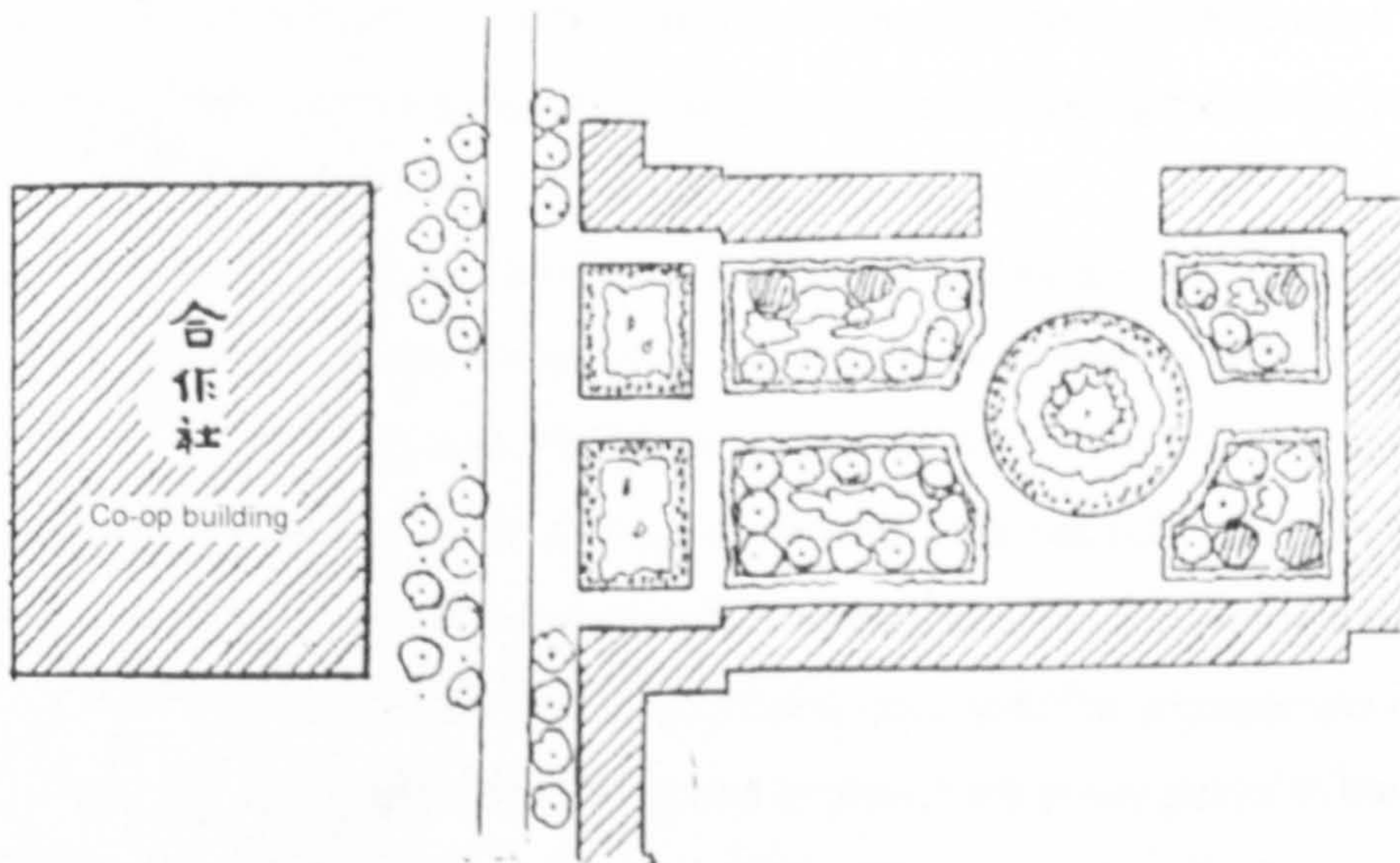


Figure 4.16 Schematic plan of a courtyard specially arranged for 'beautification' purpose in Sanlihe Residential Area, Beijing (late 1950s).

Source: Fu, Shanyi 傅珊仪. 'Sanlihe juminqu de lühua guihua sheji' [Planning and design of the greening of the Sanlihe Residential Area] 三里河居民区的绿化规划设计. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局.

Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959) [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 212.

⁶⁸ Hua, Lanhong 华揽洪. *Chongjian zhongguo: chengshi guihua sanshinian, 1949-1979* [Reconstruction of China: thirty years of urbanism, 1949-1979] 重建中国: 城市规划三十年, 1949-1979, trans. by Li Ying 李颖. (Beijing: Shenghuo-dushu-xinzhishi Sanlian Shudian, 2006), p. 55. Originally published as Hoa, Léon. *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme, 1949-1979* (Paris: Éditions du Moniteur, 1981).

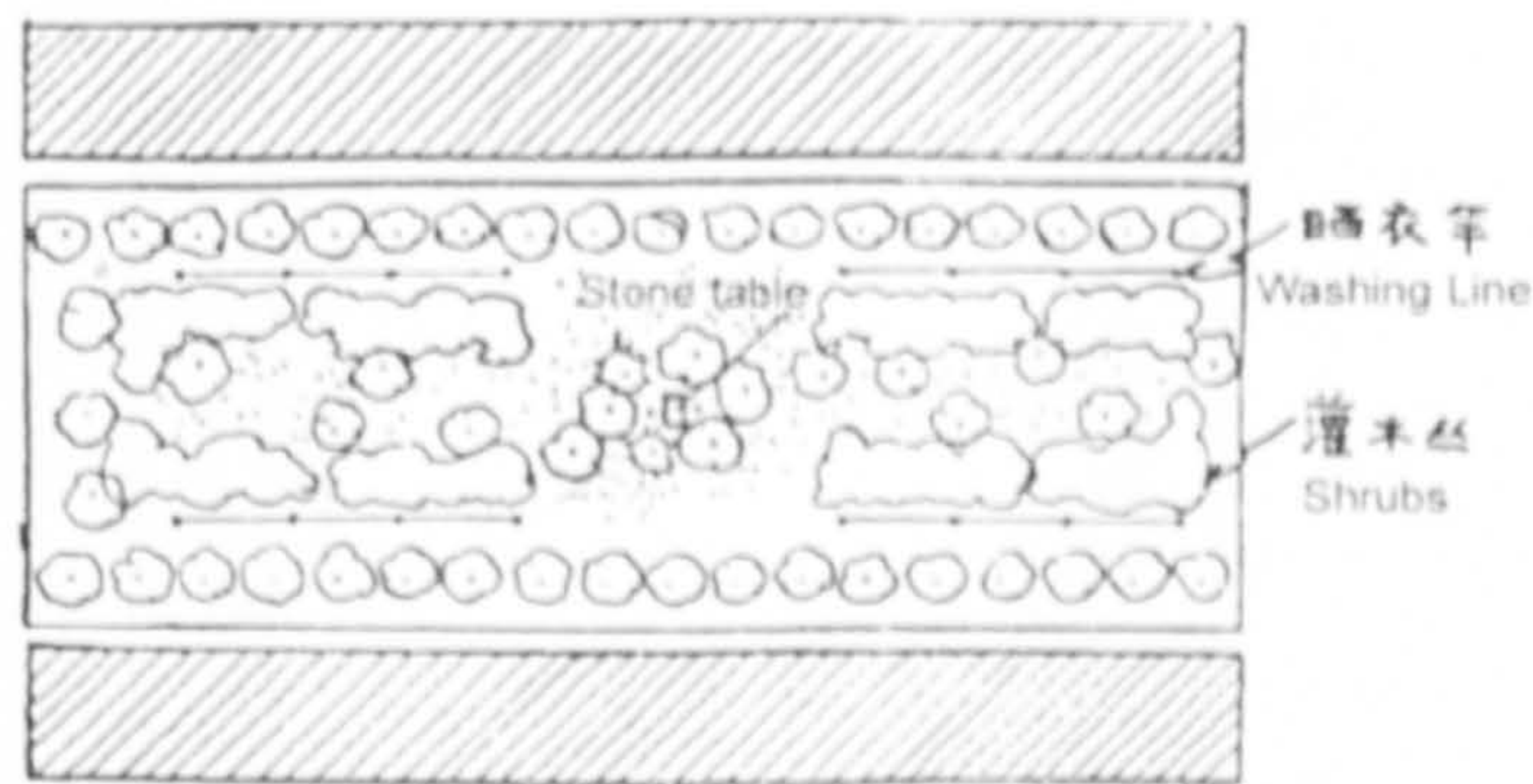


Figure 4.17 Schematic plan of the greening arrangements between parallel buildings in Sanlihe Residential Area, Beijing (late 1950s).

Source: Fu, Shanyi 傅珊仪. 'Sanlihe juminqu de lühua guihua sheji' [Planning and design of the greening of the Sanlihe Residential Area] 三里河居民区的绿化规划设计. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 213.

In between, stone tables and chairs were provided as amenities. Additionally, the strips along the foot of buildings (next to the kitchens) were utilised for small scale food production: shallots or beans were cultivated.

Roads in the residential area were lined with fast-growing and robust trees, such as poplar, willow and acacia. Roadsides, with badly resolved levels and steep contouring were planted with *Ulmus pumila* L. hedges to prevent erosion (Fig. 4.18). While this treatment mainly resulted from functional criteria, it was promoted as being of both hygiene and aesthetic value also.⁶⁹ The residential area was defined by further trees and hedges, replacing mesh wire that had been positioned here for security (Fig. 4.19, 4.20).⁷⁰

However, the formal layout resulted in practical difficulties and it was noted that 'within the geometric pattern, people had to turn left or turn right several times in order to go from one point to another.'⁷¹ Thus this contrived arrangement forced residents to make their own routes following desired lines, resulting in the loss of planting. This was felt to illustrate that dogmatic emulation of a foreign style did not work well in residential areas. It also demonstrated the prevalent view that greening should be contrived according to the arrangement of buildings.

Besides 'striving for general greening and improvement at key points' in the greening arrangement, the practice of the policy, 'Walking on Two Legs', also consisted in the cooperation

⁶⁹ Fu, Shanyi 傅珊仪. 'Sanlihe juminqu de lühua guihua sheji' [Planning and design of the greening of the Sanlihe Residential Area] 三里河居民区的绿化规划设计. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 213.

⁷⁰ Fu, Shanyi 傅珊仪. 'Sanlihe juminqu de lühua guihua sheji' [Planning and design of the greening of the Sanlihe Residential Area] 三里河居民区的绿化规划设计. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 214.

⁷¹ Hua, Lanhong 华揽洪. *Chongjian zhongguo: chengshi guihua sanshinian, 1949-1979* [Reconstruction of China: thirty years of urbanism, 1949-1979] 重建中国: 城市规划三十年, 1949-1979, trans. by Li Ying 李颖. (Beijing: Shenghuo-dushu-xinzhishi Sanlian Shudian, 2006), p. 55. Originally published as Hoa, Léon. *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme, 1949-1979* (Paris: Éditions du Moniteur, 1981).

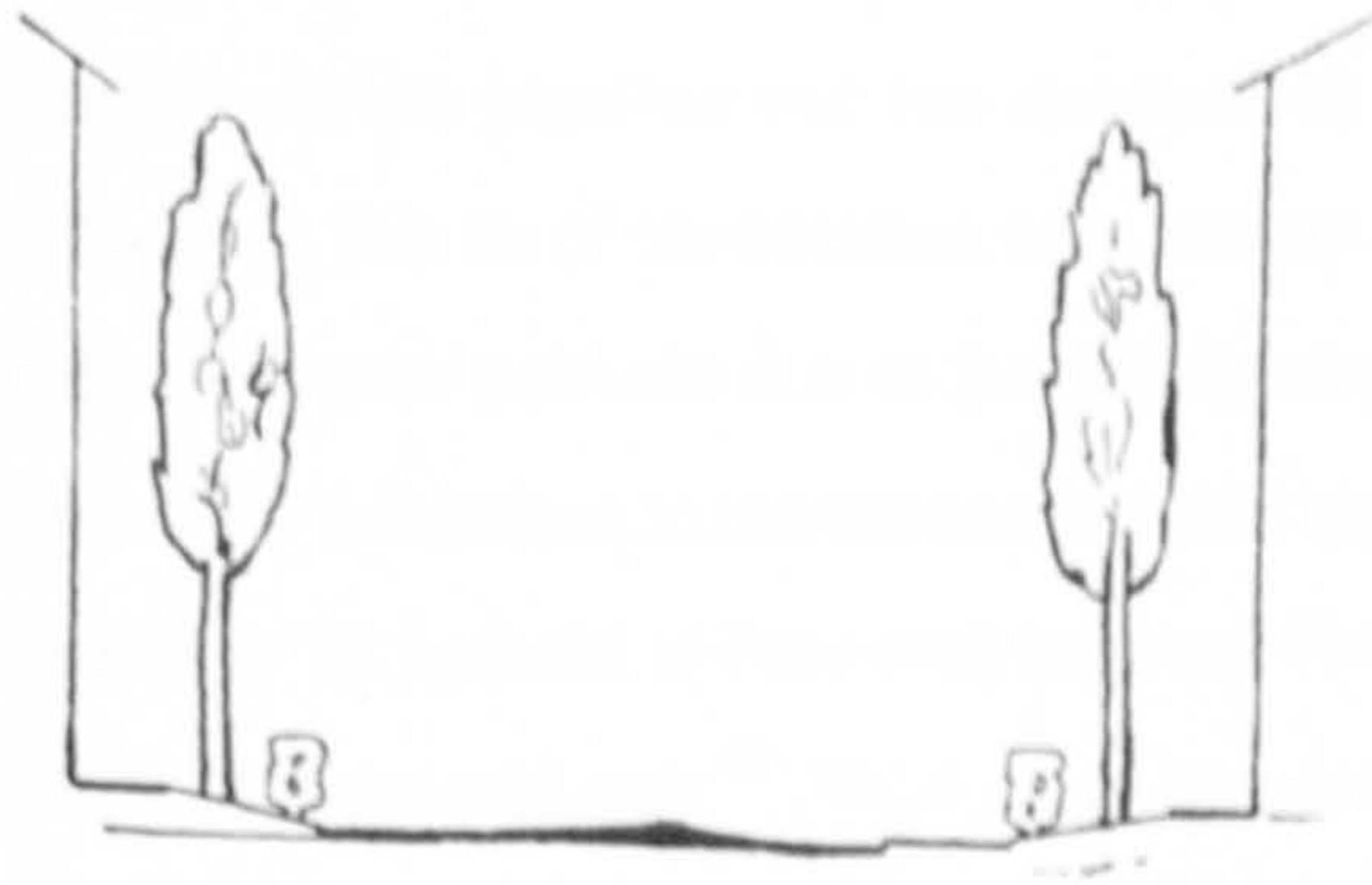


Figure 4.18 Schematic section of the road in Sanlihe Residential Area.

Source: Fu, Shanyi 傅珊仪. 'Sanlihe juminqu de lühua guihua sheji' [Planning and design of the greening of the Sanlihe Residential Area] 三里河居民区的绿化规划设计. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 213.

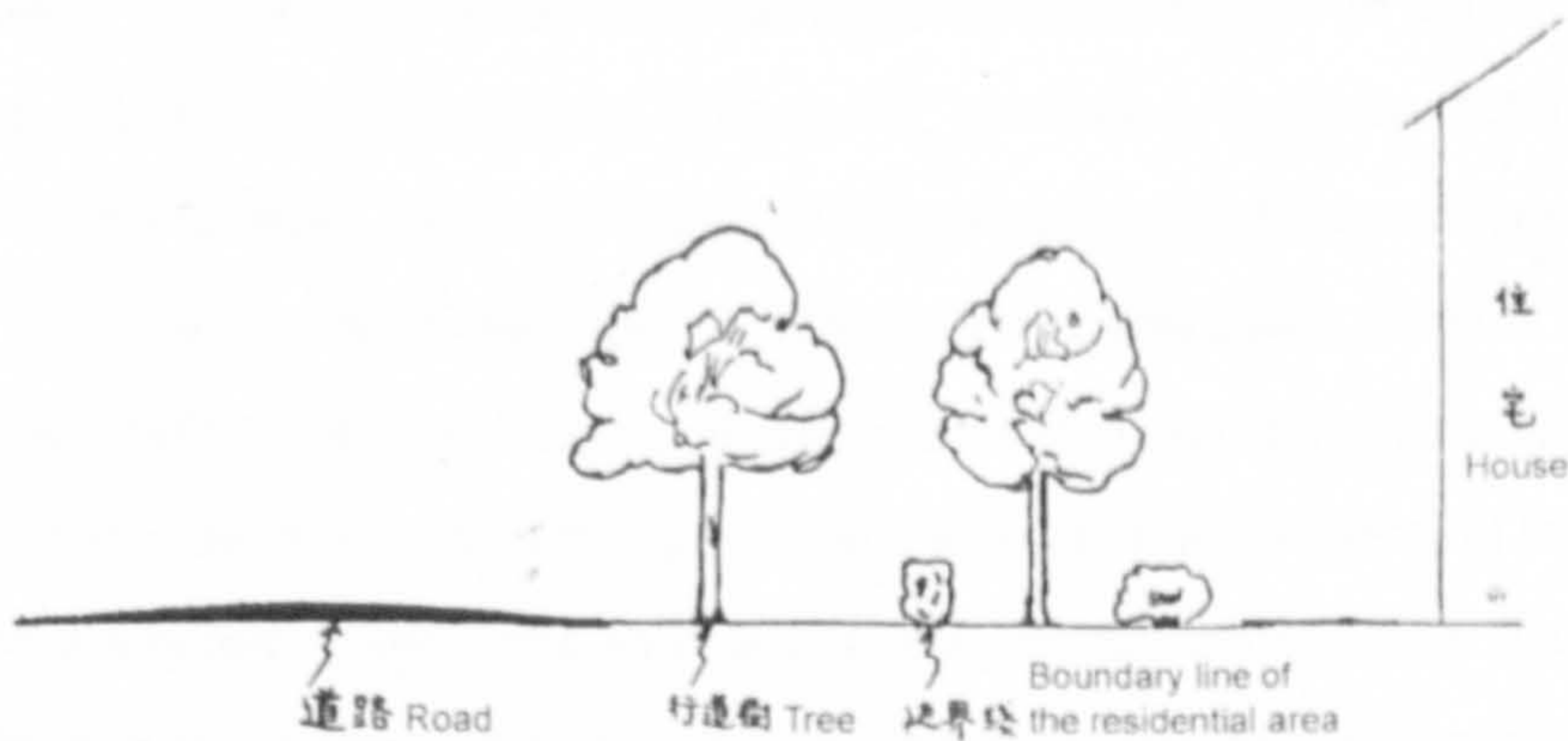


Figure 4.19 Schematic section of the road around Sanlihe Residential Area.

Source: Fu, Shanyi 傅珊仪. 'Sanlihe juminqu de lühua guihua sheji' [Planning and design of the greening of the Sanlihe Residential Area] 三里河居民区的绿化规划设计. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 214.



Figure 4.20 The entrance of Sanlihe Residential Area, Beijing. Trees were regularly lined along the roads (1958).

Source: *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 6 (1958).

between greening specialists and ordinary people in greening implementation and management. For example, four horticulturists worked together with the residents in 1959, and planting was successfully established. However, this tie of cooperation was broken and the horticulturists were withdrawn in the winter of the next year perhaps due to the failure of the GLF (1958-1960), the radical policies of which were then subjected to reassessment and annulment. As a result, the plantings soon declined, and only 15 percent of the newly planted *Thuja orientalis* L. survived and most of the walnut seedlings were lost also.⁷² Thus mass movement might form an effective way to implement planting, but its establishment could not be sustained in the long run without effective coordination and professional involvement.

On the other hand, because of the economic disaster resulting from the GLF (1958-1960), 'striving for general greening and improvement at key point' in the greening arrangement as a practice of 'Walking on Two Legs' could not be implemented either, since it was initially a special objective under economic constraints. It was impossible to 'improve' in pursuit of 'beautification' in greening, but, with a concern about sustenance, common to cultivate fruit and vegetables to overcome food shortages, stressing the issue of production in the general greening policy.

When in the early 1960s the economy gradually recovered as a result of Readjustment policies (1961-1965), greening found a renewed interest. A report by the Beijing municipal authority in the autumn of 1962 pointed out that it was a prevalent defect of the city to be 'only green without any red',⁷³ red being seen to indicate 'beautification' issues. This highlighted the need to improve key points in general greening and a withdrawal from the pursuit of production.

With the annulment of radical policies associated with the GLF, the 1960s also saw a reduced rate of housing construction. Rather than striving for extensive construction of 'worker's new villages' in suburban areas as in the previous decade, the emphasis was now on the regeneration of inner city areas. In Shanghai, for example, the emphasis of housing development was 'slum regeneration and urban image re-establishment'.⁷⁴ Additionally, the experiences in the planning and layout of residential areas were summarised in the mid-1960s as:

Organise houses in clusters and groups with a sense of spatial openness; have houses artistically spaced and interlinked with greening; combine short-term and long-term goals with construction by stages; suit measures to local conditions with every inch of land valued.⁷⁵

⁷² Greening Office 绿化办公室. 'Chengshi qunzhong lushua diaocha baogao' [Findings report of urban greening by masses] 城市群众绿化调查报告. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin lushua gongzuo nianbao (1961-1962)* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture (1961-1962)] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 (1961-1962). (June, 1963), p. 57.

⁷³ Editorial Board of the Historical Records of the Construction of Beijing 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe* [The constructions of Beijing city from the founding of PRC] 建国以来的北京城市建设. Restricted publication (1986), p. 353; Editorial Board of *Beijing Chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing Zhi, Shizheng Juan, Yuanlin Lushua Zhi* [Beijing Landscape Architecture Records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 471.

⁷⁴ Editorial Board of *Shanghai housing construction records* 《上海住宅建设志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* [Shanghai housing construction records] 上海住宅建设志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 1998), p. 151.

⁷⁵ The Chinese text is '成组成团，开放布置；有疏有密，绿化沟通；远近结合，分期建设；因地制宜，寸土必争'. See Bai, Demao

Greening continued to be regarded as beautifying housing layouts and it was not considered until after completion of buildings. The most famous project of the time was Pumpkin Lane Residential Area (1963) in Shanghai (Fig. 4.21). Like Caoyang New Village (1951), once finished, the project became the focus of publicity and visits.⁷⁶ The area, covering some five hectares, once accommodated more than 16,000 people and was the largest slum in old Shanghai.⁷⁷ After the Liberation, it was among the first areas to be cleared in the Housing



Figure 4.21 Plan of Pumpkin Lane Residential Area, Shanghai (c. 1964).

Source: Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Juzhuqu lühua* [Greening of housing areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianshe Gongye Chubanshe, 1981), p. 19.

白德懋. 'Xiaoqu guihua buju de tantao' [Discussions of the planning of residential area] 小区规划布局的探讨. *Jianshu Xuebao*. 1 (1979), p. 8; Beijing Jianshe Shishu Bianji Weiyuanhui Bianjibu 北京建设史书编辑委员会编辑部. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: fangwu jianshu II* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of PRC: Architecture II] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 房屋建筑 II. Vol. 5 (1992), p. 279.

⁷⁶ See for example, 'Shanghai Improves Environment'. *Hsinhua Selected News Items* (1972), pp. 31-32.

⁷⁷ Editorial Board of *Shanghai housing construction records* 《上海住宅建设志》编纂委员会. *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* [Shanghai housing construction records] 上海住宅建设志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 1998), p. 225.

Construction Plan, proposed by the municipal authority. However, the implementation of the Plan was postponed most probably due to the priority of industrial development and the construction of 'worker's new villages' in the suburban area in the 1950s.

The principle of the regeneration was to accommodate the same number of families as before on the site without claiming additional land.⁷⁸ Although this goal was not entirely accomplished, the population density of the completed residential area comprised 2,299 people per hectare,⁷⁹ with a building density of 35.4 percent of the total area⁸⁰. Under these circumstances, there were no large open spaces left for greening, which was reserved around the boundary of the development and along the streets, with tree planting commencing in 1964. Additionally, as during the Readjustment period the economy was even weaker than that of the 1950s, the greening strategy of 'striving for general greening and improvement at key point' continued to be emphasised.

For 'general' purposes, trees were planted first of all according to utilitarian principles. Those along the periphery – railroads on north, a flyover of the New Republic Road on east, and highways, Sky Eye Road to south and Great Unity Road to west – were believed to be able to screen dust and noise from the city.⁸¹ In order to quickly achieve greening, fast-growing trees, such as *Cinnamomum camphora* L., *Nerium indicum* Mill., *Ligustrum lucidum* W. T. Aiton, *Distylium racemosum* Siebold et Zucc., and *Viburnum odoratissimum* Ker-Gawl. were selected. At the same time, the selection was determined by trees that required limited maintenance. The streets in the residential area were lined with *Platanus orientalis* L. (Fig. 4.22, 4.23), which differed from the greening along the boundaries to provided a distinctive appearance to the area.

While 'general greening' referred to meeting some elementary needs, 'improvement at key point' meant more deliberate treatments of greening at some special places for distinctive visual quality. The main entrance from south had carefully selected and arranged plantings that highlighted the idea of approach and impressed visitors. *Cinnamomum camphora* L. and *Magnolia grandiflora* L. served as an evergreen background, in front of which flowering trees, such as *Nerium indicum* Mill. and *Rosa chinensis* Jacq., enriched the palette and enhanced the appearance (Fig. 4.24). Within the residential area, attractive plants, such as *Buxus microphylla* Siebold et Zucc. and *Osmanthus fragrans* Lour., were planted at intersections of streets or footpaths, providing distinctive markers by use of various species to reflect the identity of various arteries (Fig. 4.22).

⁷⁸ Editorial Board of *Shanghai housing construction records* 《上海住宅建设志》编委会. *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* [Shanghai housing construction records] 上海住宅建设志. (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 1998), p. 225.

⁷⁹ Zhu, Yaxin 朱亚新. 'Taijieshi zhuzhai yu linghuo huxing: duoceng gaomidu guihua jianzhu sheji de tantao' [Terraced housing and flexible housing type: investigation of multi-storey and high density planning and design] 台阶式住宅与灵活户型——多层高密度规划建筑设计的探讨. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1979), p. 43.

⁸⁰ Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍 ed. *Juzhuqu luhua* [Greening of residential areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981), p. 18.

⁸¹ Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍 ed. *Juzhuqu luhua* [Greening of residential areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981), pp. 18-20.

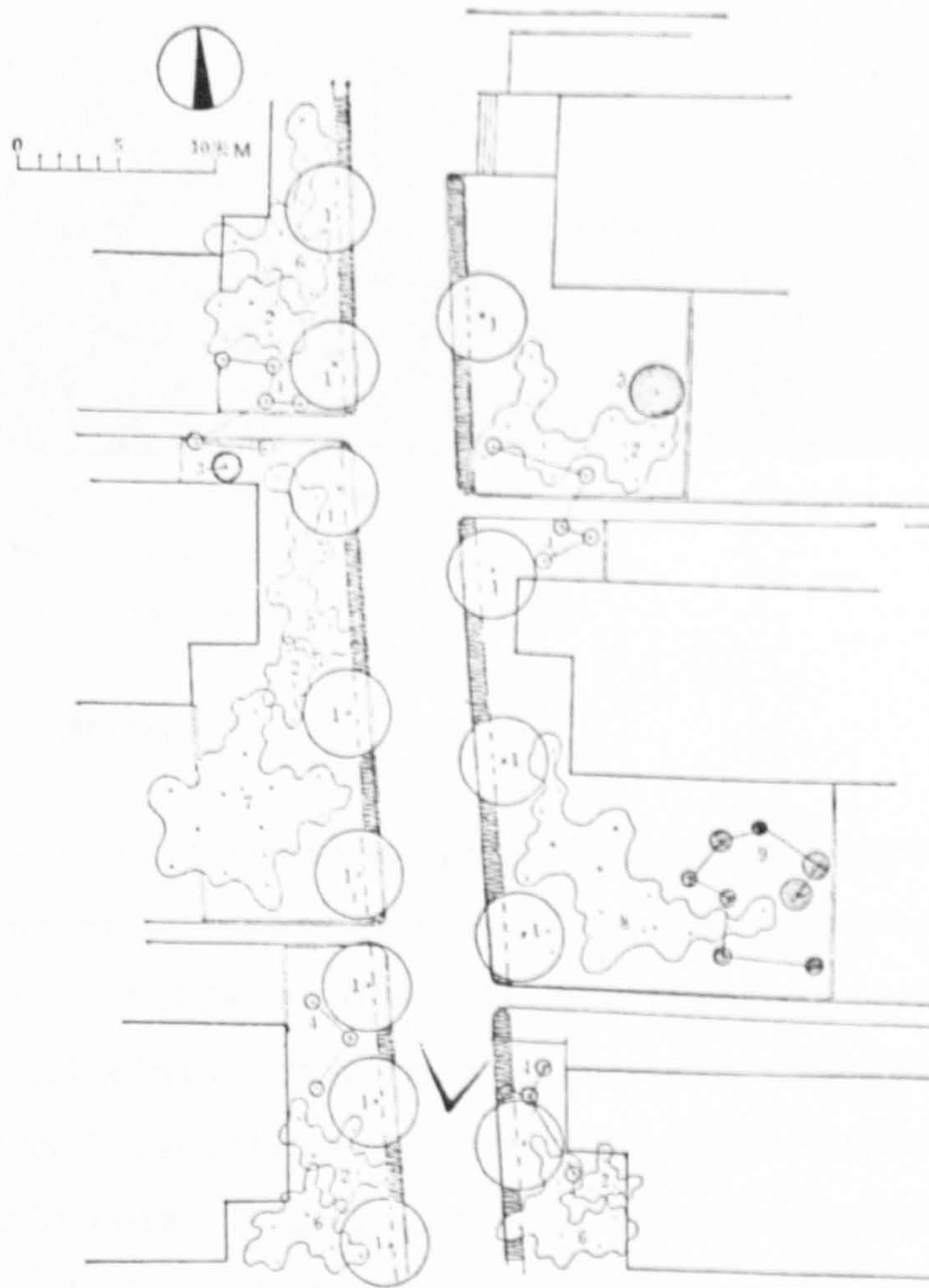


Figure 4.22 Plan of part of the main road of Pumpkin Lane Residential Area, Shanghai (c. 1964).

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 <i>Platanus orientalis</i> L. | 4 <i>Buxus microphylla</i> Siebold et Zucc. | 7 <i>Viburnum odoratissimum</i> Ker-Gawl. |
| 2 <i>Distylium racemosum</i> Siebold et Zucc. | 5 <i>Cercis chinensis</i> Bunge. | 8 <i>Trachycarpus fortunei</i> H. Wendl. |
| 3 <i>Laurus nobilis</i> L. | 6 <i>Nerium indicum</i> Mill. | 9 <i>Ligustrum lucidum</i> W. T. Aiton |

Source: Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Juzhuqu lühua* [Greening of housing areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981), p. 74.



Figure 4.23 A view of the main road in Pumpkin Lane Residential Area (c. early 1970s).

Source: Supplied by Professor Zhu Junzhen.



Figure 4.24 The entrance of Pumpkin Lane Residential Area, Shanghai, on Sky Eye Road, with extensive trees planted (early 1970s).

Source: *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 2 (1974).

The failure of 'Six Unifications'

When in 1956 the greening call was issued, the nationalisation of industry was largely completed. Within this context, more and more private houses were turned into public ownership. This facilitated the coordination of the construction of housing, management and distribution, and the so-called 'Six Unifications' were proposed in the *Decision on the Enhancement of Construction Work of New Industrial Areas and Newly-built Cities*, issued by the State Council on May 8, 1956. It was stated: 'in order to make the construction of dwellings, shops, schools and other cultural facilities in the newly built industrial cities and workers' towns economical and reasonable, they should gradually meet the requirement of unified planning, design, investment, construction, distribution and management.'⁸² Like the 'point-line-plane' schema, this also indicated an aspiration for a comprehensive and integrated development and it meant that greening arrangement was to be one of the imperative components in the design and construction of residential areas. In addition, it was specified that design documents would consist of 'six drawings': the drawings of site survey, master plan, functional zones, services, elevators, infrastructure and greening.⁸³ However, the 'Six Unifications' were rarely properly implemented with greening suffering as a result.

While planning the planting programmes, it was often unclear as to who would be in charge after completion. Those in architectural design departments were not competent to address the design of plantings, because they after all did not manage the source of plantings, i.e. nurseries. This could be easily recognised in the 'drawing of greening' produced by architects, such as that for Xinyuan Lane Residential Area, one of two pilot projects in Beijing in 1964.⁸⁴ This drawing included a rough indication of planting areas but did not contain any specification (Fig. 4.25). The

⁸² Lü, Junhua, Peter G. Rowe and Zhang Jie, ed. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 116.

⁸³ These are in Chinese '现状分析图、总平面布置图、功能分区图、管网综合图、竖向设计图、道路绿化图'. See Beijing Jianshe Shishu Bianji Weiyuanhui Bianjibu 北京建设史书编辑委员会编辑部. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: fangwu jianzhu II* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city construction since the founding of PRC: architecture II] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 房屋建筑 II. Vol. 5 (1992), p. 279.

⁸⁴ The other one was the Dragon Pool Residential Area.

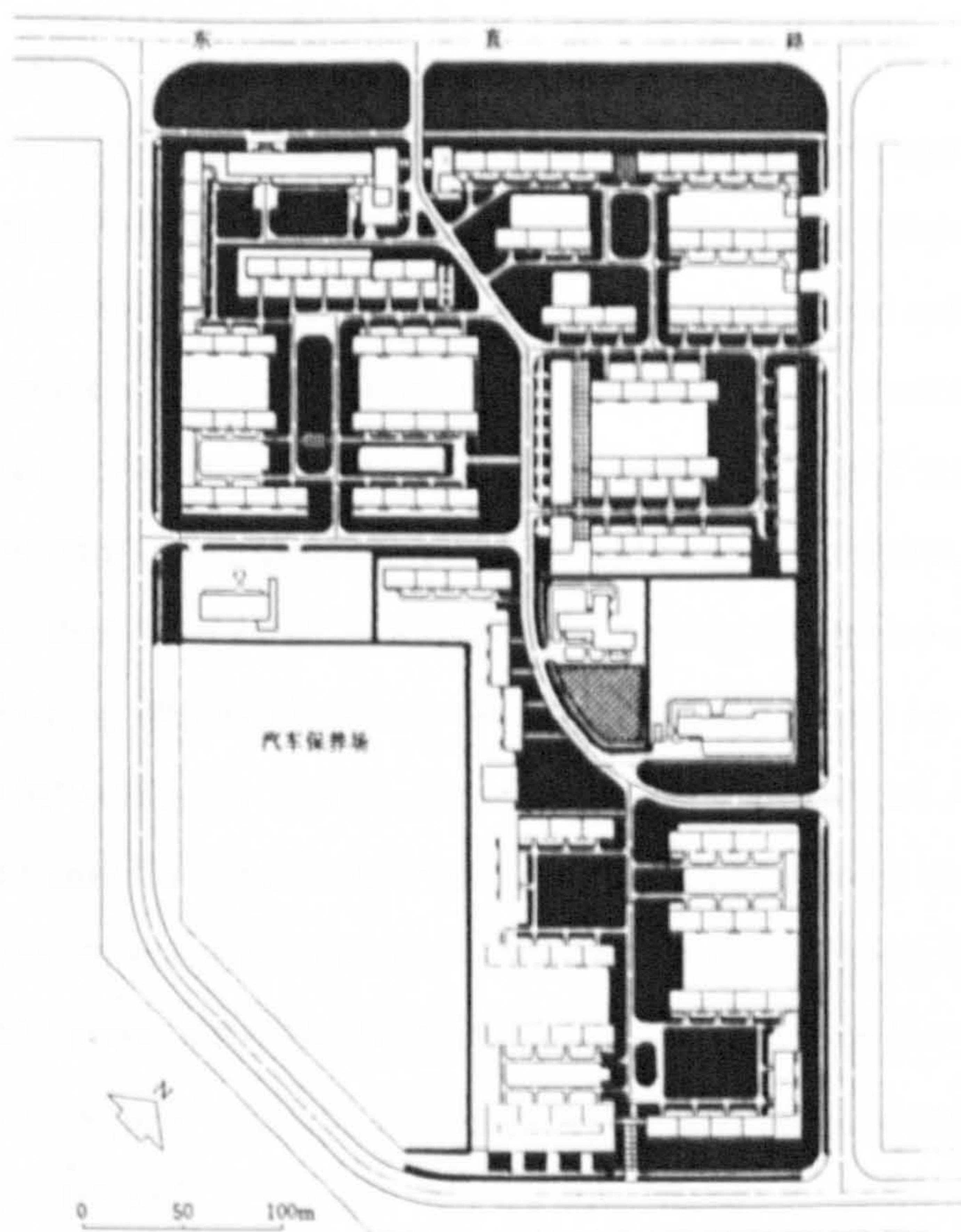


Figure 4.25 The 'drawing of greening', by architects, of Xinyuan Lane Residential Area, Beijing, which only indicated the areas designated for green coverage.

Source: Xu, Yingguang 徐莹光. 'Beijing zuojiazhuang xinyuanli juzhu xiaoqu' [Zuo Family Xinyuan Lane Residential Area in Beijing] 北京左家庄新源里居住小区. In Zuo, Chuan 左川 and Zheng Guangzhong 郑光中, eds. *Beijing chengshi guihua yanjiu lunwenji* [A research anthology of Beijing city planning] 北京城市规划研究论文集. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1996), p. 231.

level of detail did not enable it to provide any detail or refinement without considerable additional knowledge. While this did reside with landscaping and gardening departments, they were not given or did not take responsibility for this type of work, because it was outside their normal scope of consulting on gardens and parks. This was an important reason why the greening of residential areas often appeared extensive in the drawing but was limited in reality.⁸⁵ Also, since the greening, as a 'general' issue, would be implemented by the ordinary masses, and intellectuals were despised under Mao's ideology, the role of professionals was rather ambiguous and insignificant as a result.

In construction, priority was always placed on buildings, leaving a building site till the end of the duration of the works. Building debris often remained. According to statistics in the early 1960s in Beijing, among the residential areas that lacked greening coverage, 54 percent of them

⁸⁵ This phenomenon was pointed out by some contemporary scholars. See Wei, Wenzhen 韦文珍. 'Dui xiaoqu guihua sheji zhong jige wenti de kanfa' [Some issues in the planning and design of residential areas] 对小区规划设计中几个问题的看法. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 12 (1963), p. 24; Zhou, Ganshi 周干峙. 'Guanyu gaijin zhuzhaiqu guihua sheji de jidian yijian' [Some opinions for improving the planning and design of residential areas] 关于改进住宅区规划设计的几点意见. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1964), p. 18; Fan, Yaobang 范耀邦. 'Guanyu juzhuqu heli midu de jidian yijian' [Suggestions for reasonable density of residential areas] 关于居住区合理密度的几点意见. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 3 (1980), p. 22.

resulted from poor coordination.⁸⁶

In housing administration and management, problems emerged again due to the status of buildings. The Housing Management Department took charge of buildings or infrastructure rather than greening. This resulted in limited emphasis on greening and little commitment. For example, in Beijing, a survey in the early 1960s of fifty newly constructed residential areas that were managed by the Department showed that, of the 149 hectares of land that should have been 'greened', only 36 hectares were planted; these consisted of trees without any detailed treatment.⁸⁷ On the other hand, when a residential area was shared by several work units, the responsibility for greening was rarely clearly defined, since there was no overall coordination for projects carried out by work units. Quality control was therefore difficult. Additionally, public ownership of land implied that no one was actually responsible, which would lead to problems in management of greening and maintenance.⁸⁸ This failure of coordination was also the reason for low survival rate of trees in Sanlihe Residential Area. Similarly, in the Wine Immortal Bridge Living Quarter, Beijing, where over 100,000 trees had been planted since 1957, less than 10,000 remained in the early 1960s.⁸⁹

Destruction and appropriation during the Cultural Revolution

The Cultural Revolution (1966-1969) launched in May 1966 was a great tragedy for the whole nation.⁹⁰ While the construction of housing environments could not be considered very satisfactory in the previous years, it was further undermined during this period of political upheaval. The involvement of design professionals in housing design was now limited, since they were driven to the countryside to engage in agricultural production to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants, with professional bodies being eliminated. Along with reduced investment, construction of new housing was further restricted. Under this situation, there was no possibility for any attention to greening, nor were there possibilities to improve housing

⁸⁶ Greening Office 绿化办公室. 'Chengshi qunzhong luhua diaocha baogao' [Findings report of urban greening by masses] 城市群众绿化调查报告. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin luhua gongzuo nianbao (1961-1962)* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture (1961-1962)] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 (1961-1962). (June, 1963), p. 58.

⁸⁷ Li, Linhua 李临淮. 'Chengshi juzhuqu luhua diaocha baogao' [Findings report of the greening of urban residential areas] 城市居住区绿化调查报告. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin luhua gongzuo nianbao (1961-1962)* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture (1961-1962)] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 (1961-1962). (June, 1963), p. 90.

⁸⁸ When investigating the Chinese society, Professor Fei Xiaotong once commented that, 'Once you mention something as belonging to the public, it is almost like saying that everyone can take advantage of it. Thus, one can have rights without obligations.' See Fei, Xiaotong. *From the Soil: The Foundations of Chinese Society: A Translation of Fei Xiaotong's Xiangtu Zhongguo* (Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 1992), p. 60.

⁸⁹ Greening Office 绿化办公室. 'Chengshi qunzhong luhua diaocha baogao' [Findings report of urban greening by masses] 城市群众绿化调查报告. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin luhua gongzuo nianbao (1961-1962)* [Annual report of Beijing landscape architecture (1961-1962)] 北京市园林绿化工作年报 (1961-1962). (June, 1963), p. 58; Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Beijing landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 307.

⁹⁰ See Chapter 2.

environments otherwise. Actually, when within the ultra-leftist political climate there was a heavy assault upon hedonism, greening related to the issue of beautification was considered as 'feudal' or revisionist. It was not uncommon that, under the slogan of 'Sticking in a pin wherever there is room'⁹¹ which meant to make use of every bit of space to save land, outdoor spaces were appropriated for building to provide increased accommodation (Fig. 4.26).

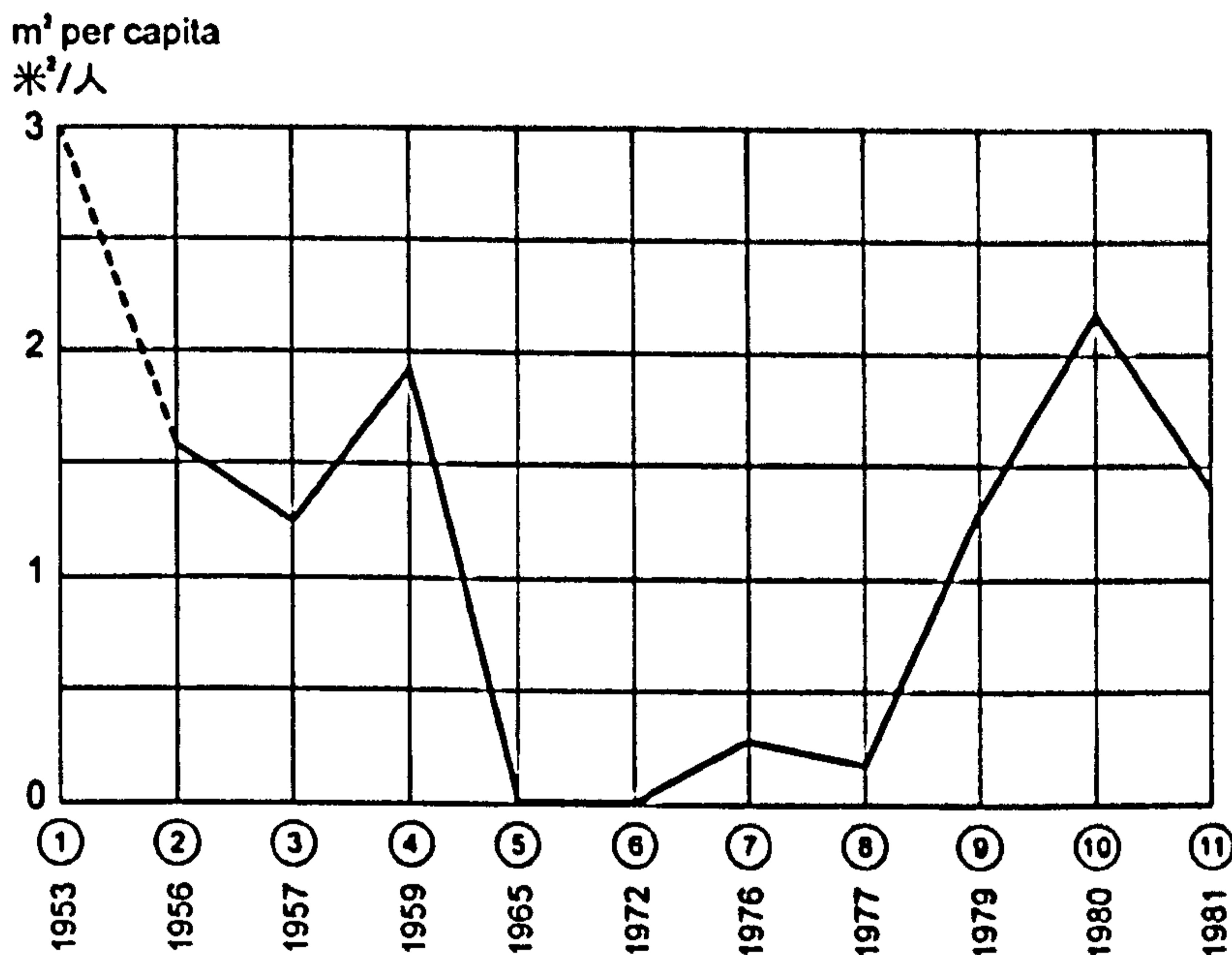


Figure 4.26 The changes of per capita green coverage for residential areas in Beijing. There was no such coverage for residential areas during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969).

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| ① Baiwanzhuang Residential Area | ⑦ Sturdy Pine Residential Area |
| ② Felicity Residential Area | ⑧ Unity Lake Residential Area |
| ③ Evening Glow Temple Residential Area | ⑨ Zuo Family Residential Area |
| ④ Peace Lane Residential Area | ⑩ Pagoda Courtyard Residential Area |
| ⑤ Dragon Pool Residential Area | ⑪ Anzhen Lane Residential Area |
| ⑥ Temple of Heaven South Residential Area | |

Source: Shen, Jiren 沈继仁. 'Beijing jinnian juzhu xiaoqu guihua pingxi' [Assessment of recently built residential areas in Beijing] 北京近年居住小区规划评析. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 2 (1983), p. 10.

Development with high-rise housing

The situation for housing development improved in the early 1970s when the political movement became less radical and again favoured urban construction in general. By this time, however, the pressure for additional housing became more acute than previous decades in view of the increased urban population. Moreover, the increased urban unemployment as a result of the chaos of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969) meant that the agricultural fields around urban areas were not to be occupied for housing, because this would have resulted in peasants having

⁹¹ The slogan in Chinese is '见缝插针'.

to find employment also.⁹² The early 1970s therefore saw increased number of high-rise buildings in residential areas as a dramatic measure to save land and accommodate more people. The *hanglieshi* layout was generally applied, but this meant residential areas continued to be first of all characterised by a boring appearance. A city planner summarised the characteristic of new residential areas in 1981, 'Houses are alike, the height of storeys are the same, all stand like barracks, and high-rises are arranged along roads.'⁹³ It was noteworthy that greening was not mentioned in this statement. Actually, the deep shadow, as a result of the presence of tall buildings, was not favourable for the growth of plants. This had already been difficult in the 1960s developments when the majority of the new buildings consisted of five or six-storeys, but this was now considerably aggravated. It was observed by an architect that, 'On the shady north side of the houses, it is difficult for plants to survive and there is bare land everywhere without any planting. In wind and rain, dust blows everywhere and it is muddy.'⁹⁴ Despite these physical constraints, some efforts were made to improve the housing environments mainly by planting.

Caoxi Residential Area (1975), Shanghai, consisted of nine regularly spaced high-rises, with three sixteen-storey apartments to north and another six thirteen-storey ones to south (Fig. 4.27, 4.28). With strategic planting, the spaces between the buildings were turned into courtyards. As most of the courtyards were in the shade for most of the year, shade-tolerant plants were selected, such as *Trachycarpus fortunei* H. Wendl., *Nerium indicum* Mill., *Podocarpus macrophylla* D. Don, *Viburnum odoratissimum* Ker-Gawl., *Pittosporum tobira* W. T. Aiton, and *Buxus microphylla* Siebold et Zucc. (Fig. 4.29). Apart from these physical considerations, the approach to greening was similar to before, and aimed to create a distinctive character with a sense of variety to complement the featureless buildings. This idea brought about different layouts for each courtyard as well as their entrances to east. Entrances were emphasised as they were considered of importance to project the right image. At the same time, as more sunlight was available on the east side than within the courtyards, flowering trees, such as *Eriobotrya japonica* Lindl., *Cercis chinensis* Bunge., *Malus spectabilis* Borkh., and *Osmanthus fragrans* Lour., were planted here for ornamental rather than functional purposes (Fig. 4.30).

⁹² Hua, Lanhong 华揽洪. *Chongjian zhongguo: chengshi guihua sanshinian, 1949-1979* [Reconstruction of China: thirty years of urbanism, 1949-1979] 重建中国: 城市规划三十年, 1949-1979, trans. by Li Ying 李颖. (Beijing: Shenghuo-dushu-xinzhil Sanlian Shudian, 2006), p. 168. Originally published as Hoa, Léon. *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme, 1949-1979* (Paris: Éditions du Moniteur, 1981).

⁹³ The Chinese text is '住宅一个样, 层数一般高, 全部兵营式, 高层沿街放'. See Fan, Yaobang 范耀邦. 'Guanyu tigao juzhuqu guihua shuiping de ruogan wenti' [Several issues about the improvement of the planning of residential areas] 关于提高居住区规划水平的若干问题. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 5 (1981), p. 47; Beijing Jianshe Shishu Bianji Weyuanhui Bianjibu 北京建设史书编辑委员会编辑部. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: fangwu jianzhu II* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of PRC: architecture II] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 房屋建筑 II. Vol. 5 (1992), p. 291. The specific positioning of high-rise housing was directly a result of the consideration of land saving. It would be placed along the south or east side of the city road, so that the width of the road could be taken advantage of to act as the spacing between buildings required to have sufficient sunlight and the land within the residential area was therefore saved.

⁹⁴ Zhu, Yaxin 朱亚新. 'Taijieshi zhuzhai yu linghuo huxing: duoceng gaomidu guihua jianzhu sheji de tantao' [Terraced housing and flexible housing type: investigation of multi-storey and high density planning and design] 台阶式住宅与灵活户型——多层高密度规划建筑设计的探讨. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 3 (1979), p. 43.

It could be acknowledged that during the Thirty Years, 'huopo', a sense of 'liveliness', 'variety' or identity, largely with a concern about visual quality, was explored in the greening in order to complement buildings, which were poorly designed and often likened to barracks. With this analogy, housing development was exactly a representation of contemporary politics. While since the closing of the Mao era, the concern about 'beautification' of cities has been promoted, 'huopo' is nowadays still a convenient concept for the design profession, as visual stimulation and novelty are often desired in design solutions.

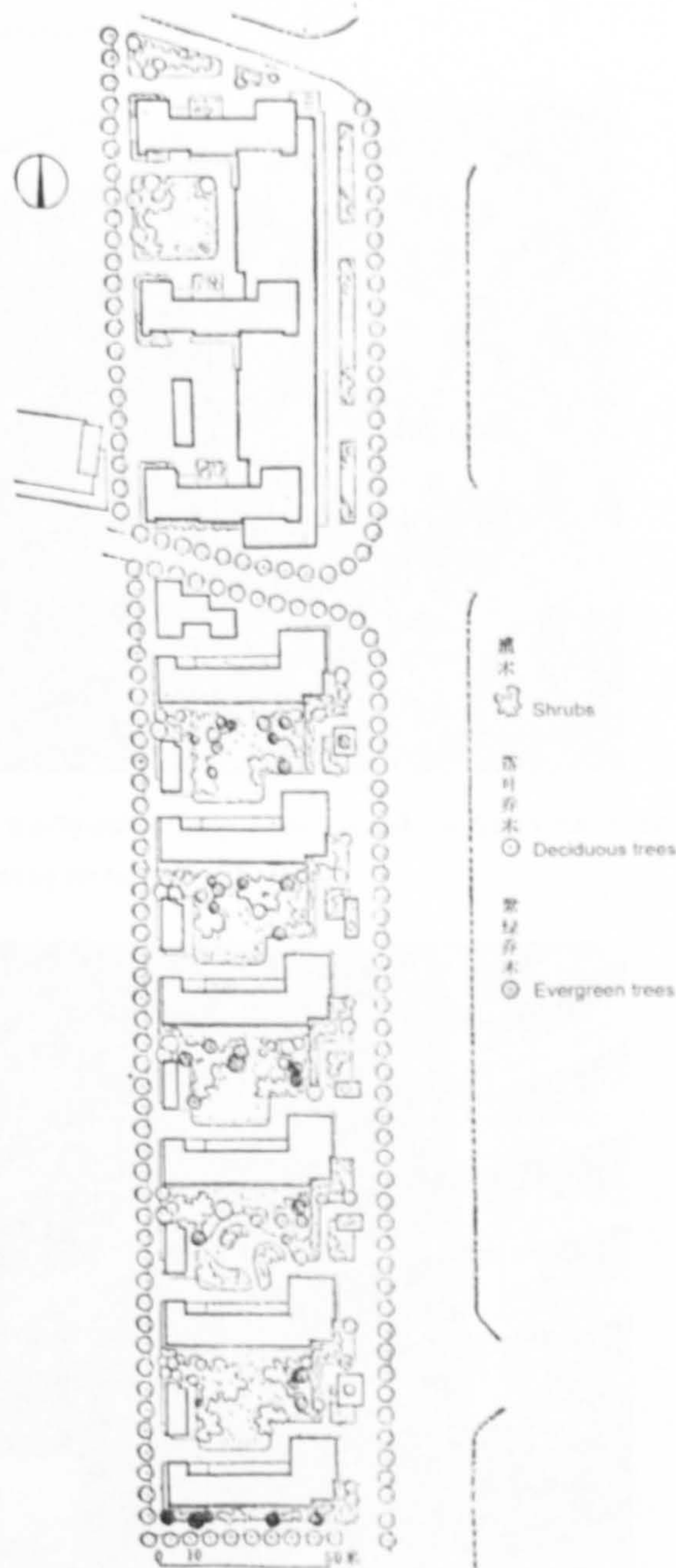


Figure 4.27 Plan of Caoxi Residential Area, Shanghai (1975).

Source: Zhu, Junzhen 朱钧珍. *Juzhuqu lühua* [Greening of housing areas] 居住区绿化. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1981), p. 28.



Figure 4.28 Caoxi Residential Area, Shanghai (seen from east) (late 1970s).

Source: *Jianzhu Xuebao*. 1 (1979).



Figure 4.29 A courtyard of Caoxi Residential Area, Shanghai, in shade (late 1970s).

Source: Supplied by Professor Zhu Junzhen.



Figure 4.30 A courtyard entrance of Caoxi Residential Area, Shanghai, where flowering trees were planted (late 1970s).

Source: Supplied by Professor Zhu Junzhen.

Development since the 1980s

To have a Tree Planting Festival on 12 March every year (clearly following the tree planting tradition of the Republican era) was proposed in the Sixth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress held on 23 February 1979. This mobilised the people to regularly volunteer for tree planting, which created a context for the development of general greening, and thus the greening of residential areas. Additionally, the issue of the greening of residential areas was particularly raised in the Fourth National Working Conference on Urban Landscape Architecture held in February 1982 in Beijing, and the directive, 'not to have bare earth under the sky' was reinstated.⁹⁵ At the same time, with the aspiration for greening after years of deprivation especially during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969), the former leftist slogan 'Sticking in a pin wherever there is room' was changed to 'Sticking in greening wherever there is room'.⁹⁶ Detailed official regulations were also specified for the development after years of lack of effective control. For example, in Beijing, from the 1980s, the greening target was stipulated as no less than one square metre per capita.⁹⁷ Also, the investment for greening development was ensured in 1983 when the financial consequences were particularly discussed in the First Working Conference on Landscape Architecture.⁹⁸

From the 1990s, the residential areas developed with extensive greening were regarded as of '*yuanlin shi* (garden style, 园林式)'.⁹⁹ This however confirmed the limited understanding of the word '*yuanlin*' in the modern era, as greening, or mainly tree planting, continued to be the first and paramount concern in achieving the 'garden' ideal, although the demand was then not only consisted in visual or aesthetic effects, but also sometimes ecological values of the environment.

Conclusion

This chapter shows that greening in residential areas did not realise the goal of general greening, as it was restricted by social, economic and political conditions during the Thirty Years. The limited progress of greening could be further demonstrated by the fact that, while the achievements made in the residential areas discussed, often pilot projects, were limited, many

⁹⁵ Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 45.

⁹⁶ Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 53.

⁹⁷ Beijing Jianshe Shishu Bianji Weiyuanhui Bianjibu 北京建设史书编辑委员会编辑部. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: fangwu jianzhu II* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of PRC: architecture II] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 房屋建筑 II. Vol. 5 (1992), p. 306.

⁹⁸ Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Beijing landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 308.

⁹⁹ Liu, Shanghua 柳尚华. *Zhongguo fengjing yuanlin dangdai wushinian: 1949-1999* [Fifty years of Chinese landscape architecture: 1949-1999] 中国风景园林当代五十年: 1949-1999. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1999), p. 72.

others could not even reach the same standards. For example, among the inner-city re-development projects in Shanghai, Pumpkin Lane Residential Area was the only project that reached construction stage.¹⁰⁰

As a result of the emphasis on constructing buildings, the housing environment, and thereby greening, was only one constituent and was considered a minor issue. While it would be implemented through mass mobilisation, it failed to be an outstanding programme in the official agenda. This situation was only changed with the close of the Mao era, where there was a renewed interest in the urban environmental and living quality, with the general diversion of national policies to heal the negative consequences of the previous policies.

Moreover, as greening was always emphasised as serving visual and aesthetic quality rather than functional reasons, the poor success rate was probably a consequence of this. The discussion of aesthetic issues was rather sensitive in the contemporary politics, especially during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969), since it was associated with luxurious desire and thus ideologically problematic.

¹⁰⁰ Ma, Laurence J.C. and Edward W. Hanten, ed. *Urban Development in Modern China* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1981), p. 162.

Chapter 5

The Making of Tiananmen Square: An Urban Square as an Image of Socialist Hegemony

The concept of the urban square, the type of open space where various activities of the general public were enacted, did not really exist in China until the turn of the twentieth century with the intrusion of foreign imperial powers. The reason to a great extent found its way into the planning tradition of Chinese cities and the imperial social order, which effectively discouraged the formation of such urban space representing the public interests. Under foreign influences, some squares were first laid out, inspired by foreign examples, in cities, such as Shanghai, Dalian, Harbin, Guangzhou (Canton) and Chongqing, where international settlements were concentrated. For example, Nicola Square built in 1903 in Dalian was in a Baroque style with intersecting avenues.¹ But these squares in foreign fashion provided little value as examples for the development of town planning in the subsequent Mao era. What was more relevant were those squares formed during the struggles of the Chinese people, such as mass demonstrations, against imperialism within the contemporary political tension. These squares thus resulted from striving for national prestige and world recognition of China and constituted revolutionary images, displaying the power of the Chinese people. Such image was of special significance for and became preoccupation of the Chinese people in view of the humiliation under foreign imperialism and the desire for a new independent and democratic nation.²

Tiananmen Square was such a product from the early twentieth century. While the Square became more widely known in the West after the Mao era because of the 1989 Democracy Movement,³ for the Chinese people it had been the political and cultural symbol of the PRC since the inception of the Mao era. Located at the centre of Beijing, the Square's importance gradually increased through a series of mass rallies during the twentieth century. These included the 1919 May 4th Movement in protest against the Treaty of Versailles alienating Chinese land to Japan, which was the starting point for the New Democratic Revolution. There were subsequent mass parades and rallies in the Square during the 1925 May 30th Movement,⁴ during the 1926 March 18th Movement,⁵ during the 1935 December 9th Movement,⁶ and during the 1947 May

¹ It is now Zhongshan Square. See: Liu, Nian 刘年, Chu Jiateng 初嘉腾, and Ma Bin 马斌. 'Yingzao yiren de chengshi kongjian' [To create pleasant urban spaces: introduction to Dalian squares] 营造宜人的城市空间——大连广场浅谈. *Guihua Shi*, 1 (1998), pp. 42-46.

² Broudehoux, Anne-Marie. *The Making and Selling of Post-Mao Beijing* (London, New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 29.

³ Some studies by western scholars on the transformation of Tiananmen Square were in fact triggered by this movement. See for example, Wu, Hung. 'Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments'. *Representation*, No. 35 (Summer, 1991), pp. 84-177; Herskovitz, Linda. 'Tiananmen Square and the Politics of Place'. *Political Geography*, Vol. 12, No. 5 (September, 1993), pp. 395-420. Wu Hung's article was later revised as the first chapter of his book, *Remaking Beijing*, published in 2005: Wu, Hung. *Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of A Political Space* (London: Reaktion, 2005), pp. 15-50.

⁴ The 1925 May 30th Movement opposed imperialism and was triggered by the Shanghai Municipal Police's opening fire on Chinese strikers in the International settlement.

⁵ The 1926 March 18th Movement called for an end to all unequal treaties signed between China and foreign powers. In addition

20th Movement.⁷ It was not surprising that in 1949 Chairman Mao chose the Square as the focal point for the founding ceremony of the socialist PRC, despite the fact that the Square had previously been used by emperors or officials for ritual activities. This added another layer to intensify the Square's significance. The Square was, therefore, a political window through which the whole world could see what happened in China and what China might be, and it was crucial in its design and redesign, construction and reconstruction as a political and social image to display socialist achievements of the new China.

Due to its paramount status, the Square also became a glorious model and a design prototype, which other cities emulated in the construction of their own urban squares, such as People's Square in Shanghai, 51 Square⁸ in Taiyuan, and Tianfu Square in Chengdu. In addition, it was such a symbol rooted in the hearts of the Chinese people that its significance was felt in the countryside. There was a saying from Dazhai, the former agricultural pacesetter for the whole nation to learn from, that 'Stand on Tigerhead Mountain, look at Tiananmen, and have the whole world in mind.'⁹ Also, the central square of the Dazhai village was sometimes considered as a 'Tiananmen Square'.¹⁰ In the post-Mao era, Tiananmen Square continued to be the original prototype. When in the 1990s there was a strong 'square wind', which meant extensive construction of urban squares,¹¹ it became an absolute model to be emulated to show off the increasing political and economic power. It was noteworthy that these projects were referred to as 'image projects'. Tiananmen Square is therefore a representative case for investigation to understand how political, social or cultural power was demonstrated through 'urban images', which preoccupied the Chinese people.

Not surprisingly, there have been many investigations on Tiananmen Square. Due to its frequent use for political purposes, the Square has attracted research within the political context. Wu Hung provided a study interpreting the Square as a strange assemblage of several political monuments, i.e. the Tiananmen, the Monument to the People's Heroes, the Great Hall of the People, the Museum of Chinese Revolution and History, and Chairman Mao's mausoleum, with their architectural disharmony and disciplined layout. The Square's enormous dimension of 40 hectares was recognized as the most important character. While this spatial representation was totally different from the former narrow walled palace square, it was observed that the same logic

to expelling foreign ambassadors.

⁶ The 1935 December 9th Movement refers to a mass protest led by students in Beiping (present-day Beijing) that demands the Nationalist Government to resist Japanese aggression.

⁷ The 1947 May 20th Movement was known as the Anti-starvation and Anti-civil-war Movement.

⁸ The name of the 51 Square was derived from the International Workers' Day or Labour Day on May 1.

⁹ Duan, Cunzhang 段存章. *Wo zai Dazhai shisan nian: ywei dangbao jizhe yanzhong de Dazhai ren* [My Thirteen Years in Dazhai: the Dazhai People in the Eyes of a Reporter of Party Newspaper] 我在大寨十三年——一位党报记者眼中的大寨人. (Beijing: Nongcun Duwu Chubanshe, 2003), p. 160.

¹⁰ Ying, Quan 映泉. *Chen Yonggui zhuan* [Biography of Chen Yonggui] 陈永贵传. (Wuhan: Changjiang Wenyi Chubanshe, 1996), p. 52.

¹¹ Liu, Xiuchen 刘秀晨. 'Jianzhu xingxiang, chengshi sheji, chengshi guangchang: yige jingguan shejishi dui shoudu jianshe de jidian kanfa' [Architectural image, urban design, urban square: some opinions of a landscape architect for the construction of Beijing] 建筑形象·城市设计·城市广场——一个景观设计师对首都建设的几点看法. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 8 (2002), pp. 54-56.

of ritual, as well as the unshakeable authority as that of the imperial era, remained. Specifically, the design of the Monument to the People's Heroes was studied at length in terms of its location, form and connotations.¹² Linda Hershkovitz analyzed the relationship between the articulation of politics and the Square's spatial formation and popular movements.¹³ But, besides these political studies associated with the production of space, further investigations are needed about the interaction between political issues, such as official policies, and design approaches.

Taking cultural issues into consideration, some studies interpreted the Square as a paradox, since it on the one hand acted as the symbolic core of the new socialist nation, and on the other hand was born out of an old palace plaza, formerly an important part of the imperial city.¹⁴ But, there is still a need to reveal why such a paradox has been a reality; as the design and construction of the new Square were based on the old, what kind of tradition was dispensed with, and what was retained to further constitute the paradox; what the effects of the new ideas and old traditions were in the Square's design and construction. Moreover, as a study on the landscape, this chapter attempts a more holistic enquiry, taking into consideration such issues as greening development, which has been almost neglected in previous research.

The old square

Tiananmen Square was originally conceived during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) as a T-shaped space immediately in front of the Forbidden City and approximately in the middle of the 7.8 kilometres long central axis of the Imperial City (Fig. 5.1).

The old square was enclosed by red walls and gates, encompassing an area of 6.9 hectares. The two arms of the Square stretched east to Chang'an Left Gate, and west to Chang'an Right Gate. At the south end was Daqing Gate, which was renamed as Zhonghua Gate in the Republican era (1912-1949). Along the inner side of the red wall was the Thousand-step Gallery, made up of 144 rooms holding writs and archives. When in 1913 the Gallery was torn down by the Beiyang Government, the square was enlarged to 11.3 hectares. Outside the wall, two blocks of government ministries flanked the Square. 'To the east, among others, stood the Ministries of Rites, Industry, Population, and Medicine, and to the west, the Departments of the Five Armies, Imperial Guard, Police, and Justice. A popular saying went: "Those to the east govern our lives; those to the west govern our death (Fig. 5.2)."¹⁵

The Square connected Qianmen Avenue to the south with the city's east-west orientated

¹² Wu, Hung. 'Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments'. *Representation*, No. 35 (Summer, 1991), pp. 84-177.

¹³ Hershkovitz, Linda. 'Tiananmen Square and the Politics of Place'. *Political Geography*, Vol. 12, No. 5 (September, 1993), pp. 395-420.

¹⁴ Samuels, Marwyn S., and Carmencita M. Samuels. 'Beijing and the Power of Place in Modern China', in Agnew, John A. and James S. Duncan, eds. *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations* (London, Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 202-227.

¹⁵ Wu, Hung. 'Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments'. *Representation*, No. 35 (Summer, 1991), p. 91.

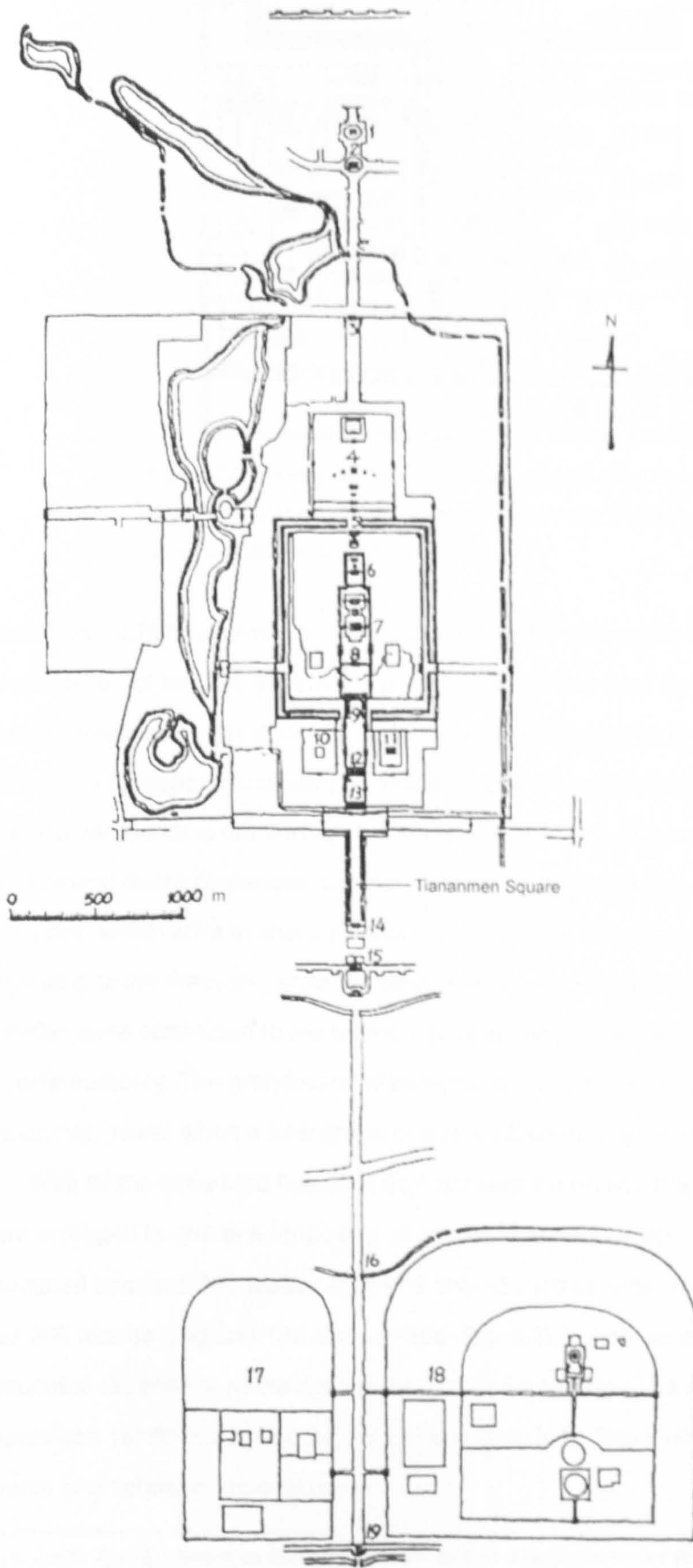


Figure 5.1 The central axis of the Imperial City, Beijing, in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)

1. Zhonglou
2. Gulou
3. Di'an Gate
4. Jingshan Hill
5. Shenwu Gate
6. Qianqing Palace
7. Taihe Palace
8. Taihe Gate
9. Wu Gate
10. Altars of Soil and Grain
11. Ancestral Temple
12. Duan Gate
13. Tiananmen
14. Daqing Gate
15. Zhengyang Gate
16. Bridge
17. Xiannong Altar
18. Temple of Heaven
19. Yongding Gate

Source: Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Tiananmen guangchang de guihua he sheji' [The planning and design of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场的规划和设计. *Jianzhushi Lunwen Ji*, 2 (1979), p. 15.

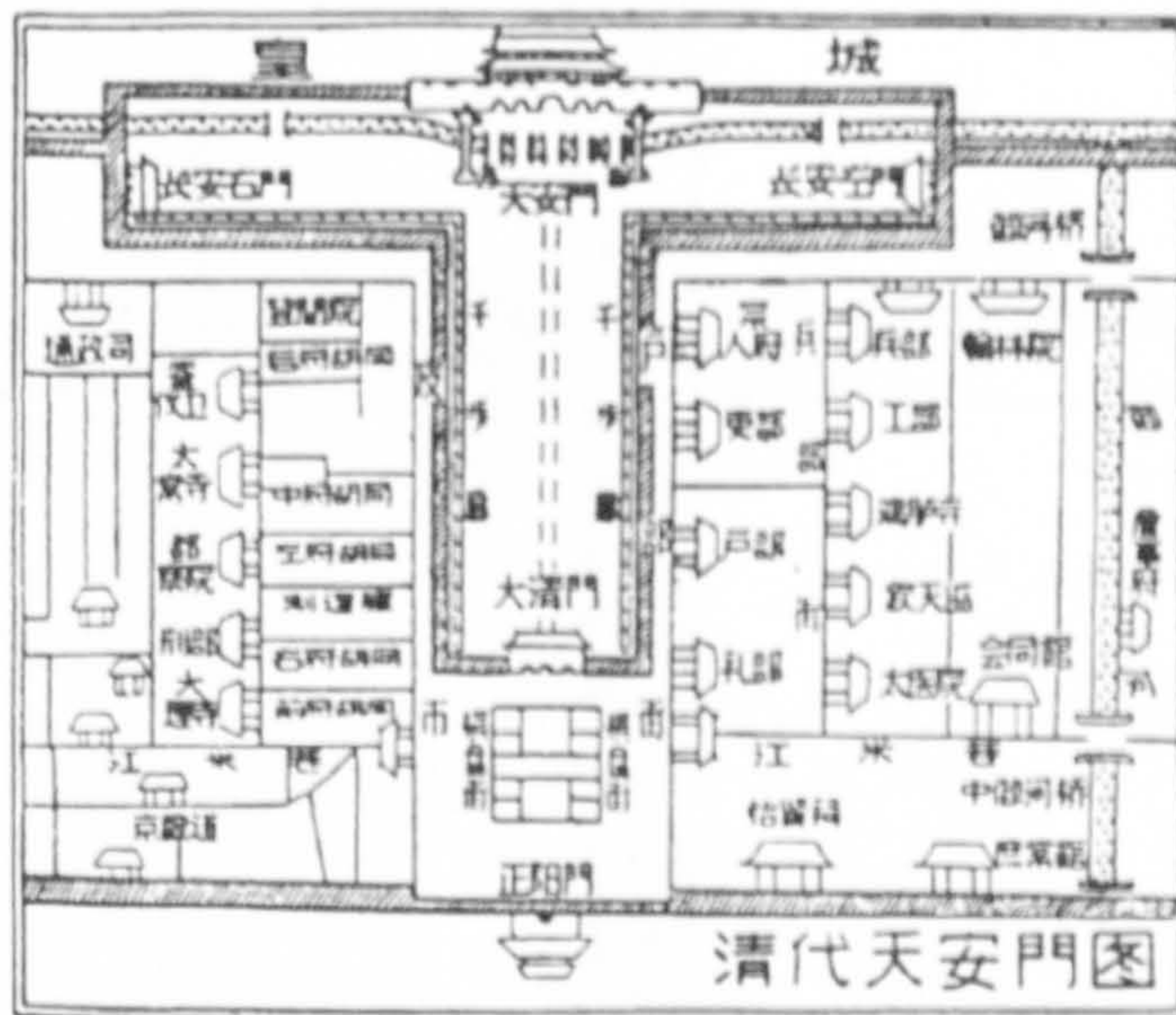


Figure 5.2 Drawing of Tiananmen Square of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)

Source: Zhao, Dongri 赵冬日. 'Tiananmen Guangchang' [Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, Z1 (1959), p. 18.

arterial road, Chang'an Avenue. Although the Square seemed to be a crucial point for the transportation of the city, the entry was restricted. Rather than for transportation, the Square was actually almost solely for ritual activities. Only the emperor and the empress could walk along the central axis for special occasions.¹⁶ The east arm of the Square was for celebrating the Number One Scholar standing out through the imperial examinations, and the west arm was related to the review of death sentences. Ordinary people could only access the Square on these two occasions, which were in sharp contrast to each other. One was with the expectation of ascending to the 'heaven', while the other was disastrously down to the 'hell'. While these activities were connected to the ordinary people, they were nonetheless fully controlled by the imperial authority. The grandest of all ceremonies was the issuing of imperial edicts on the Tiananmen Tower when a new emperor was enthroned or a royal heir was born.¹⁷

With all the integrated functions and activities for royalty, the spaces of the T-shaped square were arranged to create a forbidding atmosphere to strengthen authority. The north-south orientated axis was 540 metres long and only 65 metres wide. The east-west orientated space was 365 metres long and 125 metres wide (Fig. 5.3).¹⁸ The varied dimensions provided a sequential experience of the spaces that created a feeling of harshness and an unusual stern impression, reinforced by the lack of planting (Fig. 5.4). This landscape treatment served of course to emphasise imperial power.

¹⁶ Su, Zemin 苏则民. 'Tiananmen Guangchang gajian he guihua de jingyan tantao' [Investigations of the experience in Tiananmen Square's reconstruction and planning] 天安门广场改建和规划的经验探讨. (unpublished Master of Architecture Thesis, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University, 1965), p. 4.

¹⁷ Wu, Hung. 'Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments'. *Representation*, No. 35 (Summer, 1991), p. 91.

¹⁸ Su, Zemin 苏则民. 'Tiananmen Guangchang gajian he guihua de jingyan tantao' [Investigations of the experience in Tiananmen Square's reconstruction and planning] 天安门广场改建和规划的经验探讨. (unpublished Master of Architecture Thesis, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University, 1965), p. 5.

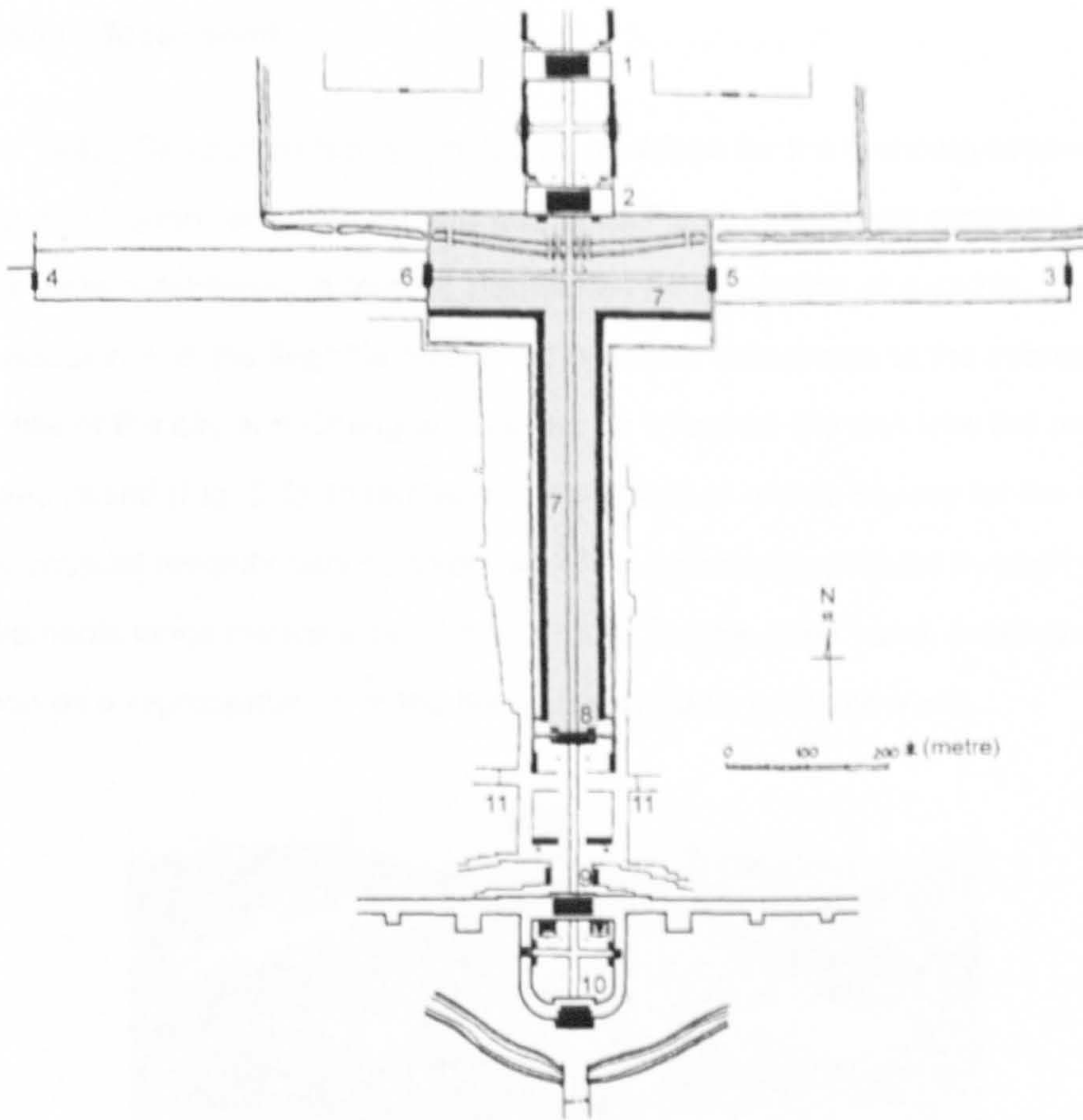


Figure 5.3 Plan of Tiananmen Square in late Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)

- | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Duan Gate | 5 Chang'an Left Gate | 9 Zhengyang Gate |
| 2 Tiananmen | 6 Chang'an Right Gate | 10 Jianlou |
| 3 East Three Gates | 7 Thousand-step Gallery | 11 Memorial archway |
| 4 West Three Gates | 8 Daqing Gate (Zhonghua Gate) | |

Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.



Figure 5.4 Tiananmen and Thousand-step Gallery (seen from the south) (before 1913).

Source: Fu, Gongyue 傅公铨, ed. *Beijing lao chengmen* [The old city gates of Beijing] 北京老城门. (Beijing: Beijing Meishu Sheying Chubanshe, 2002), p.22.

The new nation's focal point

On 1 October 1949, Tiananmen Square took on a new face for the founding ceremony of the PRC. Litter on the Square was cleared and weeds on Tiananmen Tower removed. At the same time, terraces were established in front of Tiananmen for inspection of parades. The most outstanding addition was the flagpole positioned opposite Tiananmen at the intersection of the north-south axis of the city and Chang'an Avenue, on which for the first time the national flag of new China was raised (Fig. 5.5). In retrospect, the selection of this Square for the event affirmed the Square's unusual revolutionary tradition, which had gradually evolved through the various political movements since the early twentieth century. On the other hand, it demanded further transformation as a representation of the socialist revolution in the new era.

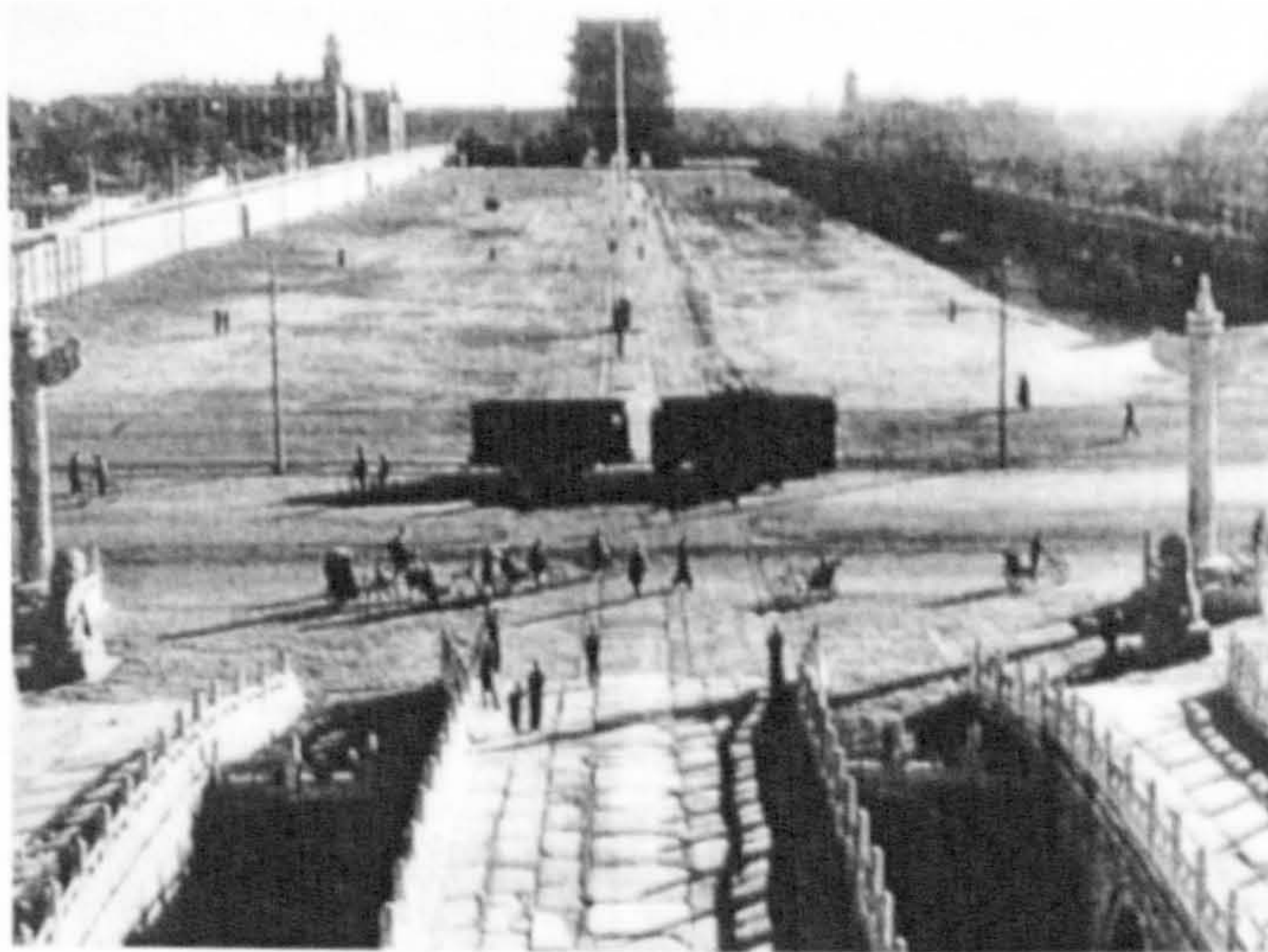


Figure 5.5 Tiananmen Square (1949-1950) (seen from north). A flagpole was established at the intersection of the north-south axis and Chang'an Avenue.

Source: Editorial Board of *Great changes of the capital* 《古都巨变》画册编委会, ed. *Gudu jubian – Beijing chengshi jianshe 50 nian* [Great changes of the capital – the 50 years' construction of Beijing] 古都巨变——北京城市建设 50 年. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1999).

Commemorating the past: the issue of a monument

As early as March 1949, when Beijing was liberated from the governance of Nationalists, it was decided that a Monument to the People's Heroes should be built to commemorate the martyrs who devoted themselves for the socialist undertaking of new China, and in Premier Zhou Enlai's words, 'to commemorate the dead and to invigorate the living'.¹⁹ A majority of communist leaders favoured Tiananmen Square as the location for the Monument. Although it was also suggested that it should be somewhere else, it was clear that the Square was the most ideal

¹⁹ In the speech delivered in the founding ceremony of the Monument to the People's Heroes on 30 September 1949. See Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Tiananmen guangchang de guihua he sheji' [The planning and design of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场的规划和设计. *Jianzhushi Lunwen Ji*, 2 (1979), p. 19.

place for accommodating the Monument because of the Square's central position in the revolutionary tradition. However, the exact location of the Monument in the Square continued to be debated. Various options were considered, all of which were located along the north-south axis of the Square, or of the imperial city (Fig. 5.6). While it was considered a paradox to use the sacred imperial axis for the new purpose,²⁰ it could be expected that to take advantage of the old central axis was the only way to strengthen the importance of the new Monument. Among the options was a proposal to remove the superstructure of Duan Gate and build the Monument on the remnant pedestal (Fig. 5.6, a), another proposal for a similar treatment was suggested for Front Gate (Fig. 5.6, e). However, these suggestions of mixing the 'new' with the 'old' were rejected, as they were referred to as 'grotesque' by Mao.²¹ Thus, the Monument was to be located within the space and separated from the surrounding building structures of the Square, but three options remained by August, just prior to the founding ceremony of the PRC scheduled on 1 October 1949. One was for the intersection of the north-south axis and the east-west axis of the then Xirongxian Lane (Fig. 5.6, c). The other two options were either to the north nearer to

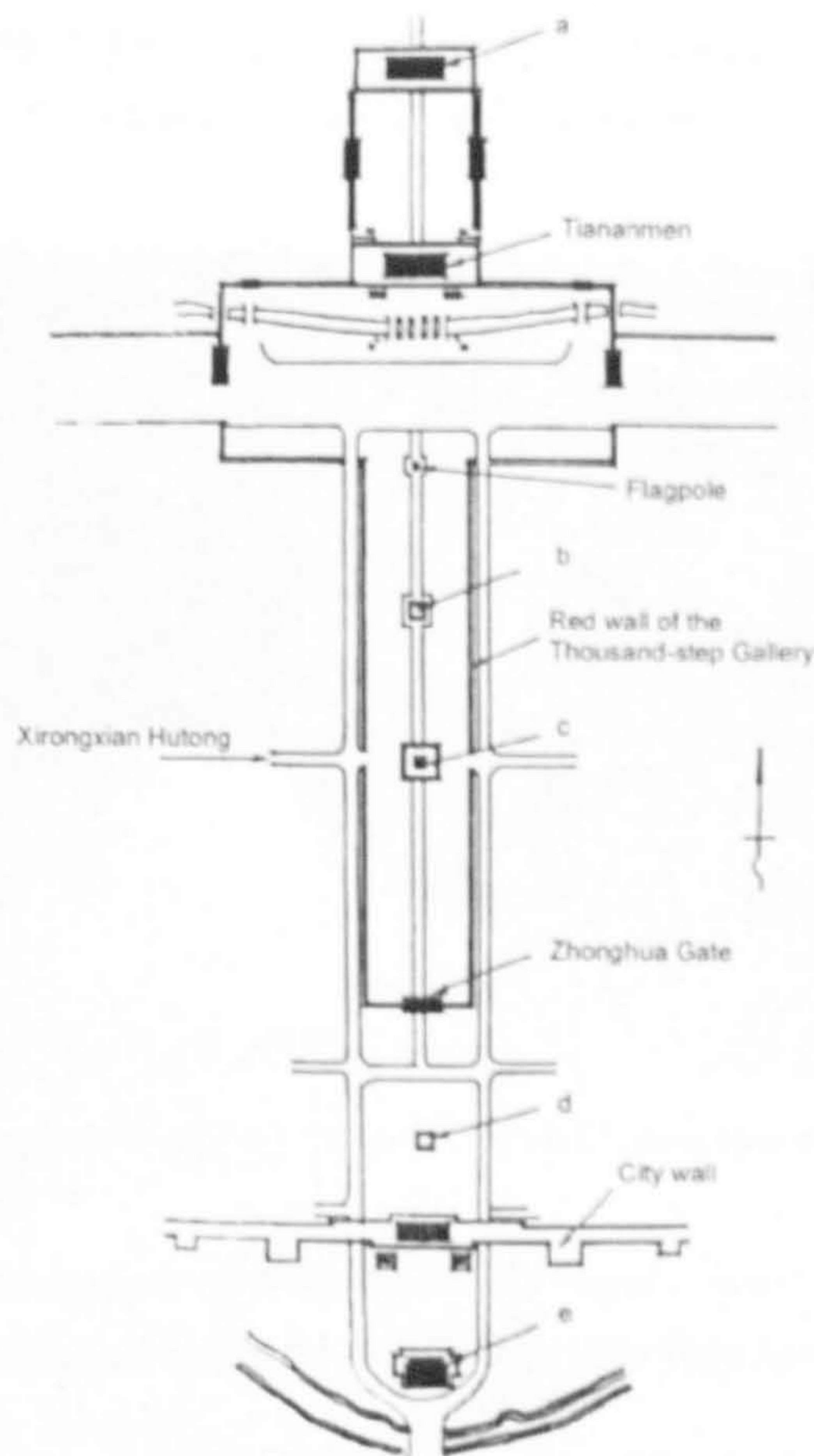


Figure 5.6 The five options (a, b, c, d, e) for the location of the Monument to the People's Heroes

Source: Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Tiananmen guangchang de guihua he sheji' [The planning and design of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场的规划和设计. *Jianzhushi Lunwen Ji*, 2 (1979), p. 18.

²⁰ Samuels, Marwyn S., and Carmencita M. Samuels. 'Beijing and the Power of Place in Modern China', in Agnew, John A. and James S. Duncan, eds. *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations* (London, Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 220.

²¹ Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Renmin Yingxiong Jinianbei de chuanguo chengjiu' [The design achievements of the Monument to the People's Heroes] 人民英雄纪念碑的创作成就. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 2 (1978), p. 4.

Tiananmen (Fig. 5.6, b) or to the south between Zhonghua Gate and Zhengyang Gate (Fig. 5.6, d), but nobody dared to take a final decision for this sensitive issue that determined the destiny of the Square. The final decision was taken by Premier Zhou Enlai, who rushed the issue and who after listening to the report by the Construction Bureau, expressed the preference to position it in the middle.²² Without challenging the leading officials' authority and their personal preferences, the process of decision taking maintained a hierarchical (social) system as was ingrained in the Confucian tradition.

The proposed location of the Monument was officially approved in the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) held on 30 September 1949, the day before the national founding ceremony, and the foundation stone was then laid (Fig. 5.7). Additionally, an inscription for the Monument was composed for the occasion, which clearly demonstrated the aim of its establishment:

Eternal glory to the people's heroes who laid down their lives in the people's War of Liberation and the people's revolution in the past three years. Eternal glory to the people's heroes who laid down their lives in the people's War of Liberation and the people's revolution over the past thirty years. Eternal glory to the people's heroes who from 1840 laid down their lives in the many struggles against internal and external enemies for national independence and the freedom and well-being of the people.²³



Figure 5.7 Chairman Mao laying the foundation stone for the Monument to the People's Heroes in Tiananmen Square on 30 September 1949.

Source: 'The foundation stone laying ceremony for the Monument to the People's Heroes' 人民英雄纪念碑奠基. *Guangming Daily* (1 October, 2006). http://www.gmw.cn/01qmr/2006-10/01/content_488281.htm, accessed on 10/02/2008.

²² Dong, Guangqi 董光器. 'Tiananmen Guangchang Jishi' [Some records of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场纪事, in Urban Planning Society of China, ed. *Wushinian huimou – xingzhongguo de chengshi guihua* [Fifty years' retrospect – Urban planning of the new China] 五十年回眸——新中国的城市规划. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshu Guan, 1999), pp. 509-510. Chinese official publications praised Zhou for making the decision deliberatively on his own initiative. See Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Renmin Yingxiong Jiniandai de chuanguo chengjiu' [The design achievements of the Monument to the People's Heroes] 人民英雄纪念碑的创作成就. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 2 (1978), p. 4. Repeated in Wu, Hung. 'Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments'. *Representation*, No. 35 (Summer, 1991), p. 96, that Premier Zhou 'worked hard on the issue. He took special trips to Tiananmen tower, from where he contemplated the Square and studied the relationship between Tiananmen and the future Monument in terms of their distance and relative proportion. He finally arrived at the decision to build the Monument in the middle between Tiananmen and Zhengyang Gate on the central axis.'

²³ Translation quoted from Wu, Hung. 'Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments'. *Representation*, No. 35 (Summer, 1991), p. 98.

Looking into the future: the failure of Liang-Chen Plan

The subsequent development of Tiananmen Square during the several decades after the founding of the PRC revealed various political forces. A visiting group of Soviet specialists in 1950 suggested that the new socialist administrative organ should be within the centre of the old Beijing city and Tiananmen Square would be a crucial part of the centre (Fig. 5.8). But this was exactly what the Liang-Chen Plan (1950), produced by Professor Liang Sicheng (1901-1972) and Professor Chen Zhanxiang (1916-2001),²⁴ tried to avoid (Fig. 5.9). The Plan was a preservation proposal inspired by Patrick Abercrombie's 1944 *Greater London Plan*.²⁵ Taking the whole city into consideration, Liang and Chen argued that the old Tiananmen Square, together with the imperial city, should be deliberately preserved, because old Beijing was a unique masterpiece in urban planning and design in the world.²⁶ They believed that its preservation could not be accomplished with the Soviet plan, and advised that the new administrative core should be shifted to a site just beyond the western wall of the imperial city. This was based on the conviction that there was not enough space left in the old city to accommodate a huge administrative organ. On the contrary, by inserting this 'new' into the 'old' as the Soviet plan did, it was inevitable to do great harm to the perfection of the existing urban fabric and the new development would be at the same time much affected and restricted. It was therefore impossible to be satisfactory to both 'new' and 'old'.

By separating the administrative core from the old city centre, the old imperial city could be effectively kept and there would be excellent opportunities for future enhancements. The entire imperial city was to be an extraordinary museum, like the Acropolis. The 39.75 kilometres long city wall would be incorporated into the structure of the new socialist city as an elevated linear public park, which would be one of the most extraordinary parks in the world. The top of the wall would become a public promenade, interspersed with gardens of potted plants and open-air restaurants. Former towers on the wall would be converted into galleries, museums, exhibition spaces, shops, and so on.²⁷ Meanwhile, Tiananmen Square would be a good centre for celebration and cultural activities, rather than a political centre.

However, the Liang-Chen Plan was rejected due to heavy criticisms. First, it opposed the Soviet plan, which was an offence against the 'Leaning to One Side' Policy. As the Soviet

²⁴ Liang Sicheng (1901-1972) got his Master of Architecture degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1927 and thereafter studied in Harvard University. Chen Zhanxiang (1916-2001), known in the West as Charles Chen, got his Master of Architecture degree from the University of Liverpool in 1943 and later studied in University College London.

²⁵ Abercrombie, Patrick. *Greater London Plan, 1944: A Report Prepared on Behalf of the Standing Conference on London Regional Planning* (London: HMSO, 1945).

²⁶ Liang, Sicheng 梁思成. 'Beijing – dushi jihua de wubi jiezuo' [Beijing – a masterpiece of urban design] 北京——都市计划的无比杰作. In Zuo, Chuan, and Zheng Guangzhong, eds. *Beijing chengshi guihua yanjiu lunwen ji* [A research anthology of Beijing city planning] 北京城市规划研究论文集. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1996), pp. 21-29.

²⁷ Liang, Sicheng 梁思成. 'Beijing – dushi jihua de wubi jiezuo' [Beijing – a masterpiece of urban design] 北京——都市计划的无比杰作. In Zuo, Chuan, and Zheng Guangzhong, eds. *Beijing chengshi guihua yanjiu lunwen ji* [A research anthology of Beijing city planning] 北京城市规划研究论文集. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1996), p. 27.



Figure 5.8 The Soviet plan in 1950 for the development of Beijing city

Source: Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: chengshi guihua I* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of the PRC: Planning I] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 城市规划. Vol. 1 (1995, 2nd ed.), p. 5.

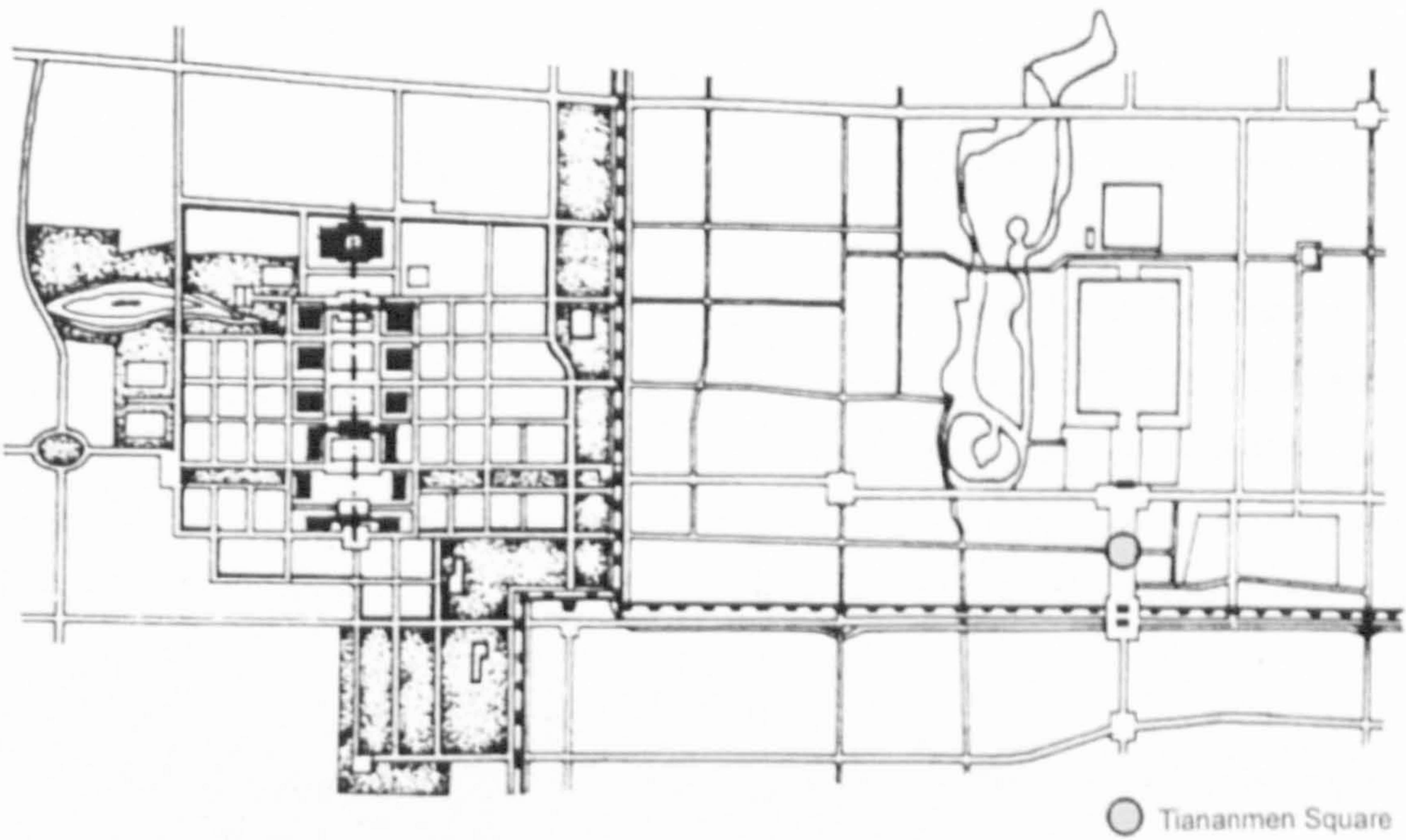


Figure 5.9 Liang-Chen Plan produced in 1950

Source: Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: chengshi guihua I* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of the PRC: Planning I] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 城市规划. Vol. 1 (1995, 2nd ed.), p. 7.

experiences were to be generally followed, it was clear that the Soviet plan should be accepted without any question. The Soviet plan had been based on experience in the reconstruction of Moscow: the idea of preserving the old Moscow to be a museum and developing a new city in the suburban area had been criticized by Stalin as the unrealistic dream of the petty bourgeoisie.²⁸ Secondly, the issue of expense was raised and it was considered to be economical to carry out the construction based on the old city, since the existing infrastructure could be taken advantage of. Thirdly, it was suggested that the people in the old city did not want to move outside the old city.²⁹ Fourthly, while there was a common concern for improving the ordinary people's living conditions in the old city, the Liang-Chen Plan was regarded as preserving the entire imperial heritage intact, together with the squalidness left by the successive wars. Chen Gan, a colleague of Professor Liang Sicheng in the Urban Planning Committee at that time, continued his criticism much later:

It was quite interesting to keep the old Beijing as a great exhibition hall for the art of architecture, but it was impossible to implement. Only the excessive litter in the old city was enough to prove it to be a mirage... The old architecture was indeed nice, but how could Chinese have a glorious face if it was appreciated within a dustheap?³⁰

The execrable old artefacts were regarded as a factor for losing face and a cause of humiliation when they would constitute an image of world attention. The old city therefore had to be transformed to demonstrate the power of the new regime and the well-being of the society as well. It was meanwhile deemed that, if the new city were constructed in the western suburban area, there would be unbalanced development between the 'new' and the 'old', inevitably leaving the old city in an even worse situation. Also, it was argued that in the Liang-Chen Plan the significance of Tiananmen Square was denied by establishing another new city centre. While Chairman Mao declared the founding of the PRC on the rostrum of Tiananmen, the Square became 'the symbol of our great mother country and was what thousands upon thousands of people yearned for'.³¹ Therefore, the Square would no doubt be the absolute core of the city. Its importance should not be undermined in any circumstances. But unfortunately, all these reasons in favour of rejection of the Liang-Chen Plan were questioned and claimed to be untenable in a

²⁸ Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction 北京建设史书编辑委员会编辑部. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: chengshi guihua I* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions from the founding of the PRC: city planning I] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 城市规划 I (1995, 2nd ed.), p. 167.

²⁹ Interview with Chen Gan, on 17 April 1987, cited in Gao, Yilan 高亦兰, ed. *Liang Sicheng xueshu sixiang yanjiu lunwenji* [A research anthology of Liang Sicheng's academic thoughts] 梁思成学术思想研究论文集. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1996), p. 52.

³⁰ Quoted from Wang, Jun 王军. '1950 niandai: dui Liang-Chen fang'an de lishi kaocha' [The 1950s: the historical investigation of Liang-Chen Plan] 1950年代: 对梁陈方案的历史考察. *Shiji Zhongguo* (<http://www.cc.org.cn>), (2002). Author's translation.

³¹ Su, Zemin 苏则民. 'Tiananmen Guangchang gajian he guihua de jingyan tantao' [Investigations of the experience in Tiananmen Square's reconstruction and planning] 天安门广场改建和规划的检验探讨. (unpublished Master of Architecture Thesis, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University, 1965), p. 1.

re-evaluation about fifty years later.³²

No matter how intense the debates were, no matter to what extent they were related to the professional or political considerations, and no matter which side was correct or wrong, the preference for the Soviet plan was most probably that of Chairman Mao's. The director of the Soviet group, Abramov once disclosed that Mao thought that the new government should be located within the old city and Mao was satisfied with the Soviet plan when he saw it for the first time.³³ On the contrary, he was angry with the Liang-Chen Plan: 'I heard that a professor wanted to drive us out of the city?'³⁴ 'While those emperors could be accommodated in Zhongnanhai, why could not I do the same?'³⁵ Thus, it turned out that Chairman Mao's absolute authority led to and at the same time well matched a single centre in Beijing.

Following the selected location of the new administrative core, Tiananmen Square became the focal point for political purposes in the city. Official prescriptions and political demands continued to have their full play in the subsequent transformations.

Chang'an Avenue: a new east-west axis of the city

With the prospect of the development of the Square, theoretical support was first sought from classical communist documents, i.e. the attribute of 'zero' in analytic geometry expounded in *Dialectics of Nature* by Frederick Engels:

Zero, because it is the negation of any definite quantity, is not therefore devoid of content. On the contrary, zero has a very definite content... But now for analytical geometry. Here zero is a definite point from which measurements are taken along a line, in one direction positively, in the other negatively. Here, therefore, the zero point has not only just as much significance as any point denoted by a positive or negative magnitude, but a much greater significance than all of them: it is the point on which they are all dependent, to which they are all related, and by which they are all determined.³⁶

While the Forbidden City acted as the zero point, i.e. the centre, of the old imperial city and provided a reference for the remaining urban fabric, the new Tiananmen Square, where the founding ceremony took place, should become the new reference for the development of the

³² See Wang, Jun 王军. '1950 niandai: dui Liang-Chen fang'an de lishi kaocha' [The 1950s: the historical investigation of Liang-Chen Plan] 1950年代: 对梁陈方案的历史考察. *Shiji Zhongguo* (<http://www.cc.org.cn>), (2002).

³³ Interview with Ma Ju, the secretary of Peng Zhen who was the then mayor of Beijing Municipal Government, on 20 August 1999, cited in Wang, Jun 王军. '1950 niandai: dui Liang-Chen fang'an de lishi kaocha' [The 1950s: the historical investigation of Liang-Chen Plan] 1950年代: 对梁陈方案的历史考察. *Shiji Zhongguo* (<http://www.cc.org.cn>), (2002).

³⁴ Interview with Liang Congjie, the son of Professor Liang Sicheng, on 5 July 1994, cited in Wang, Jun 王军. '1950 niandai: dui Liang-Chen fang'an de lishi kaocha' [The 1950s: the historical investigation of Liang-Chen Plan] 1950年代: 对梁陈方案的历史考察. *Shiji Zhongguo* (<http://www.cc.org.cn>), (2002).

³⁵ Interview with Lin Zhu, the wife of Professor Liang Sicheng, on 8 August 2000, cited in Wang, Jun 王军. '1950 niandai: dui Liang-Chen fang'an de lishi kaocha' [The 1950s: the historical investigation of Liang-Chen Plan] 1950年代: 对梁陈方案的历史考察. *Shiji Zhongguo* (<http://www.cc.org.cn>), (2002).

³⁶ Engels, Frederick. *Dialectics of Nature*, trans. and ed. by Clemens Dutt (London: Lawrence and Wishart, Ltd., 1941), pp. 251-253.

new city. More precisely, for the establishment of the new order, for the construction of the Square, and for the future of the city, the new flagpole, the remarkable addition to the Square for the founding ceremony, was the zero of coordinates, the point of departure (Fig. 5.10).

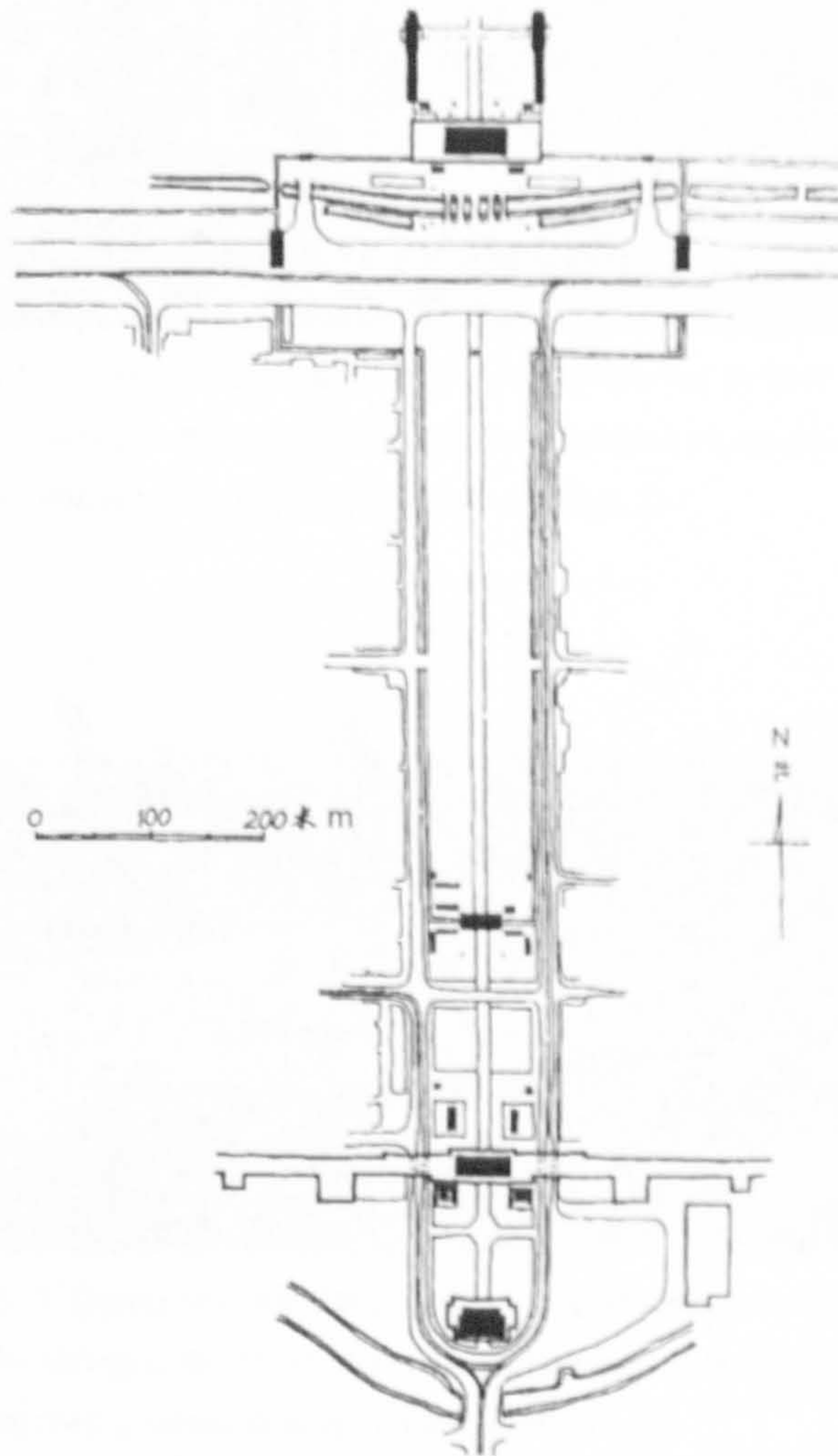


Figure 5.10 Plan of Tiananmen Square (1950-1951).

Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.

As aforementioned, the flagpole was placed at the intersection of the north-south axis of the city and Chang'an Avenue. While the north-south axis had existed for hundreds of years, the east-west axis was then not evident, although Chang'an Avenue, traditionally not accessible for the general public, had been opened as an urban thoroughfare since the founding of the Republic of China in 1912. Chang'an Avenue was thus subjected to new development, but which first of all meant that mass destruction was directed towards the inherited old artefacts on the land, to 'liberate' the new layout of the restrictions. Walls, gates and memorial archways along the Avenue were demolished: the east and the west 'Three Gates' and their associated red walls were destroyed in 1950; Chang'an Left Gate (Fig. 5.11) and Right Gate (Fig. 5.12) at both arms of the old T-shaped Square were eradicated in August 1952.

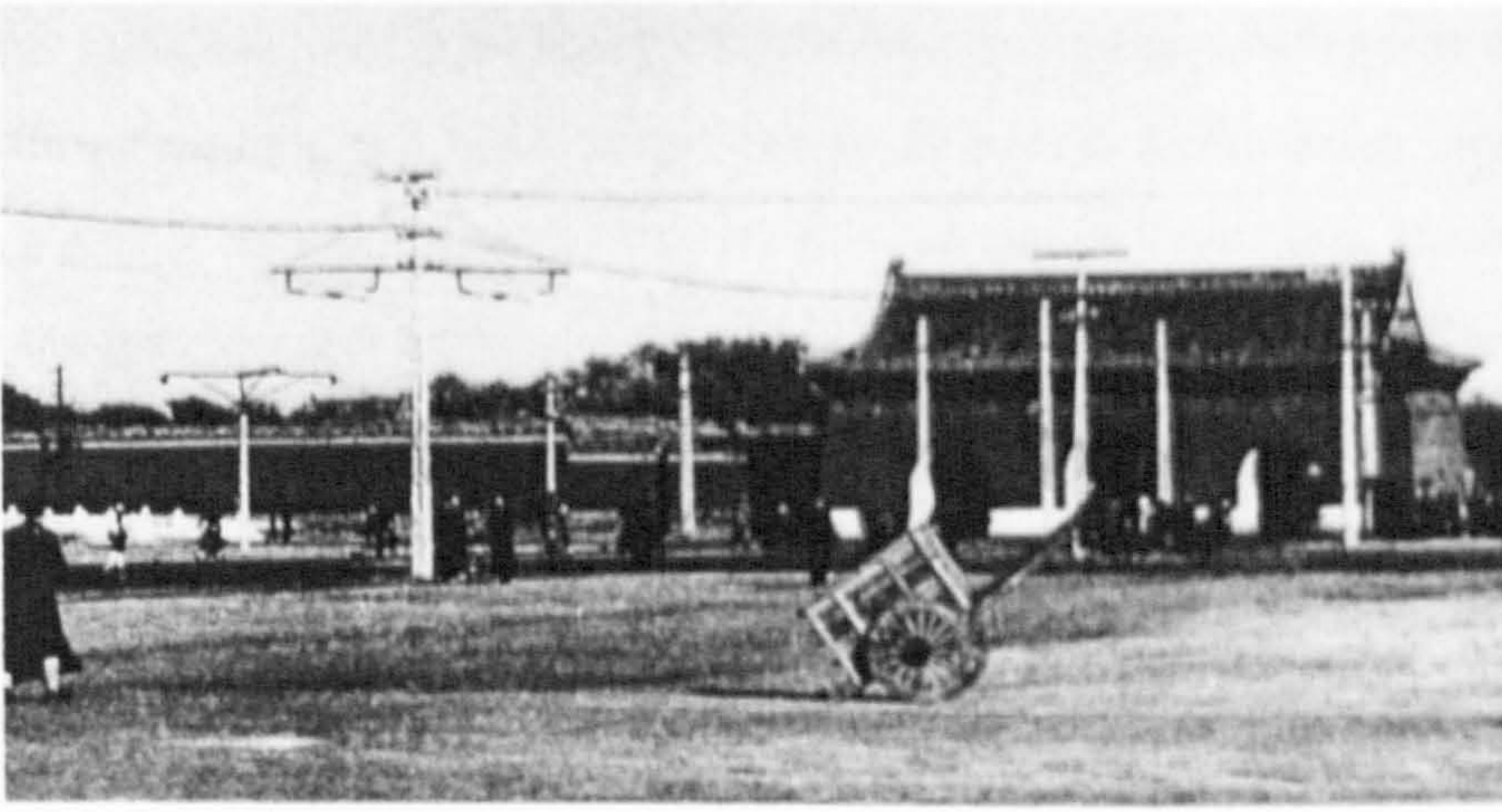


Figure 5.11 Chang'an Left Gate, which was demolished in 1952.

Source: Fu, Gongyue 傅公铎, ed. *Beijing lao chengmen* [The old city gates of Beijing] 北京老城 []. (Beijing: Beijing Meishu Sheying Chubanshe, 2002), p. 21.

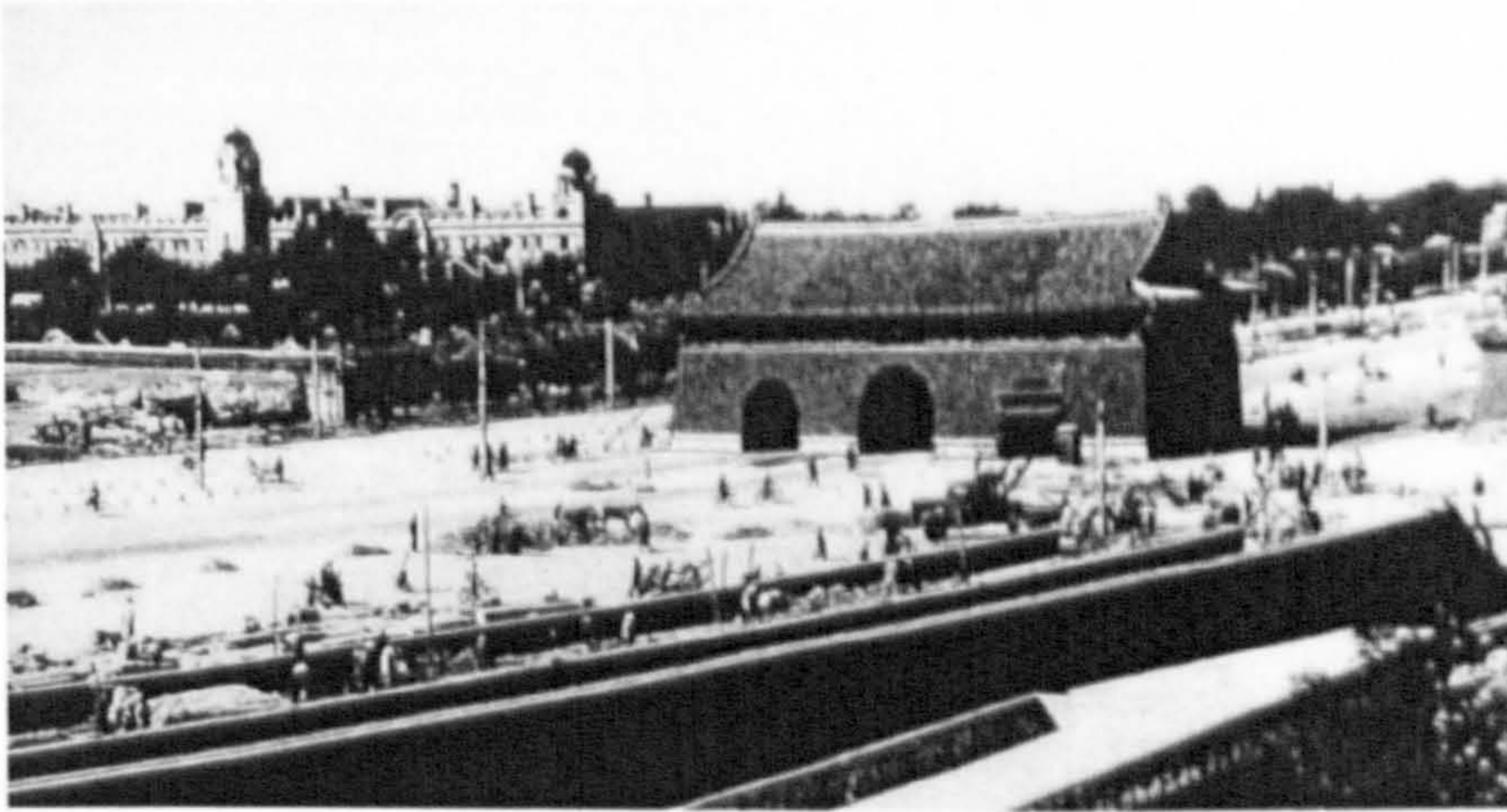


Figure 5.12 Chang'an Right Gate, which was demolished in 1952.

Source: Fu, Gongyue 傅公铎, ed. *Beijing lao chengmen* [The old city gates of Beijing] 北京老城 []. (Beijing: Beijing Meishu Sheying Chubanshe, 2002), p. 21.

The commonly rehearsed argument for the destructions along Chang'an Avenue was seen to be to accommodate the envisioned heavy traffic, but greatly exceeded reasonable estimates. While there was also massive demolition elsewhere in the old city, other reasons included the need of building materials. But this was considered not very convincing, and regrettably, 'it is rather remarkable that nobody seems to know the true reasons for a job that took so much effort and so many people and lasted for so many years'.³⁷ 'The common mind could hardly understand the reason for this massive destruction: the land freed from these ancient buildings seemed incommensurate with the energy and manpower wasted in the project'.³⁸

In fact, the demolition could not be properly understood without taking into account the need to represent the political power of the new era. In effect, Chang'an Left Gate and Right Gate caused difficulties in the display of power when parades passed through them. The procession

³⁷ Leys, Simon. *Chinese Shadows* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), p. 57.

³⁸ Wu, Hung. 'Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments'. *Representation*, No. 35 (Summer, 1991), p. 88.

had to be split at Left Gate, only to be reunited in the Square through which it was hard to maintain an ordered pattern. As a result, it was unlikely to provide a convincing ceremony, particularly as a similar disorder occurred on exiting the square at Right Gate. Moreover, in order to get through the gateway, the army flags in the procession had to be lowered, thus bending their 'heads', which aroused serious issues.³⁹ This was seen as an offence caused by the 'old' towards the 'new', since the 'new' was physically lower than the 'old'. To lower a head in front of an old imperial Gate in order to pass through was unacceptable, and reveals the traditional concern for 'face'. Added to the facts that they indeed caused traffic accidents and therefore inconvenience for new developments, prior to their demolition, the Gates were criticized for their 'crimes' against the people in organized mass meetings.⁴⁰ After ground was cleared and buildings demolished, it became a representative location for the display of power (Fig. 5.13), as well as an ideal location for mass parades during festivals (Fig. 5.14).

The Monument to the People's Heroes

To establish the Monument

After the decision to build a monument in the Square, its design was discussed and revised on numerous occasions. More than 1,000 architects, landscape architects, artists and engineers were mobilized to take participation in the design and more than 240 design proposals were submitted from all over the nation.⁴¹ It took nearly a decade for the design and construction of the first phase. Construction began in August 1952, with the Monument being unveiled on 1 May 1958. The approved inscription in the First Plenary Session of the CPPCC provided a significant symbolic function in the design. In Chinese traditional gardens, inscriptions provided stories, shaped narratives, stimulated memory, or recorded merits and virtues, and were indispensable to carry meanings and generate mental imagery. Due to the prominence of the inscriptions that formed such a traditional feature in traditional gardens, other related practices followed and were incorporated in new projects.

General forms of the proposed monument were explored (Fig. 5.15), which may be related to four options for the monument that were categorised as 'low and concentrated' (Fig. 5.15, a-c); 'low and dispersed' (Fig. 5.15, d); 'high and dispersed' (Fig. 5.15, e); and 'high and concentrated'

³⁹ Su, Zemin 苏则民. 'Tiananmen Guangchang gajian he guihua de jingyan tantao' [Investigations of the experience in Tiananmen Square's reconstruction and planning] 天安门广场改建和规划的经验探讨. (unpublished Master of Architecture Thesis, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University, 1965), p. 14; Interview with Professor Gao Yilan, 21 November, 2004.

⁴⁰ Gao, Yilan 高亦兰, ed. *Liang Sicheng xueshu sixiang yanjiu lunwenji* [A research anthology of Liang Sicheng's academic thoughts] 梁思成学术思想研究论文集. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1996), p. 54.

⁴¹ Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction 北京建设史书编辑委员会编辑部. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: fangwu jianzhu I* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions from the founding of the PRC: architecture I] 建国以来的北京城市建设资料: 房屋建筑 I, Vol. 5. (1992), p. 80.



Figure 5.13 The military review of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the PRC along Chang'an Avenue on National Day (1 October), 1954.

Source: <http://pop.6park.com/life10/messages/45664.html>, accessed on 31/12/2007



Figure 5.14 The Dragon Lantern Dance along Chang'an Avenue on National Day.

Source: Chen, Han-seng. 'The story of Tien An Men'. *China Reconstructs*, Vol. VII, No. 5 (May 1958), p. 22.

(Fig. 5.15, f-o). The low-rise option intended to provide an intimate scale, and would have appealed as a symbol for the ordinary masses, but was rejected, because it was deemed difficult and unsuitable to 'best represent the lofty spirit and unsurpassable achievements of the people's heroes'.⁴² The Monument should therefore instead serve as a connection to the revolutionary past rather than a statement of the present. It was notable that, as the Monument would stand on the central axis, with a concern about the town planning tradition, there was an opinion 'that the view along the central axis should not be blocked'.⁴³ Consequently, a 'low and dispersed'

⁴² Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Renmin Yingxiong Jinianbei de chuanguo chengjiu' [The design achievements of the Monument to the People's Heroes] 人民英雄纪念碑的创作成就. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 2 (1978), p. 5.

⁴³ Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Renmin Yingxiong Jinianbei de chuanguo chengjiu' [The design achievements of the Monument to the People's Heroes] 人民英雄纪念碑的创作成就. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 2 (1978), p. 5.

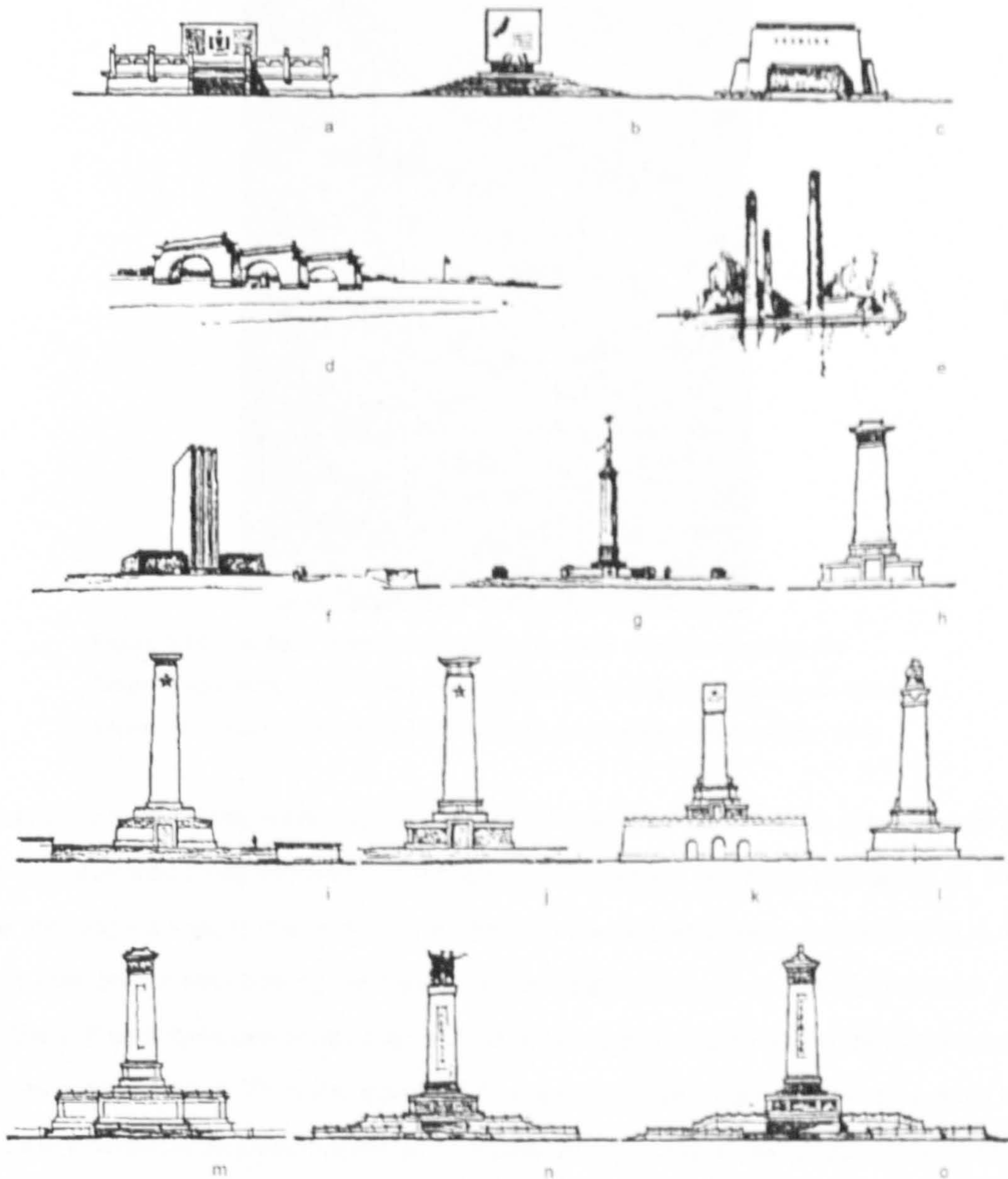


Figure 5.15 Proposed designs for the Monument to the People's Heroes

Source: Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Renmin Yingxiong Jinianbei de chuanguo chengjiu' [The design achievements of the Monument to the People's Heroes] 人民英雄纪念碑的创作成就. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 2 (1978), pp. 6-7.

proposal consisted of a series of traditional style gateways straddling the axis (Fig. 5.15, d). But this was rejected also, as it was criticized for simply copying old traditional forms and not enough to embody the spirit of the new era. Additionally, it was obvious that in this case it was problematic as there was no obvious space to carry the inscription, so important for the Monument.

Indeed, it was most probably the role of the inscription that resulted in the preference for the 'high and concentrated' category, which meant a single solid column. Several principal officials in the Central Committee suggested that the Longevity Hill Stele in the Summer Palace and the Jade Island in Spring Shade Stele at the foot of White Pagoda Mountain in Beihai (Fig. 5.16), all



Figure 5.16 The Jade Island in Spring Shade Stele, with inscription by the Emperor Qianlong (1711-1799), at the foot of White Pagoda Mountain in Beihai.

Source: Sirén, Osvald. *The Gardens of China* (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1949).

with distinctive inscriptions, were examples that might be emulated.⁴⁴ Thus the shape of the Monument appeared to be determined by traditional examples. But there was again an attempt to save the long view along the axis. Routes through the pedestal were proposed (Fig. 5.15, k), but were rejected for not obeying the logic of an architectural structure of a solid column on a hollow base. It was therefore considered not stable enough to match and embody the people's heroes' indomitable spirit. Thus the Monument turned out to be a solid column on a solid base.

As the inscription was to be given considerable significance, it was prepared by Premier Zhou Enlai, because he was especially skilled in traditional Yan style calligraphy⁴⁵ (Fig. 5.17). On 9 June 1955, Chairman Mao wrote a further eight characters for the Monument, which read 'Eternal Glory to the People's Heroes' (Fig. 5.18), and was engraved on the main north elevation of the Monument, with Zhou's inscription on the south side. It was notable that the Monument was orientated to north, violating the classical rule of traditional architecture and town planning which determines buildings to face south. Thus the Monument was perceived as being at the south end of the north-south axis of the imperial city. Also, it has been observed that this proposal had special political significance for the urban development, as it resulted in the juxtaposition of the Monument and Tiananmen, thereby embracing the Square in the middle at the time to become a self-contained unit and the absolute centre of the new Beijing as well as the

⁴⁴ Zheng, Guangzhong 郑光中. 'Xinling de fengbei – cong Liang Sicheng xiansheng de shougao 'Renmin Yingxiong Jinianbei sheji de jingguo' tanqi' [Monument of the soul – retrospections from the manuscript, 'Design Process of the Monument to the People's Heroes', by Professor Liang Sicheng] 心灵的丰碑——从梁思成先生的手稿《人民英雄纪念碑设计的经过》谈起. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 6 (1991), pp. 25-28.

⁴⁵ The Yan style calligraphy was created by Yan Zhenqing (709-785), the famous calligrapher of the Tang Dynasty (618-906). It has been one of the most influential styles in the art of Chinese calligraphy ever since.

Figure 5.18 shows a piece of calligraphy in black ink on a white background. The main text is written in large, bold, cursive characters and reads '人民英雄永垂不朽' (Eternal Glory to the People's Heroes). Below this, in smaller characters, is the date '一九五五年十月' (October 1955).

Figure 5.18 Mao's calligraphy, 'Eternal Glory to the People's Heroes', for the Monument to the People's Heroes.

Source: 'Eternal Glory to the People's Heroes'.

www.shaoshan.gov.cn/wr/c/Print.asp?ArticleID=205.

accessed on 11/02/2008

人民英雄纪念碑

三年以来在人民解放战争和人民革命中牺牲的人民英雄们永垂不朽

三十年以来在人民解放战争和人民革命中牺牲的人民英雄们永垂不朽

由此上溯到一千八百四十年从那时起为了反对内外敌人争取民族独立和人民自由幸福在历

次斗争中牺牲的人民英雄们永垂不朽

一九四九年九月三十日

中国人民政治协商会议第一届全体会议建立

Figure 5.17 The calligraphy work of Premier Zhou Enlai (1898-1976) for the inscription included on the Monument to the People's Heroes, which was composed on 30 September 1949 in the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC).

Source: Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe* [Beijing city construction since the founding of the PRC] 建国以来的北京城市建设. Restricted publication (1986).

starting point of the new order for later developments.⁴⁶ First of all however, this orientation was derived from functional considerations, in that the majority of people would experience the Monument from the north side, as political activities, such as mass parades, would normally be carried out along Chang'an Avenue and to north of the Monument.

The use of traditional inscriptions on two of the elevations further led to preference of similar detailing with architects proposing a small roof (Fig. 5.15, h, m, o) with a combination of *wudian* style and *lu* style, derived from the roof of traditional Chinese architecture, for the coping of the Monument,⁴⁷ while sculptors preferred heroic statues on top (Fig. 5.15, g, n). The debate was settled in a conference held in 1954, in which Peng Zhen, the mayor of Beijing Municipal Government, decided to adopt a traditional roof design. Peng considered that, with the juxtaposition of statues and inscriptions, the theme of the Monument would be ambiguous. Indeed, it was clear that the inscription would inevitably be overshadowed by statues, while it 'could only be engraved on the column base under the figure's feet'.⁴⁸ Certainly, in this case, how could the Monument have a glorious elevation, if the official texts were set in a disadvantageous position (Fig. 5.19)?

The executed Monument was a solid column supported by a double plinth and a double terrace. The upper plinth was decorated on all sides with carvings of eight wreaths of peonies,

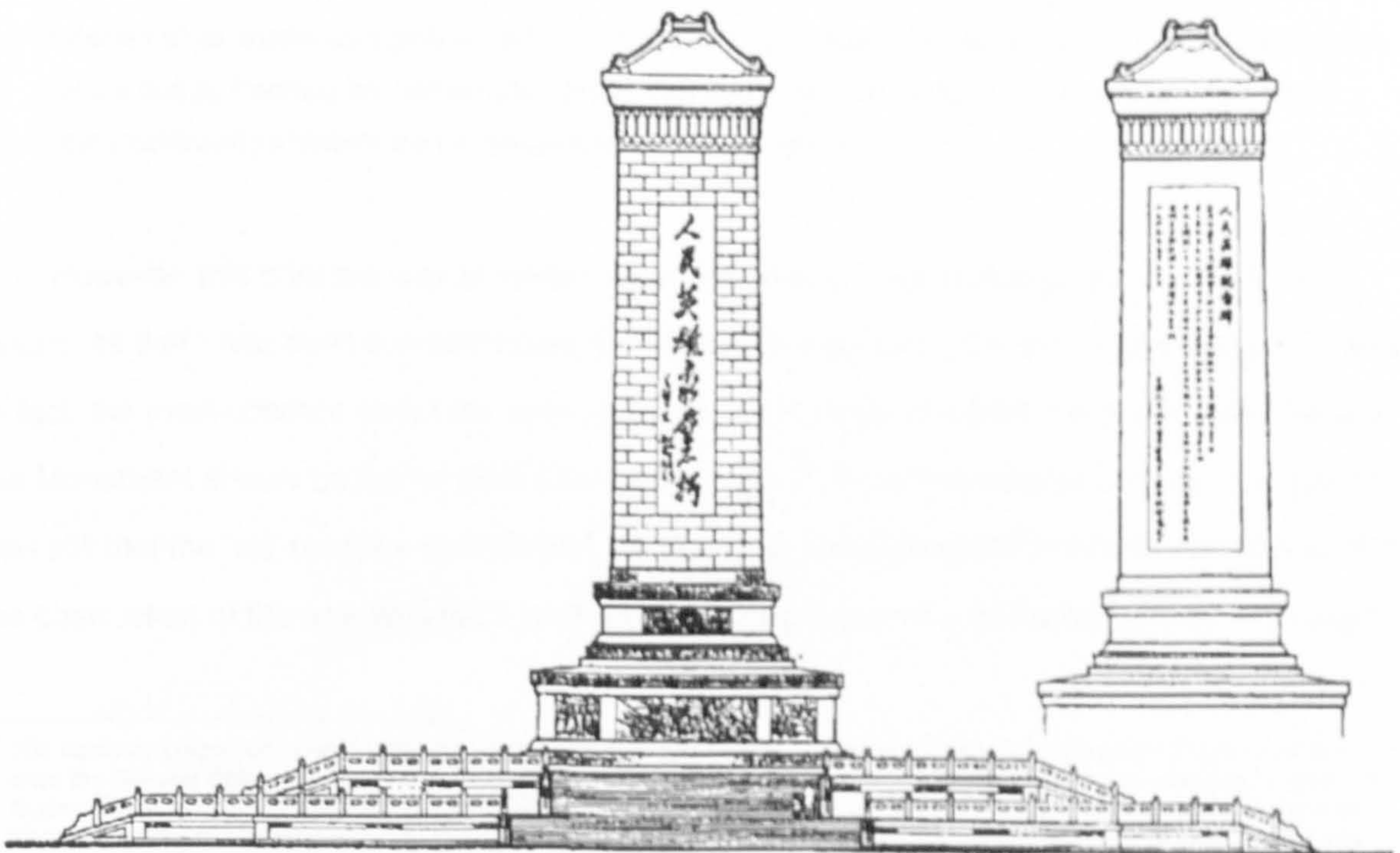


Figure 5.19 The north and south elevations of the Monument to the People's Heroes.

Source: Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Renmin Yingxiong Jiniandai de chuanguo chengjiu' [The design achievements of the Monument to the People's Heroes] 人民英雄纪念碑的创作成就. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 2 (1978), p. 7.

⁴⁶ Wu, Hung. 'Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments'. *Representation*, No. 35 (Summer, 1991), p. 96.

⁴⁷ Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Renmin Yingxiong Jiniandai de chuanguo chengjiu' [The design achievements of the Monument to the People's Heroes] 人民英雄纪念碑的创作成就. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 2 (1978), p. 6.

⁴⁸ Wu, Hung. 'Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments'. *Representation*, No. 35 (Summer, 1991), p. 98.

lotus and chrysanthemums, the traditional symbols of nobility, purity and perseverance. The lower plinth was carved with ten bas-reliefs, which depicted chronological events during the revolutionary period from the Opium Burning at Humen in Guangdong (Canton) in 1840 to the Successful Crossing of the Changjiang River in 1949.⁴⁹ The selection of reliefs was the responsibility of the Historical Materials Committee administered by the Party's leading historian Fan Wenlan (1893-1969), and the carvings were completed by a group of sculptors led by Liu Kaiqu (1904-1993).⁵⁰ The representation of historical events on bas-reliefs has a long history in China and can be traced back to the Han Dynasty (202 B.C. - 220 A.D.).

The double terrace served as a broad platform, which consisted of an upper square terrace, and a lower terrace, covering an area of more than 3,000 square metres and deriving its shape from a crab apple blossom, a form of long Chinese tradition. Also, the lower terrace, with the north-south length longer than the east-west length,⁵¹ strengthened the north-south orientation of the whole design of the Monument, thus again following the long tradition of the site.

Despite all the respect for tradition, the Monument at the same time subverted it, in that it faced north and obstructed the sacred central imperial axis. The latter aroused criticism from the Belgian historian, Simon Leys, who considered that:

[T]he monument... would by itself be of no particular note if it were not for the privileged place it has, exactly in the center of the vista from Ch'ien men Gate to Tien-an men Gate... this insignificant granitic phallus receives all its enormous significance from the blasphemous stupidity of its location... The planner failed to realize that by inserting his revolutionary-proletarian obscenity in the middle of that sacred way he was neatly destroying precisely the perspective he wanted to capture for it.⁵²

However, this criticism was to some extent misleading. The central location did not really matter, as there had been considerations for saving the vista along the axis in the design process. In fact, the main concern about the vista was that, when observing from the north of the Square, the Monument should be higher than Zhengyang Gate.⁵³ Thus the main issue over the sight line was still that the 'old' must be surmounted. Additionally, some principal architects considered that the obstruction of the axis was not a problem and instead was of a desirable effect: '... through

⁴⁹ The depicted chronological events began on the east side and moved clockwise around the lower plinth. On the east side were the Burning Opium at Humen in Guangdong (Canton) in 1840 and the Jintian Uprising in Taiping Heavenly Kingdom in Guangxi from 1851-1864. On the next side facing south were the Wuchang Uprising in 1911 which ended China's dynastic history, the May 4th Movement in Beijing in 1919 and the May 30th Movement in Shanghai in 1925. To the west the pictures were the Nanchang Uprising in Jiangxi in 1927 and the War of Resistance against Japanese from 1937-1945. On the last side facing north were carvings of Grain for the Front, the Successful Crossing of the Changjiang River in 1949 and, last, a picture entitled 'Long live the Liberation Army!'

⁵⁰ Shu, Jun 树军. *Tiananmen guangchang lishi dang'an* [Historical archives of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场历史档案. (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang Dangxiao Chubanshe, 1998), pp. 107-108. The other sculptors included Zeng Zhushao (曾竹韶), Wang Bingzhao (王丙照), Fu Tianchou (傅天仇), Hua Tianyou (滑田友), Wang Linyi (王临乙), Xiao Chuanjiu (肖传久), Zhang Songhe (张松鹤) with other assistants.

⁵¹ The upper terrace was square, with 32 metres each side. Of the floor plan of the lower terrace, the east-west length was 50.5 metres, and the north-south length was 61.5 metres.

⁵² Leys, Simon. *Chinese Shadows* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), pp. 53-54.

⁵³ The monument was 37.94 metres high, higher than the Tiananmen. The Zhengyang Gate was about 42 metres high.

studying, we recognized that the central axis of Tiananmen Square no longer represents the former Imperial Path. The importance of the Monument will be most effectively highlighted by this central position.⁵⁴ Moreover, the form of the Monument seemed to be a natural outcome in the search for an appropriate political representation. This requirement together with ideas for the design of the Monument evolved as a result of debates between designers and the new leaders. The designers were 'educated and reformed'⁵⁵ by the process of selecting, comparing, rejecting, and revising the designs. It could be expected that, with the supportive spirit and socialist enthusiasm of the people, and the demanded ideological orientation as well, whatever the ultimate form of the Monument, this might be praised by an appropriate explanation, as the principal architects did.

Greening for the Monument

In early 1958, when the Monument was almost completed, a pine grove was proposed to south of the Monument to act as a backdrop, thereby having a distinctive visual effect, as the Monument was of a pale colour that would be a contrast to dark green pine trees. Although this proposal could be considered revolutionary in the context of the Square in that planting arrangement had been absent since the imperial era, it was at the same time traditional in the context of Chinese culture, because land ploughing and tree planting were associated with the sacrifices to ancestors and were thus essential 'to commemorate the dead'. While 'the Monument derived its shape from ancient stele recording important political events or authorizing standard versions of the Classics', Wu Hung noted that, 'in an ordinary person's eyes it began to look like a tablet that would be built in the family graveyard. Just as one visits and revisits a family graveyard to trace one's origin, so people visited and revisited the Monument to refresh their memories of previous struggles and sacrifices.'⁵⁶ Indeed, some traditional places for ritual activities or commemoration, such as the Temple of Heaven and the Temple of Ancestors, served as design references for the creation of the pine grove.⁵⁷

The selection of pines for the commemoration purpose also conformed to tradition, because evergreens represent a symbol of perseverance and long life. The proposed pine grove was considered as a representation of 'the revolutionary martyrs' everlasting faithful and unyielding spirit'.⁵⁸ The Square's old spatial structure was again the basis for the design of the 'new' grove.

⁵⁴ Wu, Liangyong 吴良铮. 'Renmin Yingxiong Jiniianbei de chuanguozuo chengjiu' [The design achievements of the Monument to the People's Heroes] 人民英雄纪念碑的创作成就. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 2 (1978), p. 5.

⁵⁵ Wu, Hung. 'Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments'. *Representation*, No. 35 (Summer, 1991), p. 98.

⁵⁶ Wu, Hung. 'Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments'. *Representation*, No. 35 (Summer, 1991), p. 107.

⁵⁷ Wu, Liangyong 吴良铮. 'Renmin Yingxiong Jiniianbei de chuanguozuo chengjiu' [The design achievements of the Monument to the People's Heroes] 人民英雄纪念碑的创作成就. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 2 (1978), p. 9.

⁵⁸ Li, Jiale 李嘉乐. 'Tiananmen guangchang de lühua' [The greening of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场的绿化. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working

The east and west boundaries of the planting area were defined by existing roads, along which the Thousand-step Gallery and its adjacent red walls were formerly located. A ten-metre wide north-south footpath on the central axis ran through the planting area, leading to the Monument. Conforming to the Square's regular arrangement, Chinese pines (*Pinus tabulaeformis* Carrière.) were planted in a neat grid of five metres, with *Sabina chinensis* L. hedges lining the boundaries to east and west to demark the area.

Despite all the references to the 'old', the grove was in fact a product of contemporary politics. It could be easily acknowledged that the tree planting appeared to accord with the then slogan-like principle for roadside planting, 'Roads laid, trees accompanied'.⁵⁹ Till 20 April that year, a total of 392 pines had been planted on the square (Fig. 5.20).⁶⁰ Additionally, regularly arranged flower beds along either side of the central footpath, displayed bright-coloured flowers that were planted to represent the 'magnificent future of the proletarian undertaking'.⁶¹ Soon after the planting of pines, the area was turfed,⁶² according to the practice referred to by a slogan in the 1960s: 'Not to have bare earth under the sky'.⁶³ Turf was transferred from the Temple of Heaven Park. In addition, four lawns were arranged at the corners of the platform of the Monument, visually connecting the base of the Monument with the width of the pine grove and providing a visual anchor for it. The lawns in 'delightful green' were seen as 'a symbol of a flourishing scene all over the new country'.⁶⁴ During the second phase of the construction, the pine grove was extended towards south in late 1958, with another 114 pines planted around Zhonghua Gate (Fig. 5.21, 5.22, 5.23).⁶⁵

Thus the Monument was by and large a re-invention of the traditional style stele that was normally placed within a green setting. It represented the Soviet guideline, 'National in Form, Socialist in Content', and could also be referred to by the 'Chinese also new' principle stipulated in 1958 for the expansion of the Square for the tenth anniversary of the founding of the PRC.⁶⁶

experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 21; Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Renmin Yingxiong Jnianbei de chuanguo chengjiu' [The design achievements of the Monument to the People's Heroes] 人民英雄纪念碑的创作成就. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 2 (1978), p. 8.

⁵⁹ The Chinese text is '有路就有树'. See Editorial Board of *Beijing Chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi. Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing Landscape Architecture Records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 12.

⁶⁰ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Dangdai Beijing yuanlin fazhan shi* [Modern history of Beijing landscape architecture] 当代北京园林发展史. (October, 1987), p. 41.

⁶¹ Li, Jiale 李嘉乐. 'Tiananmen guangchang de luhua' [The greening of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场的绿化. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 21.

⁶² This was proposed by municipal officials on 25 April 1958.

⁶³ The Chinese text is '黄土不露天'. See Editorial Board of the Historical Records of the Construction of Beijing 北京建设史书编辑委员会. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe* [The constructions of Beijing city from the founding of PRC] 建国以来的北京城市建设. Restricted publication (1986), p. 353; Editorial Board of *Beijing Chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi. Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing Landscape Architecture Records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 9.

⁶⁴ Li, Jiale 李嘉乐. 'Tiananmen guangchang de luhua' [The greening of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场的绿化. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 21.

⁶⁵ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Dangdai Beijing yuanlin fazhan shi* [Modern history of Beijing landscape architecture] 当代北京园林发展史. (October, 1987), p. 41.

⁶⁶ Zhu, Zixuan and Reginald Yin-Wang Kwok. 'Beijing: The Expression of National Political Ideology'. In Kim, Won Bae, Mike Douglass, Sang-Chuel Choe, and Kong Chong Ho, eds. *Culture and the City in East Asia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 135, 144.



Figure 5.20 Tiananmen Square in mid-1958, when the Monument and the first phase of the establishment of the pine grove were completed (seen from south).
Source: Fan, Yaobang 范耀邦. 'Xiandai chengshi wenhua gudu' [The modern city and the cultural capital] 现代城市 文化古都. *Jianzhushi*, 60 (1994), p. 23.

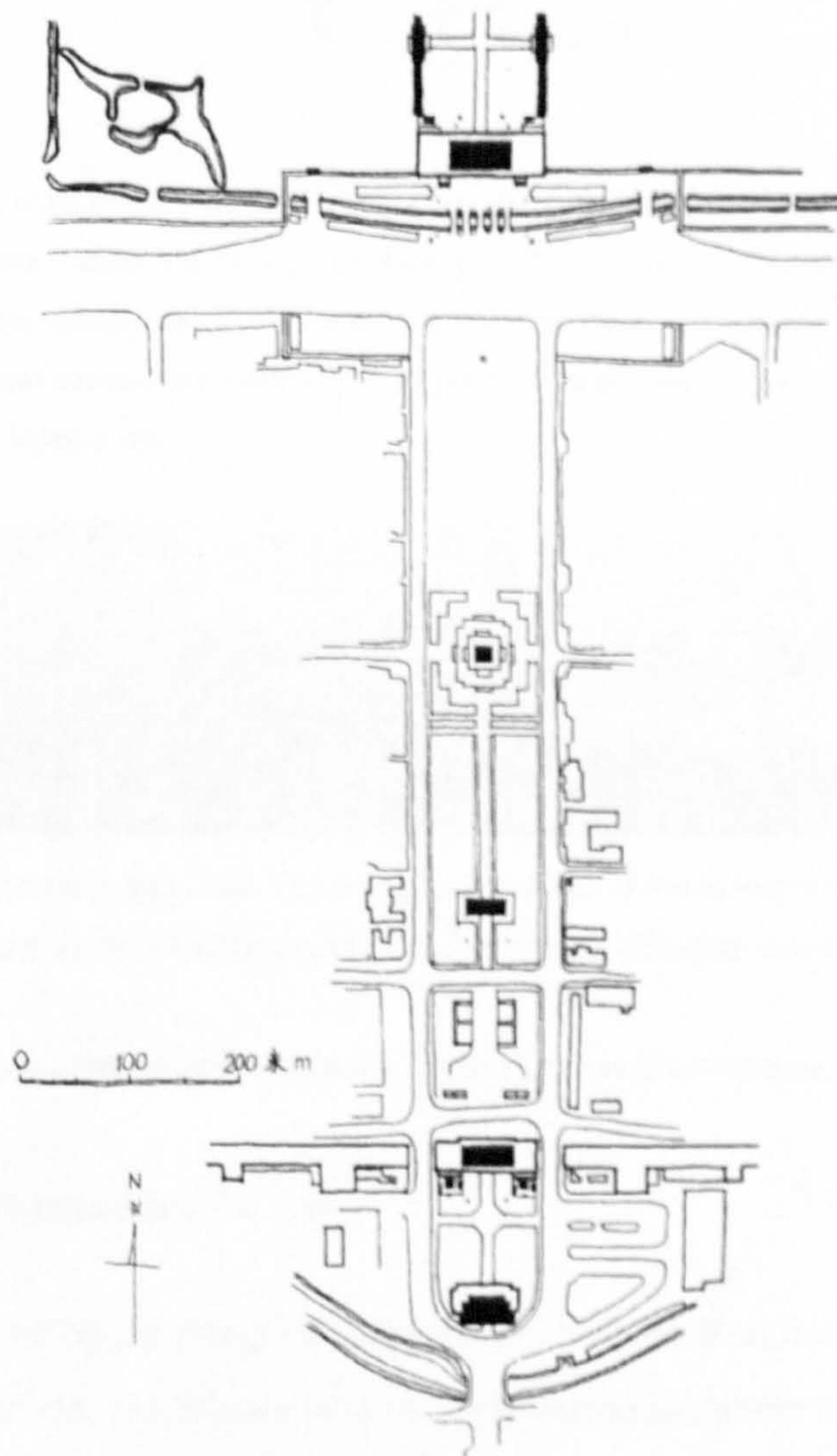


Figure 5.21 Plan of Tiananmen Square in late 1958 after the completion of the second phase of the establishment of the pine grove to the south of Zhonghua Gate.
Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.

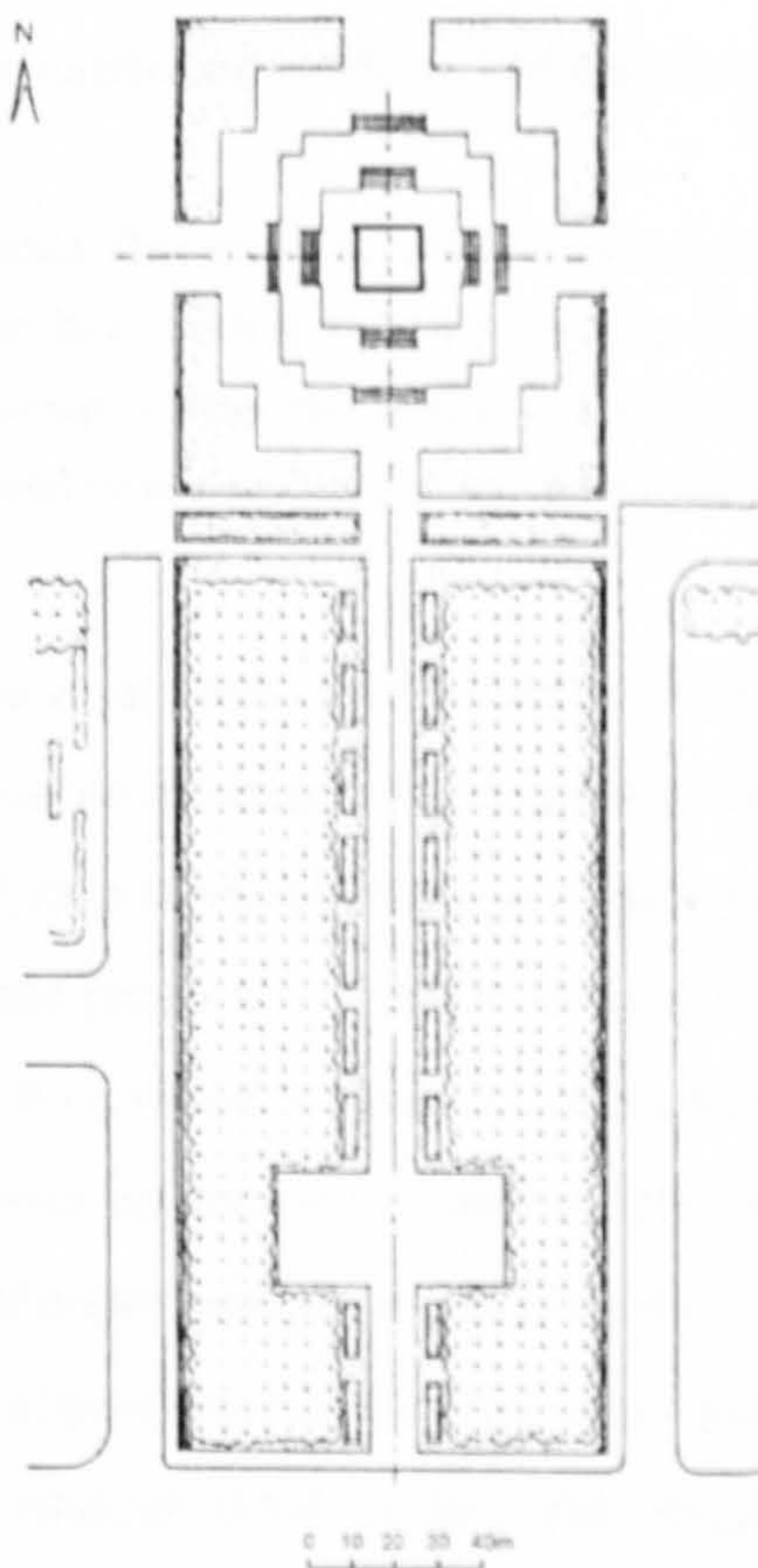


Figure 5.22 Plan of the Monument to the People's Heroes and the surrounding greening arrangements. Within the pine grove Zhonghua Gate was demolished (late 1958).

Source: Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing yuanlin youxiu sheji jijin* [A collection of excellent landscape design in Beijing] 北京园林优秀设计集锦. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1996), p. 23.



Figure 5.23 Tiananmen Square in late 1958. The pine grove to south of the Monument to the People's Heroes was by this point fully established. Around the Monument, four lawns were laid which completed the rectangular pattern of the ground floor plan.

Source: Contribution from Xinhua News Agency, Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.

The new Square: the creation of a 'sea'

While debates surrounding the design and construction of the Monument were prolonged and lasted for nearly a decade, the Square was radically expanded three times within a year to 39.5 hectares. This was accomplished within the highly enthusiastic GLF campaign (1958-1960).

While destruction of the 'olds' was often needed for new development in the early 1950s, the scale of destruction was now unprecedented. The vision of the 'new' whilst breaking with any

restriction of 'old' was clearly demonstrated in Mao's 1958 statement when launching the GLF:

Apart from their other characteristics, China's six hundred million people are, first of all, poor, and secondly, 'blank'. That may seem like a bad thing, but it is really a good thing. Poor people want change, want to do things, want revolution. A clean sheet of paper has no blotches and so the newest and most beautiful words can be written on it, the newest and most beautiful pictures can be painted on it.⁶⁷

A 'blank sheet of paper' was what destruction would achieve and seemed to be a prerequisite for the creation of the 'new' Square. Although the 'blank sheet of paper' was largely achieved by the time of the GLF, new development was nonetheless subjected to various ethical constraints. This included the 'face practice' in order to maintain authoritative power and appropriate image construction. As a result, it would have been impossible to realise an entirely revolutionary square. This dilemma was acknowledged by Mao himself in the early 1960s when he stated that the 'clean sheet of paper' envisioned by him when launching the GLF had become a canvas marred by all manner of political and ideological blotches.⁶⁸

Although the radical transformation of the Square only happened in 1958, numerous proposals were produced during the 1950s, but these were largely investigative and there is little evidence of them having influenced the final layout. But in order to achieve a more comprehensive understanding, it is important to review the previous explorations, as this provides a context for the completed scheme and helps to illustrate compliance with the socialist ideal.

The proposals in 1950 largely retained the T-shaped arrangement defined by the gates and walls, including Chang'an Left Gate, Chang'an Right Gate, and the red walls beside the Thousand-step Gallery (refer to Fig. 5.10). Proposed buildings were to be arranged symmetrically on either side of the square as at other traditional palaces. As a result, proposals were neither radical nor innovative (Fig. 5.24).

With the implementation of the 'Leaning to One Side' Policy in the early 1950s, socialist construction was generally modelled on Soviet experiences. The 1954 proposals reflected Soviet ideas put forward by the director of the Soviet specialist group, Abramov, who rejected previous proposals that were cast as conservative:

I could see no reason to have two or three-storey buildings, but not to have five-storey buildings in Tiananmen Square. Beside the Kremlin Palaces in Moscow, there was once a thirty-two-storey buildings being constructed, but the Palaces did not seem to be dwarfed by it... Why does the city have to be flat? Who will consider it to be beautiful in this way?⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Mao, Zedong. 'Introducing a Co-operative'. *Peking Review*, (June 10, 1958), p. 6.

⁶⁸ Meisner, Maurice. *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic* (New York: Free Press, 1999), p. 299.

⁶⁹ Quoted from Editorial Board of the Historical Records of Beijing Construction 北京建设史书编辑委员会编辑部. *Jianguo yilai de Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao: chengshi guihua I* [Historical materials concerning Beijing city constructions since the founding of

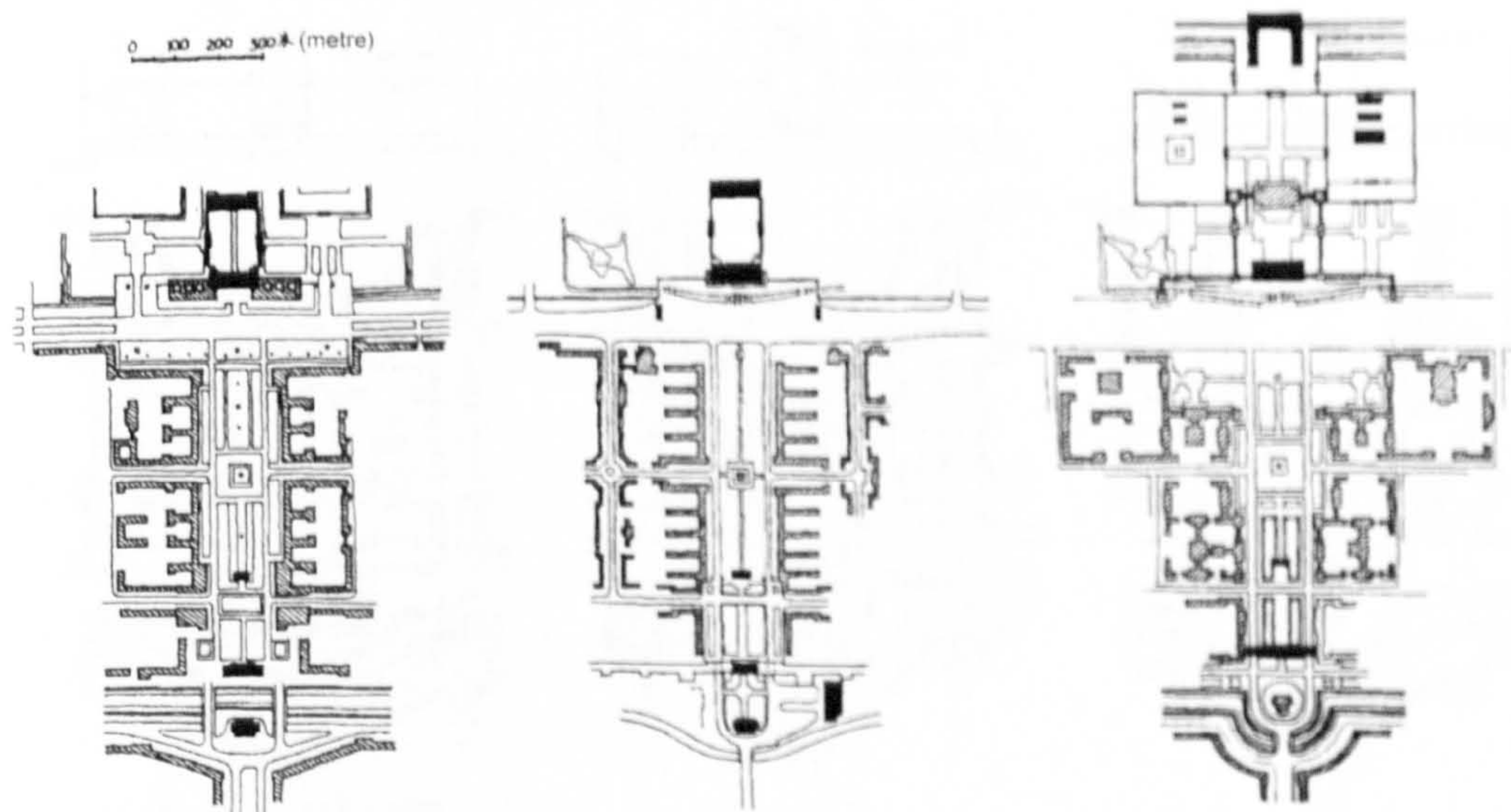


Figure 5.24 Three design proposals for Tiananmen Square in 1950. The square was designed in order to conform to the old T-shaped spatial structure. The buildings that flanked the square were planned like another traditional palace outside the Forbidden City.

Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.

As a result of this observation, huge buildings were proposed to achieve an imposing grandeur. In one of the design proposals, a building similar to the main building of Moscow University dominated the centre of the Square (Fig. 5.25). In 1956, however, the Soviet idea to have massive buildings in the Square was rejected, because it was realized that a proper scale of the 'new' would have to be compatible with the Monument, which was then under construction, as well as with the surrounding buildings (Fig. 5.26). However, design proposals produced at the time were not convincing enough to inspire implementation. There was uncertainty about the final size of the Square and the function of any proposed buildings. While the length of the Square was defined as 880 metres by Tiananmen to north and Zhengyang Gate to south, there were three options for the width, 350, 400 or 500 metres. The option of 350 metres was approximately that between the former Chang'an left Gate and Chang'an Right Gate; that of 500 metres was the distance between the red wall on either side of Tiananmen; that of 400 metres appeared to have been an attempt to a compromise of the above two options. Knowledge of the function of any proposed buildings was important in order to be able to debate any proposals for the square, as from the early 1950s arguments about whether the official administrative institution should be in or outside the city and whether the old city would be a cultural centre or a political one, resulted in an impasse with respect to the purpose of the Square. Some proposals continued similar ideas to the Liang-Chen Plan and insisted that the Square should mainly carry cultural functions and the new buildings therefore might be libraries or museums. Others considered the Square as a political centre and the new buildings should therefore mainly serve

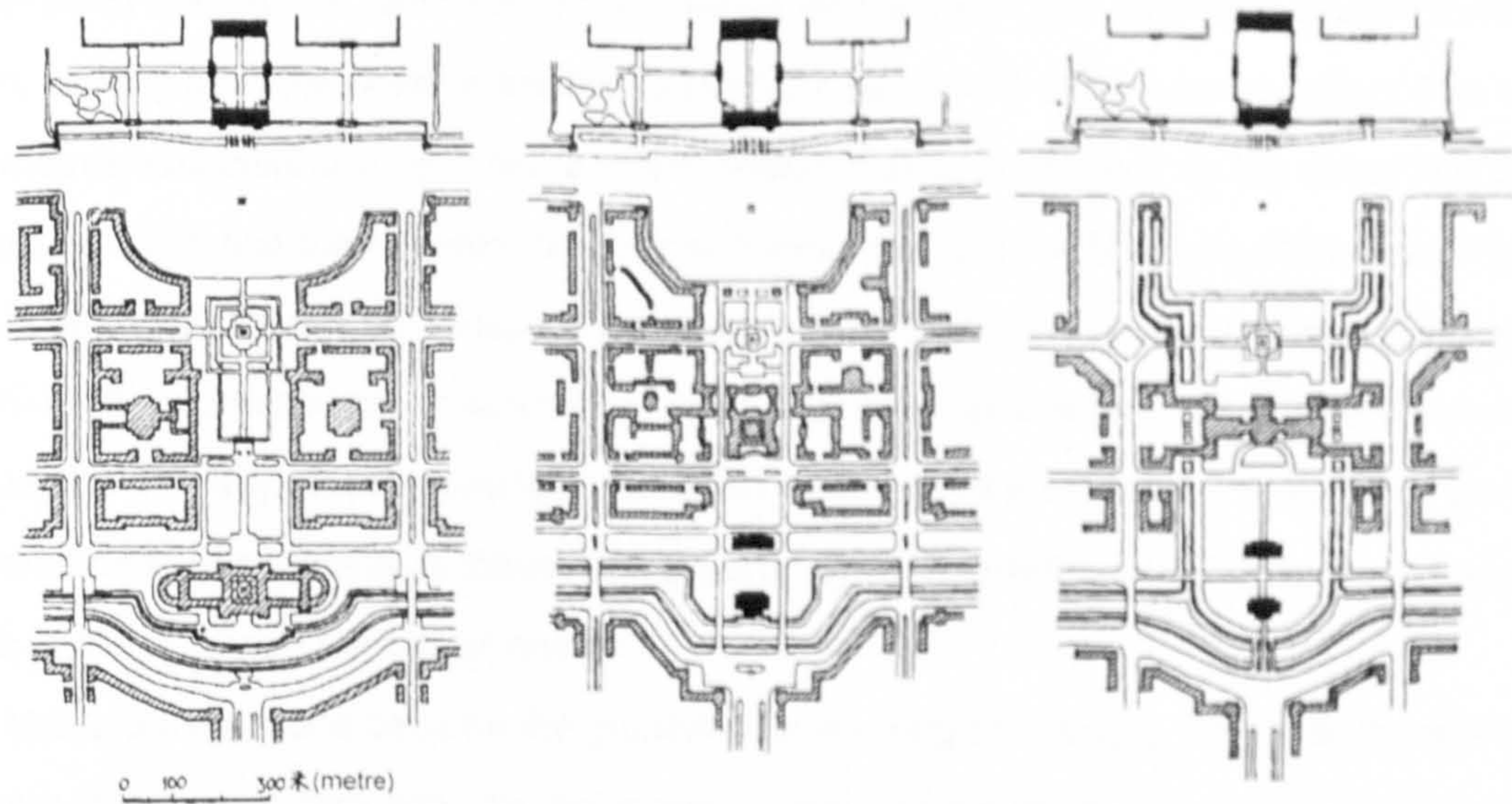


Figure 5.25 Three of the designs proposed for Tiananmen Square in 1954. Huge buildings were proposed in the square to achieve visual and spatial grandeur. This is particularly so in the Soviet-influenced third proposal, in which a massive symmetrical building similar to the main building of Moscow University dominates the centre of the square.

Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.

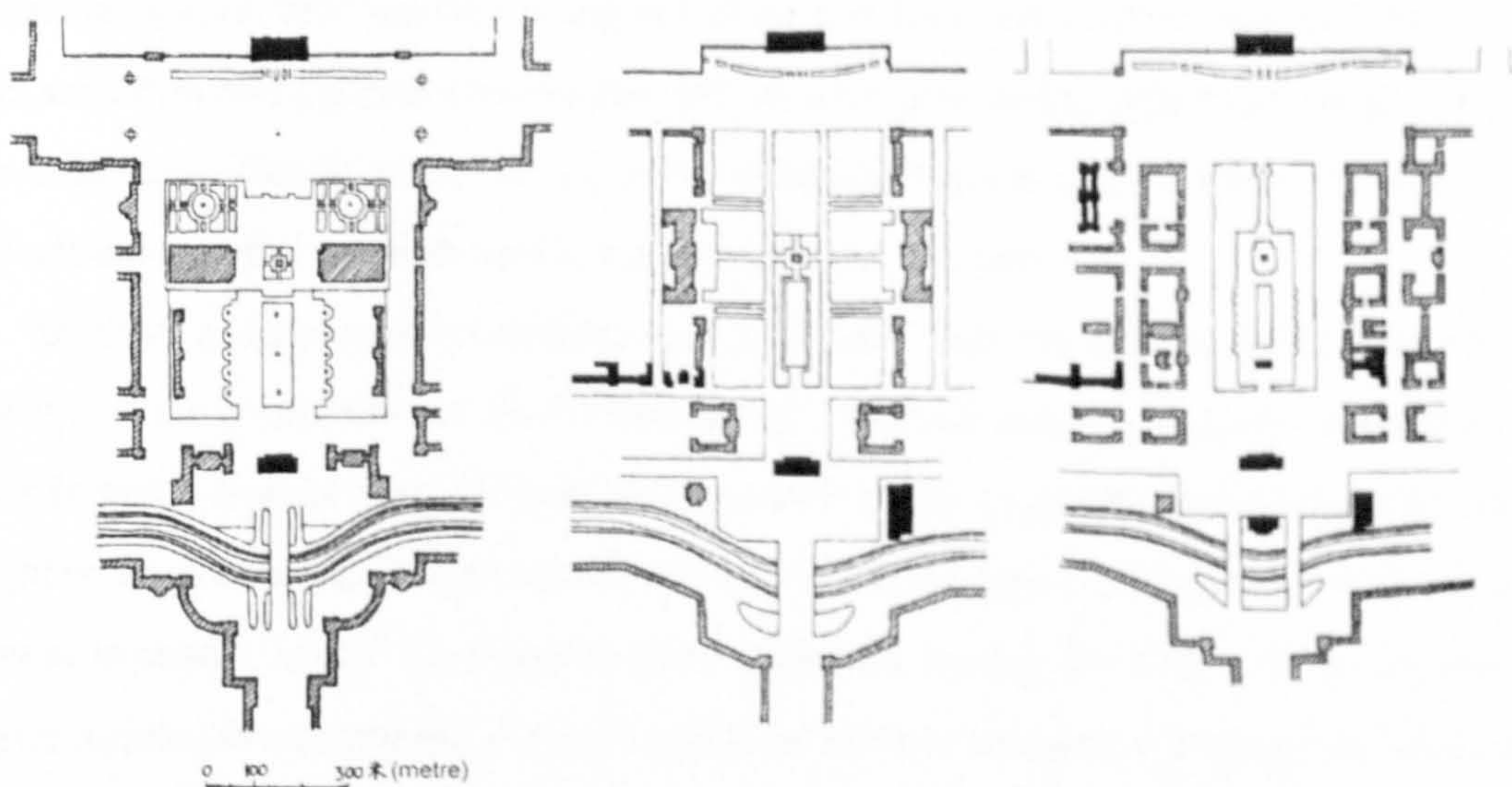


Figure 5.26 Three of the designs proposed in 1956 for Tiananmen Square, when the Soviet idea of having massive buildings in the square was rejected. Nevertheless, all these proposals were still tentative, since the functions of the surrounding buildings were still in question at the time.

Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.

administrative purposes. It could be expected that considerations of the former group, blind to the requirement of political representation and image building, would unlikely stand the test of official review.

Indeed, it was Mao's instruction that settled all the problems. When standing on the Tiananmen balcony on the National Day of 1956, Mao indicated that the Square should reflect new China's characteristics: age-old history, vast territory, abundant resources and populous people. To match such a sense of grandiosity, the Square should be big enough to hold an

assembly of one million. Accordingly it should be wide enough and extended straight towards the south, starting from the point where the red wall on either side of Tiananmen stood. The width of 500 metres was therefore selected, and the Square was to be flanked by the Great Hall of the People on west, and the Museum of Chinese Revolution and the Museum of Chinese History on east.⁷⁰ Mao determined an unusually large scale for the Square. Professor Liang Sicheng (1901-1972) expressed his concerns that this would result in a desert without human scale being considered properly. But the overruling criterion was to have a square big enough for political demonstration of hundreds of thousands of participants. Professional considerations became naive in the presence of political needs.

Mao's prescriptions became the guideline for revising the design. Soviet ideas now exerted a lesser influence. In fact, with the ideological differences between China and the Soviet Union in the late 1950s, there was no further support from Soviet specialists. In 1958 when a deadline was set in the Beidaihe Conference for the design and construction of the Square to be completed before the National Day of 1959 to celebrate the tenth anniversary, it was made to appear that the Soviet legacy was the pursuit of an impressive image without consideration of functional issues. With the GLF being launched simultaneously, China was looking forward to built socialism and achieve communism with much higher speed and much bigger stride than that seen under Soviet influence. A grand Tiananmen Square was therefore of crucial importance to illustrate socialist achievements as a milestone for the new era.

By then, proposals also came from army officials. With the start of the Cold War in the late 1940s and the end of Korean War (1950-1953)⁷¹, national defence became part of the political agenda and a real concern in urban development. It was suggested that Tiananmen Square might be an area for landing of helicopters and that any of the thoroughfares might be used as a runway in case of a war. For these defence purposes, the Square should be at one level similar to surrounding thoroughfares. A continuous even surface was also a prerequisite for parades and assemblages. In addition, electrical services along Chang'an Avenue should be buried, tram tracks cleared, and the surface reinforced to sustain military tanks.⁷² Thus, the immense scale was conceived and justified for military purposes and with the mounting threat of war.

Several proposals were submitted, in which, following Mao's directive, the Square was

⁷⁰ Dong, Guangqi 董光器. 'Tiananmen Guangchang Jishi' [Some records of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场记事. In Urban Planning Society of China, ed. *Wushinian huimou - Xinzhongguo de chengshi guihua* [Fifty years' retrospection - Urban planning of the new China] 五十年回眸——新中国的城市规划. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshu Guan, 1999), p. 514; Ma, Ju 马驹. 'Pengzhen he Tiananmen Guangchang Jianshe' [Peng Zhen and the Construction of Tiananmen Square] 彭真和天安门广场建设. *Bainian Chao*, No. 10 (2000); Wang, Jun 王军. '1950 niandai: dui Liang-Chen fang'an de lishi kaocha' [The 1950s the historical investigation of Liang-Chen Plan] 1950年代: 对梁陈方案的历史考察. *Shiji Zhongguo* (<http://www.cc.org.cn>), (2002).

⁷¹ It was also called the 'War to Resist America and Aid Korea'.

⁷² Wang, Jun 王军. '1950 niandai: dui Liang-Chen fang'an de lishi kaocha' [The 1950s: the historical investigation of Liang-Chen Plan] 1950年代: 对梁陈方案的历史考察. *Shiji Zhongguo* (<http://www.cc.org.cn>), (2002); Tao, Zongzhen 陶宗震. 'Tiananmen Guangchang guihua he renmin dahui tang sheji de yixie xianweikenzhi de lingdao zhishi he sheji shixiang neihan' [Several Unknown Official Prescriptions and Design Connotations of the Design of Tiananmen Square and the Great Hall of the People] 天安门广场规划和人民大会堂设计的一些鲜为人知的领导指示和设计思想内涵. <http://www.abbs.com.cn/bbs/city/>, (2003).

conceived with a width of 500 metres, with none being fully satisfactory (Fig. 5.27). The problem now was how to resolve the design of the flanking buildings. Officials demanded separate buildings to be united to one facade. The Museum of Chinese Revolution and the Museum of Chinese History would be rationalised to the Museum of Chinese Revolution and History to be located on the east side. The Great Hall of the People on west was to consist of three parts: the Great Hall, the Banqueting Hall, and the office building of the People's Congress. It shows that a massive scale and grandeur were once again the criteria for an appropriate solution. This resulted in two enormous buildings flanking the Square, with main elevations of more than 300 metres long and a height between 30 to 40 metres (Fig. 5.28). With these extraordinary dimensions, these buildings were thought to match the Square well. In arguing the case in favour an architect considered that the relationships between the buildings and the Square matched traditional palaces, with a height of 40 metres and the square with a width of 500 metres: 1:12.5, which was similar to the traditional 1:10 proportion. Examples of this scale included the palace square of the Hall of Supreme Harmony in the Forbidden City.⁷³ However, like that of the argumentation for the Monument, such reasoning was farfetched and purely intended as an attempt to gain political favour.

Indeed, it was difficult to dispense with traditions in the transformation of the Square. Like the design of the Monument, it was imbued with references to its past (Fig. 5.29). Mao had already determined the width of the Square as the distance between the red walls of Tiananmen. This decision determined the location of the Museum of Chinese Revolution and History and the Great Hall of the People. The two new north-south axes through the Square were extended with the two bridges across the moat in front of Tiananmen, leading to the entrances of the Worker's

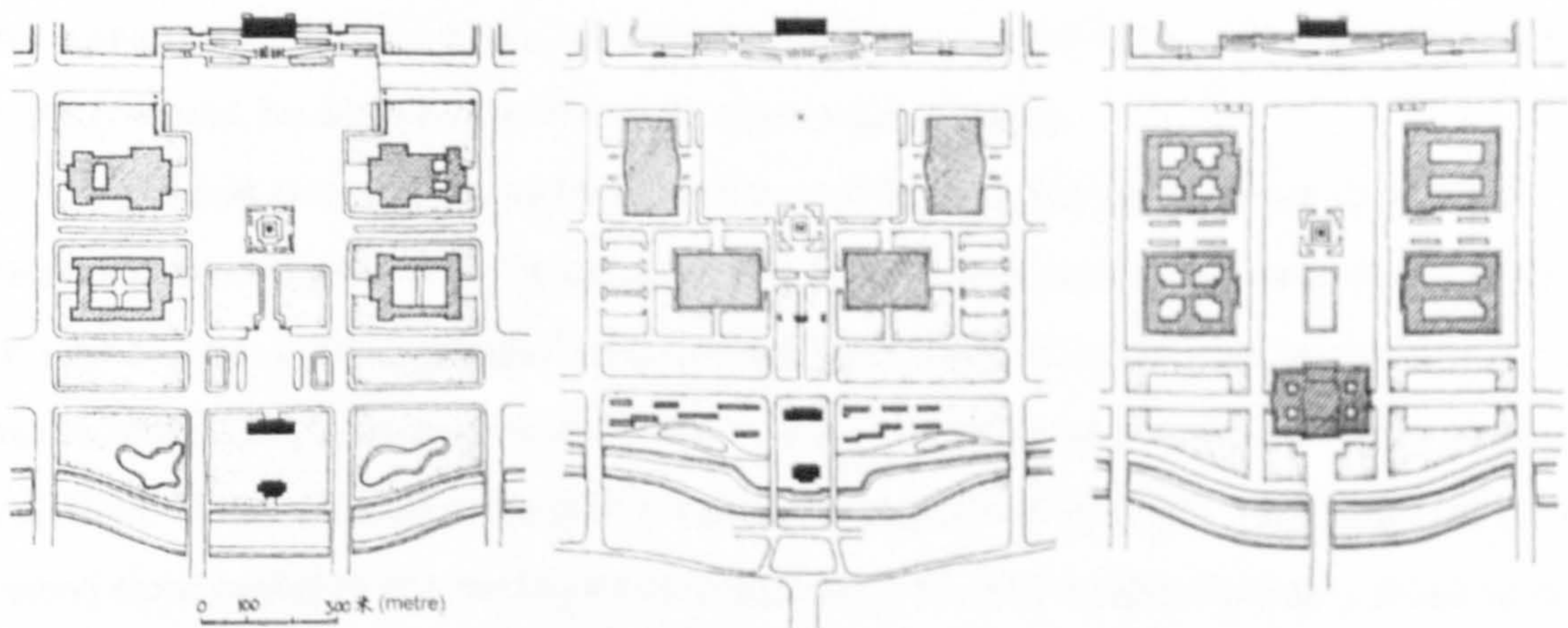


Figure 5.27 Three of the design proposals for Tiananmen Square in 1958.

Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.

⁷³ See: Su, Zemin 苏则民. 'Tiananmen Guangchang gajian he guihua de jingyan tantao' [Investigations of the experience in Tiananmen Square's reconstruction and planning] 天安门广场改建和规划的经验探讨. (unpublished Master of Architecture Thesis, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University, 1965), p. 20; Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Tiananmen Guangchang de guihua he sheji' [The Planning and Design of the Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场的规划和设计. *Jianzhushi lunwen ji*, 2 (1979), p. 31.

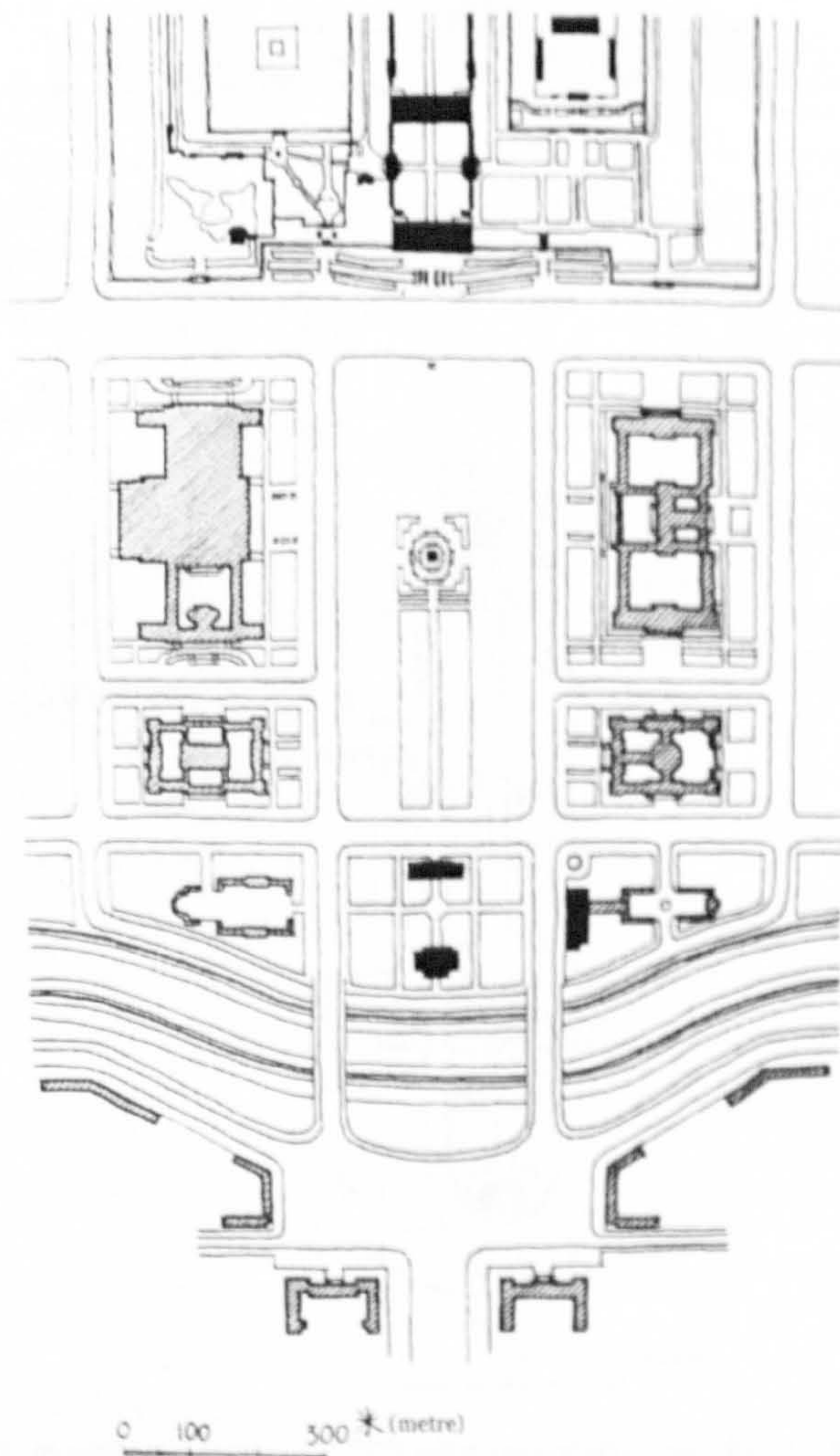


Figure 5.28 The final design proposal (1958)

Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.

Cultural Palace and Zhongshan Park, which were the converted former Ancestral Temple and Altars of Soil and Grain. These axes divided the Square into three parts: a wide expanse in the middle and two rectangular areas in front of the Museum and the Great Hall respectively. The central area was paved while the other two were largely planted.

The planting emphasised the Monument and complemented the formation of separate spaces and serving as a foil to the buildings (Fig. 5.30).⁷⁴ The north-south axes were arranged with Chinese pines (*Pinus tabulaeformis* Carrière.) and *Salix matsudana* Koidz. var. *umbraculifera*. They were planted at five-metre intervals and framed the Square. They also acted as a visible implementation of the policy, 'Road laid, trees accompanied'.⁷⁵ In view of the limited planting stock available and the large sizes required (0.15-0.25 meters diameter), these trees were then the only option available for roadside planting. Despite the requirement for innovation,

⁷⁴ Li, Jiale 李嘉乐. 'Tiananmen guangchang de lühua' [The greening of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场的绿化. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 22.

⁷⁵ Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin lühua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Beijing landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 12.

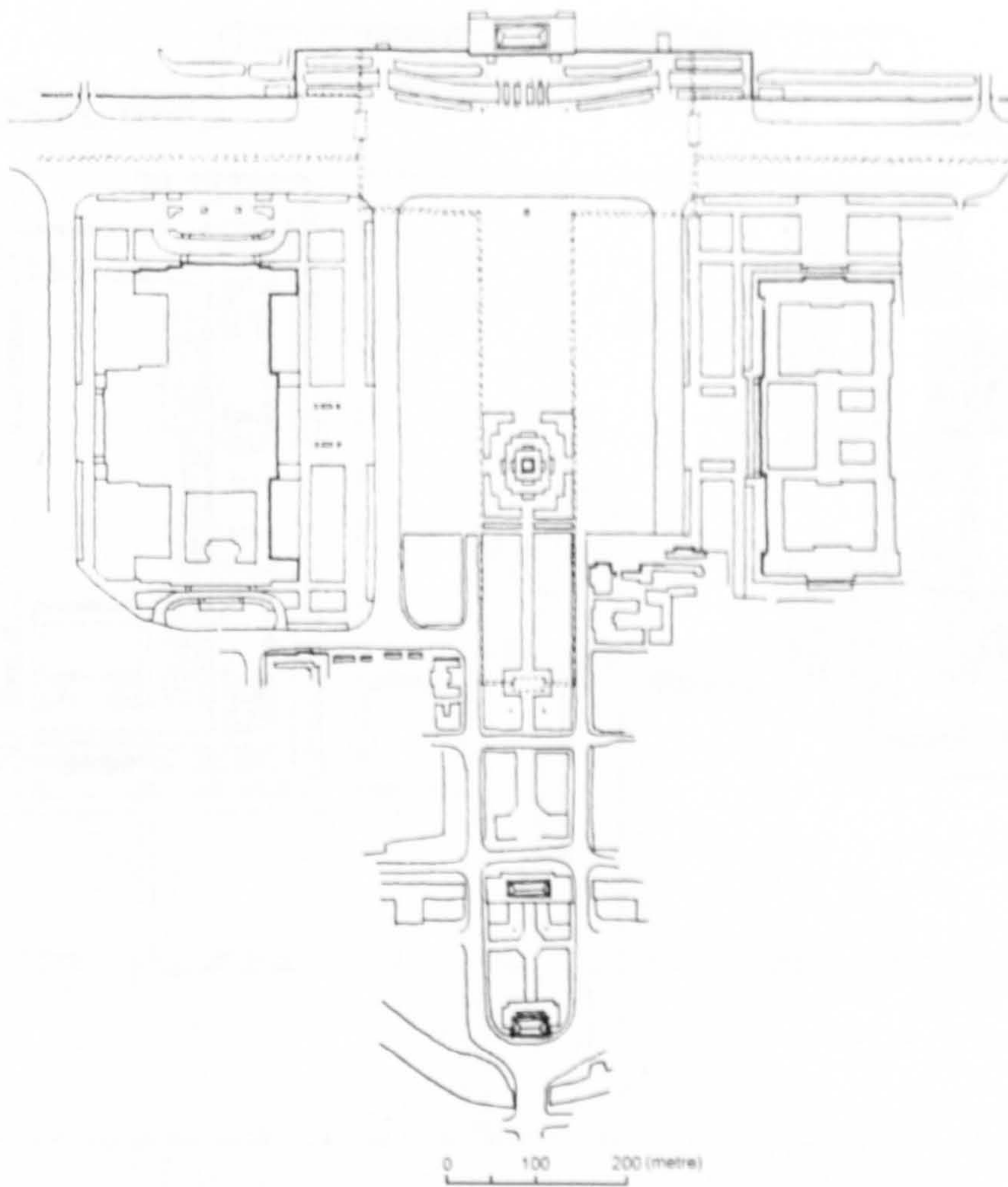


Figure 5.29 Plan of Tiananmen Square in 1959 after re-construction for the tenth anniversary of the founding of the PRC. The broken lines show the locations of demolished features, Chang'an Left Gate, Chang'an Right Gate, and the red walls, indicating how the new spatial structure was related to the old one.

Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.

this was a traditional choice also. Chinese pine was an age-old symbol for tenacity or perseverance, and willow was a traditional favourite of poets. They had also served as avenue plantings for the approaches to imperial palaces.⁷⁶

While the planting of pines and willows might thus be considered as traditional, the lawns in front of the Great Hall and the Museum were seen as revolutionary products. They appeared to respond to the contemporary advocacy, 'Not to have bare earth under the sky', but might also be a result of the Soviet influence on the design of such urban open spaces, despite no Soviet specialists being actually involved at this time.⁷⁷ Thus the area in front of the Great Hall was turfed with *Carex rigescens* V. I. Krecz. and that in front of the Museum with *Buchloe dactyloides* Engelm.. Also the creation of planted areas such as these was a change from traditional building typology where planting would be concealed in traditional courtyards and was not visible from

⁷⁶ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing yuanlin youxiu sheji jijin* [A collection of excellent landscape design in Beijing] 北京园林优秀设计集锦. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1996), p. 23.

⁷⁷ Editorial Board of *Beijing chorography* 北京市地方志编纂委员会. *Beijing zhi, Shizheng juan, Yuanlin luhua zhi* [Beijing chorography, Municipal constructions volume, Beijing landscape architecture records] 北京志·市政卷·园林绿化志. (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), p. 353.

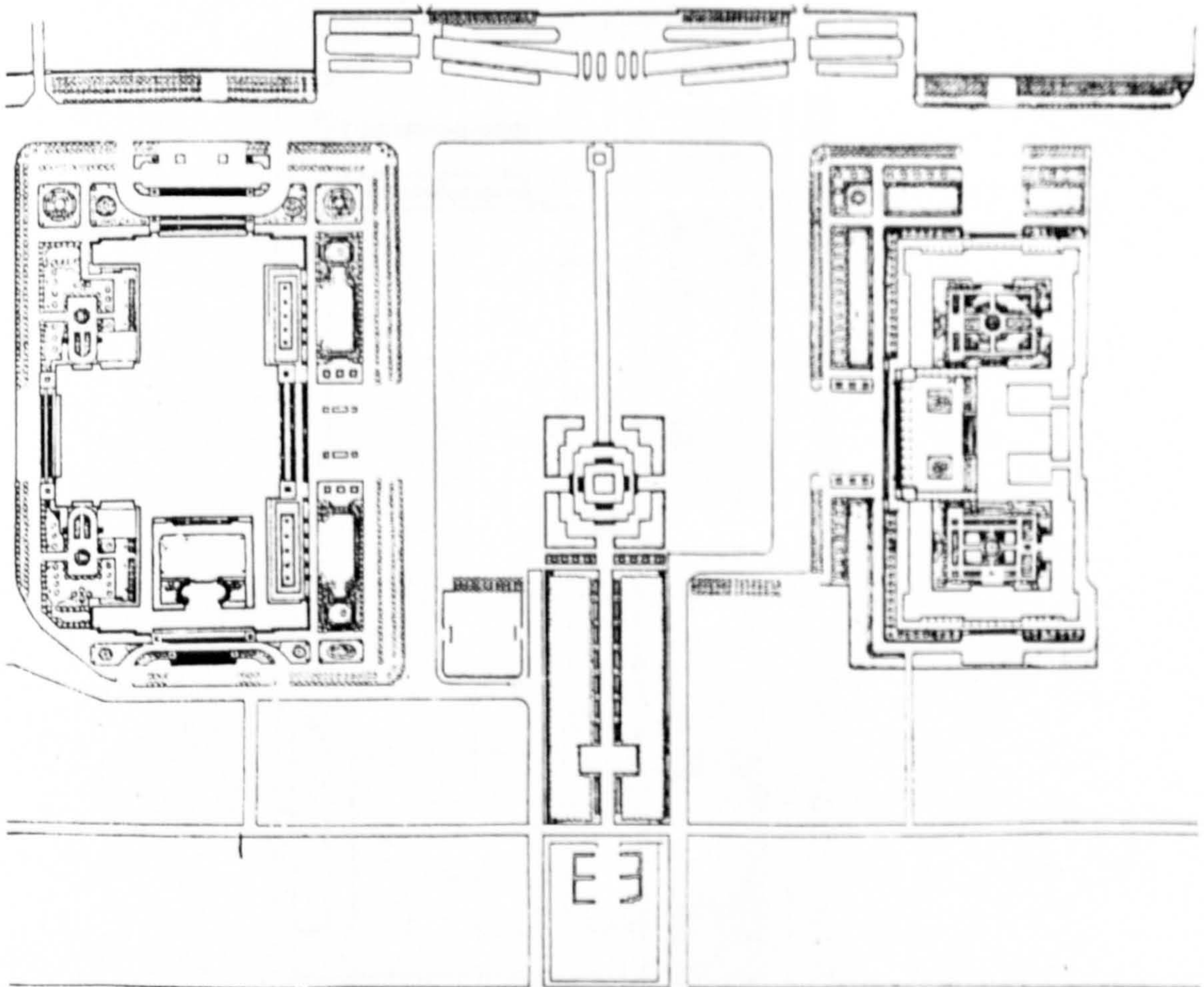


Figure 5.30 Plan of the greening arrangements in Tiananmen Square in 1959 for the tenth anniversary of the founding of the PRC.

Source: Li, Jiale 李嘉乐. 'Tiananmen guangchang de lühua' [The greening of Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场的绿化. In Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing shi yuanlin gongzuo jingyan huibian (1949-1959)* [A collection of the working experiences in Beijing landscape architecture (1949-1959)] 北京市园林工作经验汇编 (1949-1959). (January, 1960), p. 23.

public areas. These planted areas conformed to the spatial order of buildings rather than creating an artificial ideal within. The area in front of the Great Hall was symmetrical and divided into several parts; at the north and south ends were two small gardens corresponding to the two lounges at the northeast and the southeast corners of the building. The large lawn area was visually extended with a strip of lawn along the building base. Finally, flower beds were arranged at regular intervals along the east-west axis of the building to the main entrance (Fig. 5.31). This arrangement was reflected in the area in front of the Museum.

Later, after the design and construction for the tenth anniversary, the Square was largely paved over to north in order to accommodate political purposes, such as mass parades or demonstrations (Fig. 5.32, 5.33), while the east, west and south sides were then planted with groves that were ideal to accommodate daily recreation (Fig. 5.34). However, as a result of the objective to accommodate mass activities, the Square was primarily characterised by its almost featureless flatness. This kind of treatment purely for political purposes was conceived by

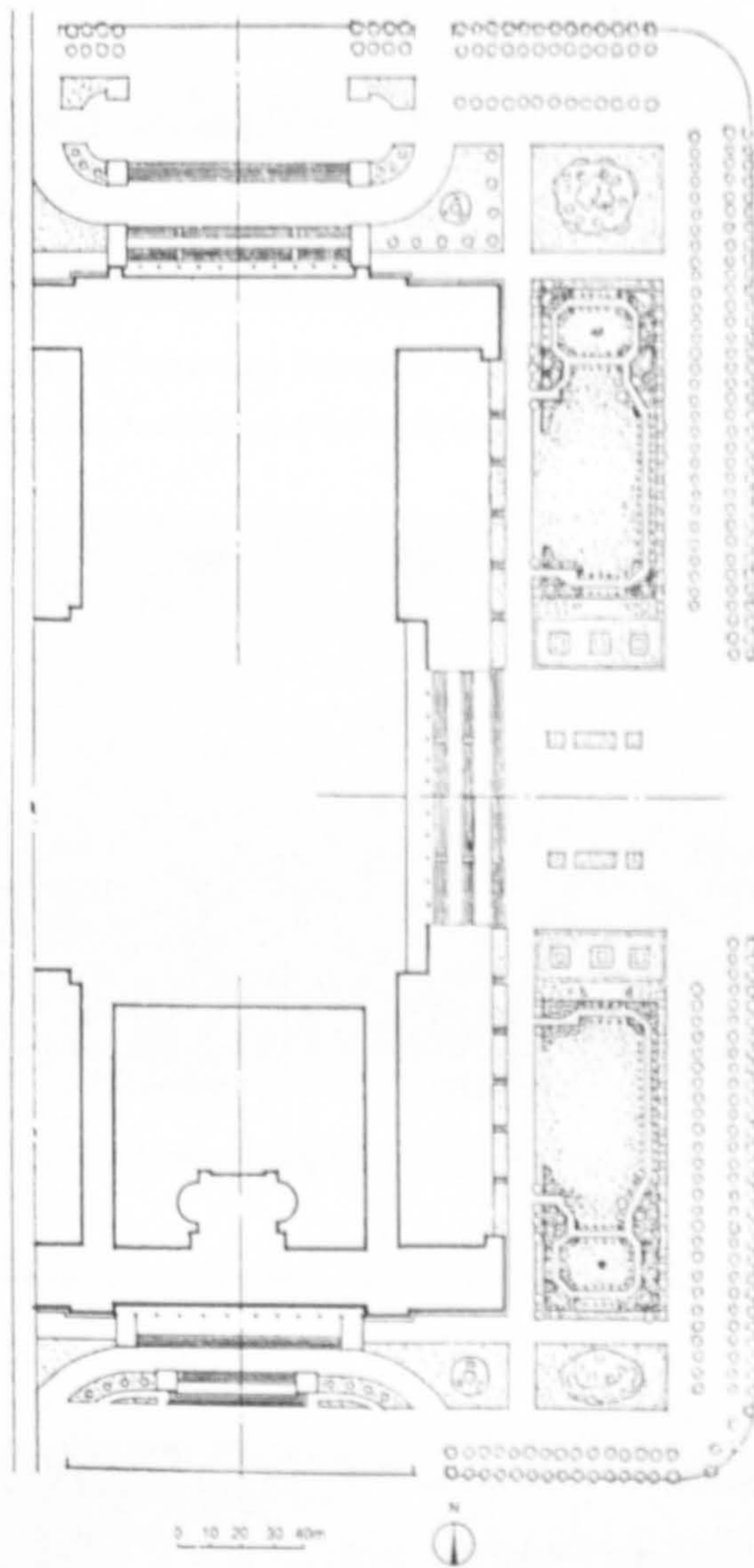


Figure 5.31 Plan of the greening arrangements in front of the Great Hall of the People for the tenth anniversary of the founding the PRC in 1959.

Source: Source: Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Beijing yuanlin youxiu sheji jijin* [A collection of excellent landscape design in Beijing] 北京园林优秀设计集锦. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1996), p. 25.

foreigners as being a dull, abnormal and empty desert, without a sense of direction.⁷⁸ Some within the Chinese Democratic Party expressed their dissatisfaction with respect to the needs of the ordinary people. An analogy was drawn between the construction of Tiananmen Square with that of the construction of the Great Wall by Qinshihuang, the first emperor in feudal China. This is because large numbers of ordinary people were resettled in order to make way for the Square's expansion, resulting in their living conditions being seriously undermined. This did not really improve till the 1980s when the economy improved.⁷⁹ Also in this note it was observed that the socialist state's extravagant expenditures of mass labour mobilized to produce spectacular results were similar to that for the grand projects in the imperial past.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Leys, Simon. *Chinese Shadows* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), pp. 56-57.

⁷⁹ Wang, Jun 王军. '1950 niandai: dui Liang-Chen fang'an de lishi kaocha' [The 1950s: the historical investigation of Liang-Chen Plan] 1950年代: 对梁陈方案的历史考察. *Shiji Zhongguo* (<http://www.cc.org.cn>), (2002).

⁸⁰ Anagnost, Ann. 'Cultural Nationalism and Chinese Modernity', In Befu, Harumi, ed. *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia: Representation and Identity* (Berkeley: California: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993), p. 68.



Figure 5.32 The huge openness of Tiananmen Square in 1959 (seen from the north).

Source: Contribution from *Beijing Daily*, Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.



Figure 5.33 Five huge Chinese characters, 'Long Live Chairman Mao (毛主席万岁)', formed by assemblages of people (seen from north).

Source: Contribution from Xinhua News Agency, Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.



Figure 5.34 Tiananmen Square in 1959 (seen from the south). The paved ground to the north was ideal for political purposes, such as mass rallies and meetings; meanwhile, the green areas behind the Monument to the People's Heroes and in front of the Great Hall of the People and the Museum of Chinese Revolution and History were where people could go for informal recreation.

Source: Contribution from Xinhua News Agency, Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.

Despite favourable and adverse criticism, the Square clearly demonstrated the power of the new nation and the liberation from the so-called 'Three Big Mountains', namely imperialism, feudalism, and capitalism. Premier Zhou Enlai once praised the Square by analogy, 'when a human stands by the seashore, the sea does not seem far away, the sky does not seem quite high, and the human does not seem tiny.'⁸¹ This brought a Chinese traditional saying to mind, which went, 'a fish swims at its convenience in the sea, and a bird flies at its convenience in the sky.'⁸² The sense of liberation was thus realized through the Square's enormous size and it acted as a material projection of the mental imagery of the communist utopia.

⁸¹ Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛. 'Tiananmen Guangchang de guihua he sheji' [The Planning and Design of the Tiananmen Square] 天安门广场的规划和设计. *Jianzhushi lunwen ji*, 2 (1979), p. 31.

⁸² This saying in Chinese is '海阔凭鱼跃, 天高任鸟飞'.

Visions for future development

While the design for the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic mainly concentrated on the northern part of the 880 metres long Square, in the 1960s debates ignited again about future development at south, i.e. the area south of the Monument, the Great Hall and Museum.

The issue was over *shou* (to enclose, 收) versus *fang* (to release, 放).⁸³ *Shou* meant the flanking buildings should be nearer towards each other in order to make the Square narrower than at north (Fig. 5.35, a, b). *Fang* was actually Mao's option, as he already indicated in 1956 that the Square should, with the same width of 500 metres, be extended straight to south (Fig. 5.35, c). It seemed that the *shou* concept disobeyed his orders.

Those who preferred *shou* appreciated a traditional arrangement where spatial sections would be revealed gradually. They were afraid that the *fang* approach would create a Square where everything would be seen within a glance. They claimed that the present size of the north part was already wide enough for political purposes, and that a somewhat enclosed part at south would help to articulate a variety of outdoor spaces with a sequential hierarchy. This suggestion was criticized for its parochial nature, which appeared to have struck a note with people's broad-minded sentiments in the new era. Whatever the intensity of the debate, it did not exert any effect on the construction, as it was overtaken by the Cultural Revolution in 1966, which halted the debates around the layout of Tiananmen Square.

This deadlock did not prevent the Square from continuing to be a place for the demonstration of revolutionary power and the high spirit of the people. Eight times at Tiananmen from August to November 1966, the communist leaders received Red Guards (Fig. 5.36), and

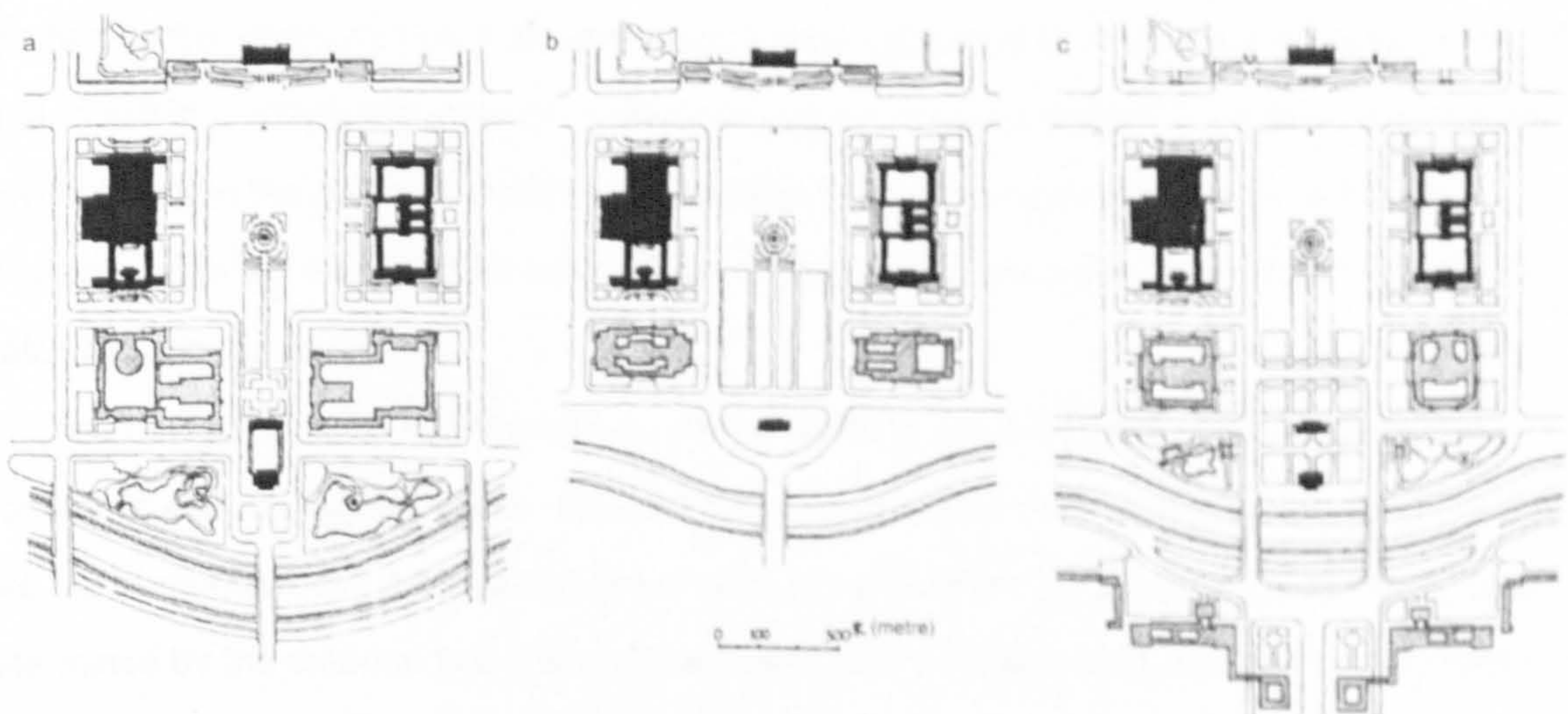


Figure 5.35 The design proposals in 1964 for the *shou-fang* debate.

Source: Architectural archives, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University.

⁸³ Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt discussed the issue of *shou* and *fang* in *Chinese Imperial City Planning*. But it seemed that some misunderstanding of the real concern of the debate occurred. In the book, the relationships between Beijing city's future developments with Tiananmen Square were addressed for the *shou-fang* issue. See Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman. *Chinese Imperial City Planning* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), pp. 180-181.



Figure 5.36 Parades of Red Guards along Chang'an Avenue in 1966 when the Cultural Revolution was launched. The slogan on the banners read, 'Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution'.

Source: <http://pop.6park.com/life2/messages/gvk14856.html>, accessed on 04/02/2008.

there was a sea of Red Guards (Fig. 5.37). Also, the Square accommodated mass rallies in response to Mao's call for world unity against imperialism of the United States in May 1970 (Fig. 5.38). In addition to these officially approved gatherings, the Square again accommodated spontaneous mass movements as did in the early twentieth century. After Premier Zhou Enlai died in January 1976, there were numerous assemblies and dedications in the Square in commemoration of him on the Pure Brightness (4 April) (Fig. 5.39), which was however at the time suppressed by the official authority. Either organised or spontaneous, all these events meant that any future development of the Square would have to reflect political desiderata.

Expansion with Mao's mausoleum

The Cultural Revolution ended with the death of Mao, in 1976. This momentous occurrence signified further changes to the Square when it was suggested to dedicate a mausoleum to him, located within it. While the issue of location was again not undisputed,⁸⁴ the outcome was still inevitable within the political context. Just as Mao determined a single centre for Beijing's development in the early 1950s, the location of his mausoleum in this centre was required to match his paramount status.

The mausoleum, 75 metres square, was situated to south of the Square between the Monument and Zhengyang Gate, replacing the pine grove formerly to south of the Monument. Like the Monument, the mausoleum faced north, thus maintaining a continuity. Its height was determined by the criterion that it should be higher than Zhengyang Gate if seen from north of the Square (Fig. 5.40).⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Besides in Tiananmen Square, some suggested a location on Fragrant Hill west of Beijing, others proposed a site on Jingshan Hill behind the Forbidden City, still others selected the palace courtyard immediately behind Tiananmen. See Gao, Yilan 高亦兰. 'Maozhuxi jiniantang sheji guocheng zongjie' [Summary of the design of Chairman Mao's Mausoleum] 毛主席纪念堂设计过程总结. *Jianzhushi lunwen ji*, 1 (2003), pp. 1-25.

⁸⁵ The mausoleum was 33.6 metres high.



Figure 5.37 A sea of Red Guards holding high the Little Red Book and celebrating the launch of Cultural Revolution in Tiananmen Square (1966).

Source: <http://pop.6park.com/life2/messages/qvk14856.html>, accessed on 04/02/2008.



Figure 5.38 Mass rallies in Tiananmen Square on 21 May 1970 in response to Chairman Mao's statement 'People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!'

Source: 'Firmly Supporting Chairman Mao's Statement'. *China Reconstructs*. Vol. XIX, No. 8 (August 1970), p. 6.



Figure 5.39 Mass assemblies and dedications in commemoration of Premier Zhou Enlai (1898-1976) in Tiananmen Square in April 1976.

Source: <http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:4-5Movement.jpg>, accessed on 07/04/2008.

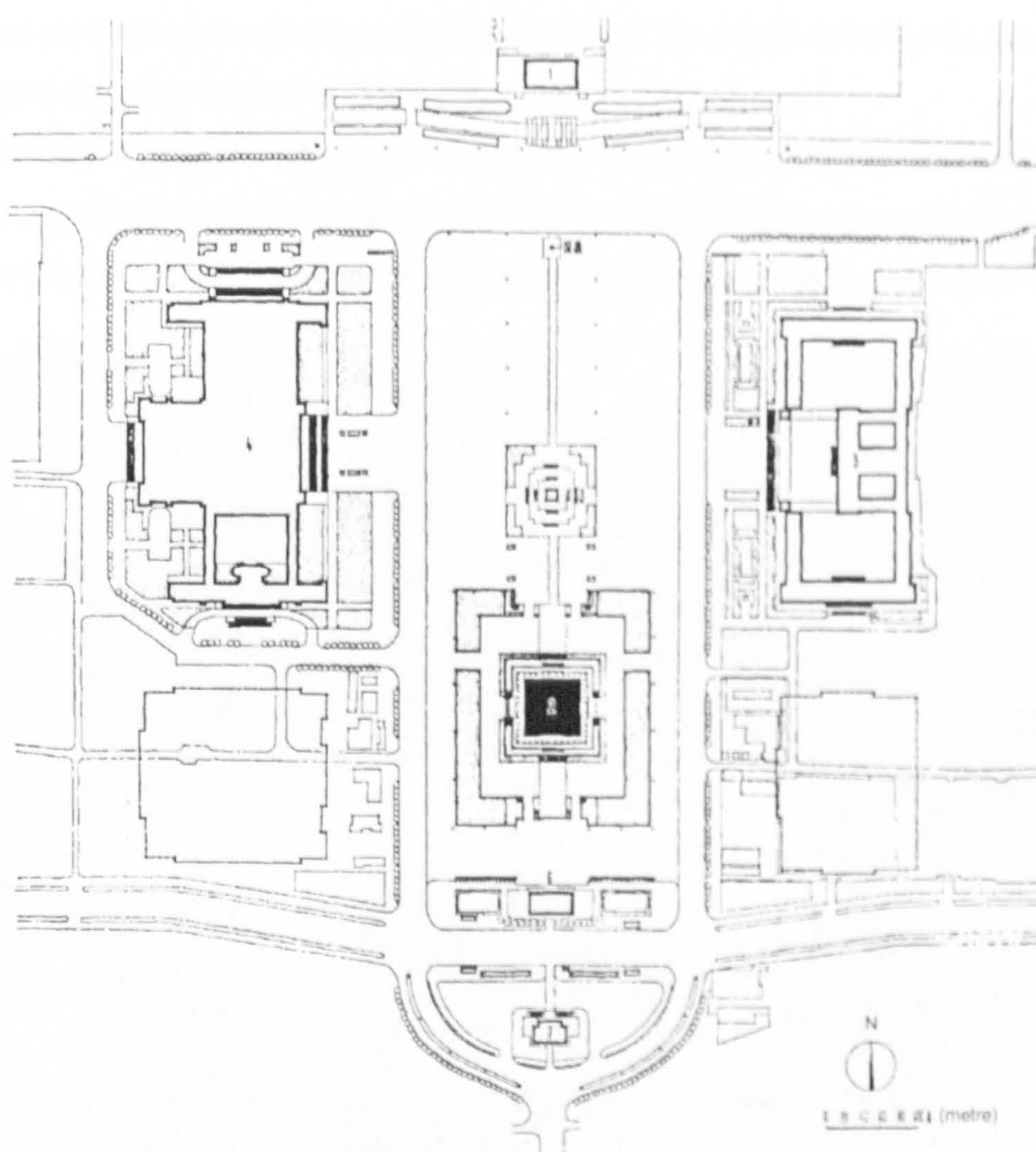


Figure 5.40 Plan of Tiananmen Square in the late 1970s.

Source: Design group of Chairman Mao's mausoleum 毛主席纪念堂规划设计组. 'Mao zhuxi jiniantang zongti guihua' [The overall planning of the Chairman Mao's mausoleum] 毛主席纪念堂总体规划. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 4 (1977), p. 7.

The mausoleum was surrounded by a courtyard which measured 220 metres by 260 metres. As a result, the *shou-fang* controversy during the 1960s no longer was a problem and the Square was now extended with an even width of 500 metres. Around the mausoleum complex, the Square was paved so that it might be used for political purposes. By paving this area also, the Square could now accommodate some 200,000 more people than was possible in 1959.⁸⁶ 'On occasion of grand rallies, Chairman Mao's mausoleum would be surrounded by broad masses. This would give expression to the theme that Chairman Mao is among the masses and that Chairman Mao forever lives in our hearts.'⁸⁷ With the inclusion of the mausoleum, the ideological significance of the centrality of the Square in Beijing, and at the same time in the country, was strengthened.

As the Square was expanded, not everywhere was paved however. Two bands of planting were incorporated in the courtyard of the mausoleum. The planting area was turfed, with trees

⁸⁶ The Square could hold 400,000 people in 1959 for the tenth anniversary of founding of the PRC.

⁸⁷ Author's translation. Design group of Chairman Mao's mausoleum 毛主席纪念堂规划设计组. 'Mao zhuxi jiniantang zongti guihua' [The overall planning of the Chairman Mao's mausoleum] 毛主席纪念堂总体规划. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 4 (1977), p. 6.

and shrubs planted regularly in lines, which conformed to the overall formality but also responded to the commemorative theme (Fig. 5.41).

On the 30-metres-wide outer band, three rows of Chinese pines (*Pinus tabulaeformis* Carrière.) dominated the courtyard, planted with six-metre spacing along the outer periphery.⁸⁸ But unlike the pines formerly behind the Monument, which had served as a symbol of the heroes'

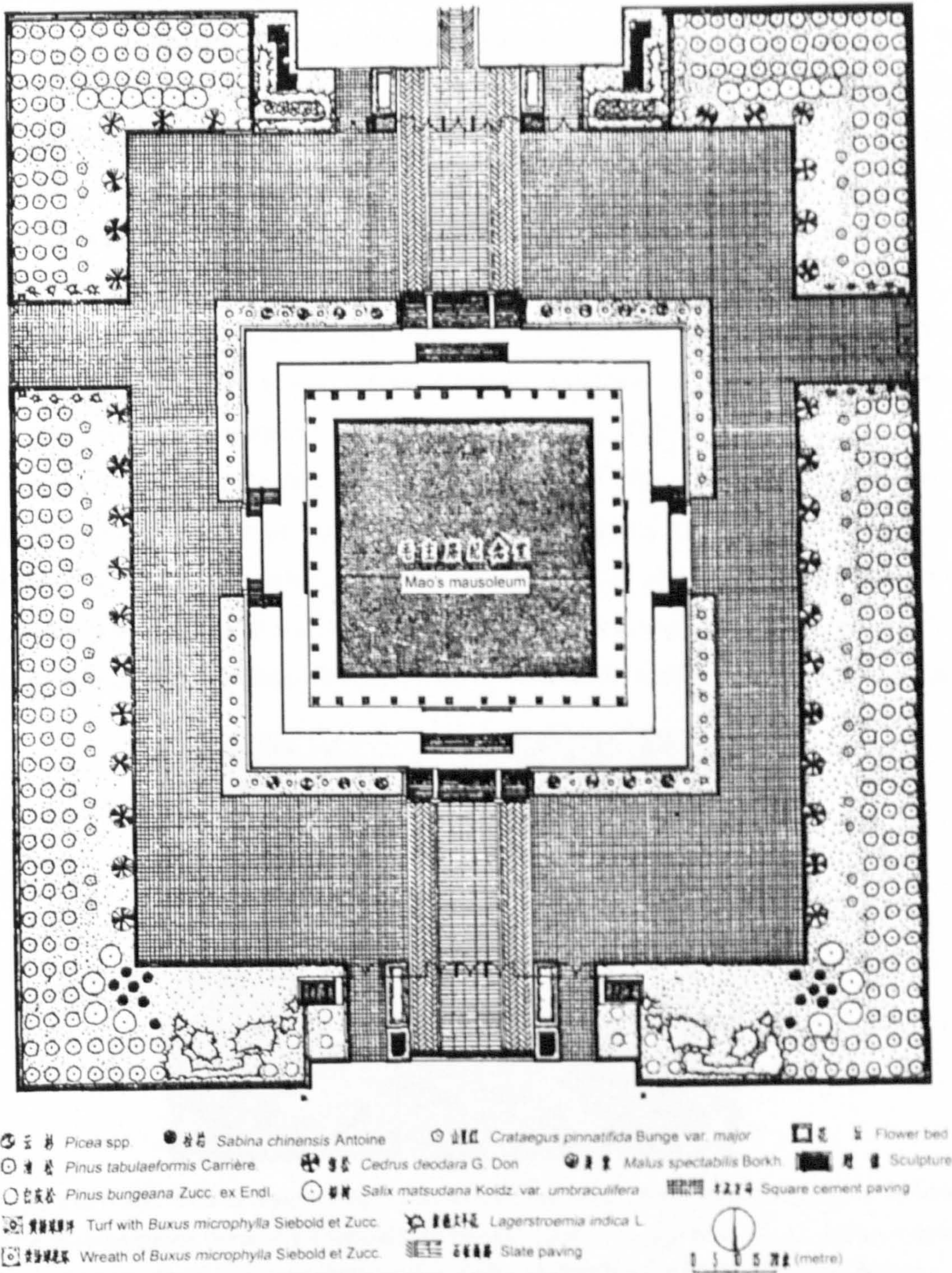


Figure 5.41 Plan of the courtyard of Mao's mausoleum

Source: Design group of Chairman Mao's mausoleum 毛主席纪念堂规划设计组. 'Mao zhuxi jiniantang zongti guihua' [The overall planning of the Chairman Mao's mausoleum] 毛主席纪念堂总体规划. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 4 (1977), p. 9.

⁸⁸ One more metre than that of the former pine grove, which was advised by specialists from the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks to have a better shape of the plant.

everlasting revolutionary spirit, these were said to be used to create 'an extensive green in which the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao would forever rest in peace'.⁸⁹ Additionally, Mao's revolutionary accomplishments were commemorated with thirteen of these pines which had been especially selected in and transported from Yan'an, denoting his resplendent thirteen years there (1935-1948) leading to the triumph of the Chinese communist revolution. The inner periphery was lined with deodar cedars which with their weeping branches emphasised the mood (Fig. 5.42). Between these two lines of evergreen, *Crataegus pinnatifida* Bunge. var. *major* was planted in lines in response to Mao's directive to plant fruit trees, so that 'it is nice-looking, of substantial benefits, and good for future generations'.⁹⁰ While this statement formerly came from economic concerns, the trees now connoted that the socialist advancement would be achieved generation after generation, as they would have glorious flowers in spring and solid fruits in autumn year after year.

The inner ring was attached to the foot of the mausoleum, and was lined with round-shaped *Buxus microphylla* Siebold et Zucc., which alternated with firs on the north and south sides where the building was entered to emphasise the approach. (Fig. 5.43).

As a whole, the planting responded to the symmetrical monumental order, and provided an important representation of contemporary politics. It was notable that the political connotation was here continued in the symbolic use of plants. This ancient tradition was adopted for new revolutionary purposes. It is also clear that the process of planting provided a clear opportunity for political propaganda as the planting acquisition and establishment were achieved through

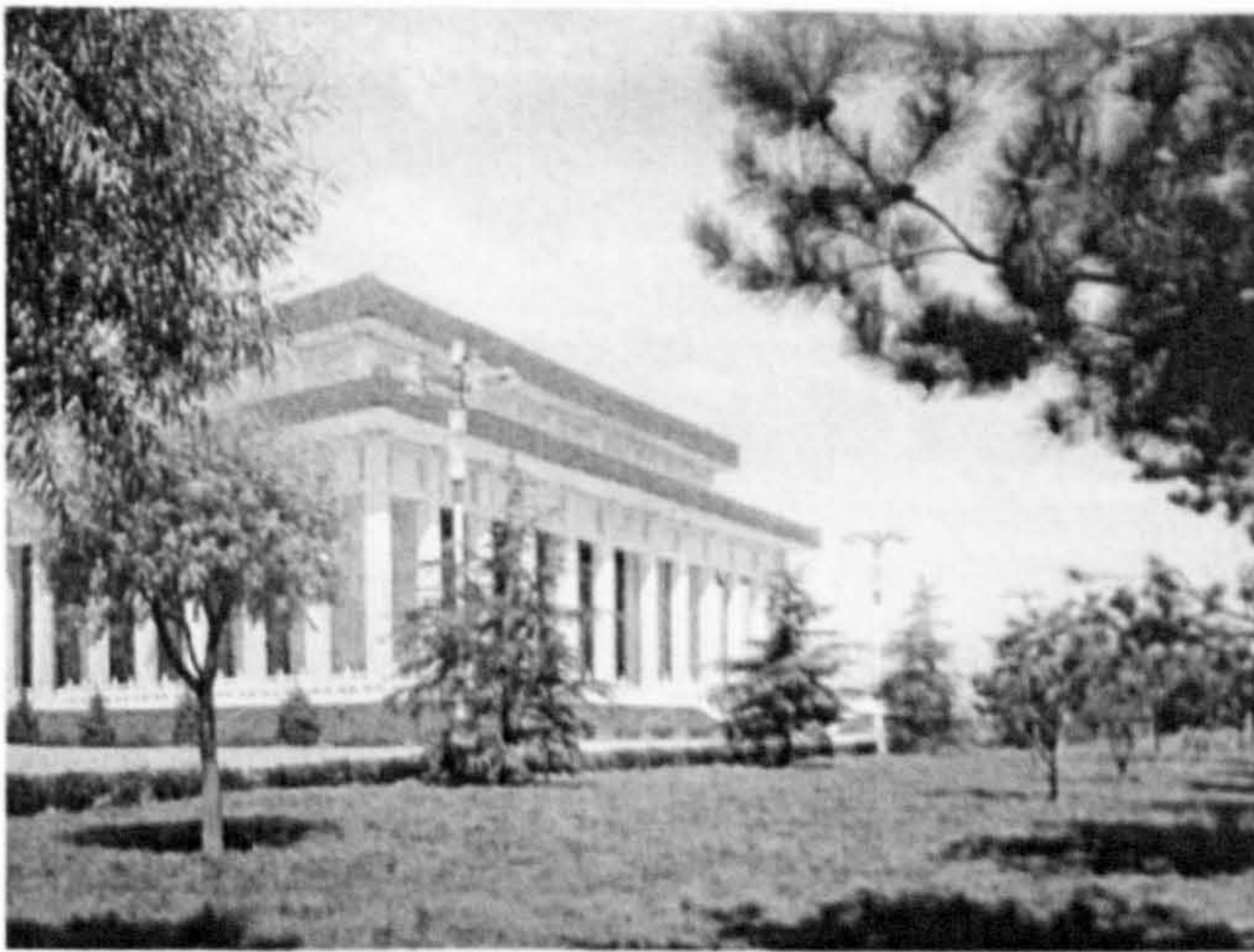


Figure 5.42 A view of the courtyard of Mao's mausoleum. *Cedrus deodara* G. Don. was selected according to the commemoration theme and loosely spaced in order to give a sense of spaciousness to the courtyard.

Source: Guojia jiben jianshe weiyuanhui jianzhu kexue yanjiuyuan 国家基本建设委员会建筑科学研究院, ed. *Mao zhuxi jiniantang* [Chairman Mao's mausoleum] 毛主席纪念堂. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1978).

⁸⁹ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. 'Mao zhuxi jinian tang de lühua gongcheng' [Greening for Chairman Mao's mausoleum] 毛主席纪念堂的绿化工程. *Jianzhu Jishu*. Z1 (1978), p. 113.

⁹⁰ Quoted from Red Flag of Faculty of South China College of Technology 华南工学院教工红旗 ed. *Tao Zhu zai jianzhu lingyu de zuixing pipan ji* [A collection of criticisms of the crimes of Tao Zhu in architectural profession] 陶铸在建筑领域的罪行批判集. (Guangzhou: South China College of Technology, 1967), p. 2. Author's translation.



Figure 5.43 Along the foot of the mausoleum, *Buxus microphylla* Siebold et Zucc. and *Picea* spp. were regularly placed conforming to the overall spatial order.

Source: Guojia jiben jianshe weiyuanhui jianzhu kexue yanjiuyuan 国家基本建设委员会建筑科学研究院, ed. *Mao zhuxi jiniantang* [Chairman Mao's mausoleum] 毛主席纪念堂. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1978).

mass mobilisation. While some trees were obtained within Beijing, others were sourced from all over the country: Shandong Province in east, Guangdong Province in south, Shaanxi Province and Hebei Province in north, Yunnan Province and Sichuan Province in southwest, and Hunan Province in the centre. The maintenance of this political showpiece was similarly an educational opportunity and provided an opportunity for showing political respect with at the busiest days, the area being tended by one person per square metre.⁹¹ Although the huge material and labour cost did not reflect the latest advocacy, 'Thrift is revolutionary', this was an exceptional case.

Development in the post-Mao era

In the late 1970s, Mao's political ideology began to be replaced by economic drives for the socialist development. Yet within this context, Tiananmen Square remained of special political significance, which continued to be strengthened by further modifications. In April 1991, a new much grander flagpole replaced the old one in order to improve the ceremony of raising and lowering the national flag. Whereas the old flagpole had a pedestal with only four square metres, the new one was set on a platform extending to about 400 square metres. This was an attempt to properly match the scale of the Square, which was now much larger than in 1949 when the old flagpole was established. The old pedestal had been surrounded by a balustrade, causing an awkward moment in the ceremony where soldiers had to climb across in order to complete the ceremony, thereby not providing an appropriate 'face' for China as a place of world attention (Fig. 5.44).

⁹¹ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Parks 北京市园林局. *Dangdai Beijing yuanlin fazhan shi* [Modern history of Beijing landscape architecture] 当代北京园林发展史. (October, 1987), p. 44.



Figure 5.44 The new flagpole established in 1991, which was much grander than the old one, with the surrounding carefully designed furniture.

Source: Photograph by author on 21/01/2005.

By the early 1980s, concerns began to be expressed about the bleakness of the Square and its lack of planting, which resulted in the Square being referred to as an urban thermal island.⁹² Additional greening reflected the environmental concerns with terraces formerly for inspecting parades beside Golden Water Bridge being replaced by flowerbeds in 1982. Much later in 1998, lawns were planned around the Square's periphery (Fig. 5.45). However, these and other ad hoc modifications did not address the real problem of bleakness and inhuman scale at moment when it was not in use for enormous assemblies. Extensive paved areas remained the Square's predominant characteristic. The Square was however rarely used at capacity but inefficiently used for political purposes alone. It served occasionally for a grand show during national festivals, but was seldom adopted for normal functions, such as daily recreation. There was little provision for seating or places to shelter, for example. These problems have become conspicuous as the Square has become an increasingly popular tourist site. A recent commentator noted that, 'Tiananmen has never been much of a public square but, throughout the twentieth century, it stood as an important representational space'.⁹³ Urban life in the Square was sacrificed by the requirement for upholding a political image as a representation of the power of socialist China.

⁹² Luo, Jianmin 罗建敏. 'Shiping Tiananmen guangchang de gui Hua' [An evaluation of the planning of Tiananmen Square] 试评天安门广场的规划. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 05 (1981), pp. 28-33; Zhang, Jingzhe, Zhou Yixing, and Liu Jihan 张景哲, 周一星, 刘继韩. 'Cong xiao qi hou kan Tiananmen guangchang de lu Hua' [An evaluation of the greening of Tiananmen Square by studying the microclimate] 从小气候看天安门广场的绿化. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, 12 (1982), pp. 28-31.

⁹³ Broudehoux, Anne-Marie. *The Making and Selling of Post-Mao Beijing* (London, New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 167-168.

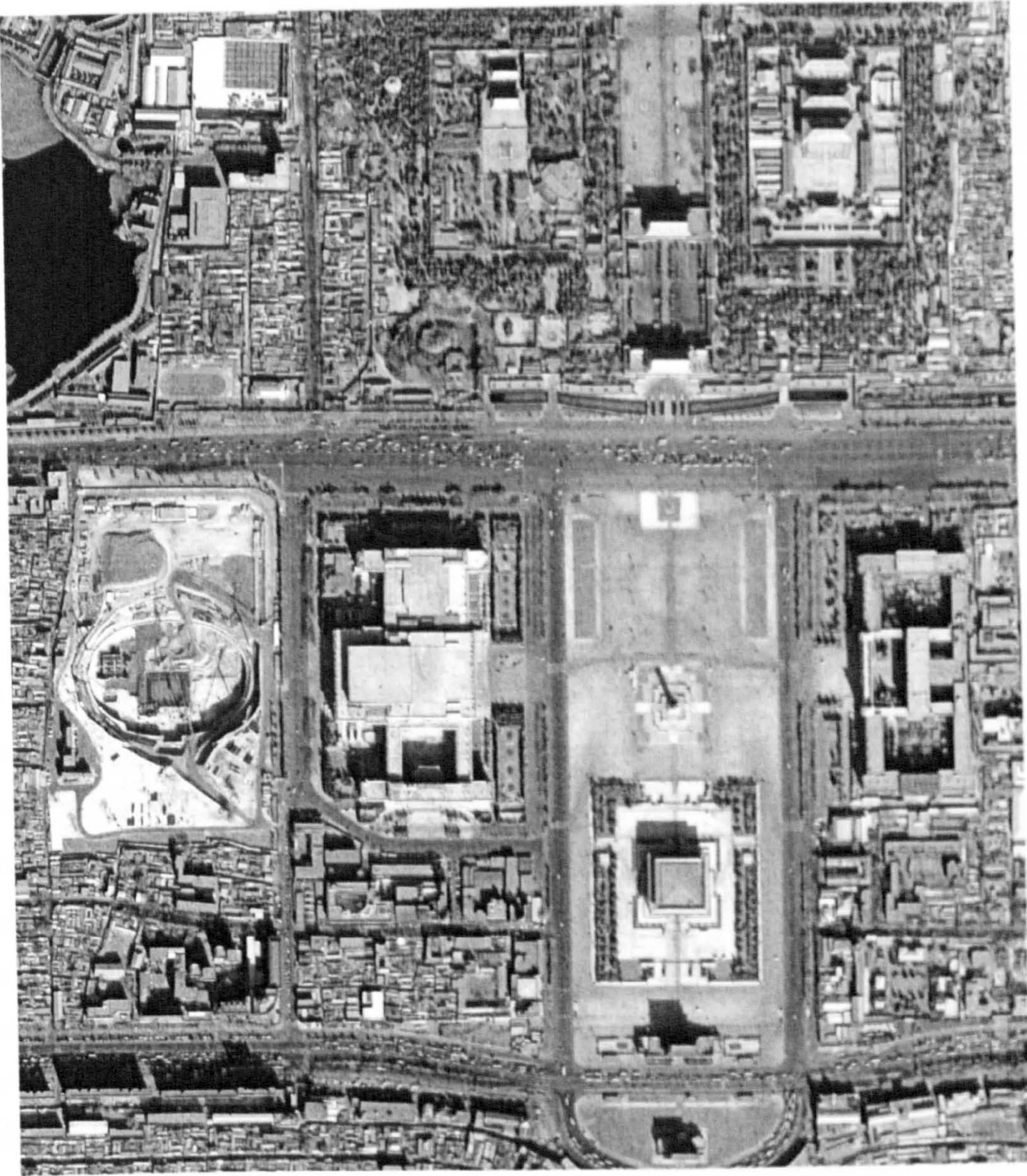


Figure 5.45 Vertical aerial photo of Tiananmen Square at the turn of the 21st century. Flowerbeds beside Golden Water Bridge were laid in 1982 replacing the former terraces used for inspecting parades. Several lawns around the periphery were laid in 1998. Despite the greening establishment, the Square remained largely paved, ideal for holding grand political events and projecting a powerful urban image.

Source: www.digitalglobe.com, accessed on 22/8/2005.

Conclusion

After the 1949 Liberation, Tiananmen Square emerged from the centre of Beijing city as a symbol of the emergence of socialist China. Its re-creation from an ancient ritualistic imperial space was first of all based on obliterating the 'olds', and was guided by revolutionary ideals. The former sanctuary core displaying imperial power was transformed into a focal point displaying the power of the broad masses and the new socialist nation. However, many traditional elements were incorporated in the built landscape, so that the Square would be a unique Chinese one, and certainly a socialist one as well.

In the eyes of some foreign scholars, 'to be sure, Tiananmen Square and its component buildings were only barely Chinese in appearance... the Square and its buildings lacked all but the most incidental of traditional Chinese architectural treatments'.⁹⁴ However, as we have seen, traditional elements in the Square could be easily identified, such as the calligraphy work on the Monument to the People's Heroes carrying memories, and planting acting as political symbol pertaining to traditional cultural connotations. Moreover, although the huge featureless plane was the immediate impression of the Square, the dimensions of the old T-shaped square were the reference for the new spatial organisation. For example, the width of the former bar of the old square can be detected in the square lawn at the foot of the Monument. Therefore, rather than being irrelevant to design precedents, the 'olds' often served as a proof for the validity and authenticity of the 'new'.

In the process of modifications to the Square, official leaders' prescriptions, such as Mao's, played a vital role. The most important decisions were taken by political leaders. As a result of the oppressive regime, politicians were never challenged, and the result is representative of the authoritarian view. Therefore, although many options were collected from professionals and ordinary people, fully coherent layout could not be achieved. The socialist ideal, 'from the masses, and to the masses', as Premier Zhou once said, 'to have the Tiananmen Square constructed as a place which people like most',⁹⁵ did not materialise. The excessive stress of political needs produced an inhuman space unsuitable for daily use. However, while the initial concept was basically conceived by the leaders, the collective efforts from different professions, including landscape designers, architects and sculptors, was a potent force to improve the quality of the designed elements in the Square. This was particularly so during the 1950s.

This analysis shows that it was a Chinese concern for 'face' that largely determined the design for Tiananmen Square. Despite the incorporation of some 'olds', the Square was a clear representation of contemporary politics. Socialist power was ensured and represented through an extraordinary but appropriate image. As such a product, the Square itself acted as a big face of China, in which political and cultural significations could be discerned.

⁹⁴ Samuels, Marwyn S., and Carmencita M. Samuels. 'Beijing and the Power of Place in Modern China', in Agnew, John A. and James S. Duncan, eds. *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations* (London, Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 220.

⁹⁵ Wu, Liangyong 吴良铮. 'Tiananmen guangchang de guihua he sheji' [The planning and design of Tiananmen Square] 天安门的规划和设计. *Jianzhushi Lunwen Ji*, 2 (1979), p. 48.

Chapter 6

Rural Land under Communist Utopia: The Dazhai Model

Dazhai, a small village of Xiyang County in eastern Shanxi Province, lies more than 1,000 metres above sea level on loess plateau of the Taihang Mountain. It was once the glorious agricultural model for the whole China to emulate, after Chairman Mao Zedong (1893-1976), issued the slogan '*Nongye Xue Dazhai*' (In Agriculture, Learn from Dazhai) in 1964. Since then, it attracted hundreds of thousands of visitors to experience Dazhai each year, not only from various parts of China herself, but also from abroad (Fig. 6.1).

As China had been an agricultural country for centuries and peasants always constituted the majority of population,¹ the vast rural area was of unusual significance for China's development in various spheres. In fact, it was always a crucial concern for CCP's revolutionary activities, both in the Liberation war before 1949 with a military strategy of 'encircling the cities from the rural areas'² and in the socialist construction period after 1949 with development strategies such as 'narrowing the differences between town and country'. Therefore, as Dazhai became a model to be learnt from, the study of Dazhai was fundamental to understand the sea changes on the rural lands of China.

Not surprisingly, there exist abundant reports on Dazhai, as it was a place of world-wide

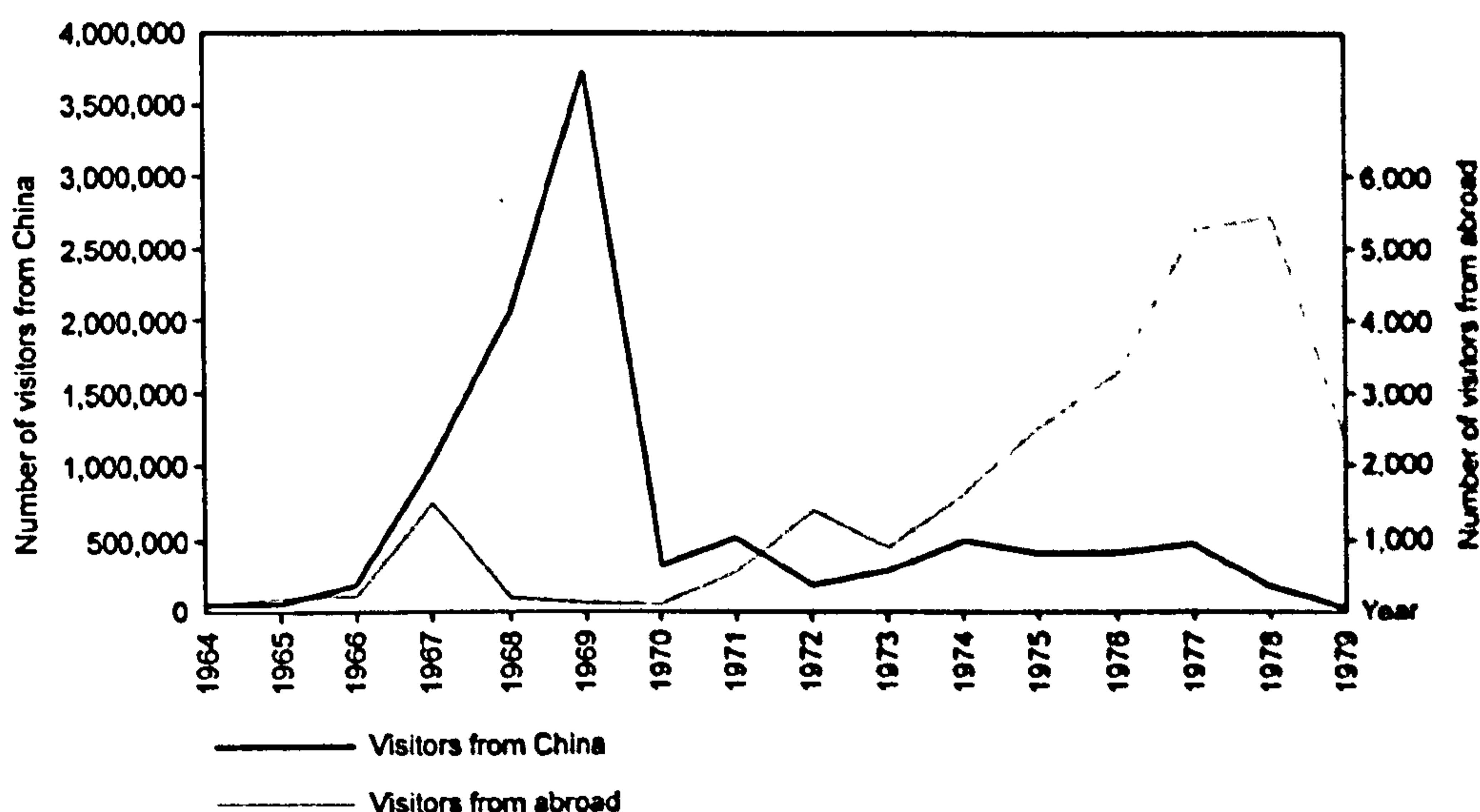


Figure 6.1 Change of the numbers of visitors during the 'Learning from Dazhai' movement.

Source: drawing author: based on figures in Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun Zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), pp. 263-273.

¹ Of China's 540 million population, 480 million were peasants at the time of the CCP's takeover.

² This military strategy was formulated in Mao's 1930 article 'A Single Spark Can Spark a Prairie Fire'. However, in 1930, Mao was nonetheless interested in capturing major cities to have a nation-wide uprising. Only after the third failure to capture Changsha City, did Mao decide not to attack big and medium-sized cities. The military strategy was finally formulated after the accomplishment of the famous Long March in northern Shaanxi in 1936. For more details, see Tang, Zongli, and Bing Zuo. *Maoism and Chinese Culture* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 1996), pp. 187-201.

attention. Also, Dazhai has been much researched. But, while a great many investigations exist on such issues as ideological orientation, social manipulation, economic development,³ propaganda stimulation,⁴ effects of the 'Learning from Dazhai' movement,⁵ and so on, the exploration of landscape issues has been far from adequate. There have been several accounts of the most conspicuous and popularly admired part of Dazhai landscape, the terraces. But these are either mainly praising the Dazhai spirit of perseverance in building terraces with primitive tools in harsh conditions,⁶ or still short of details of how the terraces were designed and constructed.⁷ Neville Maxwell investigated the housing establishment of the village, but it resulted in a superficial description that is insufficient.⁸ The latest and the only study on the landscape issues published is an article by Chinese architects, Wang Haisong and Li Su, in 1996, about the relationship between flood control works and the formation of the village, with an emphasis on the central square.⁹

The landscape issues of Dazhai therefore need further exploration, and this chapter set out to make up for this deficiency. It investigates the relationships between general policies and design activities, reveals ideas about the layout and arrangement of fields, housing and open spaces, assesses how landscape design met the revolutionary spirit, and establishes the effects of the landscape transformation.

The 'designer', Chen Yonggui

Chen Yonggui (1915-1986), a representative of the poor and lower-middle peasants, the majority of the population in the old society of pre-Liberation China, was born in 1915 (Fig. 6.2). Chen

³ Such as Tannebaum, Gerald. 'The Real Spirit of Tachai'. *Eastern Horizon*, Vol. X, No. 3 (1971), pp. 5-36; Meisner, Mitch. 'Dazhai: The Mass Line in Practice'. *Modern China*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1978), pp. 27-62; Maxwell, Neville, ed. *China's Road to Development* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1979), pp. 41-95.

⁴ Such as Lu, Xin-An. 'Dazhai: Imagistic Rhetoric as a Cultural Instrument'. *American Communication Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2001).

⁵ Such as The correspondent. 'Pace-setters for Socialist Farming'. *Peking Review*, Vol. 8, No. 49 (1965), pp. 21-23; Salter Christopher L. 'The Litany of Tachai and the Foolish Old Man: Agricultural Landscape Modification in Mainland China'. *Professional Geographer*, 24 (2), (1972), pp. 113-117; Leys, Simon. *Chinese Shadows* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), pp. 74-75; Liang, Heng, and Judith Shapiro. *Return to China: A Survivor of the Cultural Revolution Reports on China Today* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987), pp. 213-226; Shapiro, Judith. *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 95-137.

⁶ Tannebaum, Gerald. 'The Real Spirit of Tachai'. *Eastern Horizon*, Vol. X, No. 3 (1971), pp. 11-12.

⁷ Buchanan, Keith. *The Transformation of the Chinese Earth: Aspects of the Evaluation of the Chinese Earth from Earliest Times to Mao Tse-tung* (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd, 1970), pp. 152-153; Editorial Board of *Dazhai geography of Xiyang County* 忻阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai dili* [Dazhai geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), pp. 19-24; The Scientific Research Group of the Tachai Production Brigade. 'Taichai Field - Its Reconstruction and Its Fertility Characteristics'. *Scientia Sinica*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (1976), pp. 8-9; Maxwell, Neville, ed. *China's Road to Development* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1979), pp. 41-42, 55. In Keith Buchanan's description, there is an error timing in which the terraces were said to be built after 1963. Christopher L. Salter also noted in 1977, 'Although the story of the landscape modification programs in Ta-chai from the middle 1950s on is available in part in Maxwell's article and in works by Tannebaum (1974) and other authors, there still remains to be written the earth and stone technology account of the transformation of the landscape. Such a work will not come from one-day or three-day visits, but rather from a residential opportunity which will someday be a reality'. In Salter, Christopher L. 'Ta-chai beyond Ta-chai: Some Unsuspected Lessons for the USA from a Chinese Campaign'. *The China Geographer*, No. 7 (Spring, 1977), pp. 60-61. But no such work has been done yet.

⁸ Maxwell, Neville, ed. *China's Road to Development* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1979), p. 51.

⁹ Wang, Haisong, and Li Su 王海松, 李速. 'Shandi fanghong yu cunluo xingtai: Shanxi sheng Dazhai cun kaocha' [Flood control in mountainous region and village form: investigation of Dazhai village in Shanxi Province] 山地防洪与村落形态——山西省大寨村考察. *Architect* 建筑师, No. 72 (1996), pp. 64-66.



Figure 6.2 Chen Yonggui (1915-1986) building terrace walls.

Source: Editorial Board of Tachai Picture Album of Shanxi Province. *Tachai:*

Pacesetter in China's Agriculture (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978).

received neither education nor any professional training. It was not until after Liberation in the late 1950s that he addressed his illiteracy while in his forties. However, he was apt in dealing with the land in practice as a peasant, and was good at acquiring knowledge through personal observation and meditation. He was elected as the secretary of the Party Branch of Dazhai in 1952. Thus, it was Chen who led Dazhai villagers in landscape transformations and from time to time suggested ideas for changes in the landscape.

Chen's childhood was miserable. When he was six years old, his family was broken up and scattered to various places, because his father failed to provide a subsistence income. Chen became an orphan the next year. At that time, since landlords and rich peasants had most of the land, and poor and lower-middle peasants had to work for them to eke out their livelihood, lack of land was regarded as the root of exploitation and impoverishment in Chen's mind. He later said, 'Peasant, peasant, land is their livelihood'.¹⁰ Therefore, when the poor and lower-middle peasants were in possession of land through Land Reform, Chen had great enthusiasm and resolution to engage in land, which to him equalled socialism. Additionally, as a basically poor man who had experienced considerable hardship, he had special affection for the poor people and had a good sense of serving the public. Personal suffering as a result of deprivation in the pre-Liberation times became the driving force and benevolence became the personally for him to work diligently for the betterment of the majority and struggle for socialism during his life.

¹⁰ Duan, Cunzhang 段存章. *Wo zai Dazhai shisan nian: yiwei dangbao jizhe yanzhong de Dazhai ren* [My Thirteen Years in Dazhai: the Dazhai People in the Eyes of a Reporter of Party Newspaper] 我在大寨十三年——一位党报记者眼中的大寨人. (Beijing: Nongcun Duwu Chubanshe, 2003), p. 8.

The Dazhai Spirit

When Chairman Mao issued the great call 'In Agriculture, Learn from Dazhai' in 1964, Premier Zhou Enlai summarized Dazhai experiences in the First Session of the Third National People's Congress, as 'the principle of putting politics in command and placing ideology in the lead, the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle and the communist style of loving the country and the collective'.¹¹ All these were what Dazhai people earnestly practiced as they advocated.

While upon the Liberation China was nearly at a starting point that all unattended tasks were to be undertaken, the situation of which actually remained for years to come, willing of devotion, hard work, plain life, and so on, were all required in various developments. Accordingly, what Dazhai people thought of the communist world was quite simple to have just 'dwellings with downstairs and upstairs, with electric light and telephone, while not requiring cattle for cultivation and oil for lights'.¹² As poor peasants constituted the majority, Dazhai people, such as Chen Yonggui, being part of that majority, were always willing to serve the public. They even had an extended vision to have a popular saying: 'Stand on Tigerhead Mountain, have the whole country in mind and the whole world in view'.¹³ Guo Fenglian, succeeding Chen Yonggui as the secretary of the Party branch of Dazhai Brigade in 1973, further advocated, 'in making socialist revolution we must see 10 or even 100 years ahead instead of confining our vision to merely one or two years; we must not only think of bettering our own livelihood but also have in mind the whole country and the people of the whole world'.¹⁴

With the lofty realm of thought, the policy of self-reliance, issued as early as the 1930s by the CCP in Yan'an base, gained further prominence. In Dazhai people's words, 'In making revolution we must rely on ourselves instead of others. The state is ours. If we all rely on the state, whom could the state rely on?'¹⁵ There were plenty of examples of Dazhai's self-reliance. Perhaps the most outstanding one was the announced six 'no's during the 1963 catastrophe,¹⁶ which attracted the state's central committee's attention, and Dazhai was subsequently held up as the national model. Some foreign scholars were suspicious of the reality and validity of

¹¹ Joint Editorial Board of Dazhai Exhibition Hall of Xiyang County and Historical Relic Committee of Shanxi Province 昔阳县大寨展览馆、山西省文物工作委员会联合编写小组. *Historical relic: monograph of Dazhai revolutionary historical relic* 文物：大寨革命文物特刊. (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1976).

¹² Duan, Cunzhang 段存章. *Wo zai Dazhai shisan nian: yiwei dangbao jizhe yanzhong de Dazhai ren* [My Thirteen Years in Dazhai: the Dazhai People in the Eyes of a Reporter of Party Newspaper] 我在大寨十三年——一位党报记者眼中的大寨人. (Beijing: Nongcun Duwu Chubanshe, 2003), p. 171.

¹³ Duan, Cunzhang 段存章. *Wo zai Dazhai shisan nian: yiwei dangbao jizhe yanzhong de Dazhai ren* [My Thirteen Years in Dazhai: the Dazhai People in the Eyes of a Reporter of Party Newspaper] 我在大寨十三年——一位党报记者眼中的大寨人. (Beijing: Nongcun Duwu Chubanshe, 2003), p. 169.

¹⁴ Kuo, Feng-lien. 'Persist in Vigorously Criticizing Capitalism and Building Socialism'. In Hua, Guofeng. *Let the Whole Party Mobilize for a Vast Effort to Develop Agriculture and Build Tachai-type Counties throughout the Country: Summing-up Report at the National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture (October 15, 1975)* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975), p. 40.

¹⁵ Hsin, Hua-wen, and Chao Feng-nien. *Tachai: Standard Bearer in China's Agriculture* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1972), p. 9.

¹⁶ In the 1963 flood calamity, most of the Dazhai village were significantly destroyed, but Dazhai villagers advocated three 'no's for outside assistance: refusing state relief grain, refusing state relief funds and refusing state relief materials, and three 'no's for yields: no decrease in public accumulation, no decrease in grain contribution to the state and no decrease in the income of the collective members.

Dazhai's self-reliance, suggesting they received outside aid.¹⁷ Such criticisms were presented after the late 1970s when the 'Learning from Dazhai' movement was officially stopped. However, a careful detailed investigation by Qin Huailu confirmed the truth of Dazhai's self-reliance.¹⁸ Additionally, in Chen Yonggui's own but somewhat melancholy words, 'It should be based on facts. Do not praise you to the sky at one time, and press you down to the land at another time.'¹⁹ On his deathbed, he again warned, 'Do not make any claims from the Party organization. We are never that kind of men.'²⁰ What could be recognized was that those criticisms were actually influenced or misled by the required tactical strategies for supporting the diversion of the general policies after the late 1970s in China. William Hinton, an expert on the revolutionary transformation of Chinese agriculture, also commented, 'New policy makers could not ... reverse course without first tearing Dazhai's image apart and replacing it with another.'²¹ Moreover, in those criticisms, self-reliance and self-sufficiency were always lumped together in the contemporary political circumstances.

As self-reliance was stuck to, hard work with one's own hands was considered indispensable to get rid of impoverishment, rather than profiting by others' toil. With the visions of the future, Dazhai people said, 'We must not only talk hard about socialism, but also work hard for it; if we only talk about socialism, but do not work for it, we are not really building socialism.'²² Hardship was collectively regarded as something that could be enjoyed. When working hard in building socialism, Dazhai slogan ran, 'the more we do it, the better we like it and the greater our courage and ability to do it well.'²³ Some later questioned the great suffering through intensive physical labour and eating formidable frozen food in fields, and stated 'In Agriculture, Don't Learn from Dazhai'.²⁴ As it was mainly the criticism of the absurdity and abnormality of Cultural Revolution (1966-1969) and the oppression of political wind, the implied message was that it was

¹⁷ Leys, Simon. *Chinese Shadows* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), p. 74; Maxwell, Neville, ed. *China's Road to Development* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1979), pp. 42, 69; Shapiro, Judith. *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 98, 100, 106, 237. In all these listed criticisms, the labour provided by the People's Liberation Army (PLA) was mentioned, which should be those in Dazhai's irrigation works. But the help was on the PLA's own initiative and was spur-of-the-moment and irregular, which had nothing to do with Dazhai's adherence to self-reliance. This detailed investigation was provided in Qin, Huailu, edited by William Hinton. *Ninth Heaven to Ninth Hell: The History of a Noble Chinese Experiment* (New York: Barricade Books, 1995), pp. 542-545.

¹⁸ See Qin, Huailu, edited by William Hinton. *Ninth Heaven to Ninth Hell: The History of a Noble Chinese Experiment* (New York: Barricade Books, 1995), pp. 539-560.

¹⁹ Duan, Cunzhang 段存章. *Wo zai Dazhai shisan nian: yiwei dangbao jizhe yanzhong de Dazhai ren* [My Thirteen Years in Dazhai: the Dazhai People in the Eyes of a Reporter of Party Newspaper] 我在大寨十三年——一位党报记者眼中的大寨人. (Beijing: Nongcun Duwu Chubanshe, 2003), p. 16.

²⁰ Duan, Cunzhang 段存章. *Wo zai Dazhai shisan nian: yiwei dangbao jizhe yanzhong de Dazhai ren* [My Thirteen Years in Dazhai: the Dazhai People in the Eyes of a Reporter of Party Newspaper] 我在大寨十三年——一位党报记者眼中的大寨人. (Beijing: Nongcun Duwu Chubanshe, 2003), p. 17.

²¹ Qin, Huailu, edited by William Hinton. *Ninth Heaven to Ninth Hell: The History of a Noble Chinese Experiment* (New York: Barricade Books, 1995), p. 652.

²² Kuo, Feng-lien. 'Persist in Vigorously Criticizing Capitalism and Building Socialism'. In Hua, Guofeng. *Let the Whole Party Mobilize for a Vast Effort to Develop Agriculture and Build Tachai-type Counties throughout the Country: Summing-up Report at the National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture (October 15, 1975)* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975), p. 41.

²³ Hua, Guofeng. *Let the Whole Party Mobilize for a Vast Effort to Develop Agriculture and Build Tachai-type Counties throughout the Country: Summing-up Report at the National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture (October 15, 1975)* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975), pp. 20-21.

²⁴ Liang, Heng, and Judith Shapiro. 'In Agriculture, Don't Learn from Dazhai'. In *Return to China: A Survivor of the Cultural Revolution Reports on China Today* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987), pp. 213-226.

no good to stress politics to excess, mentioning it and agricultural production in the same breath. There was no way out to follow a model formalistically. Indeed, the great achievements of Dazhai landscape construction by hard work could not be denied. 'Learning from Dazhai' did not mean copying outward appearance, but grasping the inward spirit. As Hinton also noted, those accomplishments 'were a fruit of the Dazhai spirit, not the Dazhai spirit itself.'²⁵

The selflessness grounded on socialism and communism, self-reliance, and hard work were Dazhai's spiritual wealth. This spirit was the inherent and driven force to have Dazhai landscapes transformed. Thoughts and beliefs guided actions, and material world was changed as a result.

The original landscape

Lying on loess plateau, Dazhai village was 2 kilometres from east to west and 1.7 kilometres from north to south,²⁶ with a whole area of 3,051 *mu* (203.4 hectare).²⁷ The overall topography, with about 250 metres fall,²⁸ was higher in the southeast, with the summit being of Tigerhead Mountain, and lower in the northwest. This north orientation violated the Chinese traditional planning principle that villages should be located with a southern exposure to have an ideal positioning with adequate sunshine, proper ventilation, ample water resources, and so on. But, traditions of the terraced farmland construction and the special housing style of cave dwelling were sustained for long, and were typical of the loess region.

These typical landscapes conformed to the loess nature, which outstanding characteristic is the proneness to vertical cleavage, resulting in precipitous valleys and unique cliff landscapes.²⁹ In addition, human impacts, dated from historic times, brought about considerable soil erosion. All these had the loess plateau 'dissected into a maze of gullies and hills'.³⁰ Intensive terracing was the only viable way to have the loess land suitable for crop cultivation. Yet the condition of fields in Dazhai was even more difficult. The north orientation, violating traditional wisdom, exacerbated unfavourable climatic effects in the loess region and the lack of maintenance of fields before the Liberation.

The terraced fields in Dazhai were dispersed around the village area, whose unfavourable geographical condition was popularly known as '*Qigou baliang yimianpo*' (seven gullies, eight ridges and a mountainside). The seven gullies, successively from east to west, named Xiaobeiyu,

²⁵ Qin, Huailu, edited by William Hinton. *Ninth Heaven to Ninth Hell: The History of a Noble Chinese Experiment* (New York: Barricade Books, 1995), p. 649.

²⁶ Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai cun zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 1.

²⁷ Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai daba yudi jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 6. 1 *mu* is equivalent to 1/15 hectare or 1/6 acre.

²⁸ The highest altitude was 1,166 metres, and the lowest 909 metres.

²⁹ Tregear, Thomas Refoy. *China: A Geographical Survey* (London; Sydney: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980), 269.

³⁰ Zhao, Songqiao. *Geography of China: Environment, Resources, Population, and Development* (New York; Chichester: J. Wiley, 1994), p. 193.

Houdi, Baituo (White Camel), Laofen, Zhaobeiyu, Langwozhang (Wolf Den), Mahuang (Ephedra), were all more than 10 metres wide and 20 to 30 metres deep (refer to Fig. 6.15).³¹ The ridges in between stretched toward south to the mountainside which was of Tigerhead Mountain with gradient from 20 to 45 percent.³² The gullies, ridges and mountainside, having the nature of loess deposit, were annually eroded by the violent winds, uneven rainfall with ferocious deluge during the summer, and severe drought during the rest of year, especially in spring. Additionally, human interventions such as excessive deforestation further exacerbated the situation. As local villagers were long accustomed to make fires to keep warm and do the cooking with brushwood at home, the surviving few trees around the fields at the time of Dazhai's liberation in 1945 included one walnut tree and several peach trees.³³ As the vegetation was seriously compromised, there was extensive erosion which continued year after year, leaving the mountainside with a barren rock surface (Fig. 6.3), gullies with randomly scattered rocks (Fig. 6.4), and some disconnected sections of the ridges in the fields. The path system in the fields was as a result of this disadvantageous surface quite underdeveloped and dilapidated, but where extant it followed the natural topography and was steep and winding. There was a popular proverb in Dazhai that the uneven footpath could 'kill a squirrel by tripping over and kill a snake by tortuosity'.³⁴

In such rugged conditions, the desolate fields took up 35.3 percent of the village lands.³⁵

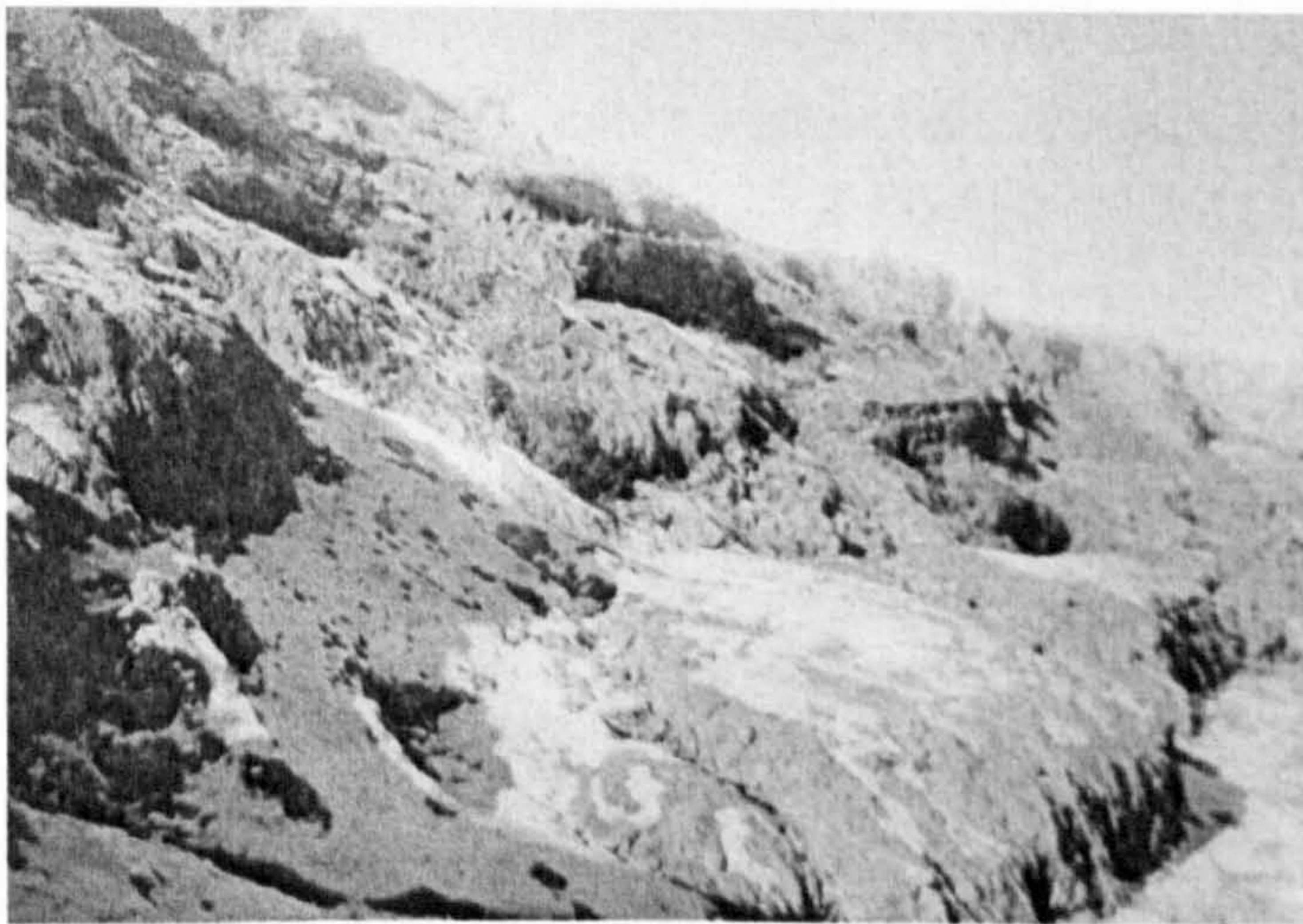


Figure 6.3 Heavily eroded mountain sides showing barren rock faces.

Source: *Learning from Tachai in Rural China* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975).

³¹ Editorial Board of *Dazhai geography* of Xiyang County 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai dili* [Dazhai geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 18.

³² Editorial Board of *Dazhai geography* of Xiyang County 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai dili* [Dazhai geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 17.

³³ Editorial Board of *Dazhai geography* of Xiyang County 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai dili* [Dazhai geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), 69; Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai cun zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), pp. 13, 90.

³⁴ Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai cun zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 122.

³⁵ Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai daba yudi jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 6.



Figure 6.4 An eroded gully showing evidence of flash floods.

Source: *Learning from Tachai in Rural China* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975).

Cultivated fields were fragmented into more than 4,700 tiny plots. The largest plot was no more than 3 *mu* (0.09 hectare) and the smallest less than 0.1 *mu* (0.007 hectare).³⁶ Mostly lying on the ridges and along the mountainside, the plots were high in the centre and low along the periphery, which made water retention problematic and also meant the loss of soil and fertilizer, so these fields came to be named 'three-loss field'. The soil was thus constantly depleted, and nutrients and manure lost. Furthermore, land distribution amongst Dazhai's villagers was very unequal, with landlords and rich peasants holding the largest area, while the majority of the population – the poor and lower-middle peasants,³⁷ were exploited and had to struggle for survival (Table 6.1); there were no initiatives and no possibility to improve the land. The output of the land³⁸ in a good year was only about 100 *jin/mu* or 0.75 ton/hectare.³⁹

Table 6.1 Possession of land in old Dazhai

	Landlords and Rich Peasants	Rich-middle Peasants and Middle Peasants	Poor Peasants and Lower-middle Peasants
Households	4	12	48
Area of the land (<i>mu</i>)	480	176	144
Proportion of land	60%	22%	18%

Source: Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai cun zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 30.

³⁶ Editorial Board of *Dazhai geography* of Xiyang County 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai dili* [Dazhai geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 15.

³⁷ Upon the Liberation, class divisions were based on the people's economic conditions, such as the amount of privately owned properties. In Dazhai, people were classified into six categories: poor peasant, lower-middle peasant, middle peasant, rich-middle peasant, rich peasant and landlord.

³⁸ Traditionally, the autumn-harvested grain crops in Dazhai included millet, sweetcorn, *kaoliang* and wheat. Some others included barley, pea, mung bean, soybean, black soya bean, red bean, cowpea and potato. Oil-bearing crops included castor-oil plant and sesame. Vegetables included leaf mustard, fresh kidney beans, pumpkin, radish and green Chinese onion. See Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai cun zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), pp. 67-68.

³⁹ Editorial Board of *Dazhai geography* of Xiyang County 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai dili* [Dazhai geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 15.

The main housing for villagers was located at the foot of Tigerhead Mountain around the end of Houdi Gully in the north of the village. The gully bed served as the main access road running through the central village. At the village entrance, a small building spanned the gully to act as a gateway, which was a traditional feature of Chinese village to mark its boundary and indicate its existence (refer to Fig. 6.22).⁴⁰ Most of the houses were distributed along the gully side, i.e. on the loess cliff. The nature of the loess was 'utilized by the people to solve their housing problems ... The cliff face is cut into to form houses, sometimes of two and three storeys'.⁴¹ This kind of cave dwelling is of 'a narrow facade and extending into the cliff'.⁴² In Dazhai, the housing arrangements were affected and restricted by the rugged landscape conditions. Individual houses were separated and scattered. They had no fixed orientation and were arranged organically, with only the consideration for the convenience of acquiring natural lighting and facilitation of the daily entry and egress of the house (Fig. 6.5).



Figure 6.5 Cave dwellings of impoverished Dazhai peasants before liberation (pre-1945).

Source: *Learning from Tachai in Rural China* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975).

Unfortunately, this kind of simple cave dwelling is 'terribly vulnerable', since the loess area is subject to earthquake, which 'brings the cliff faces down in great landslides, burying all beneath them and destroying the fields which often lie above'.⁴³ This was the common type of housing for the majority of poor and lower-middle peasants, while the landlords and rich peasants had well-established brick houses with tile-roofs. Planting within the settlement was also extremely limited. A large willow tree stood beside the middle of the gully way, which has been there since living memory. Tradition has it that it was under this tree that peasants had been flogged to their deaths by landlords in the pre-Liberation period for any suspected offences and had therefore been named 'poor man's tree'.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ The building accommodated Dazhai primary school after the Liberation.

⁴¹ Tregear, Thomas Refoy. *China: A Geographical Survey* (London; Sydney: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980), pp. 269-270.

⁴² Liu, Laurence G. *Chinese Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1989), p. 179.

⁴³ Tregear, Thomas Refoy. *A Geography of China* (London: University of London Press, 1965), p. 213.

⁴⁴ See Chen, Yonggui 陈永贵. 'Yongyuan jingen Maozhuxi, gaoju hongqi xiangqianjin' [Follow Chairman Mao closely forever and hold high the red banner forward] 永远紧跟毛主席，高举红旗向前进. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 75, No. 1.1 (1969), p. 2; Hsin, Hua-wen, and Chao Feng-nien. *Tachai: Standard Bearer in China's Agriculture* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1972), p.

In summary, the landscape of old Dazhai had greatly suffered from natural forces, human interventions, and social conditions. The village was also impoverished with a low grain produce with most of the population consisting of poor and lower-middle peasants. In order to develop production and increase the living standard, it was necessary to undertake drastic improvements. Upon the Liberation, Land Reform was implemented, in which the lands were confiscated from the landlords who disappeared as a class, and were then equally redistributed to the majority poor people. From 1946, under the great call to 'get organized' by Mao, who regarded collectivization as the only way to escape from mass peasant poverty, the mutual-aid teams (MATs) came into being. However, these provided little progress with limited impact on the landscape, which remained fragmented as small parcels.⁴⁵ Further change took place after 1952 when collectivization operated on a larger scale.

The ten years development with collectivism

In the winter of 1952, an elementary co-operative, i.e. mutual-aid team, consisting of 49 households was set up by Chen Yonggui. By the end of 1953, all MATs and individuals united to be an agricultural producers' co-operative (APC's). With organized Dazhai villagers being of one heart, a Ten-year Plan of land construction was drawn up in 1953 to deal with the seven gullies, eight ridges and the mountainside. This period from 1953 to 1962 covered the First FYP (1953-1957), the GLF (1958-1960), and the Three Difficult Years (1959-1961). Although the development policies were quite different during each period, the pursuit of collectivism was unchanged, with the People's Communes, a collective organization of a much larger scale, formulated in the GLF. Also, the farmland reconstructions, especially the creation of terraced fields and the amelioration of the general environment, adhering to the 1953 Ten-year Plan of land construction, were continually stressed.

Creation of terraced fields

In Dazhai, the best known and most widely reported built landscape consisted of the terraces, which were constructed out of the execrable loess gullies and slopes working assiduously with human power, and provided an admirable high grain output.⁴⁶ It was later honoured as

14; Duan, Cunzhang 段存章. *Wo zai Dazhai shisan nian: yiwei dangbao jizhe yanzhong de Dazhai ren* [My Thirteen Years in Dazhai: the Dazhai People in the Eyes of a Reporter of Party Newspaper] 我在大寨十三年——一位党报记者眼中的大寨人 (Beijing: Nongcun Duwu Chubanshe, 2003), p. 96.

⁴⁵ Such fragmentation was also the case for other parts of rural China at the time, noted in Tuan, Yi-fu. *China* (Harlow: Longmans, 1970), p. 187.

⁴⁶ Dazhai's figure was remarkable. In 1956, a target was set in National Programme for Agriculture Development, that the grain-yield in the area north of the Yellow River, as Dazhai, should be 400 *jīn/mu* (3 tons/ha), between the Yellow and Changjiang River 500 *jīn/mu* (3.75 tons/ha), and for the area south of the Changjiang River 800 *jīn/mu* (6 tons/ha) Dazhai's

Dazhai-type terraces to be emulated by all other rural areas in China.

In this hilly area, slopes were to be turned into fine terraces, desolate gullies embanked to produce fertile fields, and small plots consolidated into larger ones. Since the construction of terraces required much strenuous labour, such as crushing stones, soil displacement, leveling of fields, and so on, it could be achieved only through collective efforts (Table 6.2). These operations were always presented as a battle against nature through mass mobilization, as Dazhai people themselves carried them out with the slogan, 'Man Must Conquer Nature!' The intention was to reclaim good arable land out of a barren environment in order to increase harvest yield.

The creation of terraces occurred with boundless enthusiasm in the new era, tying in with a good many deliberate and rational construction strategies. Chairman Mao had stated the relationship between human force and the natural principles as early as 1940 in Yan'an base, 'for the purpose of attaining freedom in the world of nature, man must use natural science to understand, conquer and change nature and thus attain freedom from nature.'⁴⁷ The main issue in the design of terraces was how to appropriately accomplish flood control, since flooding always occurred in the summer and was liable to wash away the fields. Several treatments were devised for the mountainside and the fields alongside the gullies.

With a full comprehension of the overall natural constraints, Dazhai villagers first treated mountain slopes and secondly the gullies, since 'floodwater flows from above to below. If the gullies were tackled directly without dealing with the slopes, nothing will come of it'.⁴⁸

However, this cognition was not achieved at the beginning of the Ten-year Plan. In the winter of 1953, Dazhai villagers commenced to terrace Baituo (White Camel) Gully, as it was deemed to be the easiest one to control with its relatively gentle gradient. With one and a half months' work, 25 stone embankments were established and 9 *mu* (0.6 hectare) farmland created.⁴⁹ As the first accomplishment since the APC's was established, the gully was renamed as Hezuo (Co-operation) Gully to commemorate the event. As the name of the gully would now be part of daily circumstances, this helped to foster the ideology of the socialist spirit.

figure 'crossed the Yellow River' in 1958 with a grain-yield of 543 *jin/mu* (4.07 tons/ha), 'crossed Changjiang River' in 1964 with a grain-yield of 809 *jin/mu* (6.07 tons/ha), and broke the bottleneck of 1000 *jin/mu* in 1970. For the figure of 1958, see 'Shanxisheng Xiyangxian Dazhai dadui jiben shuzi' [Statistical figures of Dazhai Brigade of Xiyang County in Shanxi Province] 山西省昔阳县大寨大队基本数字. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 36, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 7. For the figures of all these three years, see Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Dili* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理 (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 3; Maxwell, Neville, ed. *China's Road to Development* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1979), p. 43; Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai cun zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), pp. 72-73.

⁴⁷ Mao, Zedong. 'Mao Zedong zai 1940 nian Yan'an ziran kexue yanjiuhui chenglihui shangde jianghua' [The speech delivered in the conference of the founding of Yan'an Natural Science Research Institute in 1940] 毛泽东在1940年延安自然科学研究会成立会上的讲话. *New China* 新中华报. (March 15, 1940). Translation quoted from *China: A Geographical Sketch* (Peking Foreign Languages Press, 1974), p. 109.

⁴⁸ Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 11.

⁴⁹ Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun Zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 38.

Table 6.2 Demographic statistics of the Dazhai people during the ten-year collectivism period (1953-1962)

Year	Household										Population										Work-force									
	LMP					MP					RMP					PP					Male					Female				
	Total	PP	LMP	MP	RMP	Total	Male	Female	PP	LMP	MP	RMP	RP	L	Total	Full	Half	Auxiliary	Total	Full	Half	Auxiliary								
1953	73	53	3	5	9	3	1	3	1	295	146	149	216	8	17	41	11	2	71	29	20	n/a	17	5	n/a					
1954	74	56	4	5	9	3	1	3	1	299	148	151	218	8	18	41	12	2	76	32	17	n/a	19	8	n/a					
1955	78	58	4	5	9	3	1	3	1	304	150	154	219	10	20	41	12	2	80	33	19	n/a	21	7	n/a					
1956	80	58	4	5	9	3	1	3	1	309	154	155	224	10	21	40	12	2	88	38	18	1	24	8	0					
1957	80	58	4	5	9	3	1	3	1	312	155	157	221	12	23	40	14	2	85	35	17	2	23	10	2					
1958	80	58	4	5	9	3	1	3	1	318	158	160	225	12	23	42	14	2	82	37	16	3	22	7	4					
1959	80	58	4	5	9	3	1	3	1	322	161	161	229	12	23	42	14	2	89	40	20	3	22	7	3					
1960	80	58	3	5	9	3	1	3	1	329	164	165	244	11	21	42	9	2	99	41	19	4	30	9	2					
1961	80	58	3	5	9	3	1	3	1	340	171	169	251	14	21	43	9	2	105	43	19	4	32	11	2					
1962	82	60	3	5	9	3	1	3	1	350	176	174	259	14	21	45	9	2	106	44	19	5	32	11	0					

Source: Shanxisheng Xiyangxian Dazhai dadu jiben shuzi [Statistical Figures of Dazhai Brigade of Xiyang County in Shanxi Province] 山西省晋阳县大寨大队基本数字 Dazhai Archives Vol. 36, No. 1.1 (1964), pp. 5-8.

Note: The acronyms of PP, LMP, MP, RMP, RP and L are respectively for Poor Peasant, Lower-middle Peasant, Middle Peasant, Rich-middle Peasant, Rich Peasant and Landlord. As for work-force, the total number does not include the auxiliary ones. A full male work-force refers to the work capacity of an able-bodied adult of 18 to 50 years old, a full female work-force refers to that of 18 to 45 years old, a half male work-force refers to that of 16 to 17 or 51 to 60 years old, and a half female work-force refers to that of 16 to 17 or 45 to 50 years old. An auxiliary work-force is determined by his/her physical conditions.

It was not until 1957, when Dazhai villagers had failed twice, in 1955 and 1956, in treating the Langwozhang (Wolf Den) Gully, the largest one among the gullies, that they began to take the issue of reclamation of the slopes more seriously. It was observed that floodwater ran downwards with increasing speed and was therefore more ferocious and destructive in gullies.

To resolve the problem, a series of pits, plantations, ditches and wells were established on mountain slopes to serve as a network to reduce the speed of the water. The pits, of about 1 metre in diameter each, were arranged like fish scales with 3 to 5 metres spacing,⁵⁰ and were effective in temporarily retaining the water. The lack of vegetation cover on the mountain slopes also began to be recognized as a serious problem in the water and soil conservation. Walnut trees were planted in the pits later, and totally 8 *mu* (0.5 hectare) slope lands were planted with trees in 1957.⁵¹ Ditches were dug along the contours and connected with other ditches downwards the slope, with small opening for each embanked terrace (Fig. 6.6). When it rained lightly, water was led onto the terrace via the opening and enabled silt to be deposited. When rainstorms came, the opening was manually blocked preventing the field from being flooded. Floodwater was then drained through designated routes. The downward ditches were connected with subterranean flask-shaped wells, so that some floodwater could be stored for future use in case of water shortage (Fig. 6.7).

The gullies were subjected to several design criteria in order for the terraces to withstand floodwater. Again, as 'floodwater flows from above to below', it was proposed that terraces should be constructed in upper reaches first and lower levels secondly. To reduce the menace of floodwater, tributaries were to be dealt with first and arteries secondly. As for the arrangement of

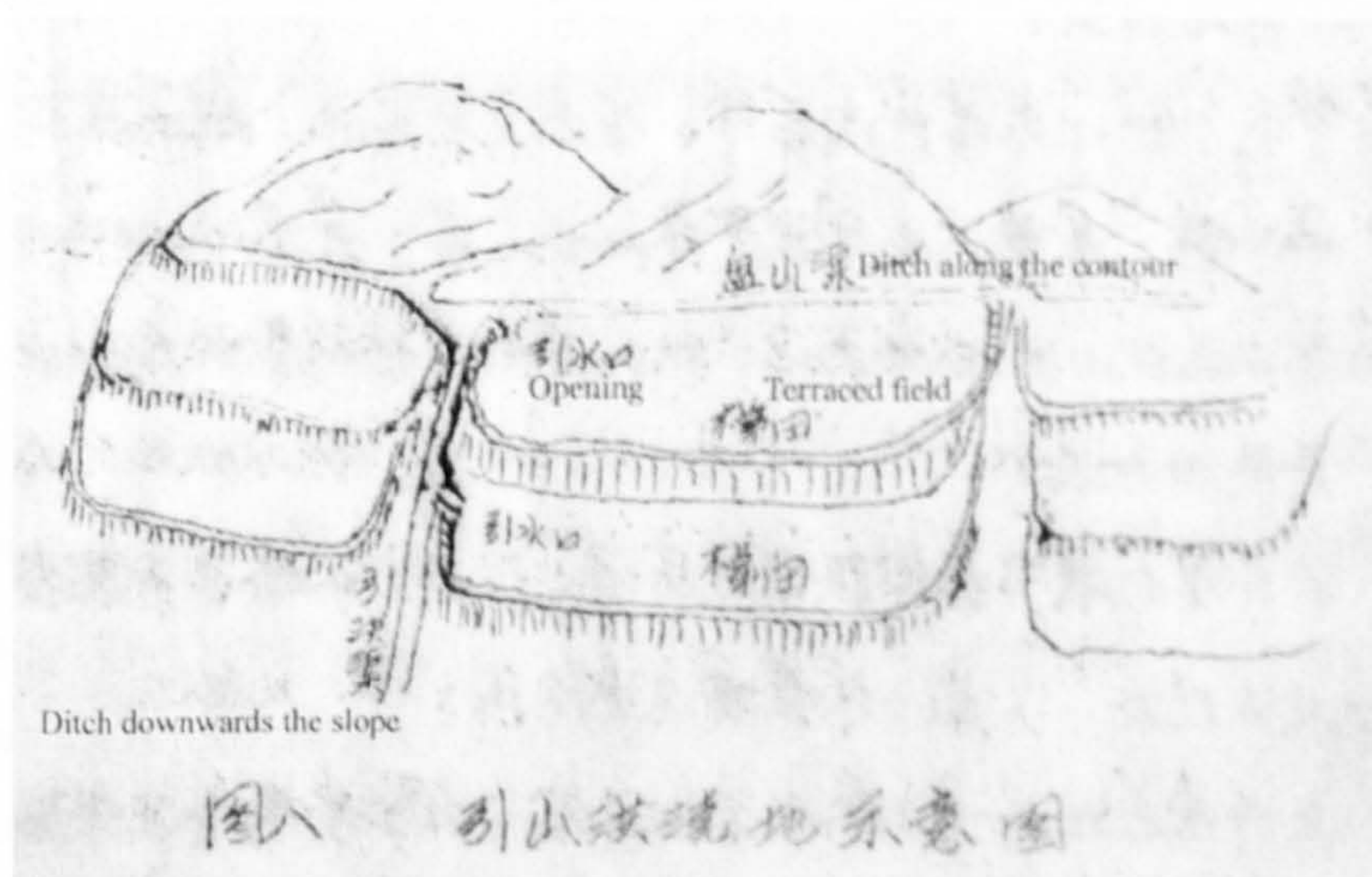


Figure 6.6 Schematic bird's eye view of the terraced fields and drainage system on the mountain slopes.

Source: Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 21.

⁵⁰ Interview with Dazhai villager, Zhao Huaxiao, 26 September 2005.

⁵¹ 'Shanxisheng Xiyangxian Dazhai dadui jiben shuzi' [Statistical Figures of Dazhai Brigade of Xiyang County in Shanxi Province] 山西省昔阳县大寨大队基本数字. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 36, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 28.

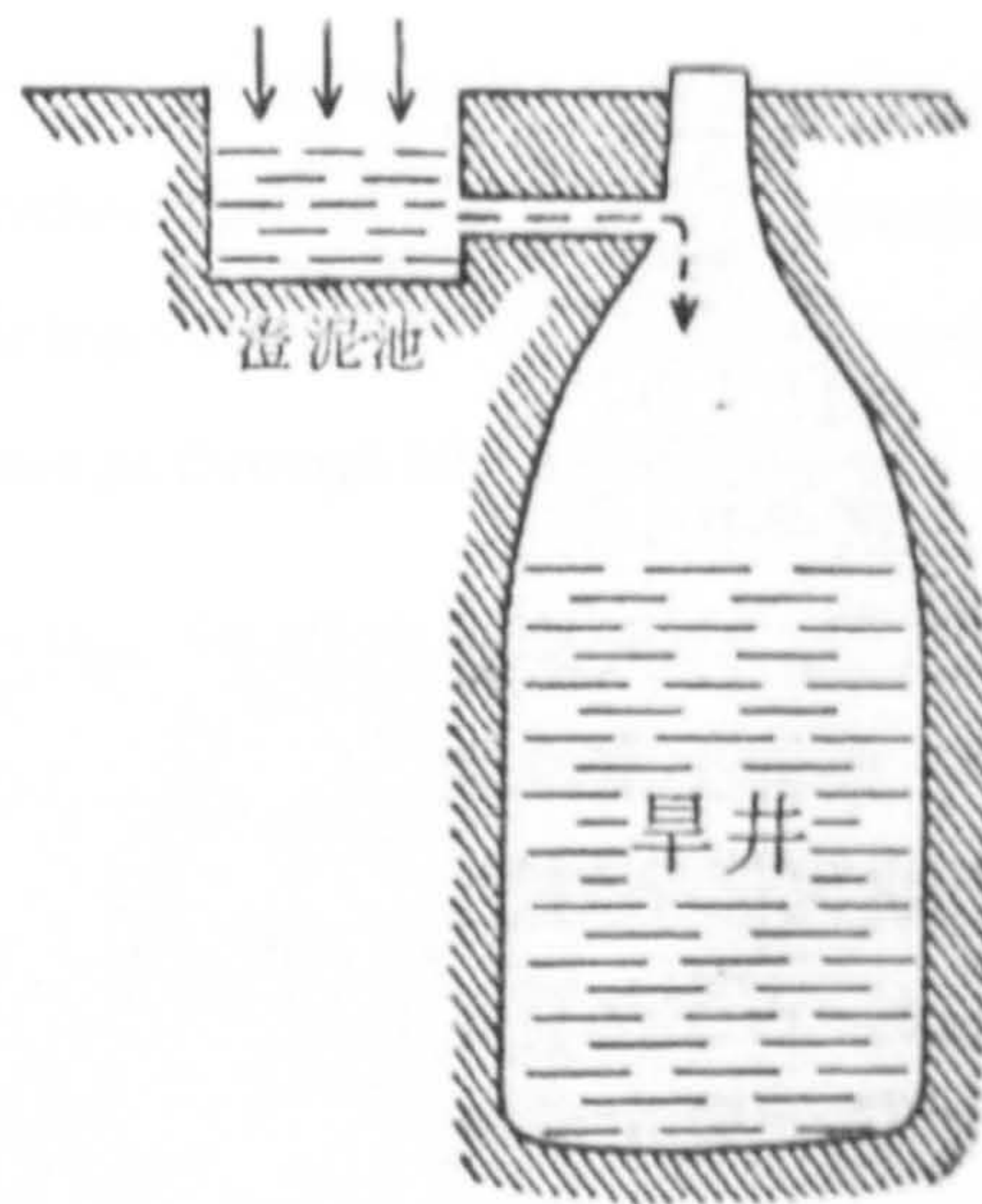


Figure 6.7 Schematic section of flask shaped underground reservoir collecting rain water for re-use in dry periods. Source: Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography* of Xiyang County 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Dili* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 47.

embankments, since it was usually steeper in the upper levels than in lower reaches, they were more frequent in the upper levels than the lower, so that the force of floodwater would be gradually reduced, and was not so powerful that it might damage successive retaining walls.

In order to optimise the limited manpower and material resources, the embankments were built in those places where the gully was relatively narrow. In addition, the embankments varied in size. Some were relatively narrow and low, these being the subsidiary ones were built in units, while others were to be stronger and higher forming the main barriers. Although the differentiation between embankments derived from the consideration for optimization of resources, they complemented each other and in combination were indispensable in withstanding floodwater and thus protected fields. The main barriers were always located at the intersection of tributary and artery and were capable of withstanding greater stress. They were at the same time considered to be allocated between every three to five subsidiary embankments, dividing the gullies in larger sections (Fig. 6.8). Each year, silt was deposited bit by bit in the gullies with the floodwater flowing through. The main walls were correspondingly increased in height as the years passed by and more silt was deposited, burying some subsidiary embankments, thus forming larger level fields above each other.

Besides the arrangements on the embankments, drainage systems were also established in the embanked gully fields, similar to those on the mountain slopes. Ditches were laid along the side of the gully with small openings to each embanked field (Fig. 6.9).

Embankments were designed to deliberately drain excessive quantities of water within the fields, by indentations made in the walls (Fig. 6.10). The indentations would not be arranged in one line along the gully since this would aggravate scouring, but were set back irregularly instead. The pool beneath the indentation at the foot of embankment was designed to receive the falling

water. Here consideration was given in order to reduce the speed of the water and prevent the foundation from being washed away (Fig. 6.11). This included for example the top of the lower embankment to be higher than the foot of the upper embankment (Fig. 6.12). When the terraced fields had become flat enough through silt deposition and levelling, indentations in the retaining

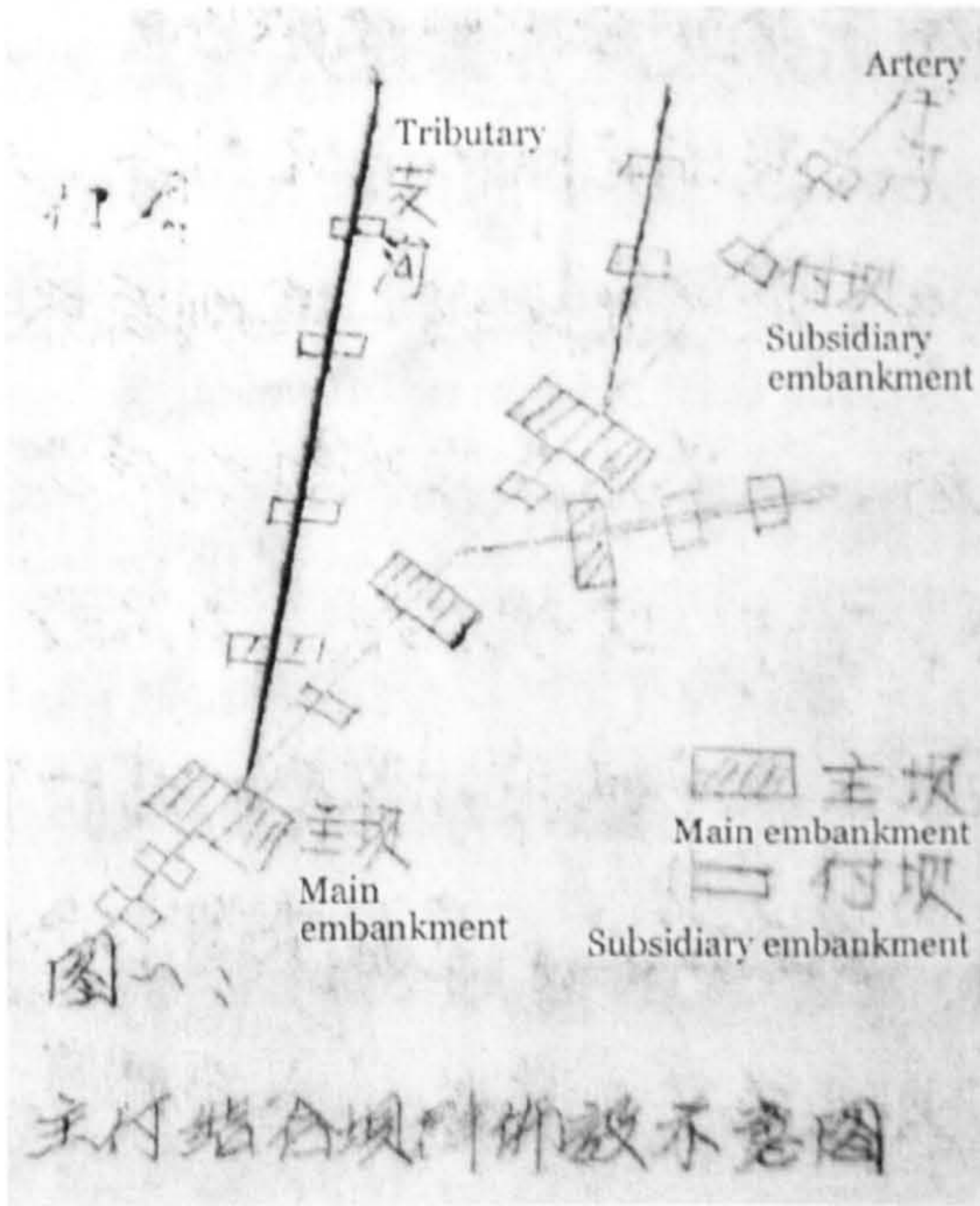


Figure 6.8 Schematic plan of the arrangement of subsidiary and main embankments

Source: Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 12.



Figure 6.9 Schematic plan of drainage system in the gully fields

Source: Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 19.

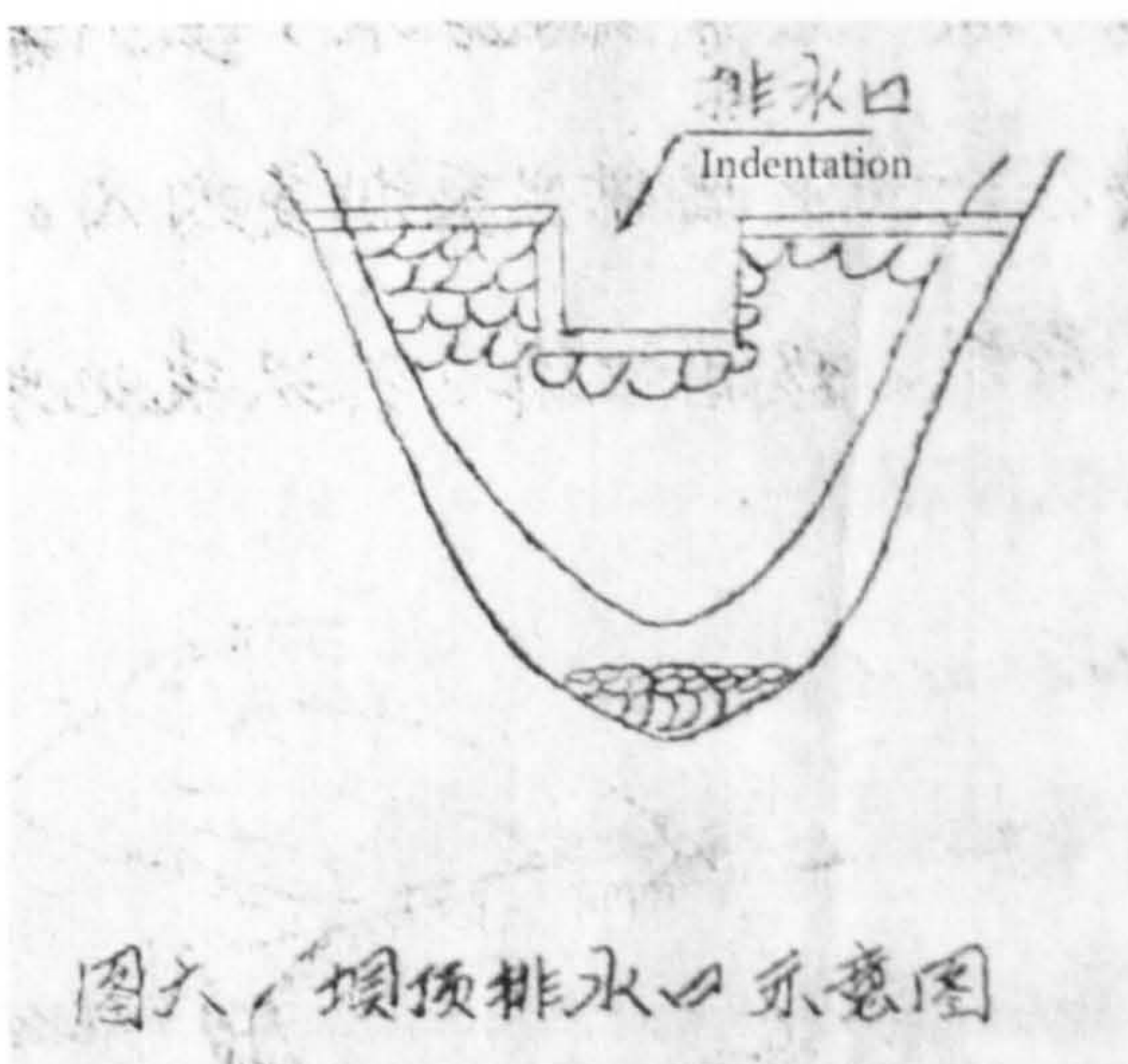


Figure 6.10 Schematic section of retaining wall with an indentation in the middle

Source: Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 20.

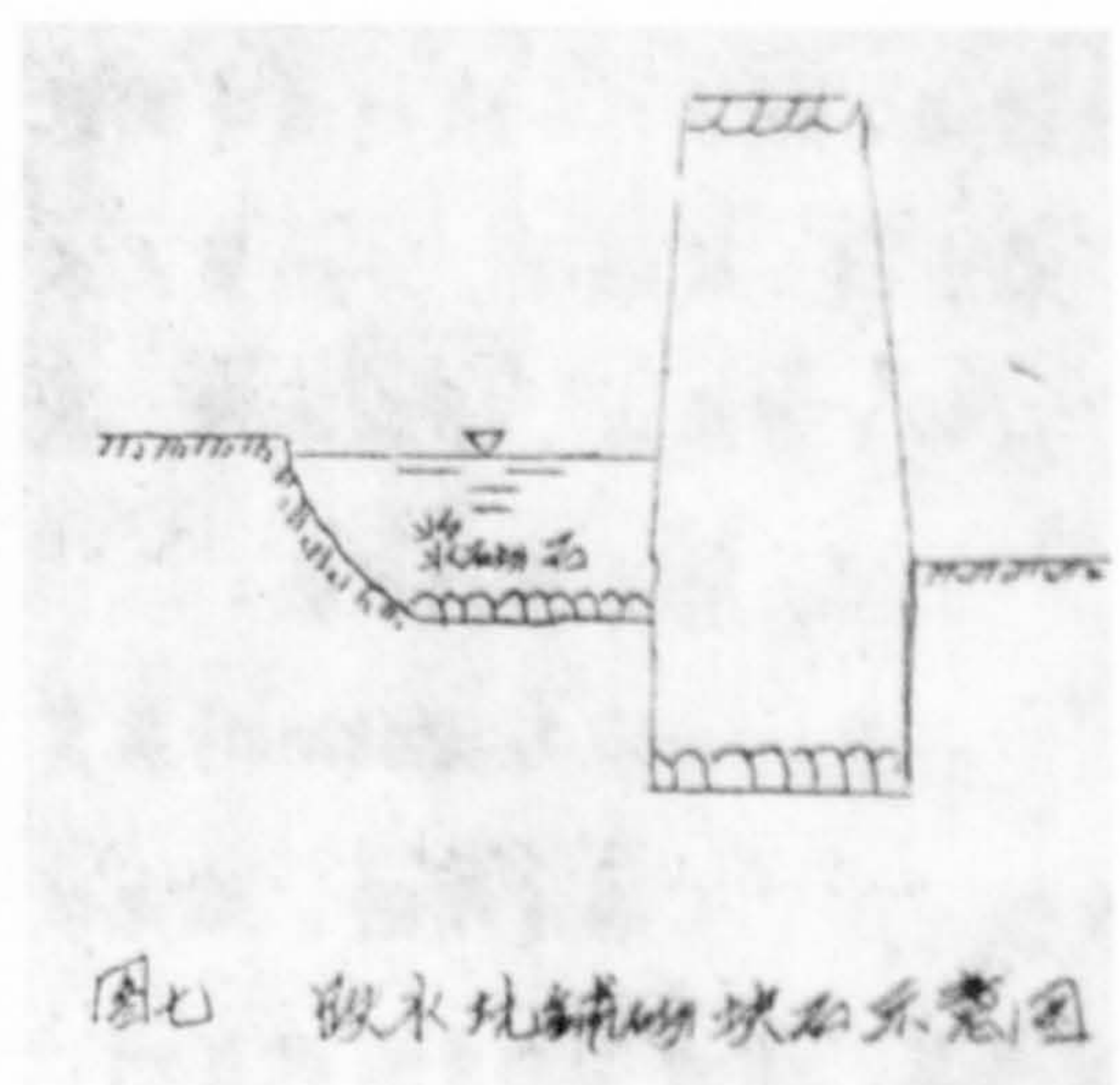


Figure 6.11 Schematic section of retaining wall with a puddle at the foot of it

Source: Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 21.

walls were no longer necessary and walls were then simply built higher at both ends and lower in the middle, so that excessive water would directly flow through, smoothly and placidly.

Embankments were arch-shaped, with the curve pointing upstream to resist the stress of floods (Fig. 6.13).⁵² This arch idea was resolved after the failure of straight walls in the Langwozhang (Wolf Den) Gully. Although the walls had been considered to be strong enough, they were all destroyed during the summer floodwater in 1955 and 1956. The predicament was finally resolved by Chen Yonggui who contemplating the failures of these embankments lay awake at night, and whilst looking at the vault of the cave dwelling, he wondered why this structure, following an age-old local tradition, did not collapse despite the great stresses from above. This also reminded him the arched stone bridge in the Houdi Gully, which sustained the everyday passing villagers, animals, and handcarts, with the arch shape being adapted for the

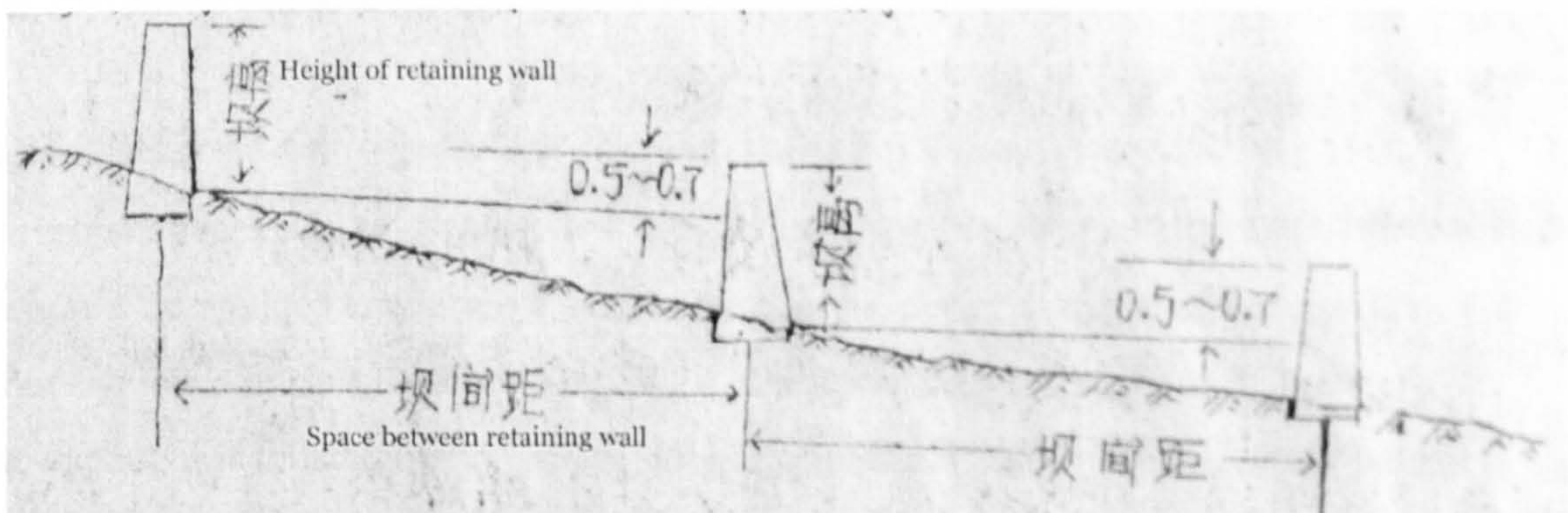


Figure 6.12 Schematic section of the relationship between the lower and upper embankments

Source: Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 13.

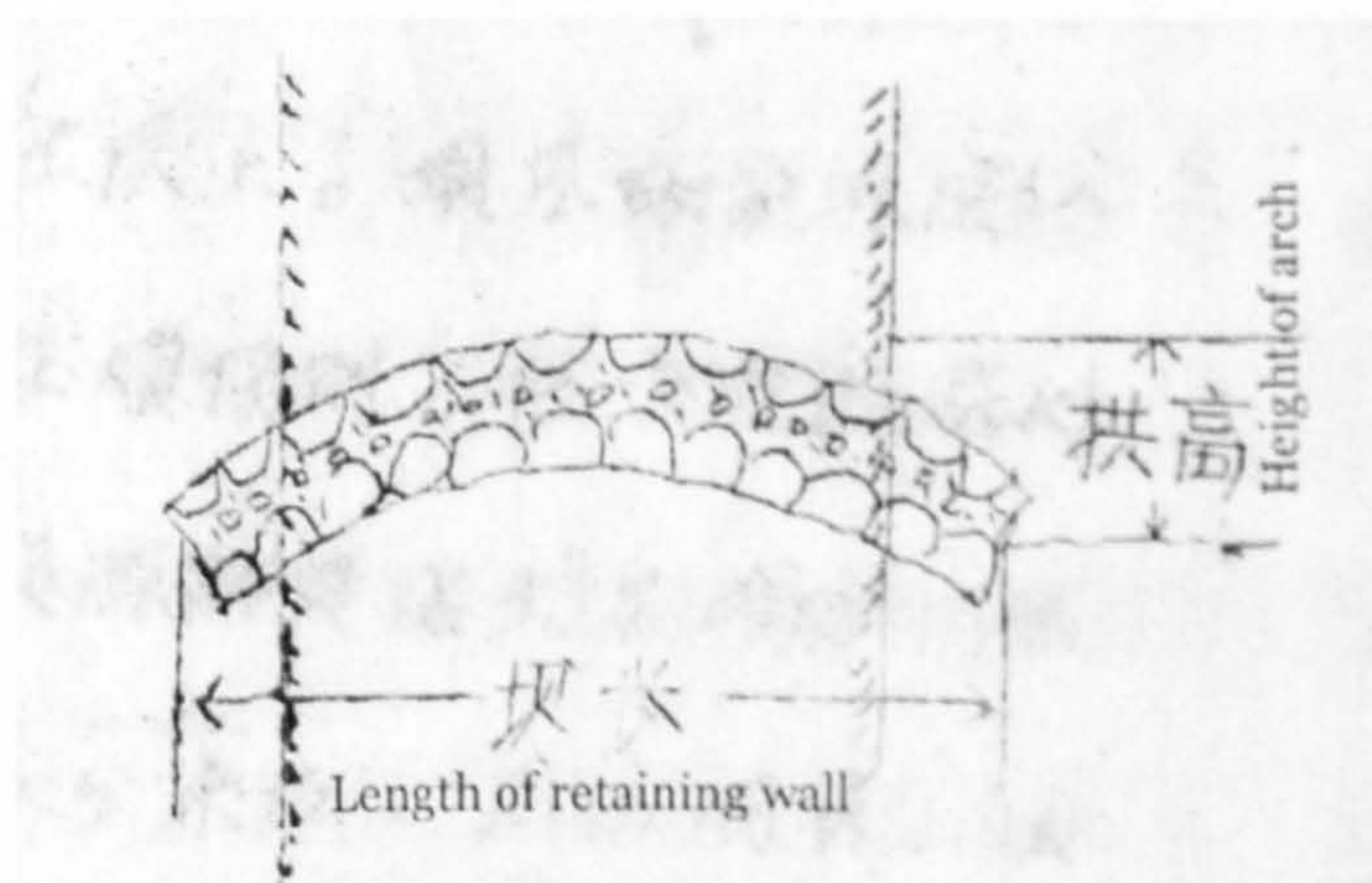


Figure 6.13 Schematic plan of arch-shaped retaining wall across gullies with the curve pointing upstream for extra strength.

Source: Sun, Jianxuan 孙建轩. 'Dazhai Daba Yudi Jingyan' [The experience of building embankment and cultivated field in Dazhai] 大寨打坝淤地经验. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 32, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 16.

⁵² This was an often mentioned striking invention, such as in Buchanan, Keith. *The Transformation of the Chinese Earth: Aspects of the Evaluation of the Chinese Earth from Earliest Times to Mao Tse-tung* (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd, 1970), p. 153; Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Dili* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), 22; The Scientific Research Group of the Tachai Production Brigade. 'Taichai Field – Its Reconstruction and Its Fertility Characteristics'. *Scientia Sinica*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (1976), p. 9; Maxwell, Neville, ed. *China's Road to Development* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1979), pp. 41, 55.

successful terracing of the Langwozhang (Wolf Den) Gully for the third time in 1957.⁵³ 'Arch' thus became a keyword for their shared structural characteristic. This engineering advancement was vital to the whole terrace creation, with the construction of three successive years later widely praised as 'The Three Battles against Langwozhang'.

Transition with the Leap

The triumph of Dazhai people's dealing with the Langwozhang (Wolf Den) Gully in 1957, coincided with the end of the First FYP, when the national targets set forth for these five years were exceeded. Encouraged by socialist promises, Chinese people looked forward to great advances with several significant new policies being generated, which influenced further transformation of the landscape of Dazhai.

The GLF was launched with the General Line, 'Go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism', issued in May 1958. The movement especially emphasised two programmes, steel making and the establishment of People's Communes to operate the collectivisation on a much larger scale. In addition, the greening movement of *Dadi yuanlin hua*, i.e. the National Landscaping and Gardening Movement, was launched with the collectivisation campaign to create favourable natural environments for developments of various realms, such as that of agriculture. But this greening policy seemed to be contradictory with the steel making policy to some extent, since steel making actually required such astounding amount of timber for fuel.

Moreover, for the agricultural development, Mao, who came from a peasant's family, had a good many instructive statements. In 1958, he summarized the Eight-point Charter for comprehensive agriculture.⁵⁴ The slogans of 'the fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization'⁵⁵ and 'irrigation is the lifeblood of agriculture'⁵⁶ were emphasized in 1959. In the same year, Mao mentioned 'Farming, forestry and animal husbandry depend on each other. Not a single one could be dispensed with, and they should be of equal importance' for a diversified

⁵³ For full details of the story, see Qin, Huailu, edited by William Hinton. *Ninth Heaven to Ninth Hell: The History of a Noble Chinese Experiment* (New York: Barricade Books, 1995), p. 92; Ying, Quan 映泉. *Chen Yonggui zhuan* [Biography of Chen Yonggui] 陈永贵传. (Wuhan: Changjiang Wenyi Chubanshe, 1996), p. 90; Tan, Chengjian 谭成健. *Dazhai zhongguo mingcun jishi* [Dazhai: Report of a Famous Village in China] 大寨——中国名村纪实. (Zhengzhou: Zhongyuan Nongmin Chubanshe, 1998), p. 31; Duan, Cunzhang 段存章. *Wo zai Dazhai shisan nian: yiwei dangbao jizhe yanzhong de Dazhai ren* [My Thirteen Years in Dazhai: the Dazhai People in the Eyes of a Reporter of Party Newspaper] 我在大寨十三年——一位党报记者眼中的大寨人. (Beijing: Nongcun Duwu Chubanshe, 2003), p. 185.

⁵⁴ The Eight-point Charter for agriculture were soil improvement (土), rational application of fertilizer (肥), water conservancy (水), improved seed strains (种), rational close-planting (密), plant protection (保), field management (管) and innovation of farm implements (工).

⁵⁵ This slogan was declared by Mao on 29 April 1959 in *Inner-Party Report* 党内通讯.

⁵⁶ This proposition was put forward by Mao as early as 1934 in his report in the Second National Worker-Peasant-Soldier Representatives Conference in Ruijin of Jiangxi Province. It was reemphasized and highlighted in 1959. See Mao, Zedong 毛泽东. 'Women de jingji zhengce' [Our economy policies] 我们的经济政策. (1934).

http://www.mzdlb.com/mzdwk/zyzz/display.asp?Reco_ID=10, accessed on 01/06/2006.

agriculture.⁵⁷ Similarly, the policy of 'Take Grain as the Key Link and Ensure an All-round Development' was issued in the National Agricultural Working Conference on 7 March 1960.⁵⁸ In these instructions for diversification, planting or greening was again an important ingredient.

Adhering to the guidelines of the GLF, Dazhai merged with adjacent brigades and established the first People's Commune in Xiyang County in 1958. Terracing of fields then continued with much more intensive collective effort and greater enthusiasm. However, as the whole country were mobilized and involved in steel making simultaneously, Dazhai was calm and peaceful in this respect, since the Party branch leader Chen Yonggui deemed that peasants should engage in land, which should be the most precious thing for them. It was unimaginable to him to engage in steel making with great input of manpower and material resources, but leave the fields unattended. Dazhai people therefore stuck to their tradition and continued to terrace Mahuang (Ephedra) Gully in 1959 and Laofen Gully in 1960, as well as the ridges lying between the gullies. Due to continued progresses of field construction, Dazhai did not experience the great famine during the Three Difficult Years, which occurred in many other areas of China. Although Dazhai people persisted in creating fields rather than making steel, the same ideology was stressed, as for example a small section upstream of Mahuang (Ephedra) Gully was left untouched and was straightforwardly named as 'Education Gully' (Fig. 6.14).⁵⁹ While terraced fields were all realized by unyielding hard work and iron determination, the untouched area became a teaching object, exemplary of the hard struggle, which was indispensable in showing the construction achievements.⁶⁰ By showing this, new generations were expected to understand that any achievements could not be obtained without diligent efforts, and that



Figure 6.14 The 'Education Gully', left untouched when building terraced fields in the Mahuang (Ephedra) Gully for educational purposes.

Source: supplied by Li Jianwei.

⁵⁷ Mao, Zedong 毛泽东. 'Guanyu fazhan xumuye wenti' [On issues of developing animal husbandry] 关于发展畜牧业问题. (October 31, 1959). <http://www.wenshu.net/lzsl/mzd/8/27.htm>, accessed on 05/08/2007.

⁵⁸ Party Branch of the Agricultural Ministry 农业部党组. 'Guanyu quanguo nongye gongzuo huiyi de baogao' [A report on the National Agricultural Working Conference] 关于全国农业工作会议的报告. (1960). http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2005-01/21/content_2491042.htm, accessed on 01/06/2006.

⁵⁹ See Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun Zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 42.

⁶⁰ The unmodified 'Education Gully' was renamed as 'Educating Youth Gully' following the suggestion of Premier Zhou Enlai in 1965 so as better to explain its ideological purpose.

hardship of the past should be kept in mind in order to rectify future actions.

Steel making had been the only requirement that Dazhai had not contributed to, since it was regarded to be harmful for agricultural improvement, which was indeed proved to be the case later. Additionally, rather than utilising tree plantations as fuel for steel making, Dazhai people had them preserved and increased.

Actually, ever since 1957 when woodland planting on slopes was conceived as a means of flood control, greening became recognized to be a valuable complement to field construction. As greening had been encouraged by national policies since 1958, more fields on slopes were returned to plantations in the subsequent years, with 27 *mu* (1.8 hectare) in 1959 and 26 *mu* (1.7 hectare) in 1960 successively.⁶¹ By 1962, a total of 80 *mu* (5.3 hectare) farmland on the slopes had been planted as woodland,⁶² and more than 10,000 trees, including almost 1,000 fruit trees were planted in Dazhai.⁶³

The Ten-year Plan of field construction was completed in 1962 (Fig. 6.15), with new arable terraced fields created on mountainside, ridges and gullies, consolidating the tiny fields from 4,700 to 2,900 in number. Terraces had now become the characteristic landscape in Dazhai (Fig. 6.16). However as a result of additional woodland being planted the total area of farmland did not increase (Table 6.3).

In 1963, Dazhai experienced a huge disaster, but with this the Dazhai legend began as well as its international reputation.

Table 6.3 Statistics of the Dazhai fields in the years of 1953 and 1962

Year	Piece of embanked fields	Total area of the fields (<i>mu</i>)	In gullies		On ridges		On slopes	
			area (<i>mu</i>)	%	area (<i>mu</i>)	%	area (<i>mu</i>)	%
1953	4,700	847	33	3.9	464	54.8	350	41.3
1962	2,900	802	200	24.9	332	41.4	270	33.7

Source: Figures are from 'Nongtian jiben jianshe shi Dazhai dadui nongye wenchan gaochan de jichu' [Farmland Capital Construction is the Foundation of Agricultural Production for Dazhai Brigade] 农田基本建设是大队农业稳产高产的基础. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 33, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 80.

⁶¹ 'Shanxisheng Xiyangxian Dazhai dadui jiben shuzi' [Statistical Figures of Dazhai Brigade of Xiyang County in Shanxi Province] 山西省昔阳县大寨大队基本数字. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 36, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 28.

⁶² 'Nongtian jiben jianshe shi Dazhai dadui nongye wenchan gaochan de jichu' [Farmland Capital Construction is the Foundation of Agricultural Production for Dazhai Brigade] 农田基本建设是大队农业稳产高产的基础. *Dazhai Archives* Vol. 33, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 80.

⁶³ Gu, Baozi 顾葆孜. *Hong jingtou zhong de Zhou Enlai* [Zhou Enlai in the red lens] 红镜头中的周恩来. (Shenyang Liaoning Renming Chubanshe, 2004), p. 87.

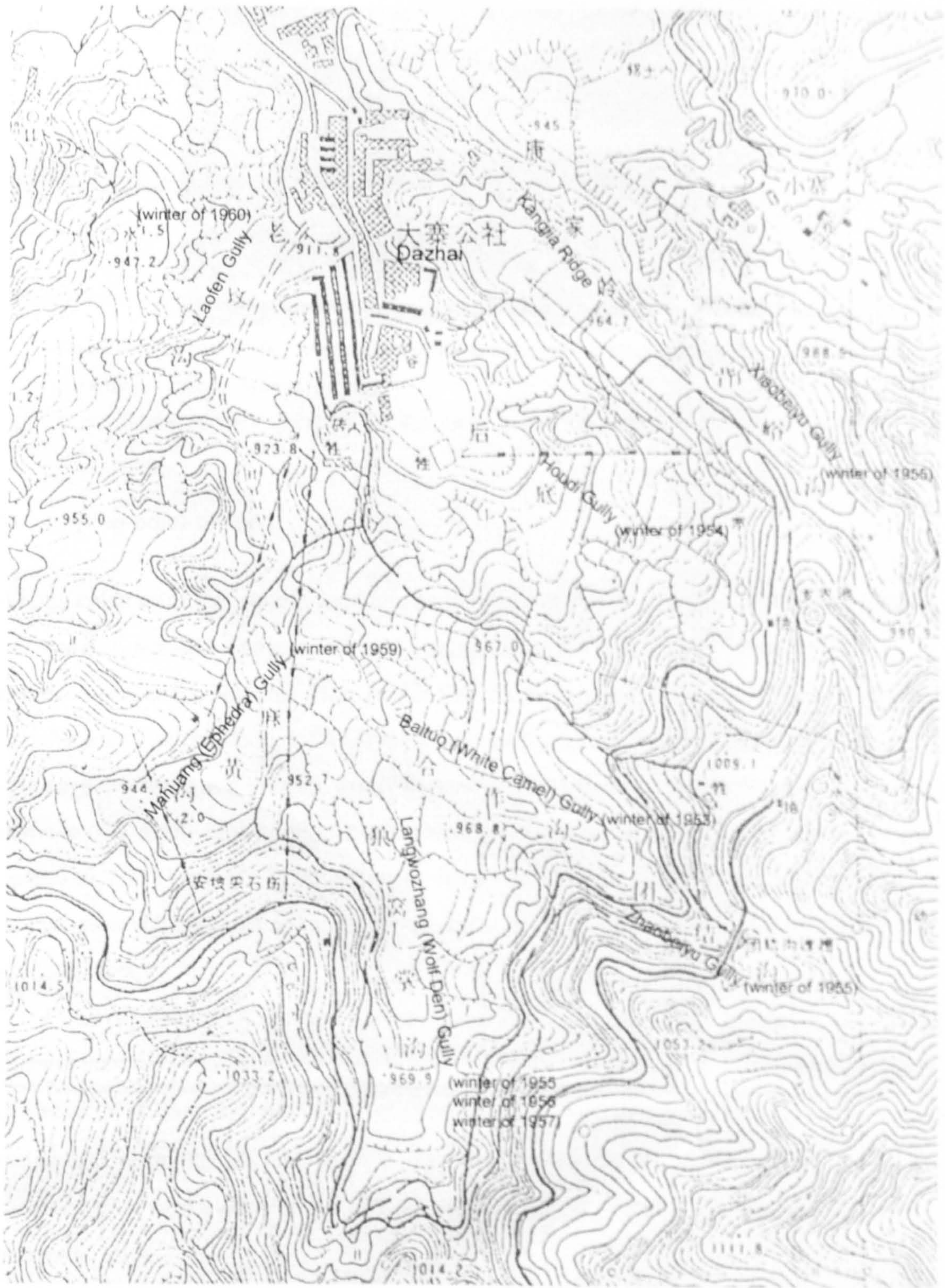


Figure 6.15 Topographic map of Dazhai showing the seven gullies and the progress of terracing during the Ten-year Plan of Land Construction (1953-1962).

Source: drawing author: based on a topographic map (1996) supplied by Land and Resources Bureau of Xiyang County.

Figures are from Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), pp. 37-43.



Figure 6.16 Dazhai in 1962 after the Ten-year Plan of Land Construction, with terraces becoming the characteristic landscape typology.

Source: National Agricultural Exhibition Hall 农业展览馆. *Dazhai* 大寨. (Beijing: Nongye Chubanshe, 1975).

The turning point of 1963

A huge calamity of the biggest flood in a century struck Dazhai in August 1963. The summer rainstorm continued for seven days and seven nights, which flushed out most of the achievements of the Ten-year Plan. A total 139 *mu* (9.3 hectare) terraced fields were destroyed, and there was no possibility for a harvest on an additional 41 *mu* (2.7 hectare) land (Fig. 6.17). The cave dwellings and houses, which were hewn into the loess, also suffered considerable damage (Fig. 6.18). One hundred and thirteen out of one hundred and forty-five cave dwellings collapsed, and 77 out of 125 houses were demolished.⁶⁴ The disaster left a near ruinous landscape which came as an unwelcome surprise to the Dazhai people after their ten years of arduous work.

However, field rehabilitations were carried out immediately with indomitable perseverance. Without thinking about cozy life under a shelter, Dazhai people carried out the task with an unequivocal slogan, 'field first and home second'.⁶⁵ This emphasized that production remained the central focus after the Liberation, and amazingly the harvests saw no downturn while the reconstruction works were carried out, and the village was therefore able to maintain its economic base.⁶⁶

As a result of this policy housing was considered of secondary importance; during day time

⁶⁴ 'Shanxisheng Xiyangxian Dazhai dadui jiben shuzi' [Statistical Figures of Dazhai Brigade of Xiyang County in Shanxi Province] 山西省昔阳县大寨大队基本数字. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 36, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 31.

⁶⁵ Duan, Cunzhang 段存章. *Wo zai Dazhai shisan nian: yiwei dangbao jizhe yanzhong de Dazhai ren* [My Thirteen Years in Dazhai: the Dazhai People in the Eyes of a Reporter of Party Newspaper] 我在大寨十三年——一位党报记者眼中的大寨人. (Beijing: Nongcun Duwu Chubanshe, 2003), p. 138.

⁶⁶ The harvest yield of 1963 was 745 *jin/mu* (5.59 tons/ha), higher than any of the annual yield during the Ten-year Plan period except for that of 1962 which was 774 *jin/mu* (5.81 tons/ha). For the figures of 1962 and 1963, see 'Shanxisheng Xiyangxian Dazhai dadui jiben shuzi' [Statistical figures of Dazhai Brigade of Xiyang County in Shanxi Province] 山西省昔阳县大寨大队基本数字. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 36, No. 1.1 (1964), p. 7; Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai cun zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 72.



Figure 6.17 Flood damaged fields after the flash flood of August 1963.

Source: Editorial Board of Tachai Picture Album of Shanxi Province, *Tachai: Pacesetter in China's Agriculture* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978).



Figure 6.18 Collapsed cave dwelling after the flash flood of August 1963.

Source: Editorial Board of Tachai Picture Album of Shanxi Province, *Tachai: Pacesetter in China's Agriculture* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978).

the task was the reconstruction of fields, with the building of homes taking place at night. Despite the hardship, no outside resources were required and the financial requirements were met by the gathering of collective members' personal savings, and most of the homeless villagers used the primary school and the brigade club as the temporary collective accommodation. They advocated three 'no's for outside assistance: refusing state relief grain, refusing state relief funds and refusing state relief materials, and moreover three 'no's for yields: no decrease in public reserves, no decrease in grain contribution to the state and no decrease in the income of the collective members.⁶⁷ These objectives clearly indicate the commitment to the ideology of

⁶⁷ See Chen, Yonggui 陈永贵. 'Yongyuan jingen Maozhuxi, gaoju hongqi xiangqianjin' [Follow Chairman Mao closely forever and hold high the red banner forward] 永远紧跟毛主席，高举红旗向前进. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 75, No. 1.1 (1969), p. 17; Ying,

self-reliance, which was adhered to despite personal suffering, but this adherence greatly enhanced communal pride.

The strength of the communal spirit becomes clear in that while Chen Yonggui planned that 'the fields should be rehabilitated in five years and a whole new village in ten years',⁶⁸ all the terraces were re-established in about two years and new housing completed in three years.

The huge suffering and losses due to the flood disaster further increased Dazhai villagers' awareness of the lack of vegetation to retain the soil. Cautioned by the disaster, villagers started to draw from the experiences of the Yangjindi Brigade in Pingshun County, where in a similar environment great progress had been made in retaining the soil through afforestation of hillsides. Dazhai people formulated a Seven-year Plan for afforestation immediately after the flood, in which a requirement was set out that each commune member should plant on average 10 fruit trees and 15 timber trees annually.⁶⁹

While the natural disaster destroyed what existed and had been achieved in the past, it happened to be the opportunity for Dazhai people to demonstrate their unusual persistence of self-reliance in the rehabilitation, which led to its national model status in 1964. It also provided an opportunity to reorganize a whole new village for the collective community, in concord with the spirit of 'destroying the old to establish the new'⁷⁰. While this was uniquely successful in Dazhai, similar efforts could be seen elsewhere in China.⁷¹

Dazhai within the 'Learning from Dazhai' Movement

The rehabilitation achievements in spite of the huge disaster powerfully demonstrated the power of collective efforts under the self-reliance policy, which was needed to be further emphasized in the early 1960s when the Sino-Soviet split happened and China became isolated on the international stage. Thus in 1964 the desirable effects of self-reliance, collectivism and China's international relations caused Mao to issue the slogan 'In Agriculture, Learn from Dazhai'.

Dazhai landscape was subject to significant transformations within the 'Learning from

Quan 映泉. *Chen Yonggui zhuan* [Biography of Chen Yonggui] 陈永贵传. (Wuhan: Changjiang Wenyi Chubanshe, 1996), p. 141; Tan, Chengjian 谭成健. *Dazhai: zhongguo mingcun jishi* [Dazhai: report of a famous village in China] 大寨——中国名村纪实. (Zhengzhou: Zhongyuan Nongmin Chubanshe, 1998), p. 61; Duan, Cunzhang 段存章. *Wo zai Dazhai shisan nian: ywwei dangbao jizhe yanzhong de Dazhai ren* [My Thirteen Years in Dazhai: the Dazhai People in the Eyes of a Reporter of Party Newspaper] 我在大寨十三年——一位党报记者眼中的大寨人. (Beijing: Nongcun Duwu Chubanshe, 2003), pp. 135-140.

⁶⁸ Ying, Quan 映泉. *Chen Yonggui Zhuan* [Biography of Chen Yonggui] 陈永贵传. (Wuhan: Changjiang Wenyi Chubanshe, 1996), p. 142.

⁶⁹ Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun Zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 90. This Plan appeared to have been devised to coincide with the *National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967)*, revised on 25 October 1957, and finally adopted by the Second Session of the Second National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China on 10 April 1960, in which the development of forestry was planned within a twelve-year period. See *National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967)* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1960), p. 18.

⁷⁰ This was a slogan to supplement the catchword 'destroying the four olds and establishing the four news' in the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969).

⁷¹ See for example: Myrdal, Jan. *Report from a Chinese Village* (London: Heinemann, 1965).

Dazhai' movement. First, it resulted from the requirements to cater for increasing visitor numbers. Secondly, as Party officials also visited Dazhai for inspections, their instructions were followed by construction. For example, Premier Zhou Enlai inspected Dazhai three times: on 21 May 1965, 9 April 1967, and 23 April 1973, and ideas were generated especially during his 1965 visit. Thirdly, in the ultra-leftist political circumstances of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969), the landscape was transformed with revolutionary fervour and utopian vision, and some policies of the GLF (1958-1960) were further implemented.

Fields: from terrace to man-made plain

After the 1963 calamity, field rehabilitation was well under way. Fields were again terraced. As Dazhai became a model, the significance of the terraced fields thus not only lay in its creation with Herculean human labour or its admirable high grain output, but also consisted in it being a symbol for collective achievements and thus the associated socialist ideological meaning. This meaning was even more strengthened in 1966, when delegates from 37 Chinese minorities visited Dazhai and worked together with Dazhai villagers in the Zhaobeiyu Gully for the better part of a day. The gully was then renamed as Minzu Tuanjie Youyi (National Unity and Friendship) Gully, and Tuanjie (Unity) Gully for short,⁷² to commemorate the friendship within the new united nation.

As the construction of terraced fields continued, smaller plots merged into larger ones and the number of fields decreased (Table 6.4). It was further reduced in the man-made plain campaign at the beginning of 1970s, which was a striving to create bigger and better fields.

Table 6.4 Statistics of the Dazhai fields in the years of 1964 and 1969

Year	Piece of embanked fields	Total area of the fields (mu)	In gullies		On ridges		On slopes	
			area (mu)	%	area (mu)	%	area (mu)	%
1964	2,085	777	130	16.7	647 mu, 83.3%			
1969	1,700	741	195	26.3	464	62.6	82	11.1

Source: Figures of 1964 are from Agricultural Production Workgroup of Shanxi Province 省农业生产规划工作组. 'Xiyangxian Dazhai dadui tudi zhangliang huizongbiao' [The measurements of the fields of Dazhai Brigade in Xiyang County] 昔阳县大寨大队土地丈量汇总表. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 15, No. 1.2 (1965), p. 2. Figures of 1969 are from Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun Zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 31.

The man-made plain campaign was set out with a new slogan advocating, '*Banshan tiangou*

⁷² Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun Zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 40.

zaopingyuan' (Move hills, fill gullies and create plains). This pursuit, set in the political context of the Cultural Revolution, was much promoted by the revolutionary ardour. The immediate purpose was to have more cultivated fields in order to increase food supplies, and to ensure the advanced model status. In addition, as Mao considered mechanization and irrigation crucial for agricultural progress, the cultivated plots, which had been achieved through intensive terracing, were now considered too small to have large scale mechanization and irrigation. The narrowness of gully fields was also regarded as an impediment for full benefit from sunshine and an adequate airflow. Some eroded ridges, which appeared as dissected sections standing between gully fields, were then considered a nuisance and an obstruction for large scale cultivation. The specific idea and technique of creation of a plain came from the construction of a new threshing ground in the late 1960s, in which Dazhai people 'dynamited and levelled a hillock, using its debris to fill in small gullies and thus creating a broad flat area to be surfaced as the threshing ground' (Fig. 6.19).⁷³ So, similarly, gullies were to be filled by lopping off ridges, through the introduction of bulldozers. But, there were doubts about the productivity of the new land constructed, compared with the buried fertile lands. However, due to the dogmatic socialist ideology, creating new fields, despite some hardship, was part of the whole undertaking. As Neville Maxwell observed, 'There is no such thing, in that perception, as poor soil or bad soil, those are just soils that have not yet been transformed'⁷⁴. The fertility of the new plains would be increased through similar human efforts as dedicated for the former terraced fields, and effectively it saw no downturn of the grain output in the subsequent years.⁷⁵ But more importantly, with the supreme vision of communism and under Mao's instruction that 'China



Figure 6.19 The threshing ground created in the late 1960s, serving as the prototype for man-made plains.
Source: Tregear, Thomas Refoy. *China: A Geographical Survey* (London; Sydney: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980), p. 147.

⁷³ Maxwell, Neville, ed. *China's Road to Development* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1979), p. 41.

⁷⁴ Maxwell, Neville, ed. *China's Road to Development* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1979), p. 78.

⁷⁵ See note 46, and Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai cun zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 73.

ought to have made a greater contribution to humanity',⁷⁶ the action should be carried through irresistibly for the betterment of future generations.⁷⁷

Dazhai's first attempt to create man-made plains was at the meeting point of the Laofen, Mahuang (Ephedra) and Hezuo (Co-operation) Gully in the winter of 1970, resulting in a small plain of 10 *mu*.⁷⁸ After 1971, the effort of moving hills and filling gullies increased with some remarkable achievements. By 1974, nearly 200 *mu* man-made plains were created,⁷⁹ and by the spring of 1976 more than 500 *mu*.⁸⁰ The fragmented lands were again effectively consolidated from 1,700 pieces in 1969 to nearly 1,400 in 1976 (Table 6.5), with the smallest plain with an area of 20 *mu* (Fig. 6.20).⁸¹

Table 6.5 Statistics of the Dazhai fields in 1976

Year	Piece of embanked fields	Total area of the fields (<i>mu</i>)	In gullies		On ridges		On slopes	
			area (<i>mu</i>)	%	area (<i>mu</i>)	%	area (<i>mu</i>)	%
1976	1,400	834	300	37	254	30	280	33

Source: Figures of 1976 are from Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Dili* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 30.

Greening beyond the fields

With the Seven-year Plan for afforestation formulated immediately after the 1963 disaster, tree plantings in Dazhai were much expanded. With terraces rebuilt and man-made plains created afterwards, the distribution of plantings was accordingly reorganized.

The effects of the afforestation plan were remarkable, with 20,000 trees planted in 1964, and 300 *mu* (20 hectare) lands seeded with trees on Tigerhead Mountain.⁸² Additionally, nearly

⁷⁶ Hua, Guofeng. *Let the Whole Party Mobilize for a Vast Effort to Develop Agriculture and Build Tachai-type Counties throughout the Country: Summing-up Report at the National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture (October 15, 1975)* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975), p. 41.

⁷⁷ See Hua, Guofeng. *Let the Whole Party Mobilize for a Vast Effort to Develop Agriculture and Build Tachai-type Counties throughout the Country: Summing-up Report at the National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture (October 15, 1975)* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975), pp. 39-40; Joint Editorial Board of Dazhai Exhibition Hall of Xiyang County and Historical Relic Committee of Shanxi Province 昔阳县大寨展览馆、山西省文物工作委员会联合编写小组. *Historical Relic Monograph of Dazhai Revolutionary Historical Relic* 文物: 大寨革命文物特刊. (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1976), p. 16; Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun Zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 41.

⁷⁸ Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Dili* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 28.

⁷⁹ Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Dili* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 28.

⁸⁰ Shang, Yuli, and Xiao Yaozhang 尚玉立 肖耀章. *Dazhai Chashang Jinchibang* [Dazhai with golden wings] 大寨插上金翅膀. (Beijing: Nongye Chubanshe, 1977), p. 53.

⁸¹ Shang, Yuli, and Xiao Yaozhang 尚玉立 肖耀章. *Dazhai Chashang Jinchibang* [Dazhai with golden wings] 大寨插上金翅膀. (Beijing: Nongye Chubanshe, 1977), p. 54.

⁸² Agriculture and Forestry Bureau of Xiyang County 昔阳县农林局. 'Zongjie lishi jingyan, zuzhi linye shengchan xin gaochao' [Summarizing historical experiences and greeting the new high tide of afforestation] 总结历史经验, 组织林业生产新高潮. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 15, No. 1.2 (1965), p. 18.

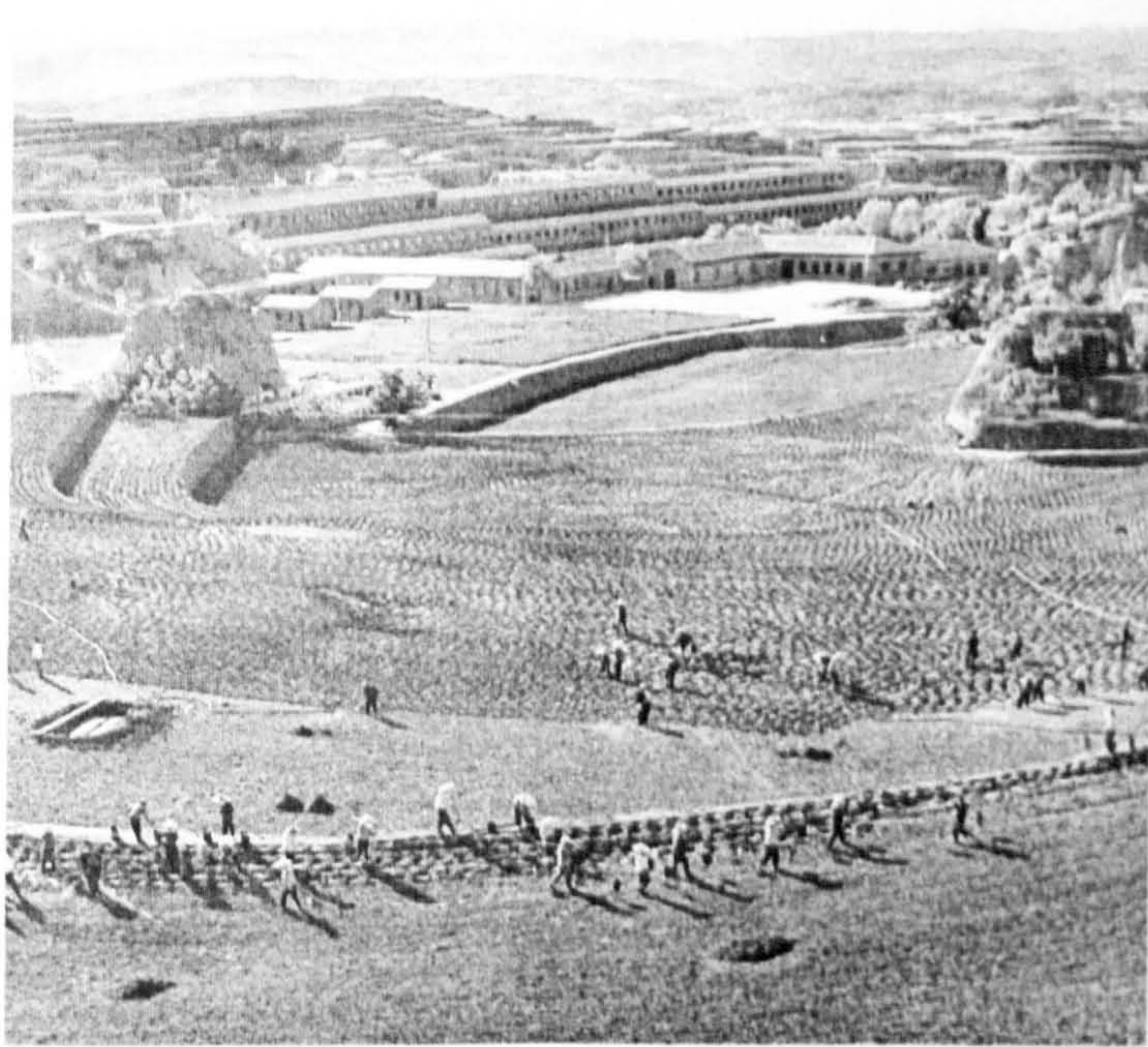


Figure 6.20 Dazhai in the early 1970s showing man-made plains being irrigated by hand with shoulder poles and buckets.

Source: Editorial Board of Tachai Picture Album of Shanxi Province. *Tachai: Pacesetter in China's Agriculture* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978).

2,000 fruit trees of totally 9 species⁸³ were planted.⁸⁴ All these continued during the following spring, with an additional 10,000 timber trees, 5,000 fruit trees and 200 *mu* (13.3 hectare) fields being seeded with trees in Dazhai.⁸⁵

The inspection of Premier Zhou Enlai in May 1965 became another catalyser for planting activities. While standing on Tigerhead Mountain and seeing the dense pine woodlands on the Tianqi Mountain of the adjacent Wujiaping Brigade, he felt that Dazhai's Tigerhead Mountain was deficient in this respect, and emphasized that 'more trees are needed in Dazhai to develop forestry. Both fruit trees and timber trees should be planted.'⁸⁶ Following this, by late 1965, Dazhai had a total of 9,500 fruit trees and 16,000 timber trees.⁸⁷

It was also from 1965 that tree plantings were subjected to careful arrangements. To settle the contradiction between forestry and animal husbandry to supplement a diversified agriculture, mountain areas were closed for afforestation, rather than livestock grazing, and tree plantings were to be done collectively concentrating on one hillock at a time, instead of carrying out separately and dispersively. Additionally, the 'four sides', i.e. roadside, yard side, house side,

⁸³ They were apple, walnut, pear, peach, apricot, Chinese jujube, Chinese pepper, grape, and Chinese pear-leaf crabapple.

⁸⁴ Agricultural Production Workgroup of Shanxi Province 省农业生产规划工作组. 'Dazhai dadui xianyou guoshu fenbu' [Current distribution of fruit trees in Dazhai Brigade] 大寨大队现有果树分布. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 36, No. 1.1 (1964), pp. 118-120.

⁸⁵ Agriculture and Forestry Bureau of Xiyang County 昔阳县农林局. 'Zongjie lishi jingyan, zuzhi linye shengchan xin gaochao' [Summarizing historical experiences and greeting the new high tide of afforestation] 总结历史经验, 组织林业生产新高潮. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 15, No. 1.2 (1965), p. 18.

⁸⁶ Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun Zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 91.

⁸⁷ Agriculture and Forestry Bureau of Xiyang County 昔阳县农林局. 'Zongjie lishi jingyan, zuzhi linye shengchan xin gaochao' [Summarizing historical experiences and greeting the new high tide of afforestation] 总结历史经验, 组织林业生产新高潮. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 15, No. 1.2 (1965), p. 18.

field side,⁸⁸ should receive preference in strategic tree planting to accelerate greening expansion and environmental improvement.⁸⁹

Despite large numbers of trees planted, they continued to be carefully selected, ensuring a balance of agricultural production and timber needs. Chinese pepper and walnut trees became the favourites in economic plantings. Timber trees meanwhile served as shelterbelts. With regard to the appropriate positioning of trees, mountaintops were largely planted with pines, which derived from the adjacent Wujiaping Brigade's experiences; walnut trees were allocated on mountainsides where they replaced cultivated terraced fields after the field enlargements of the 1970s; apples and pears were also arranged on the mountainside rather than in the gully fields as before, but in larger groupings in order to facilitate management and maintenance; peach trees and grapevines were planted in the vicinity of the village in order to facilitate outward delivery (Fig. 6.21). By 1979, Tigerhead Mountain had been covered for a third of its area.⁹⁰

The greening development showed Dazhai people's vision for a comprehensive and diversified agricultural production, and the desire for a more favourable and pleasing environment. Following Mao's call for the National Landscaping and Gardening Movement in 1958, greening became an indispensable component of Dazhai people's deemed consummate socialist life. From then on, they even held the green ideal, 'with pines evergreen on mountain tops, with prolific fruit trees along the mountainside, with attractive flowers at scenic places, with roads like green ribbons, and with dense trees around the home.'⁹¹ The greening development made positive contributions economically, visually, and ecologically as well, as it was later considered necessary to achieve an ecological balance, as Jia Xinwen, a present village committee member, suggested, 'In those years, we built terraces whilst streaming with sweat, simultaneously destroying the already limited shrubs and weeds. The constructed fields were neat and nice-looking. But, clouds of dust emerged when it was windy. We had no consideration for ecological balance and rushed to create fields by building retaining walls. What nature did was retaliating against us!'⁹²

⁸⁸ The 'four sides' were a little different from the then popularly defined 'four sides' as roadside, house side, village side and waterside.

⁸⁹ Agriculture and Forestry Bureau of Xiyang County 昔阳县农林局. 'Zongjie lishi jingyan, zuzhi linye shengchan xin gaochao' [Summarizing historical experiences and greeting the new high tide of afforestation] 总结历史经验, 组织林业生产新高潮. *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 15, No. 1.2 (1965), p. 19.

⁹⁰ Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun Zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Shubanshe, 2003), p. 91.

⁹¹ The Chinese texts are '山上松柏常青, 山间果树缠腰, 景点花木竞秀, 道路形如绿带, 宅旁绿树成荫'. Party Branch of Dazhai Brigade 大寨大队党支部. 'Women shi zenyang luhua hutoushan de?' [How have we turned the Tigerhead Mountain green?] 我们是怎样绿化虎头山的? *Dazhai Archives*. Vol. 102, No. 1.1 (1973), p. 109; Tan, Chengjian 谭成健. *Dazhai: Zhongguo Mingcun Jishi* [Dazhai: Report of a Famous Village in China] 大寨——中国名村纪实. (Zhengzhou: Zhongyuan Nongmin Chubanshe, 1998), p. 291; Liu, Shenyuan 刘慎元. 'Dazhai: yibu luse jingdian' [Dazhai: a green model] 大寨: 一部绿色经典. *Zhongguo Luse Shibao* 中国绿色时报, 06-08-2001.

⁹² Duan, Cunzhang 段存章. *Wo zai Dazhai shisan nian: yiwei dangbao jizhe yanzhong de Dazhai ren* [My Thirteen Years in Dazhai: the Dazhai People in the Eyes of a Reporter of Party Newspaper] 我在大寨十三年——一位党报记者眼中的大寨人. (Beijing: Nongcun Duwu Chubanshe, 2003), p. 200.



Figure 6.21 In 1975, the mountaintop was primarily occupied by pines, and the terraced fields along the mountain side were turned into tree plantings, such as walnut trees and apple trees.

Source: Based on Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography* of Xiyang County 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Dili* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975).

Housing: landscape for collective community

The rehabilitated village housing area consisted of integrated housing groups supporting the collective community's living, working, recreation and education. Whilst organizing the new village, a strict criterion was set forth by Chen Yonggui that no cultivated field could be occupied as the site for housing, which showed his attachment to the land. In addition, since the village would accommodate the 'large' and 'public' People's Commune, it should be built suitable for collective purposes.

To meet these requirements, the village made use of a former housing site at the north end of the lower reach of Houdi Gully, which was largely destroyed by the flash floods and had fallen into disrepair (Fig. 6.22). It was also an opportunity to unite various other previously scattered houses and bring all the villagers together in a new community. The north gully end, 290 metres long, was filled in and levelled, but with a culvert laid on the gully bed to pre-empt summer floods. The culvert was named *Shengtian Dong* (Surpassing Heaven Culvert), to express the high-spirited

sentiments whilst rebuilding the home territory (Fig. 6.23). The name of the culvert was clearly presented at its north end to have an easy recognition, with five Chinese characters 'Da zhai Sheng tian dong' (Dazhai's Surpassing Heaven Culvert) engraved above the arch (Fig. 6.24). Although these texts were intended to convey a new idea of the socialist era, the strategy applied and the visual effects were quite traditional, since Chinese architecture had long used a horizontal board as an integrated element of its elevation just beneath the roof for inscriptions with a similar purpose.



Figure 6.22 View of Dazhai village from the entrance in 1964, with the village gate spanning the north end of Houdi gully

Source: Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun Zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Shubanshe, 2003).



Figure 6.23 Sketch of construction of Surpassing Heaven Culvert that lies below Dazhai village.

Source: private collection.

The rebuilt Dazhai village surrounded the newly levelled ground over the culvert with the northern part serving as the central square of the village (Fig. 6.25). The square became the focal point for everyday life and was the place for outdoor lunch and supper, news dissemination, theatrical festivals, and grain distribution.⁹³ As a public square, it was further opened up when



Figure 6.24 The north end of Surpassing Heaven Culvert, with its name engraved above the arch.

Source: supplied by Li Jianwei.

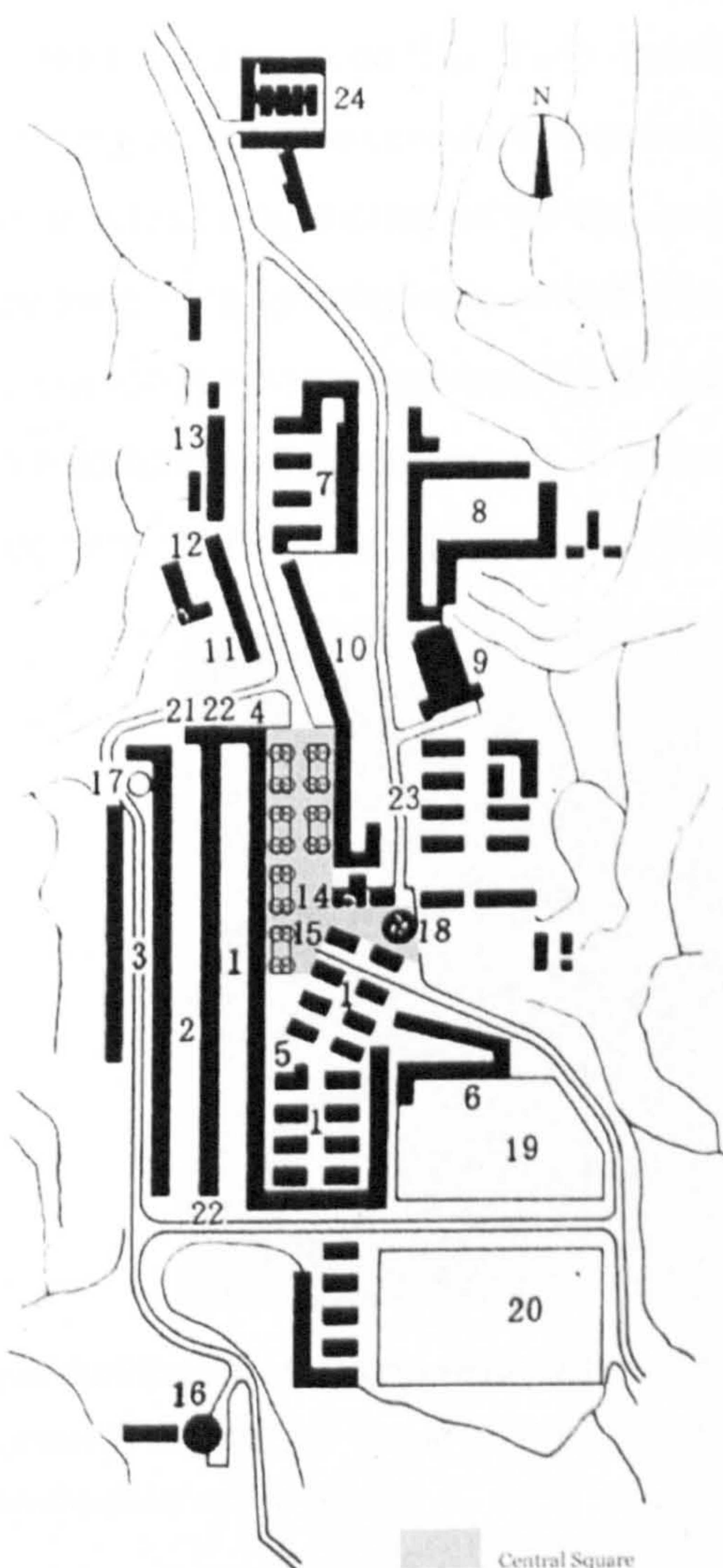


Figure 6.25 Schematic plan of new housing in Dazhai (c. 1966).

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. Dwelling | 2. Primary school |
| 3. Hospital | 4. Kindergarten |
| 5. Nursery | 6. Farm machinery room |
| 7. Reception centre | 8. Hostel |
| 9. Auditorium | 10. Shop |
| 11. Post office | 12. Restaurant |
| 13. Bookstore | 14. Political night school |
| 15. Library | 16. Feedlot |
| 17. Cistern | 18. Willow |
| 19. Threshing ground | 20. Basketball court |
| 21. Water room | 22. Public latrine |
| 23. Office building of the Dazhai People's Commune | |
| 24. Farm machinery repair shop | |

Source: drawing author: based on village map supplied by Li Jianwei.

⁹³ See Ying, Quan 映泉. *Chen Yonggui Zhuan* [Biography of Chen Yonggui] 陈永贵传. (Wuhan: Changjiang Wenyi Chubanshe, 1996), p. 52.

the village gate at the entrance was demolished in 1965.⁹⁴ The new entrance was built with two boards set on either side, leaving the sight line for the square unblocked. Slogans were printed on the boards to make the ideological rectitude visible, which read 'Zi li geng sheng' (relying on our own efforts) on the left and 'Fen fa tu qiang' (working hard for the prosperity) on the right. Again, these texts appeared new with the socialist slogan and traditional in form, as it looked like traditional antithetical couplets at any entrance in traditional Chinese architecture (Fig. 6.26). The texts on the boards were changed at times, constantly strengthening a revolutionary atmosphere.⁹⁵

The central square was the only open space with deliberate decorative tree plantings. The large willow tree at the southeast corner was treasured, as it was not only an important feature of the whole environment, but also an eyewitness of history and carrier of memory. It was therefore of educational and ideological significance. When someone suggested eradication and chopping it down, Chen Yonggui held the opinion on the contrary, 'Do not do that. It will be useful in the future!'⁹⁶ It was renamed as 'happy man's tree' instead of its historic name of 'poor man's tree', and became a location for political meetings recalling the suffering in the old society and the happiness in the new one (Fig. 6.27). The former hardship became the shared memory and the new felicity became the collective treasure of Dazhai villagers. The area near the willow was also used for school play, martial art training, and so on. Besides the preserved willow tree, apple and willow trees were symmetrically placed in lines along the east and west sides of the square. They were planted in stone edged rectangular beds, with two willows at the two corners close to the main road running through the central square and two apple trees correspondingly at the other two corners. While willow trees were common in Dazhai, apple trees were one of the few fruit



Figure 6.26 Entrance to Dazhai village with political slogans on large boards, stating 'Zi li geng sheng (relying on our own efforts)' (left) and 'Fen fa tu qiang (working hard for the prosperity)' (right) (c. 1966).

Source: supplied by Ren Zhiming.

⁹⁴ Interview with Dazhai villager, Zhao Huaxiao, 24 September 2005.

⁹⁵ Interview Dazhai villager, Zhao Huaxiao, 25 September 2005.

⁹⁶ Ying, Quan 映泉. *Chen Yonggui zhuan* [Biography of Chen Yonggui] 陈永贵传. (Wuhan: Changjiang Wenyi Chubanshe, 1996), p. 52.



Figure 6.27 Political meeting under the 'happy man's tree', a large surviving willow that has evidenced a rich history. Source: Editorial Board of Tachai Picture Album of Shanxi Province. *Tachai: Pacesetter in China's Agriculture*. (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978).

trees available at the time, which were planted for commercial reasons to supplement incomes.

New housing surrounded this square but was located primarily to the west where housing stepped up the slope of the hill (Fig. 6.28). Brick and stone were built as terraces against the hill with vaults and arched openings to one side, which resembled the old cave houses. Like the old cave housing the houses consisted of one room only. A large family however might occupy more than one of those rooms.⁹⁷ Walls between rooms were frequently knocked through to provide more extensive accommodation. Kitchen facilities were located in a terraced block positioned on top of the lower terrace opposite the accommodation block, thus providing all rooms at one level, with an open space between the two blocks (Fig. 6.29). This resulted in long rectangular spaces between the kitchen and accommodation block where communal life was enacted. Kitchen facilities for the lowest terrace were located in small blocks to the south of the square. Water supply and public latrines were located to the north and south ends of the terraces as communal facilities, thus enforcing constant journeys to and from the kitchen and accommodation blocks. This meant that the area became an informal meeting place that helped to reinforce the collective spirit. The lack of privacy provided by this arrangement further underlined that residents had nothing to hide from each other, with the lack of articulation of spaces and sense of openness suggesting equality and harmony.

The area to the north of the village on either side of the main approach was the location of the various community buildings, workshops, schools and shops being incorporated within the terraced cave-like housing blocks. A threshing ground and basketball court were located to the south of the village.

⁹⁷ Maxwell, Neville, ed. *China's Road to Development* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1979), p. 51.



Figure 6.28 A bird's-eye view of Dazhai village, with residential terraces located primarily to the west of the central square (c. 1976).

Source: supplied by Ren Zhiming.

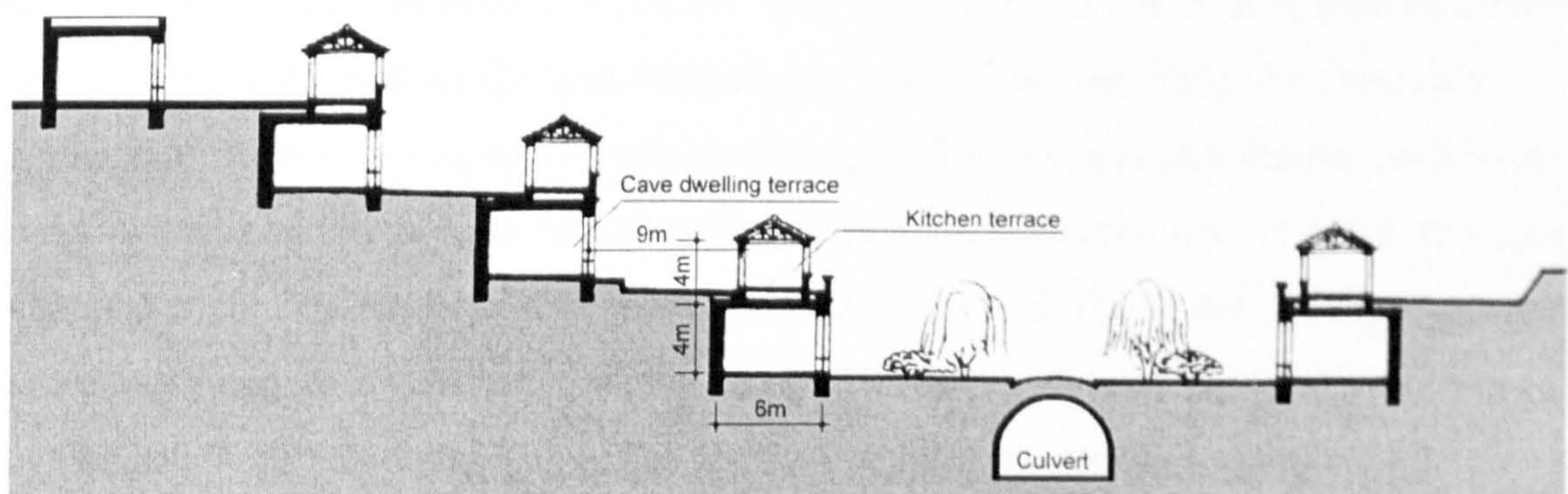


Figure 6.29 Cross section of residential terraces through central square, showing the cave dwelling terraces situated against the hill with kitchen terraces on top, retaining all rooms at one level with a communal walk dividing the two.

Source: drawing author: based on section supplied by Li Jianwei.

In addition to spatial arrangements, collectivism as the socialist ideological manifestation was promoted and emphasized by visual representations, again in terms of the traditional strategy of text application.

The buildings accommodating the Dazhai People's Commune offices were located to the north of the housing area. Its entrance was symmetric, incorporating the traditional form of antithetical couplet again. But it was more traditional here, since the texts of the antithetical couplet had to be read from the top to the bottom and then from the right to the left, which was the way that the Chinese traditional literature always followed (Fig. 6.30). The sentences were excerpted from Chairman Mao's *ci* poem, *Reply to Comrade Guo Moruo*, composed in 1963. While *ci* poem was a kind of Chinese literature which had its full bloom during Song Dynasty



Figure 6.30 The entrance of the former offices of the Dazhai People's Commune. The printed texts have faded.

Source: Photograph by author on 21/09/2005.

(960-1279), both the practical form and the manner of organization of the texts were rooted in Chinese tradition. But the meaning carried by the texts was completely revolutionary, as the whole representation constituted one column 'The Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging' on the right and the other one column 'The Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring'⁹⁸ on the left, with six Chinese characters of 'Da zhai ren min gong she' (People's Commune of Dazhai) serving as the horizontal hanging. The revolutionary theme was further strengthened by additional texts but maintaining the symmetrical layout, which were 'The core of leadership of our undertaking is Chinese Communist Party'⁹⁹ on the far left and 'The theoretical basis of our thoughts is Marxism'¹⁰⁰ on the far right.

Besides these elaborately composed texts, some other immediate slogans were incorporated in the housing area. The most conspicuous one was the lengthy slogan fitted into the extensive elevation of the housing groups to the west. It was most probably printed in the late 1970s, with the General Line of GLF repeated, 'Go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism', and a mobilization call for the fifth FYP (1976-1980), 'Fight for the accomplishment of the fifth Five-Year Plan'.¹⁰¹ The outside wall between every two cave dwellings was exactly occupied by one big Chinese character. The characters were regularly arrayed from the north end to the south end. Despite a slogan of the new socialist era, old tradition emerged again, as it should be read from the right to the left (Fig. 6.31).

With the new housing area re-established, not all the old cave dwellings were cleared or

⁹⁸ Translated in Salter, Christopher L. 'In Memoriam: Selected Landscape Poetry of Mao Tse-Tung'. *The China Geographer*, No. 5 (Fall, 1976), p. 62. The printed Chinese sentences were '四海翻腾云水怒，五洲震荡风雷激'.

⁹⁹ The printed Chinese sentences were '领导我们事业的核心力量是中国共产党'.

¹⁰⁰ The printed Chinese sentences were '指导我们思想的理论基础是马克思主义'.

¹⁰¹ The full Chinese texts read '鼓足干劲力争上游大干社会主义为实现第五个五年计划而奋斗'.

substituted. Some dilapidated old cave dwellings to the south of the newly built housing area were preserved after the 1963 disaster, and although empty, they are still kept at present (Fig. 6.32). The co-existence of the newly built housing and the previous grim realities provided a sharp reminder to earlier harsh reality. Like the large willow tree standing beside the central square, the old cave dwellings bore a particular history. They again had the educational significance, telling the new generations that new happy life enjoyed was only achieved through the toils of the past.



Figure 6.31 Some of the characters of the slogan printed on the wall of the housing group to the west

Source: supplied by Li Jianwei.



Figure 6.32 Dilapidated old cave dwellings still kept at present in Dazhai.

Source: Photograph by author on 25/09/2005.

Landscape with mechanization and irrigation

Chairman Mao had already indicated the crucial importance of mechanization and irrigation for agricultural development in late 1950s, which was confirmed by Premier Zhou Enlai who suggested Dazhai should be more careful with water resources during his 1965 inspection. Clearly, mechanization and irrigation improvements would contribute to agricultural efficiency and effectiveness. Party leaders' instructions led to new features being introduced into the fields.

In Dazhai, transportation of manure for cultivation, rocks for embankments and earth for levelling terraces were the most laborious and time-consuming work in its hilly condition, particularly since through inaccessibility they depended solely on human labour with primitive tools, such as shoulder poles. Although mechanization was considered as an obvious choice, it was unrealistic to use tractors or trucks through the underdeveloped pathway system of the fields. Actually, it was not until 1970 that roads suitable for wheelbarrow and horse-drawn carriage were laid out and then this was due to the pressure of accommodating increasing visitor numbers.

New opportunities arose when Dazhai was provided with electricity in 1965, two years after the 1963 disaster. The inconvenience of the lack of electricity during the reconstruction drew Shanxi Provincial authorities' attention, as Chen Yonggui said at the time, 'I don't need help from above for anything right now, but I have one problem. I don't have electricity. If we could get electricity, we could greatly increase the speed of home repairs and reoccupy our cave-dwellings much faster.'¹⁰² Electric lines subsequently passed two other production brigades, Liu Settlement and Wujiaping, to Dazhai.¹⁰³ Thereafter in 1966, for the transportation of field construction materials, wooden boards were laid on paths, after which a traction engine could move materials up and down. But there were difficulties when gullies and ridges had to be crossed. An innovative solution was provided in the winter of 1967, when a worker from the County Agricultural Machinery Plant visited Dazhai and used his experience of aero-transportation to suggest a 300 metres long cableway across the Dazhai fields.¹⁰⁴ It was ultimately constructed as a single line with a fixed basket which could only be unloaded at the two ends of the cableway. Further improvements were made shortly with two lines developed enabling transportation in two directions simultaneously. Baskets also became flexible to be unloaded at any point along the line for greater convenience in delivering materials (Fig. 6.33). By 1971, Dazhai had five such lines with a total length of 2,480 metres, which was said to equal

¹⁰² Qin, Huailu, edited by William Hinton. *Ninth Heaven to Ninth Hell: The History of a Noble Chinese Experiment* (New York: Barricade Books, 1995), p. 553.

¹⁰³ Two other brigades were also at the same time electrified, which meant that Dazhai was not singly and specially attended. And for the expenses, government regulations stipulated 'that the State was responsible for the high-voltage lines while the local people's collectives had to take care of the low-voltage lines.' It did not affect Dazhai's adherence to self-reliance. But the case was falsified when Dazhai was denounced in late 1970s. For the full analysis of this electrical supply case, see Qin, Huailu, edited by William Hinton. *Ninth Heaven to Ninth Hell: The History of a Noble Chinese Experiment* (New York: Barricade Books, 1995), pp. 553-554.

¹⁰⁴ Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun Zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 76.

more than 10,000 man years annually (Fig. 6.34).¹⁰⁵ These cableways were perhaps the most outstanding addition in Dazhai's fields in the mechanization movement.



Figure 6.33 The first section of aerial cableway installed in 1967 for the purpose of transportation of stone, earth and manure.
Source: supplied by Ren Zhiming.

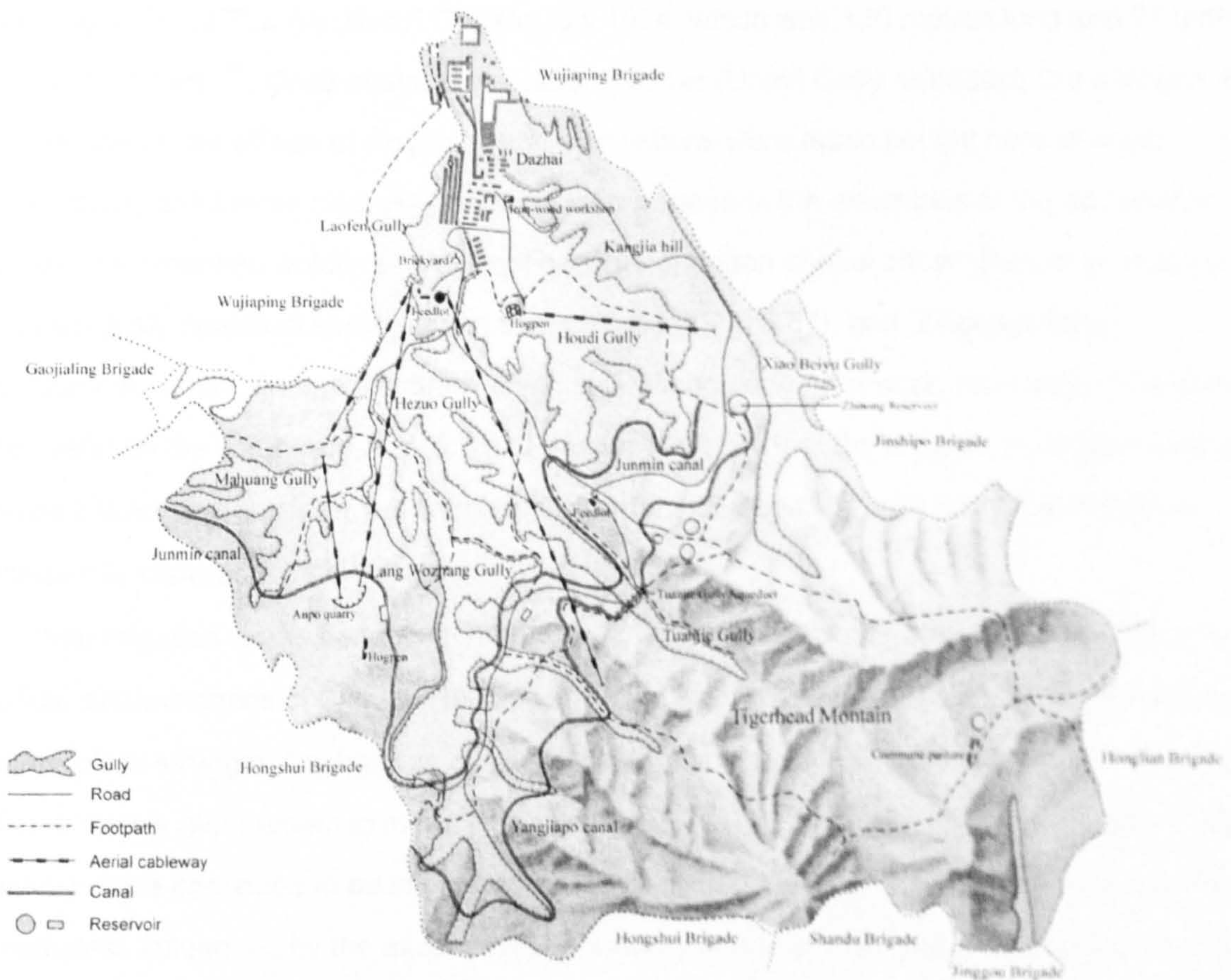


Figure 6.34 Arrangement of the aerial cableways in Dazhai (1970s).

Source: Based on Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Dili* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975).

¹⁰⁵ Shang, Yuli, and Xiao Yaozhang 尚玉立 肖耀章. *Dazhai Chashang Jinchibang* [Dazhai with golden wings] 大寨插上金翅膀. (Beijing: Nongye Chubanshe, 1977), p. 34.

Some other remarkable landscape features related to the agricultural irrigation works. In addition to subterranean flask-shaped wells formerly designed to store floodwater as well as rainwater, a small reservoir 3.25 metres in depth and 29 metres in diameter was constructed on Tigerhead Mountain,¹⁰⁶ which was of similar purpose for natural water storage but also for collecting floodwater from the top to reduce menace for the downward fields. It was completed with some sporadic helps from the People's Liberation Army (PLA) in the spring of 1967, when Army comrades visited Dazhai and conducted field training. It was notable that a slogan-like name, 'Zhinong Reservoir' (Supporting Peasant Reservoir), was put forward, literally representing the close and warm relationship between the state army and its people (Fig. 6.35). Later that winter, a narrow canal was constructed, also with some assistance from the PLA. This introduced water from the Guozhuang Reservoir of Xiyang County which benefited nearly 400 *mu* (26.7 hectare) fields.¹⁰⁷ It was about 1 metre across, 1.5 metres deep and nearly 7 kilometres long along the Tigerhead mountainside,¹⁰⁸ and was given a similar slogan-like name, 'Junmin Canal' (Army and People Canal), praising the harmony of the great socialist nation (Fig. 6.36). More fields were provided with adequate irrigation through an aqueduct constructed spanning over the Tuanjie (Unity) Gully in July 1974, which was 120 metres long and 27 metres high with 9 pillars.¹⁰⁹ Once again, it was called Tuanjie (Unity) Gully Aqueduct, like a slogan. But, besides the verbal effects of slogan, visual stimulations were again sought here to make revolutionary spirit more clearer. They were incorporated in the elevations of the aqueduct in a conventional manner, which read 'Jianchi douzheng, dagan shehui zhuyi' (Persist in struggle, and vigorously construct socialism) on the north side (Fig. 6.37), and 'Ziligengsheng, jiankufendou, chongxin anpai shanhe' (With self-reliance and hard work, rearrange mountains and rivers) on the south side (Fig. 6.38). It is clear therefore that the projects for irrigation not only served a functional purpose, but were also important ideologically, with mental rectification consistently fostered for the villagers.

With irrigation works benefiting the crops, further achievements were expected within the political circumstances of Cultural Revolution. While the whole nation was mobilized to engage in frenetic class struggle, Dazhai was quiet in this respect in the same way as they did not comply with the state's requirement to make steel during the GLF. Under the leadership of Chen Yonggui, Dazhai people continued to be interested in further advance on the land. But treatments were nonetheless influenced by the exceedingly stressed proletarian ideological inclination towards

¹⁰⁶ Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Di* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 46.

¹⁰⁷ Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Di* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 46.

¹⁰⁸ Editorial Board of *Dazhai Geography of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨地理》编写组. *Dazhai Di* [Dazhai Geography] 大寨地理. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), p. 46.

¹⁰⁹ Wang, Junshan 王俊山, ed. *Dazhai Cun Zhi* [Dazhai village records] 大寨村志. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2003), p. 80.

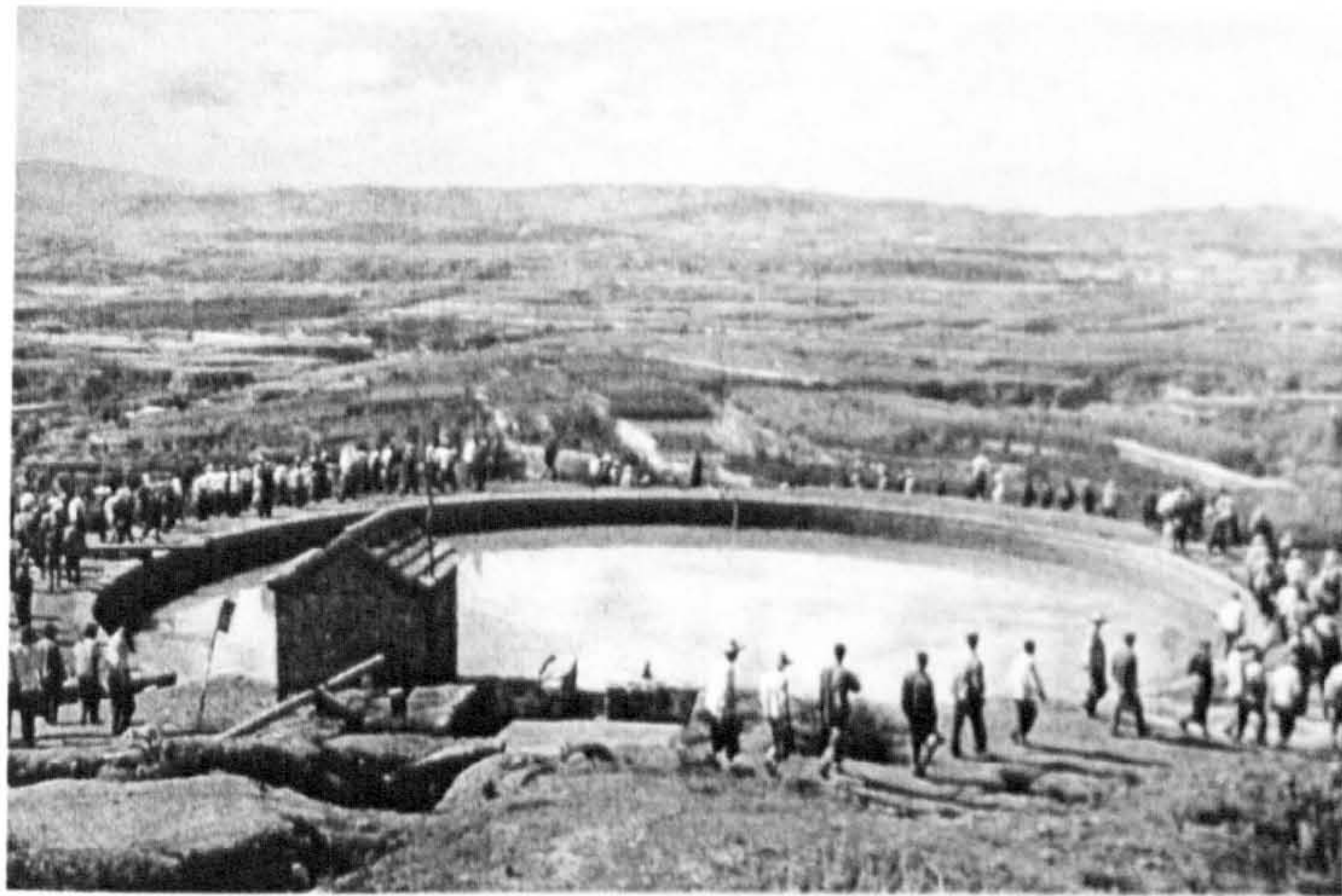


Figure 6.35 Zhinong (Supporting Peasant) Reservoir built on the Tigerhead Mountain (spring 1967).

Source: Editorial Board of *Dazhai Photographs of Xiyang County* 昔阳县《大寨图片》编写组. *Dazhai Tupian Ji* [Dazhai Photographs] 大寨图片集. (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Shubanshe, 1976).

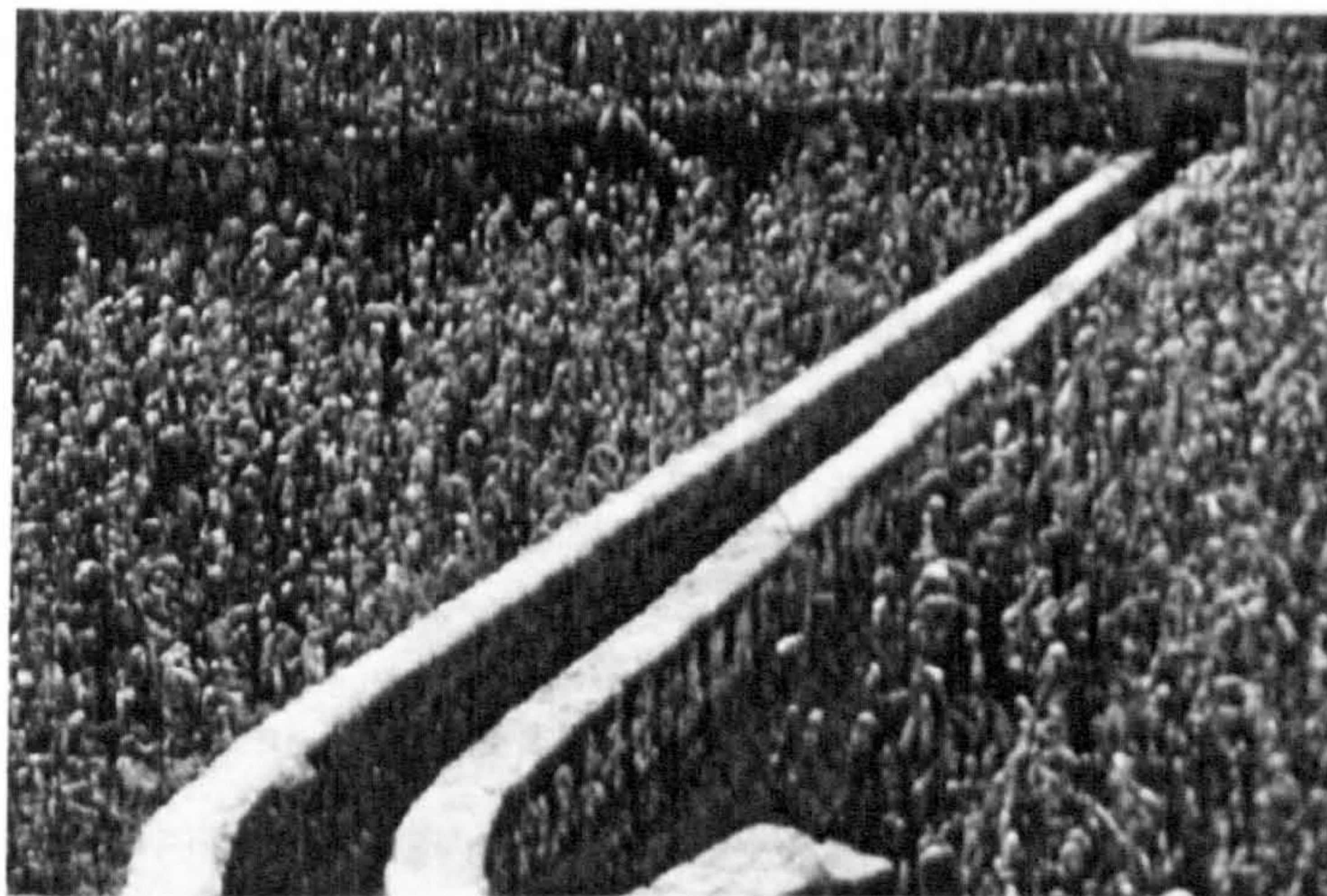


Figure 6.36 The seven kilometres long Junmin (Army and People) Canal laid along Tigerhead mountainside provides a secure water supply from a reservoir of the county to the village (winter 1967).

Source: supplied by Li Jianwei.

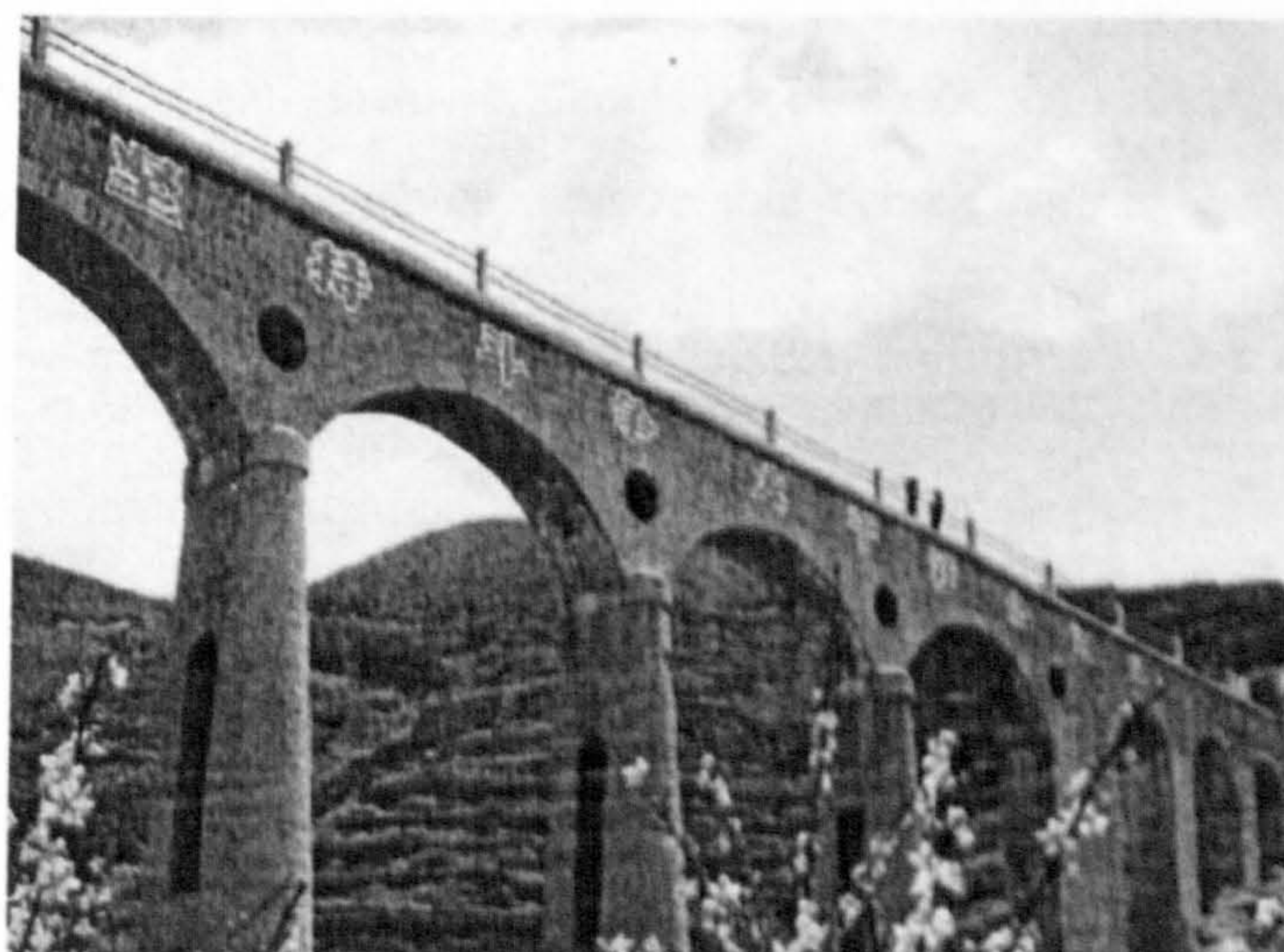


Figure 6.37 The north side of Tuanjie (Unity) Gully Aqueduct constructed in 1974, with slogan printed on façade, stating 'Jianchi douzheng, dagan shehui zhuyi (Persist in struggle, and vigorously construct socialism)'.

Source: supplied by Li Jianwei.



Figure 6.38 The south side of Tuanjie (Unity) Gully Aqueduct constructed in 1974, with slogan printed on facade, stating 'Ziligengsheng, jiankufendou, chongxin anpai shanhe (With self-reliance and hard work, re-arrange mountains and rivers)'.

Source: National Agricultural Exhibition Hall 农业展览馆. *Dazhai* 大寨. (Beijing: Nongye Chubanshe, 1975).

socialism and communism, and became impractical with utopian vision, and thus lacked reasonable consideration for concrete conditions. Regardless of the basically arid region, the situation would be reversed by extensive irrigation. It was then believed that nothing was impossible with hard work and relentless determination. As the harvest yields had already 'crossed the Changjiang River' in 1964, achieving the target set for areas of the south China (see note 46), it was intended that the field itself should also be transformed into the same productive lands as that in south China, but which was totally different from Dazhai with abundant water resources and a moderate climate. This action was also for a diversification of agricultural productions. As a result, rice paddies, which had no precedent in Dazhai, were introduced in 1971 on Kangjia Ridge nearby the Zhinong Reservoir (Supporting Peasant Reservoir). Generously supported by the reservoir, it did well in its first year and became a considerable attraction for visitors (Fig. 6.39). However, it could not be sustained satisfactorily in the following year, as sufficient water supply became a considerable issue. Going against the law of nature would not bring a desired result. This could also be demonstrated by the negative environmental and social problems in other parts of China during the 'Learning from Dazhai' movement. Where appropriate, positive outcomes might be achieved,¹¹⁰ but in those instances where the model was blindly followed in climatically and ecologically divergent regions, problems often emerged with occasionally disastrous results.¹¹¹ The catchword of 'Man Must Conquer Nature' appropriated the significant achievements in Dazhai's landscape transformation as the unquestionable successful battle against nature. This ignored any effective strategies in the landscape that had followed natural principles.

¹¹⁰ Shapiro, Judith. *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China*. (New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 101.

¹¹¹ Shapiro, Judith. *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China*. (New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 106-107.



Figure 6.39 Rice paddies on Kangjia Ridge cultivated in 1971, demonstrating that man was able to conquer nature but which only lasted for one year.

Source: National Agricultural Exhibition Hall 农业展览馆. *Dazhai* 大寨. (Beijing: Nongye Chubanshe, 1975).

Dazhai today

While Dazhai was derided during the policies of the 1980s life in the gullies continued as usual, with the village slipping out of the limelight. The reputation was revived during the 1990s when – in the upturn of the economy – past social values, such as hard work and perseverance, required positive examples in promoting new development as well as encouraging advancement, and Dazhai came to serve this purpose. By this stage the villagers had moved on and today, having switched to industry, such as food processing, knitting mill, chemical plant, and transport service, not a single household is solely engaged in farming and the income from agriculture forms only a small part of Dazhai's annual revenues.¹¹² There has been new development of warehouses to accommodate these businesses and additional housing around the village. The cultivation of the terraces is now much less intensive as a result, and many arable fields have been turned into orchards and woodland, with cultivated fields now only existing in the gullies. Despite no longer being an agricultural model, the village continues to draw tourists wanting to experience the Herculean effects of the Dazhai Spirit, which, besides surviving evidence of enormous stone retaining walls and a refurbished aqueduct, are now being catered for with a new museum, while the landscape has become a depository of various monuments, such as a pavilion in memory of Premier Zhou Enlai, built on the side of Tigerhead Mountain where he once stood during his inspections, and a sculpture of Chen Yonggui set at its foot. These signify a subtle nostalgia for a true communist spirit.

¹¹² 'China's Model Village: from Political Symbol to Brand Name', *People's Daily* (27 June 2002).

Conclusion

Dazhai village occupies a remarkable position in the modernization of agriculture in communist China. Its success is partly due to the fact that under enlightened and capable leadership of a former peasant, it sought ways of transforming agriculture. Through experimentation and risk-taking, a backward peasant community achieved success and became a shining model of the spirit of self-reliance, hard work and collectivism exemplified by the huge manpower input and the willingness to bear hardship in order to transform nature. The Dazhai model embodied the belief that the power of ideas could conquer nature for the betterment of human kind. It failed, however to recognize the essential links between man and nature. Until the Cultural Revolution, transformation of land for agriculture by and large followed natural processes. Landscapes were transformed to meet material needs and fulfil the revolutionary spirit without breaking nature's laws. But from the early 1970s, the demands on the landscape exceeded the natural capabilities, resulting in the creation of artificial plains and rice paddies, which required excessive engineering. Political pressure to create even more impressive results had broken the careful balance with nature, as differences in local environmental conditions were no longer being acknowledged. Environmental problems emerged as a result of the widespread introduction of the 'Learning from Dazhai' movement without an understanding of the essence and spirit of the Dazhai model.

Although with revolutionary spirit the Mao era encouraged radical changes, many age-old national traditions, as well as local traditions, were sustained in order to achieve the revolutionary objectives. Thus Mao's vision did not provide complete reinvention and guidance for every aspect of the new socialist practices. Despite this, Dazhai as an agricultural model provided important directions and even today Dazhai type terracing is a generally accepted cultivation method. The Dazhai model shows the dilemma with modernism in that the majority of inventions that fitted collective objectives were based on ancient prototypes modified or developed to fit the new purpose. The spirit of collectivism assumed greater importance when agricultural land was needed to feed the increasing population in order to address the mass poverty during the Mao era. It is clear that 'The battle against nature' as embodied in the Dazhai model and 'Learning from Dazhai' movement cannot be properly interpreted without understanding the people of Dazhai's cultural and ideological commitment to hard work, collectivism and their attachment to the land.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Mao's China is an excellent example of how socialist political ideology shaped the landscape. As Chinese communist ideology became a general guideline for everyday life and work and ideological rectitude was constantly stressed for appropriate actions, it obviously reflected on the use and aesthetics of the land. This study starts with the question of what forces shaped various landscapes under socialism, thus establishing a relationship between ideology and landscape. As this study defines designed landscape with a wider remit than previous research, it has covered landscapes which have not traditionally been considered as the field of work for professional landscape architects during the Mao era. Thus it is now possible for the first time to establish (1) characteristics of designed landscapes under Chinese socialism, and (2) the scope of the Chinese landscape profession – its range of work and its development.

Socialist landscapes with Chinese characteristics

Under the political ideology and conditioned by the changing contemporary economic and social situations, each of the three decades of the Mao era was characterised by distinctive patterns. There were numerous projects during the Rehabilitation upon the Liberation (1949-1952), the First FYP (1953-1957) and the high tide GLF campaign (1958-1960) of the first decade; stagnation and destruction during the economic Readjustment (1961-1965) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969) of the second decade; and revival of some practices of the 1950s for development during the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution during the third decade (1969-1979).

The Chinese communist ideology emerged from the unification of international socialist theories and the reality of the Chinese revolution. It thus contained political, cultural and social elements specific to China. Nationalism, as represented by the nation's political and cultural histories, provided a significant issue in the establishment of communist China as a way of providing a distinct and independent identity to the outside world. Official policies, issued with a communist or socialist ideal, found their way in Chinese political and cultural traditions, as Chairman Mao proposed to devise a 'Chinese Road to Socialism'. The concept of 'Chinese also new' was coined in response to this advocacy. The imported Soviet doctrine of 'national in form, socialist in content' actually reinforced the notion, which appears to have been one of the reasons why nationalistic influences in landscape design remained prominent despite policies to

adopt Soviet planning and design approaches. This emphasis on 'Chineseness' encouraged the incorporation of historical precedents in design, while also attempting to reflect the new socialist spirit. This was strengthened when during the Thirty Years foreign influences were largely screened or rejected, and the economic, cultural and technical exchange with the outside world was not actively encouraged until the closing of the era.

New landscapes created under the Chinese communist ideology were therefore essentially both rooted in the past and forward-looking, both retrospective and progressive, both traditional and modern, and both Chinese and socialist. This characteristic was reflected in virtually all designed landscapes. Public parks were on the one hand created for 'rest' and recreation of the general public, as well as for educational and ideological purposes, as a socialist tenet, while on the other hand, as 'gardens in the city', they contained all cultural and material icons of traditional gardens. Housing environments clearly differed from the past with the traditional courtyard typology replaced by an open landscape with increasingly higher multi-storey apartment blocks. They were nonetheless always designed conforming to the age-old north-south orientation (with the exception of the emulation of Soviet super-block typology during the 1950s), but this was at the same time of course one of the primary concerns of European modernists. The urban square, as represented by Tiananmen Square, was almost constructed on 'a blank sheet of paper', best matching Mao's radical 'poor and blank' thesis through massive destruction of existing fabric. But the revolutionary ideal signified by the analogy with a 'sea' at the same time matched the ancient Chinese cosmic outlook during the age of Warring States (403-221 B.C.), from which the phrase of 'four seas' were derived to refer to the whole world. The revolutionary cosmopolitan vision was identical with the ancient philosophical outlook. The transformation of rural land, as exemplified by the Dazhai model, was also uncompromisingly revolutionary for building the socialist agricultural base, but local traditions and natural processes were nonetheless followed in the achievement of advances. Tradition versus modernity can also be noted in the application of literary inscriptions, such as naming and poetry, which were indispensable as a tool in traditional garden making to promote mental imagery. This tradition was re-invented to be 'Chinese in form, socialist in content' to generate the mental imagery of and setting for socialism.

The preference of being socialist and at the same time Chinese was further demonstrated by the fact that foreign design models were always subjected to careful assimilation (such as the Park of Culture and Rest model) or criticism (such as the Soviet super-block typology and its formal style greening), when applied in the Chinese context.

While the ideology and policies encouraged the incorporation of traditions, they also played an important role in the rejection of the past, especially during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969) when politics was excessively stressed. Although the nation's past or local traditions, essential for the representation of 'Chineseness', was then rejected, the destruction or

obliteration in landscapes was still of a Chinese characteristic, since the driving force of the movement, a sheer concern about proletarian egalitarianism whilst depreciating elite culture, was basically derived from the emphasis on the virtue of poor peasants, the majority of ordinary people in China. The destruction effectively had the contemporary revolutionary vision well realised and might be considered socialist achievement at the time. However, the conviction that revolutionary advancement consisted in the advantages of backwardness, as represented by the poor peasantry, actually had devastating effects in landscapes. It resulted in a heavy loss of recreational and aesthetic value in public parks, significantly undermined the amenity of housing environments, brought forth an urban square which was, besides the analogy with a 'sea', regarded as a 'desert' where human value was sacrificed, and caused environmental degradation when the dogmatic emulation of the Dazhai model occurred in regions with different topographical and ecological conditions. Furthermore, the emphasis on the peasant issue in the ideology, along with the underdeveloped economy and the adherence to self-reliance, introduced production programmes to landscapes. While this was considered integral to and essential for the socialist undertaking, it resulted in landscapes that were inhospitable when there was little concern about the environment under the urgency to feed the population and in view of war preparation. All these indicated that, although the much valued advantages of backwardness in Mao's ideology might be considered successful in the socialist revolution, they became increasingly problematic in building the modern country. Landscapes so shaped would not stand the test of time.

The scope of the landscape profession

Through investigating both urban and rural landscapes during the Thirty Years, this study has revealed that, in the development of the urban areas where design professionals were based, a real dilemma was exposed in the relationship between modernity and tradition. The countryside appeared revolutionary all along with new agrarian policies implemented for the benefits of the majority Chinese population, despite some 'olds' reinvented for new purposes. This corresponded well with the notion that the city was conservative and needed to be revolutionised, while the countryside was considered progressive in Mao's political ideology.

In the development of urban landscape architecture, to 'make the past serve the present', professional attention was mainly drawn to gardens and parks, in other words, the *yuanlin* practice in a traditional sense. Besides this particular connection with garden design, landscape architects were later also charged with *lùhua* (greening) in other landscape types, but other issues, including planning and design, continued to be addressed by associated professions.

particularly architects. However, greening was in practice often not a well considered addition to their field of work, since it demanded limited professional skills and would be implemented through mass mobilisation, from which professional involvement was conveniently excluded. This resulted in poorly designed and executed landscapes, including housing environments, the situation of which was exacerbated when Mao's vision of the 'elimination of the Three Great Differences' to realise an egalitarian society in effect alienated professionals from development, especially during the Cultural Revolution when politics was excessively stressed. In addition to this limited scope of landscape professionals in urban landscape architecture, they had no involvement in the changes in the countryside. All these demonstrated that, although the western concept of 'landscape architecture' had been imported into China by returning students in the pre-Liberation era, it did not immediately result in an expanded work field. This had been due to either conservative attitudes in the landscape profession or a limited understanding by those employing the profession, where garden tradition was the focus for either exploration or appropriation. The influence of this tradition seemed so ingrained that Mao's vision of *Dadi yuanlin hua* (National Landscaping and Gardening Movement) as part of the communist utopia was also grounded in it. As a result of the profession mainly being involved in the re-invention of garden traditions in the design of gardens and parks, landscape architects during the Mao era were more appropriately referred to as 'garden architects'. This shows that the profession during the Mao era was rather conservative.

However, it was revolutionary to interpret the term *yuanlin* in such a segmented way as *yuan* (gardens and parks) plus *lin* (trees), where the latter was much emphasised for greening development with mass mobilisation. This was a crucial reason why the movement of '*Dadi yuanlin hua*', originally connoting the exploration of garden traditions, was not rejected even during the upheaval of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969), but in which the concern about tradition was at this time simply substituted by one about greening. This understanding of *yuanlin* not surprisingly led to disintegrated enquiry about landscape, where greening often acted as a separate issue in the design and construction process as in the case of housing environments or urban squares. This was an obvious shortcoming of the profession, since a wider scope and a more holistic enquiry of what landscape design might achieve would have been more successful in addressing the various needs of society.

The western concept of 'landscape architecture' was re-introduced into China at the turn of the new millennium. Since then, there has been an increasing demand for all-embracing approach to landscape design, evidenced by the unsettled controversy about how *yuanlin* or other relevant Chinese concepts might match 'landscape architecture' in scope. This indicates the difficult process of modernisation of landscape architecture in China. But, just as new socialist landscapes always had Chinese characteristics showing respect for the nation's cultural

and material past in order to find acceptance by landscape professionals and the Chinese people, any sustainable development of the profession necessarily has to commence with the re-discovery of garden and landscape traditions.