RE
FLEC
TIONS

PORTFOLIO OF ZHICHENG ZHAO IN GSAPP

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semester: summer 2022
Instroctor: Cruz Carcia and Nathalie Frankowski

殿春移
冷泉亭

雙溪春漲一篙添水面
殿春簃

The "dragon vein" represents the principal "breath force" in a painting; its course may be oblique or symmetrical, rounded or fragmented, broken or continuous, hidden or apparent. . . . There are "opening and closing" and "rising and falling" both in a large composition and in its parts. These principles can be used either to simplify or elaborate, according to need. When the "dragon," in its many oblique or frontal, unified or broken, obscured or apparent, interrupted or continuous positions, is lively and vivid the painting will be true (zhen). When one masters the thoroughly, small bits will naturally grow . . . How can such a painting fail to be

32. The large wood plaque that hangs in the Ming Room gives its name: Ming Xuan. It is carved in the calligraphy of Wen Zhengming, the great painter, writer and calligraphy master of the 16th century. The plaque was a gift of Wen Fong with characteristic generosity. An authentic Wen Zhengming painting is in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei. Other pieces of appropriate scale, including furniture, were made by craftsmen in Suzhou.

THE MET

Master of the Fishing Nets, incorporates a terrace plan in keeping with the Yuan style principle of "dragon vein" (*long mai*). Many of the buildings in the Garden of Cultivation (Zhuo Zheng Yuan) are set on terraces (figure 27). The Astor Court consists of three kinds of typical garden structures: a courtyard, a hall, and a corridor (figure 28). The courtyard is the most important element in the Chinese garden. It is the setting for the hall, which is the main building, and is defined by the walls and buildings that surround it. The Astor Court is a courtyard, but instead of being surrounded by walls and buildings, it is framed by the Ming Room, the Late Spring Studio, and the Scholar's Study. Corridors connect the courtyard with the hall and with the rest of the garden. The Astor Court is a simplified version of the courtyard in the Garden of Cultivation. The Ming Room is the hall in the Astor Court. Like the hall in the garden, it is the largest and most elaborate building in the courtyard. Its architectural details, such as its roof and its carved and painted beams, are more ornate than those of the other buildings in the courtyard. The Ming Room is also the most public space in the garden. It is the setting for receptions and banquets, and its furniture is formally arranged for receiving guests (figure 46). The Ming Room is rectangular with crossbeams and

The second floor, the Astor Court, is surrounded on two sides by a two-story corridor. The corridor is a transitional space between the courtyard and the rooms on the second floor. It is also a place for walking and viewing the garden (figure 26). All of these structures can be seen in the Astor Court.

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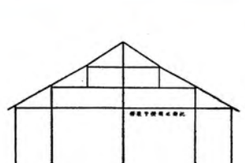

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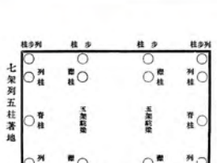

38

36. The engineering drawing of the view looking west through the Ming Room shows from right to left: **1** the garden behind the windows on the

37, 38. The *Yuan Ye*, written by Ji Cheng in the early 17th century is the only extant treatise on traditional Chinese architecture and garden de

39, 40. Many of the engineering drawings for the garden court are sensitively rendered. These for the half-pavilion show the delicacy of the construction of the basic features of the design, as the radiating roof supports. below, the *pao fang*—projecting tile and the roof ridge are embellished with designs of scrollwork and the Chinese word for bat (*fu*) is a rm and an emblem for happiness and good fortune. The vertical from setting tiles on design at top is Garden.

THE MET

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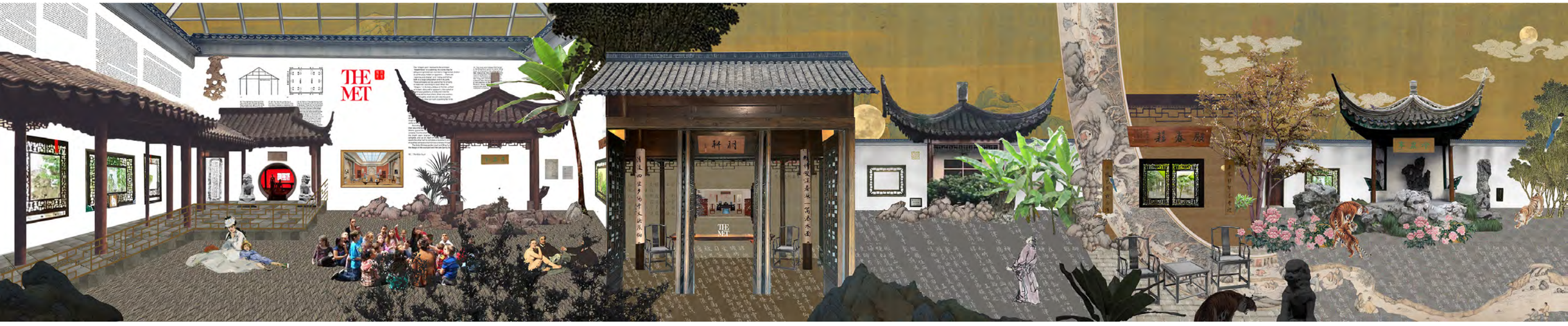
in spa dense, v rough an works is to un

According their very interdepe tations guarantee int universe. It is the small the bright seem brighter, t complete, and so on. Each of these suppos awaits the other half to complete a statement; an of qualities achieves a harmonious oneness throu

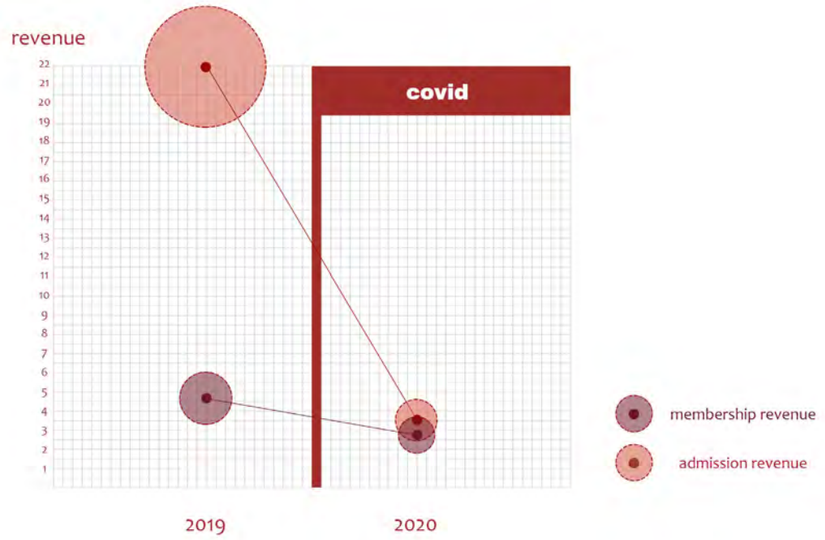
The Astor Chinese garden court and Ming fu the design of the courtyard and the Late Spring S


THE MET

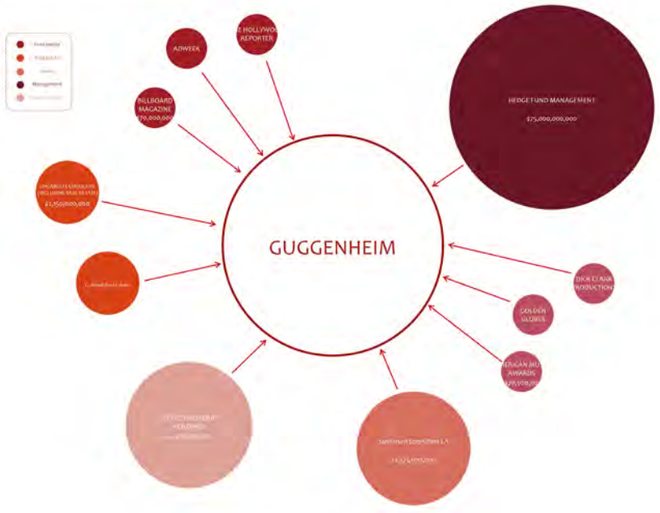
GUGGENHEIM UNCOVERED

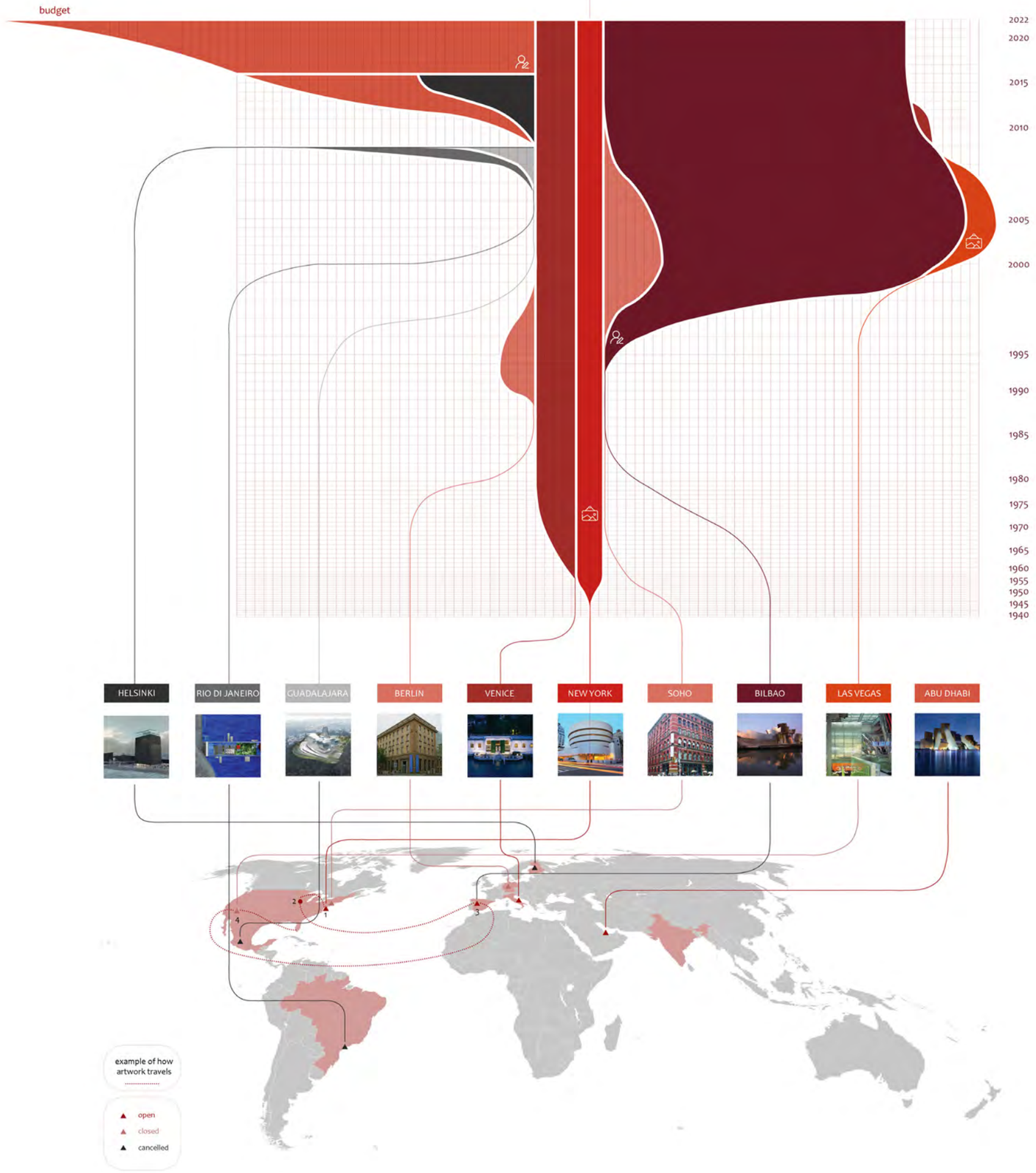
semester: fall 2022
Instroctor: Mabel O Wilson and Carver Jordan
Cooperator: Christopher Wierer

GLOBAL

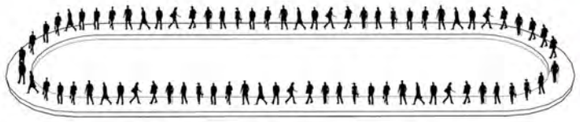


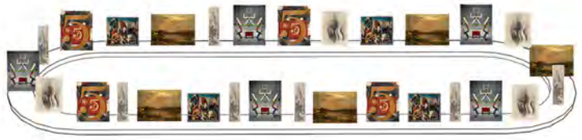
Funds resources of Guggenheim

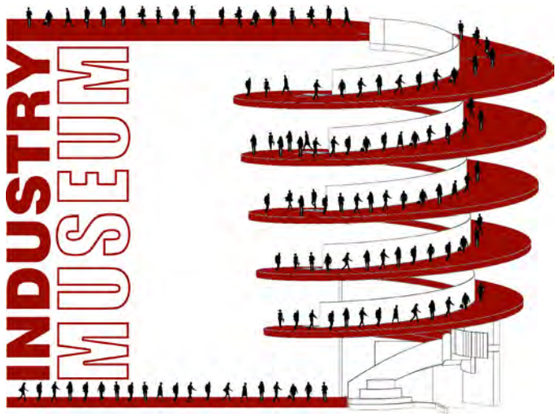


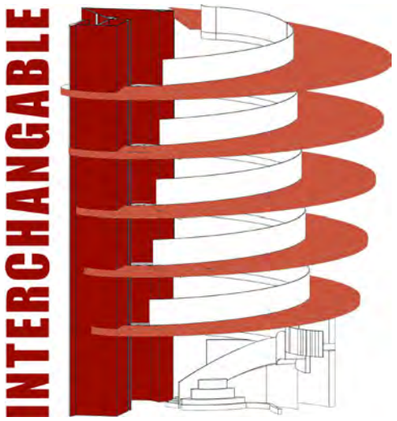


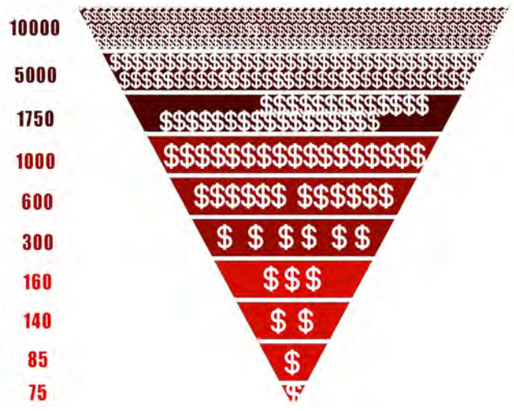
WHO IS ON THE ASSEMBLY LINE

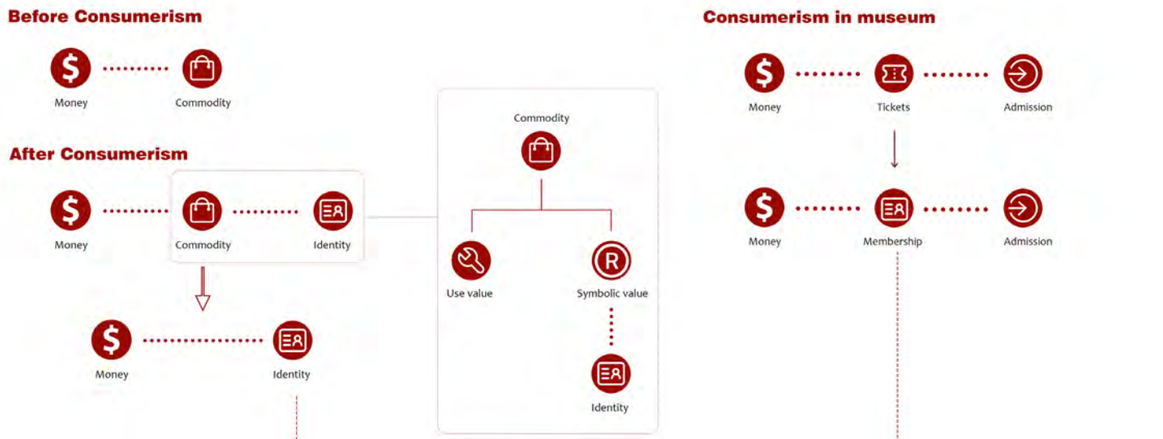












	admission	members-only hours	Art After Dark events	Members' openings and private shows	Benifit at Wright sites and museums	select VIP exhibition openings	special evening receptions	curator-led Patrons Circle programs and events	curated in-person art exprience	two exclusive annual events	private visit to museums	Priority
global membership	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
individual membership	●	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
dual membership	●	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
family membership	●	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
fellow associate	●●●	●	●●	●●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
supporting associate	●●●	●	●●	●●	●	●	●●	○	○	○	○	○
contributing associate	●●●	●	●●	●●	●	●	●●	○	○	○	○	○
patron circle	●●●●	●	●●	●●	●	●	●●	●	●	○	○	○
Hilla Reboy patron	●●●●	●	●●	●●	●	●	●●	●	●	●	○	●
Solomen R Guggenheim patron	●●●●	●	●●	●●	●	●	●●	●	●	●	●	●

Art After Dark events

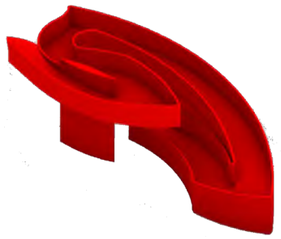
Performances

Wright's sites and museums

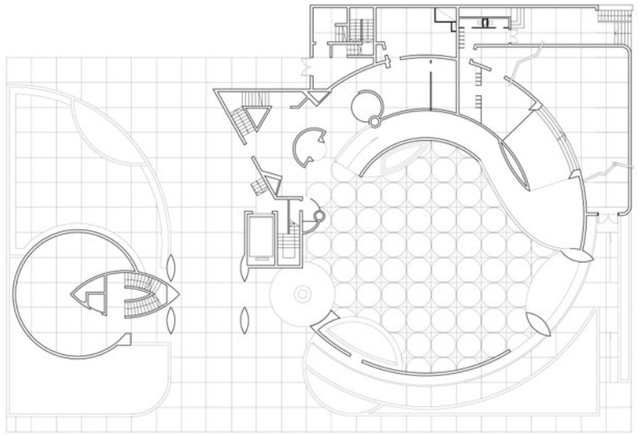
Young Collectors Council Events

Guggenheim International Gala

Guggenheim International Gala Pre-Party



PRE-TICKET RAMP



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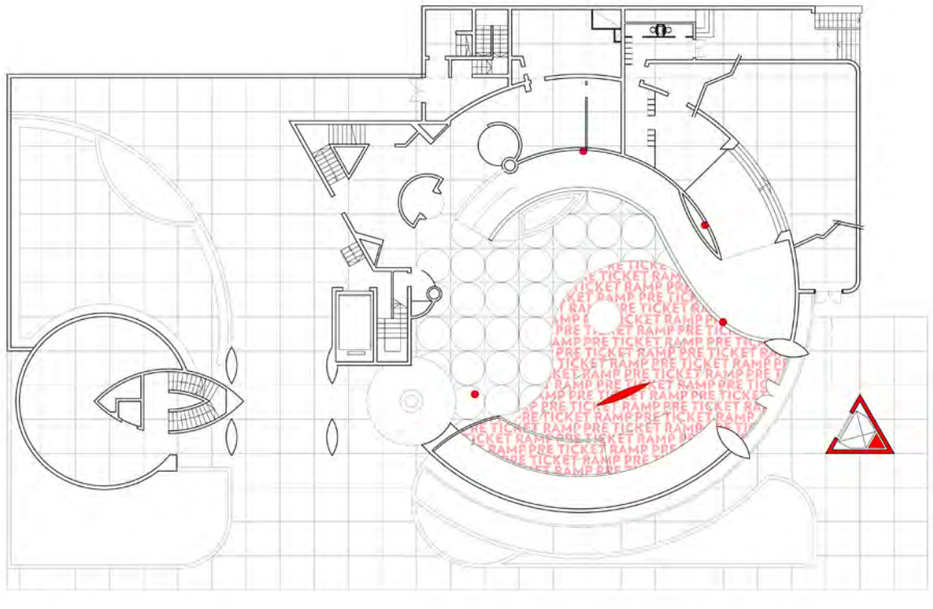
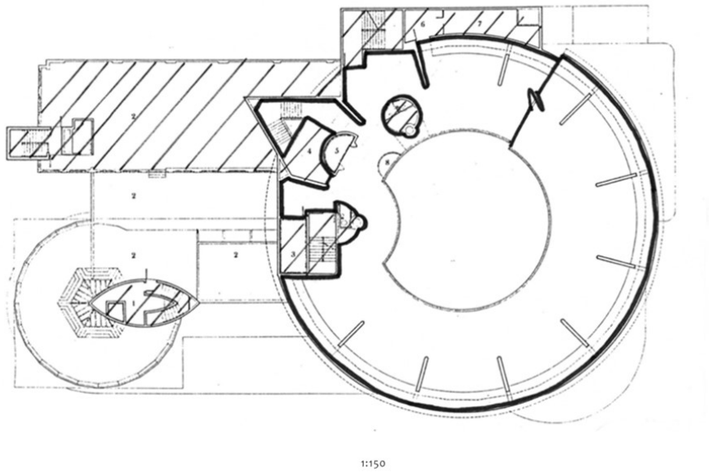


NO ART EXIST



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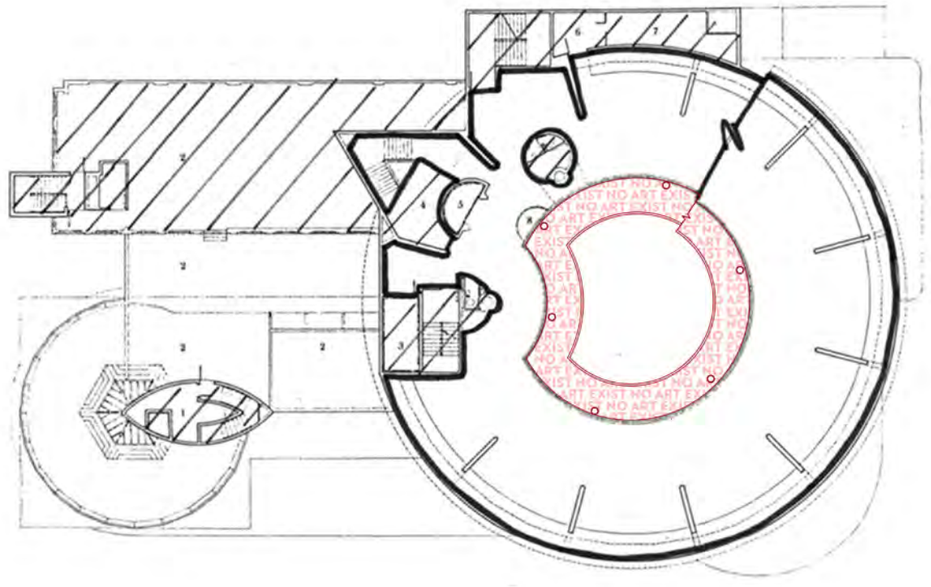
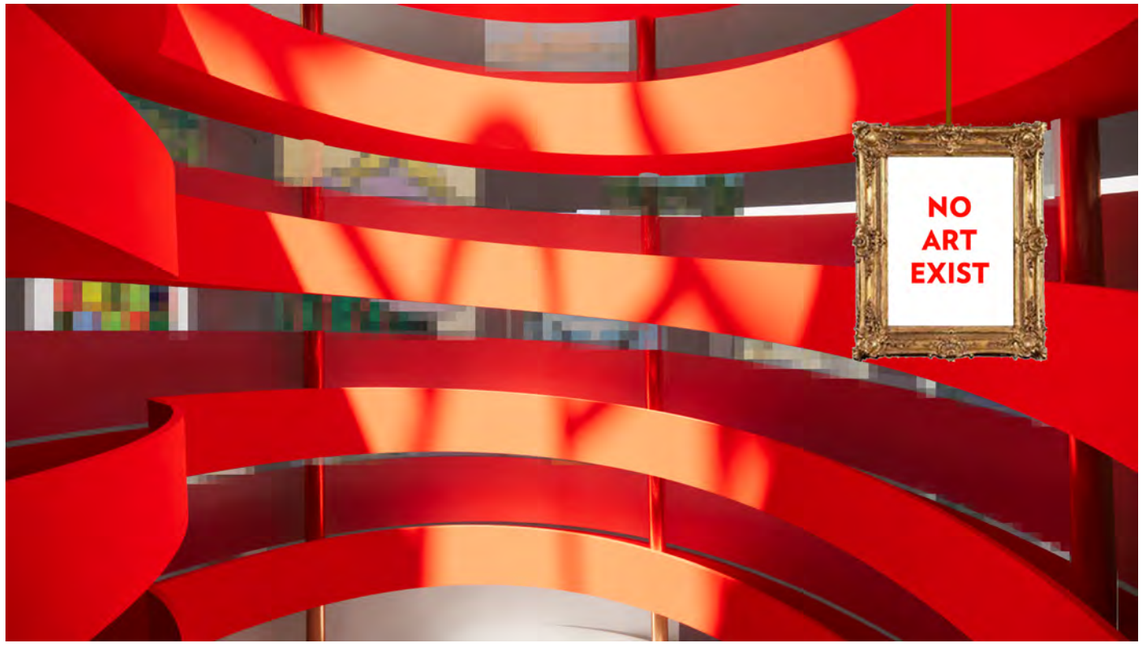
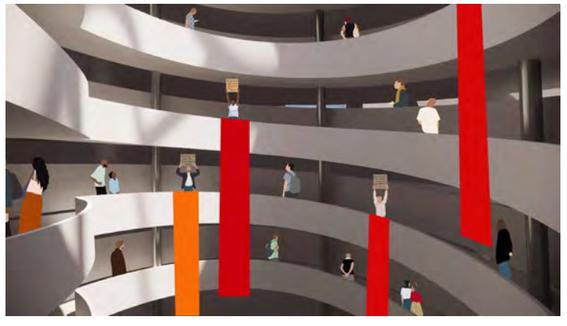
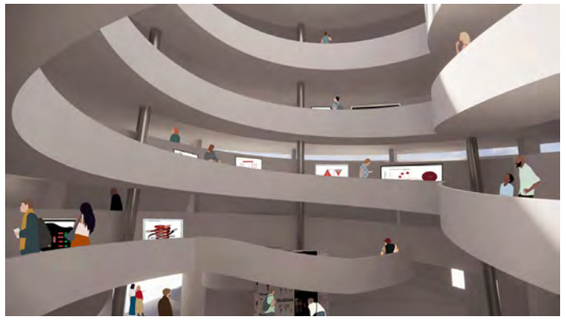
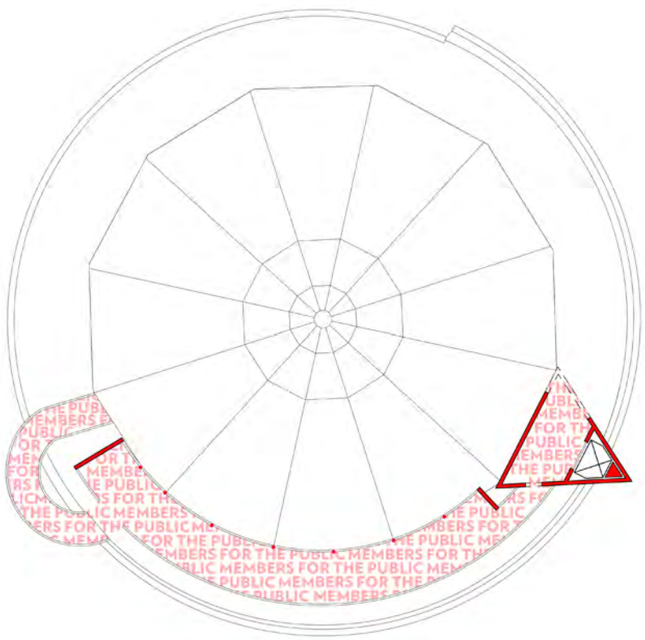


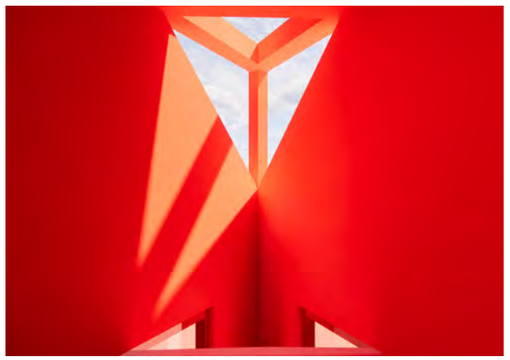


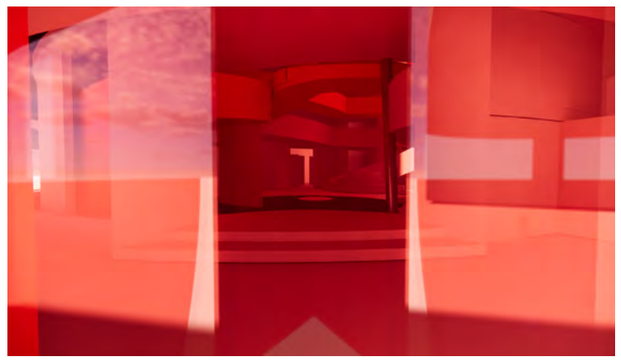


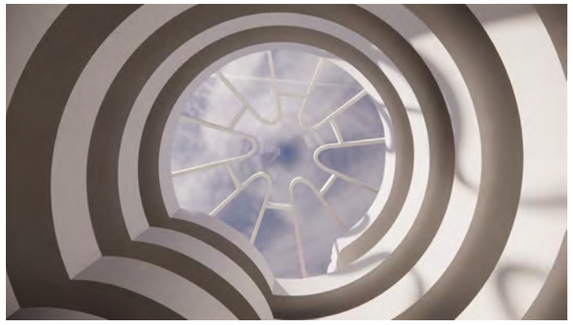


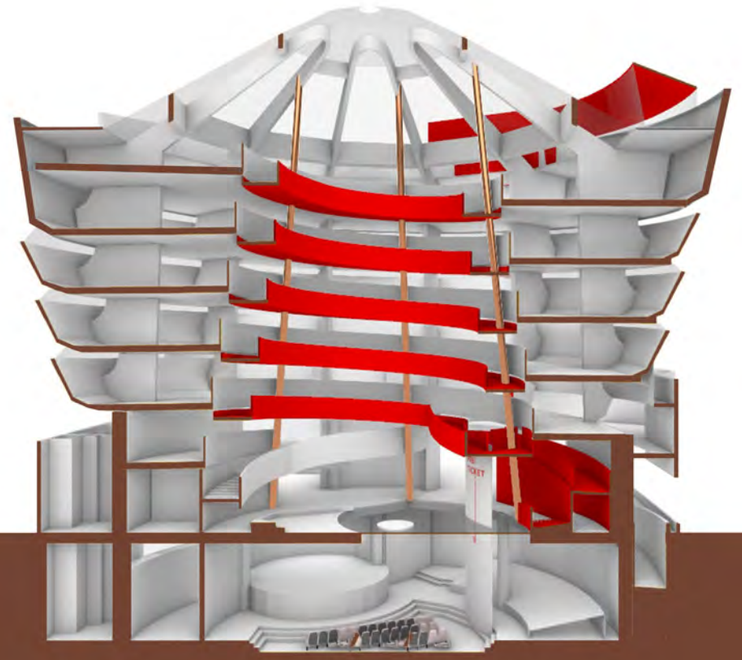
MEMBERS FOR PUBLIC







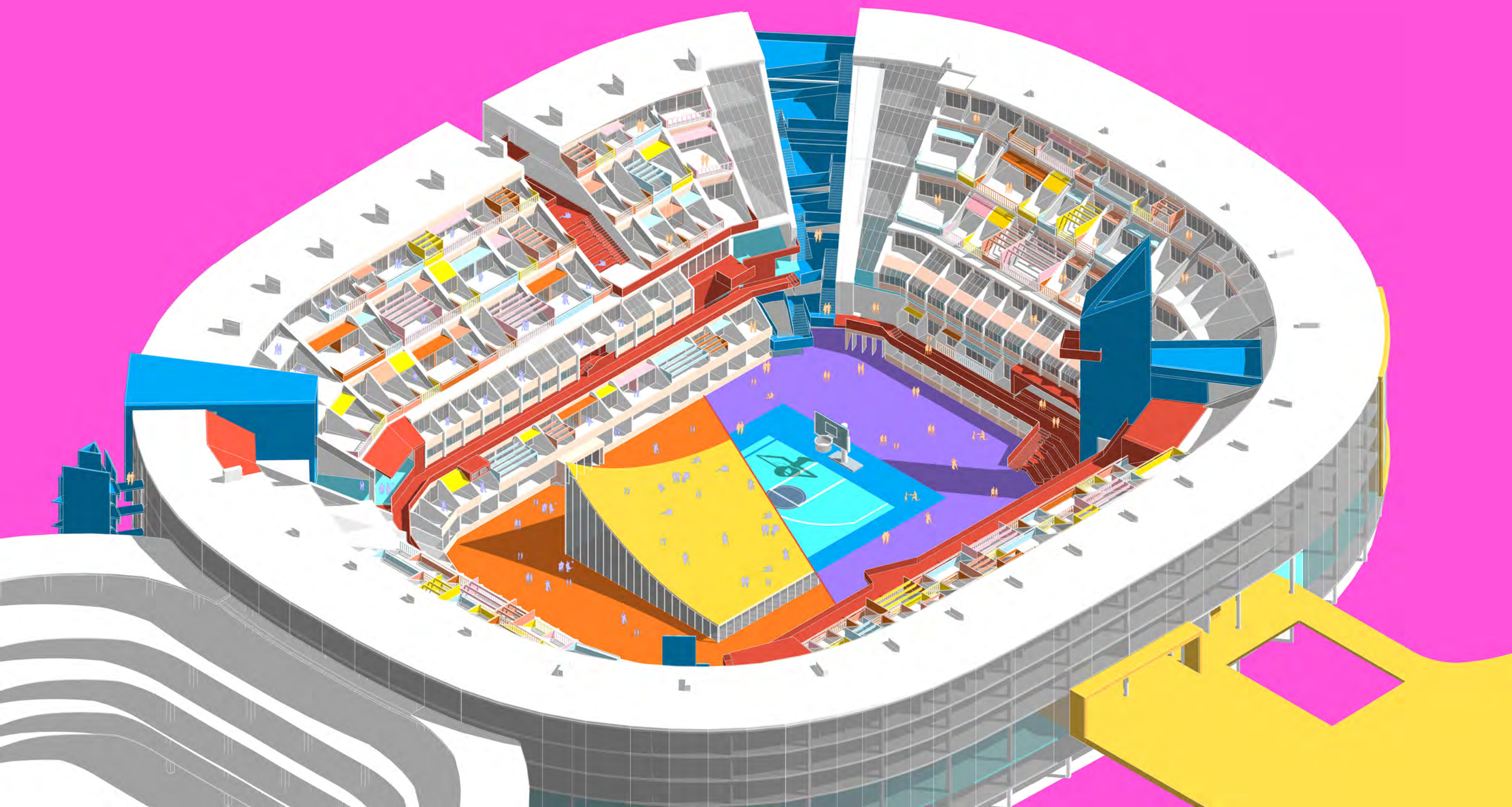




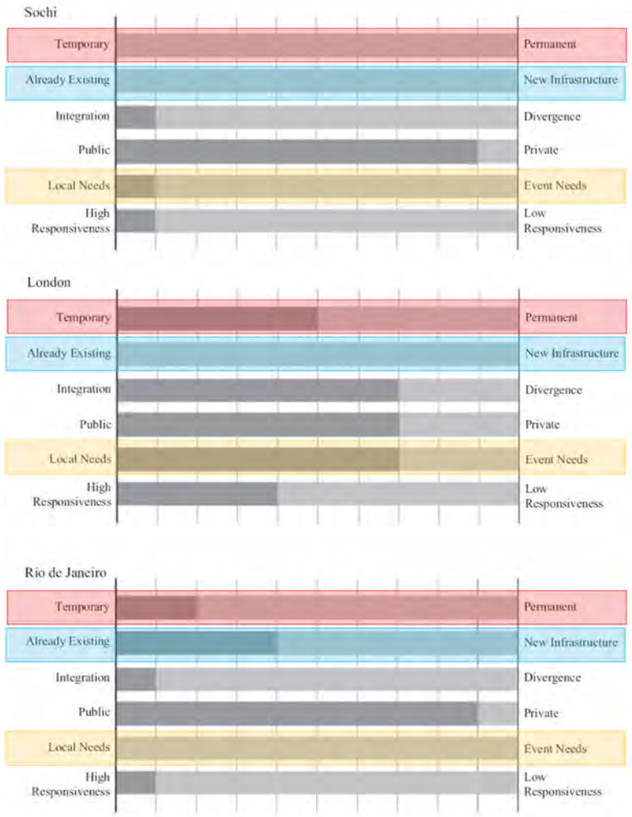
LIVING STAGE

STADIUM IN POST-OLYMPIC ERA

semester: spring 2023
Instroctor: Olga Aleksakova and Joel McCullough
Critic: Ada Tolla, Nahyun Hwang, Eric Bunge, Esteban De Backer, Roberto Otero, Thorten Kiefer, Markus Appenzeller, Donna Bridgeman

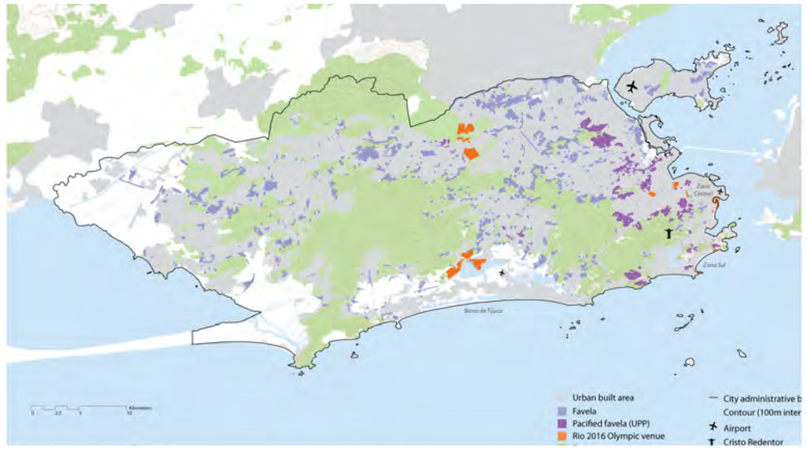


Why are Olympic stadiums abandoned?



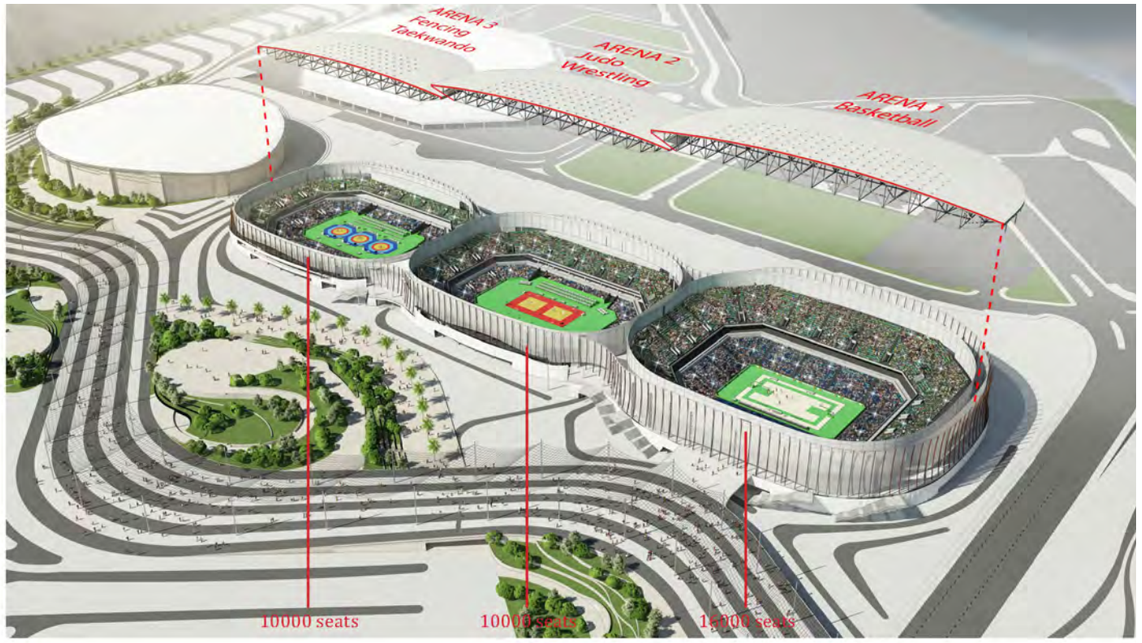
A study investigated several important dimensions of Olympic Stadiums construction, from which we can find which stadiums are more likely to be abandoned: Permanent new built stadiums, and stadiums for the needs of the event instead of local population

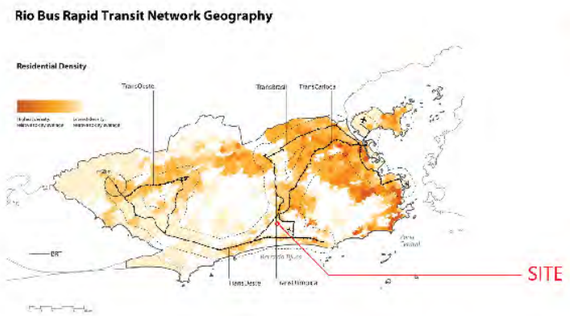
Another important reason is the large maitaenance and operating costs. In Brazil, the maintenance alone will cost the government approximately 14 million dollars one year.

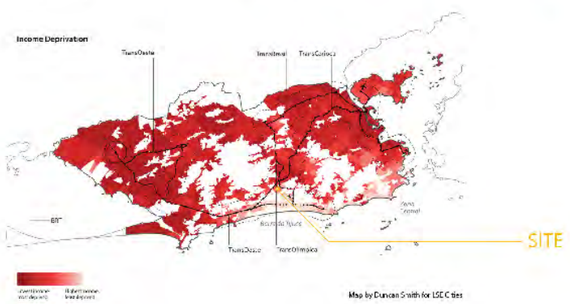


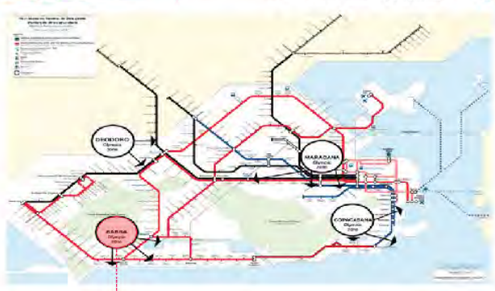
Before 2016 Summer Olympic, the Brazil government launched a project named pacified favelas, and try to provide a secure enviroment for athletes and audience.

During the planning and construction process of olympic stadiums, many residence are forced to leave their house. About 77000 have been evited from their homes.







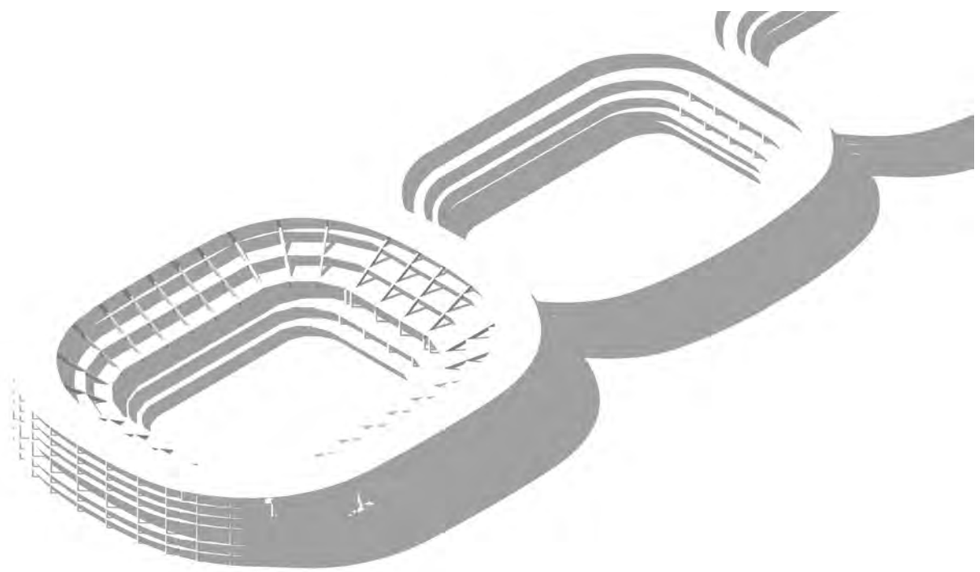


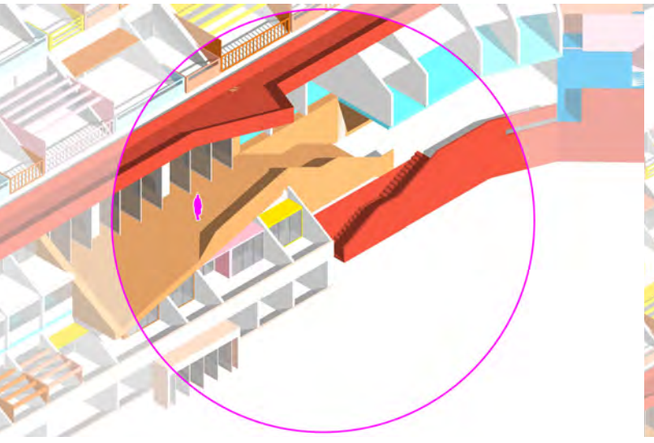
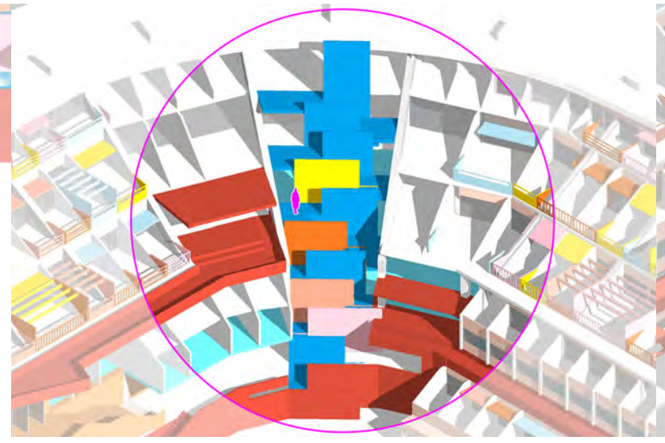
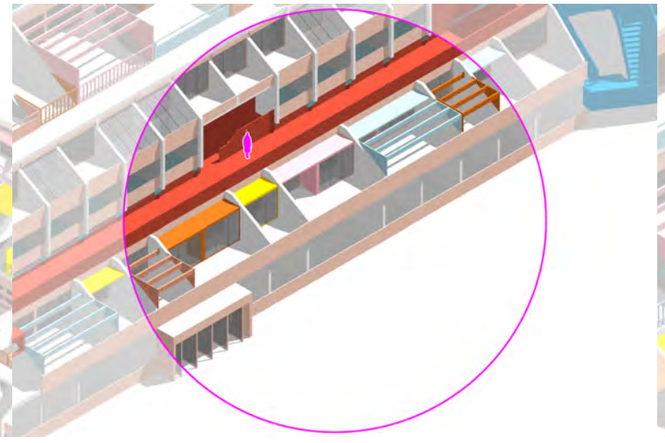
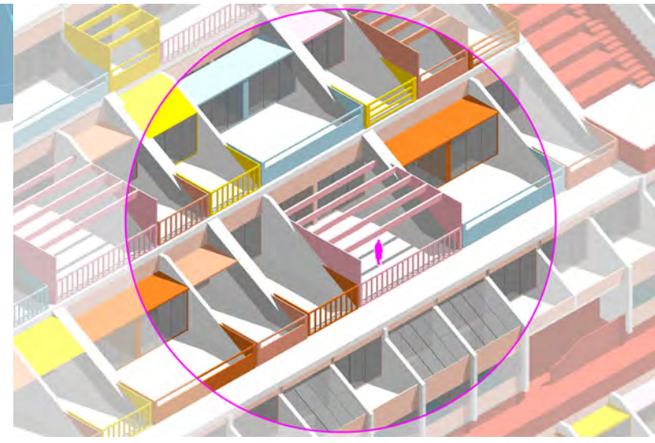
Barra Olympic Park

Barra Olympic Park is a cluster of nine sporting venues in Barra da Tijuca. It was redisigned and constructed for 2016 Summer Olympic. The upper image is the proposal of AECOM, who is the winning bidder of architectual competition. The lower images are transportation system designed for this event.

Carioca Arenas

Carioca Arenas are located in the east side of the Barra Olympic Park including three venues. The biggest one, which has 16000seats, hosted basketball games at the 2016 Summer Olympics. While the other two smaller arena hosted wresting and fencing tournaments. After the event, they are supposed to be tramsformed to national training center for athletes. However, out of some complicated reason including financial constraints, the proposal did not achieved.



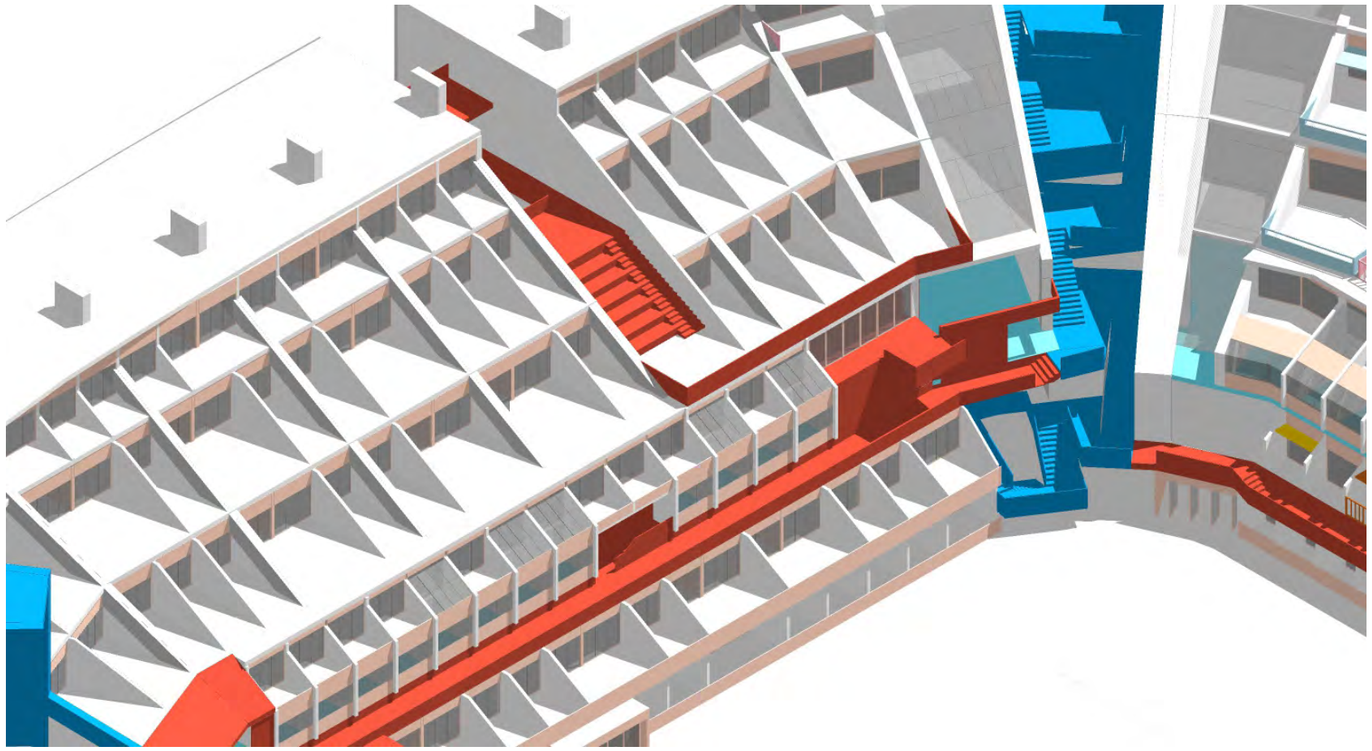





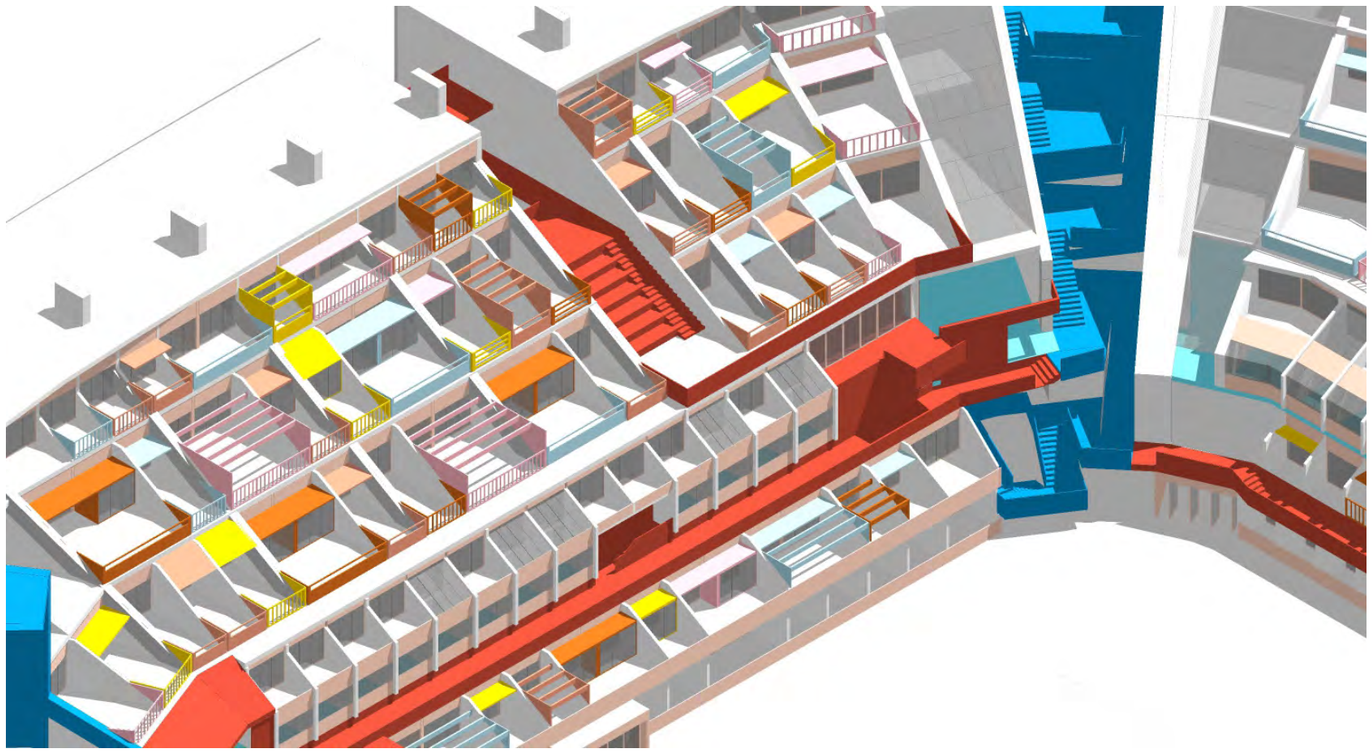
I wanted to create a richer layer in the profile. From the outermost corridor, to each residential unit, to the balcony, to the inner street, and finally to the middle plaza, I tried to create a system from public to private, so that each resident inside is like living in the stands, able to watch and even participate in the community at any time. The middle square does not have permanent facilities, but will have different temporary installations depending on different events, maybe a basketball court, or a market, or a concert.

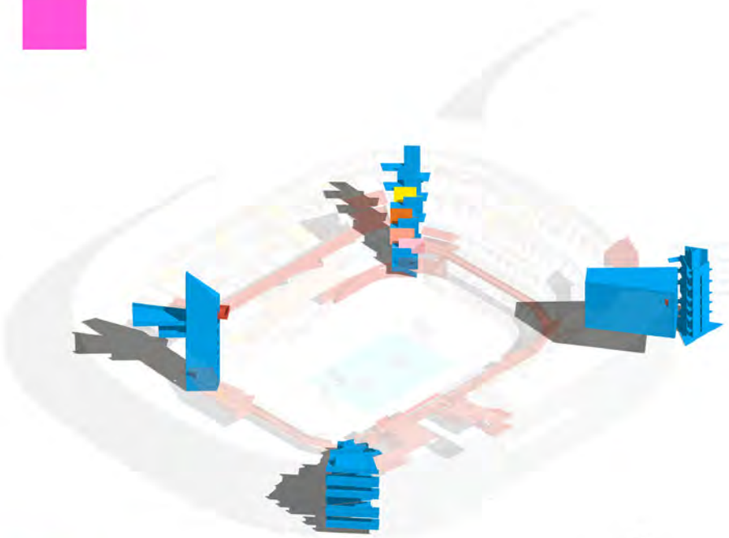
The repurposing plan for the Barra Olympic Park involves updating the overall layout and incorporating a mix of upscale and affordable housing to create a vibrant mixed-use community. The affordable housing portion will include schools and public cafeterias to ensure that the community can provide suitable living conditions for low-income groups.

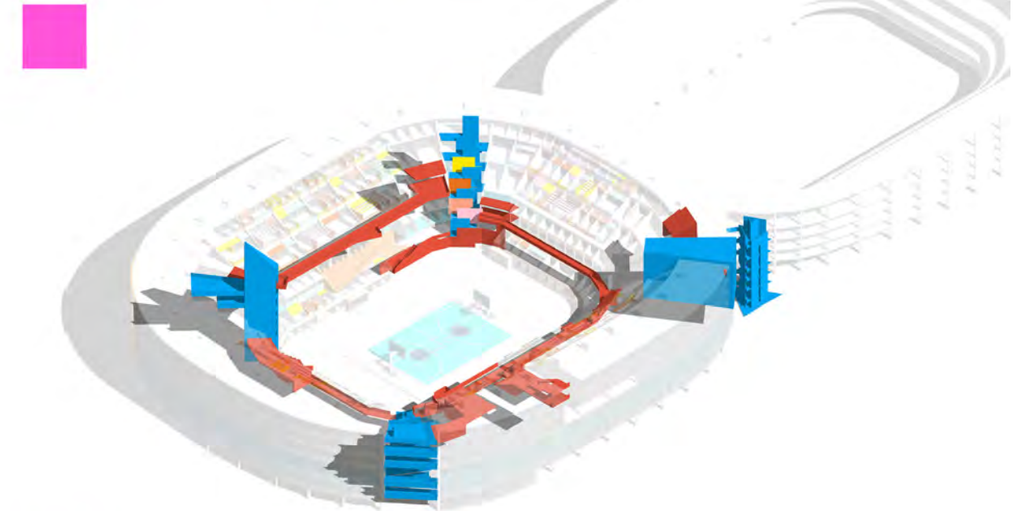
The reuse of the sports facilities in the park, particularly the arenas, presents a more complex challenge. However, some of the arenas could be repurposed as residential buildings, which has been done in the past, as demonstrated by the use of the Colosseum in Rome as a residential building at one point in history. For example, the three Arenas could be converted into a mixed-use residential and public space by introducing more public areas to create a more vibrant community.

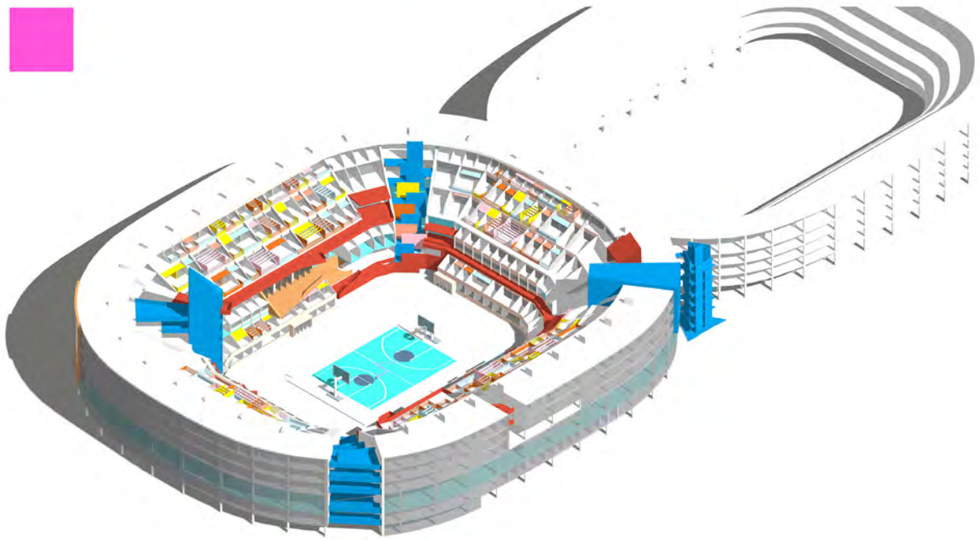
I use the original gymnasium structure to try to give residents more space for free creation. The balcony will only be half built, and the other half will be freely played by the residents, the residents living here are not only the audience of community activities, but also show their lives in the balcony, they can use the design of the balcony to communicate with each other, appreciate each other, and complete the construction of the spirit of place

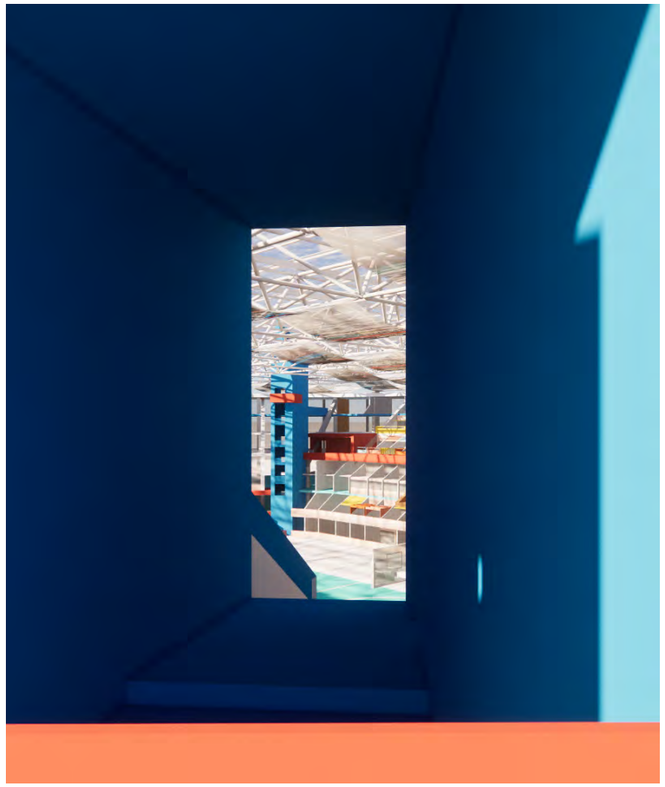








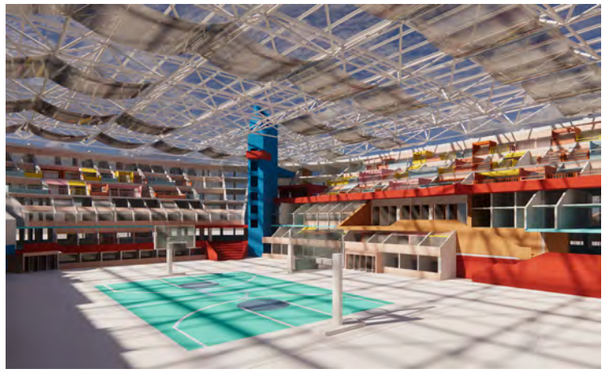


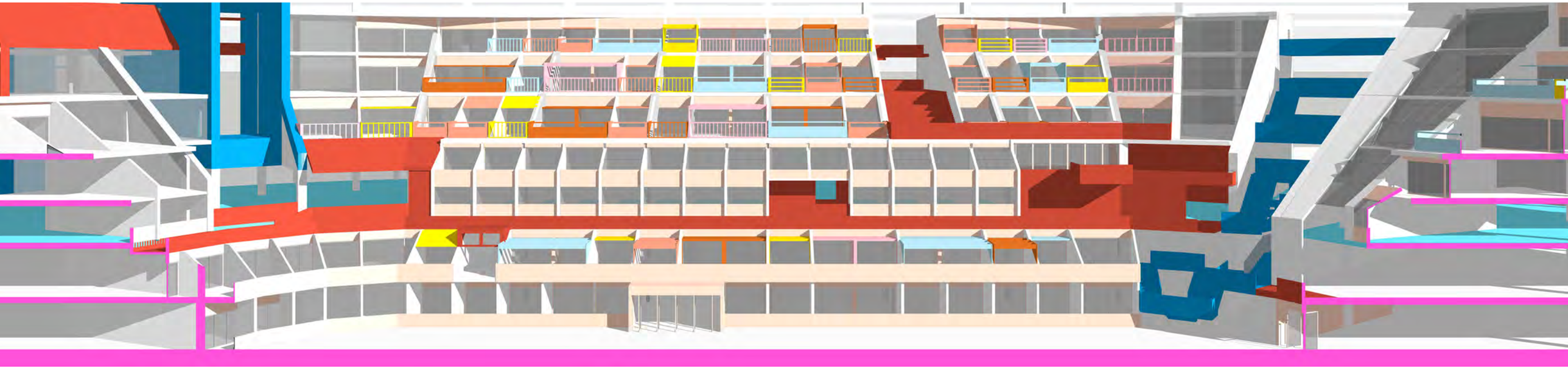


A distant view from one tower to another, with a view across the entire neighborhood in the middle

Standing at the central square looking at the whole community

A view of the entire community from the balcony of a residential unit





Case study 02: ECO-BOULEVARD by Ecosistema Urbano

In 2004, Ecosistema Urbano, won a design competition organized by the Madrid City Council with a proposal for a series of mechanical “air trees”. Designing for a public space at a new housing development area—Ecosistema aimed to provide a temporary solution for urban fringe expansion. In this project, architects used and integrated the existing ecological technologies, which has been used in other fields, to intervene in the community with a humble attitude.

The project named ECO-BOULEVARD is located in Madrid, Spain. The government planned a series of new residential areas on the edge of the city. However, due to the unreasonable scale of the new residential area and relatively newly planted trees, the physical environment here is very harsh with serious heat island effect. Besides, there is no suitable venue for residents because of small and thin trees. To this end, the architects proposed a series of urban renewal plans to make the environment more pleasant and comfortable, the most important part of which is the “air tree”.

As it is named “air tree”, the device is aiming at taking both bioclimatic and social position of real trees in this new community. The “air trees” are self-sufficient in energy, and it generates energy through a photovoltaic solar-energy collection system. The device uses this energy to feed a simple climate adaptation system, which is often used in greenhouse, to cool and humidify the surrounding environment. It is worth noting that the third “air tree” has different functions and appearance from the other two. Through the passive air conditioning system including rooting vegetation and water vaporizers attached on it, this “air tree” ultimately releases fresh and comfortable air into the center of the structure. The “air trees” also provide a place with comfortable environment for the community. The bottom of each air tree is raised to four meters above the ground, which makes the bottom of the installation ideal for public events such as sports activities and music performances.

As an artificial and temporary tree, the designer did a lot to make the device more ecological to prevent additional expenses. Most of the materials used in the installation are made of various recycled industrial materials. The solar energy collected by the installation is not only used to cool down and humidify the air, but also provide nighttime lighting for live concerts and other activities. Even the excess electricity is sold to the grid for project maintenance costs.

What is also important is that the “air tree” is transportable, since different systems of the whole device can be easily assembled and the structure is light and easy to transport. The mobility of the installation indicates that the architects did not want to leave his own architectural monument of ecological technology in the local area, but modestly hoped to truly change the local environment. When the “air tree” complete its role, it will be dismantled and sent to new areas. What remains here is not the architect's reputation or newer eco-techniques, but a more pleasant and comfortable community environment.

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Presence of time

From the temples of ancient Greece and Rome, to gorgeous medieval churches, and then to the Brion Family Cemetery of Carlo Scarpa, we can feel the tireless pursuit of eternity by generations of western architects. Their views on temporality in architecture are so consistent: trying to build architecture as monument that are supposed to defy the passage of time. In fact, these buildings have indeed achieved their goals. Whether it is artillery fire or changes of dynasties, these permanent buildings maintain the same majesty and charm till today.

However, Frida Escobedo questioned this customary pursuit of permanence in architecture: Should the highest goal of architecture be transcending temporality? What relationship between architecture and time are supposed to have? She gave her own answer with a series of architectural practices. She tried to introduce temporality into architecture, and she regarded architecture as a language to express temporality.

To understand her interpretation of architectural temporality, it is necessary to understand her analogy between architecture and language. As we all know, language can create a new narrative system and reconstruct the existing time and space. Escobedo believes architecture can actually complete a similar process by intercepting and using specific historical and cultural symbols to complete the reconstruction and reinterpretation of certain historical memories.

Escobedo's interpretation of temporality in architecture is mainly divided into two layers. The first layer is the approach to past history, events, and social culture related to the site. She hopes that these elements can provide a cultural context for the current architecture and reconstruct the temporality. As Escobedo stated: "my interest in architecture lies in its capacity to be a snapshot of a particular moment in time." The "snapshot" indicated that the building itself is anchored to a specific time, instead of existing permanently in time. In the Taller de Arquitecyura project, Escobedo presented the history time in the current architecture by arranging two large murals created by famous muralist Siquerios as the façade of a public square, emphasizing the cultural significance of the wall.

Moreover, this kind of restraint on past events and history is not limited to territories and scale. Other events and places that are spatially distant from the site but have cultural significance can also be used to realize the architectural temporality. In the Serpentine Pavilion, for example, Escobedo rotated one of the volumes according to the Prime Meridian to Include a social and cultural time in this project, allowing visitors to feel a wider temporality and spatiality.

On another layer, Escobedo tries to construct the current temporality. There has been a temporality in the building changes every second along with time, but it is not obvious in the view of visitors. The purpose of the architect is to reconstruct the time and make it perceivable. This reconstruction is based on but different from the natural temporality. She distinguishes between two temporalities by naming it "programmed time" and "social time". Escobedo emphasizes the effect and change of time on the building in the period after it is built. What she wants to do is not constructing a static building but designing a system including how visitors interact with the existing building. If the architect attempts to highlight the temporality in the building, she must make the abstract concept of time becomes perceptible or visible. It is natural to think about the elements among the participants after the building is built. One is the influence of natural time, and the other is the participants who come to visit the building. In fact, it is from these two aspects that Escobedo visualizes the temporality of architecture.

Escobedo describe this process as "iteration", indicating that every interaction with architecture makes it a newer and different space. The first is to enhance the interaction between the building and visitors. The visitors' touring of the building itself has a lot about temporality and thence Escobedo used the water surface and roof with smooth mirror material to map and emphasize the activities of visitors in its space, making this iteration easier to perceive-- This is exactly what Escobedo did in the Serpentine Pavilion project. Going a step further, if the visitors are guided to participate in the construction and reconstruction of the space, the temporality of the building is highlighted in this process-- This is exactly what Escobedo did in the Pavilion at the Museum Experimental el Eco project and the Close, Closer project. In the former project, visitors can move the bricks to form different spatial contents. In the latter project, Escobedo designed a large circular stage titled Civic Stage. And the weight of the people on the stage will change the angle of the stage and the ground, and the second-layer audience expected by the architect, on the balcony, are able to perceive such changes. Escobedo shaped the current temporality of the building by introducing people to reconstruct and transform the programmed time of the building.

The second is to use the existing visual ways of natural time to shape temporality in the building. By introducing the influence of the Prime Meridian into architecture, Escobedo made the light and shadow of the Prime Meridian have a special effect on the summer solstice. This experience would have a strong immediacy and temporality, which enables the building refusing to have a unified atmosphere on the time axis, indicating that the building is variable rather than eternal during the change of time. In addition, when selecting the materials of the building, Escobedo hoped that the evolution of time can leave traces on the building, so as to resist the fixed time of the building.

Architecture is essentially a visual language. In terms of design strategy, emphasizing the abstract concept of time in architecture means a lot of effort is needed to visualize time in architectural practice. The most important part is how to make people realize the presence of time in architecture. From her architectural practice and treatise, Escobedo's understanding and practice of temporality has a self-consistent system and logic which is different from traditional ones, which actually challenges the visitors' perception of temporality. Most people may be more accustomed to timeless architecture and ignore the painstaking efforts of the architect to present temporality when experiencing it. However, this does not mean the architect's work is in vain. This kind of cultivation of aesthetic taste for the public to experience architectural time is also one of the important meanings of this kind of experimental project.

From a broader perspective, we can conclude that architecture that ignore temporality have a tendency to be divine. Architects of these buildings usually ignore the presence of ordinary people in it or even the building is not aimed to serve the public. As a result, architecture was once regarded as a symbol of theocracy or religion in the past, and it may be a monument of the architect or the

Socialist Rural Experiment in China

—— Contradictions between utopia and reality

Abstract:

"In agriculture, learn from Dazhai" is an important rural experiment in the history of New China. During Maoist China, the entire society was in a complex and radical state. From land reform to agricultural cooperatives, and then to the People's Commune movement, China's rural areas have undergone an increasingly radical process of collectivization. Under complex international and domestic context in 1960s, the movement was still a rural experiment full of utopian imagination. It reflected the imagination of rural construction in Maoist China, but the obvious ending is that reality does not support this utopian imagination. This article tries to explore the reasons and root cause for the contradictions through the analysis of Dazhai and another "Dazhai-style" village Qinyong village.

Key words: socialist utopia, rural experiment, "In agriculture, learn from Dazhai", Maoist China

Introduction

After the founding of New China, the social reality it faced was that although China was a socialist country, the power of the working class was actually very weak domestically. Industry only developed in a few large cities such as Shanghai and Beijing, and the vast majority of people still lived in rural areas and engaged in agricultural production. The victory of the Chinese revolution was also achieved by fully mobilizing the rural masses and completing the process of "surrounding the cities from the countryside and seizing political power through armed struggle." It is precisely because of this that how to reconstruct a rural social structure that is in line with socialist China has become an important issue for Chinese leaders.

1 The process of Chinese rural reform movement in Maoist China

The focus of rural reform in Maoist China was collectivization. Leaders of the government accomplished changes in the social structure of rural society through one social movement after another.

1.1 Land Reform Movement and Agricultural Producer Cooperatives

The land reform movement began from 1950, and was substantially completed by the end of 1952, which completely changed the land ownership system that had existed in China for more than two thousand years. The land that was previously owned by landlords was equally redistributed to the peasants. Although land had been redistributed after each dynastic change, this time it was more thorough: the landlord class was completely eliminated instead of creating a new one. The

Agricultural Cooperative Movement that followed collected all the means of production as collective property and organized collective labor by the farmers, implementing a distribution system based on labor contribution. This completed the socialist transformation of agriculture.

Figure 1 Poster of Land Reform Movement

1.2 The Great Leap Forword and People's Commune

In 1958, a more radical movement, the Great Leap Forward, began. Smaller-scale agricultural cooperatives were merged into larger people's communes. Mao believed that collectivization would lead to greater agricultural production and efficiency, as larger collectives could undertake larger infrastructural and environmental projects (such as irrigation works and land reclamation) and take advantage of economies of scale. Moreover, Mao also argued that collectivization, and the consequent rural modernization, would hasten the breakdown of "traditional" and "feudal" belief systems and relationships in the countryside.[1]

During the very radical movement, the government set very ambitious economic goals while expanding the size of the communes. The distribution system in the communes was based on needs rather than labor contribution, which did not fully stimulate the workers' initiative. The provision of free canteens and other essential items in the communes led to widespread waste. In addition, three consecutive years of natural disasters seriously damaged agriculture, resulting in serious destruction of China's rural areas and the spread of a severe famine throughout the country.

In the aftermath, the Chinese leadership made corrections to the previous left-leaning mistakes by reducing the size of the communes to one-third of their original size. They also "revised the free supply system back into a labor-based system of distribution. In 1961, the average size of the communes was reduced to one-third of the original, and the basic accounting unit (i.e., the unit at which productivity was measured and work points were allocated) devolved from the commune to the brigade to, in 1962, the production team."[2] To some extent, these measures corrected the previous mistakes and allowed the people's communes to continue to play an active role in the countryside.

2 The background of "In agriculture, learn from Dazhai" Movement

2.1 International background

[1] Wikipedia. 2023. "People's Commune." Wikimedia Foundation. Last modified March 14, 2023. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s_commune.

[2] Wikipedia. 2023. "Great Leap Forward." Wikimedia Foundation. Last modified March 4, 2023. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Leap_Forward.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese government fully aligned with the socialist camp and had close relations with socialist countries such as the Soviet Union. They pursued a "leaning to one side" economic policy and signed the Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty. The Soviet Union sent experts from various fields to support China's agricultural development and industrial construction. According to Lee Young Ji: prior to 1960, China's lack of self-sufficiency in industrializing itself created a particular pattern of interstate trade consisting mainly of $3,275 million worth of machinery and equipment from the Soviet Union, along with grain, cotton, raw materials, and manufactured goods.[3]

In the late 1950s, the relationship between China and the Soviet Union began to deteriorate, and the two countries had a fierce dispute over the socialist development path. The subsequent efforts to repair the relationship between the two countries all ended in failure, and the Soviet Union tore up the treaty and withdrew its experts, causing serious difficulties for China's economic development, especially industrial development, which in turn increased the pressure on agriculture.

In addition, because China's foreign policy at that time completely leaned towards the socialist camp, most of the international economic cooperation came from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. After the Sino-Soviet split, more socialist countries supported the Soviet Union, and China became isolated and helpless in the international community. The Chinese government later slowly repaired its relationship with the United States, but at that time, China faced great challenges in international economic cooperation. It was in this context that self-sufficiency became a very important task for Chinese agriculture and even the Chinese economy.

[3] Lee, Young Ji. "A Utopia of Self-Reliance Dazhai and the Mutation of Global Capitalism in Maoist China." positions: asia critique 28, no. 4 (2020): 756-788. muse.jhu.edu/article/772332.

2.2 Domestic background

According to Zhao Chunlan: During the very radical Great Leap Forward movement, the government set very ambitious economic goals while expanding the size of the communes. The distribution system in the communes was based on needs rather than labor contribution, which did not fully stimulate the workers' initiative. The provision of free canteens and other essential items in the communes led to widespread waste. In addition, three consecutive years of natural disasters seriously damaged agriculture, resulting in serious destruction of China's rural areas and the spread of a severe famine throughout the country.[4]

2.3 Ideological foundation

Before discussing the movement “In agriculture, learn from Dazhai”, I would like to try to explain why utopian-style movements were able to take place in Maoist China. The first reason, of course, is that China underwent a very thorough revolution. The new government was not influenced by the remnants of the old forces, and the leadership group headed by Mao Zedong established an independent and self-

[4] Zhao, Chunlan, Hilde Heynen, and André Loeckx. *Socio-spatial transformation in Mao's China : settlement planning and dwelling architecture revisited (1950s-1970s)*, 2007.

reliant governing policy that was not influenced by other international forces. Another very important reason is that the land reform established the confidence of the people in the government. Especially when compared with several previous governments that China had just experienced (the Qing government, the Beiyang government, and the Republic of China government), the advanced nature of the new Chinese government was established by the victory of the New Democratic Revolution and the subsequent land reform and three major socialist transformations that fulfilled their commitments to governance. Their imagination of the radical utopian was precisely the reason why they could obtain the broadest support of the people. These backgrounds are helpful for us to understand Maoist China's radical attitude towards rural experiments.

3. The process of "In agriculture, learn from Dazhai" Movement

3.1 The beginning and development of the movement

Dazhai Village is located in Dazhai Town, Xiyang County, Jinzhong City, Shanxi Province, at the foot of the Taihang Mountains. In the summer of 1963, continuous heavy rain and floods destroyed Dazhai village, causing severe damage to the farmland and three-quarters of the houses collapsed. Faced with this predicament, under the leadership of Chen Yonggui, the people of Dazhai decided not to rely on the help of neighboring villages or the county, but to rely on their own efforts to rebuild the village and repair the farmland. And after the arduous efforts of the people of Dazhai, they finally did complete the reconstruction of the village, and even did not delay the submission of the required grain to the state.

An important point I would like to emphasize is that even before the flood disaster in 1962, Dazhai Village had already achieved good results in agriculture development. Chen Yonggui, the village leader, used his outstanding leadership skills and giving spirit to achieve almost doubled crop yields during the period of agricultural cooperatives. In the following period, Dazhai Village expanded its farmland and actively built water channels, which appeared even more remarkable under the local harsh natural conditions. It was precisely because of its continued superiority in combating natural processes that Dazhai became a banner of socialist rural construction.

After the reconstruction was completed, Chen Yonggui was recognized as an advanced representative by provincial leaders. He was selected and went to Beijing to report along with several other model figures. After the report was made in the Great Hall of the People, his speech about the experience of DaZhai was broadcasted nationwide. In 1964, the most authoritative media at the time, the People's Daily, wrote an editorial article that detailed the achievements and experiences of DaZhai, which "became the first official document to encourage people to learn from Dazhai's moral and spiritual ethics, which become the prelude of the famous

nationwide campaign of "In agriculture, learn from Dazhai."[5]

Figure 2 Mao's meeting with Chen yonggui (Leader of Dazhai village)

Although Mao saw the report a month later, he soon decided to promote DaZhai as a typical case for nationwide promotion. After conducting field research with villagers of DaZhai, the investigation team confirmed that DaZhai's achievements were real and there is nothing exaggerated. DaZhai was subsequently established as an advanced model and widely promoted throughout the country's propaganda system.

For a long period of time after that, Dazhai became a model for rural construction. People from all over the country and even the world came to visit and learn from it. A number of "Dazhai-style" villages were built throughout the country, many of which had similar characteristics.

[5] Zhao, Chunlan, Hilde Heynen, and André Loeckx. *Socio-spatial transformation in Mao's China: settlement planning and dwelling architecture revisited (1950s-1970s)*, 2007.

Figure 3 posters of "In agriculture, learn from Dazhai" movement

3.2 The history of Qinyong village

Located in Ningbo, Zhejiang Province, in the southeastern part of China, Qingyong village is surrounded by mountains. The village has been involved in several waves of collectivization since the founding of New China. In 1970, influenced by the "In agriculture, learn from Dazhai" movement, Qingyong village decided to change the original appearance of the village by creating terraces on the hills and combing the river to irrigate the farmland. At the same time, a construction team was set up to build a new collection of houses to replace the original village pattern of scattered households, and a commitment was made to expand the living area. Qinyong village became the first commune in Zhejiang Province to undergo strict planning and construction

Figure 4 Qinyong village in 1970s

3.3 Utopian ideals in the movement

Many related materials describing the Dazhai Movement unanimously mention its utopian nature, and in fact, this is true. Dazhai Village and the "Dazhai-style" villages later built throughout the country have some common characteristics that symbolize the utopian imagination of socialist rural China. This can be seen in many propaganda posters and artworks as evidence.

Figure 5, 6 Artworks about the topic of Dazhai

Lee Young ji introduce a painting: Lu Ruozeng's original oil painting Autumn in a Mountain Village (fig. 5) depicts typical Dazhai-style terraced mountains colored by revolutionary romanticism. The stunning, fairytale-like view of the Dazhai landscape dilutes the hardship of physical toil, partly because hard-working peasants are almost invisible in this scene. [6]This romantic painting and utopian propaganda constitute the utopian imagination of Dazhai

3.3.1 Determination to conquer nature

The story of Dazhai itself was a process of conquering and transforming nature. Dazhai's natural conditions were very poor, with farmland easily destroyed by heavy rain and poor soil conditions. In the previous era, the village had been very poor. However, after the completion of socialist transformation in rural China, under the leadership of the village leader Chen Yonggui, not only were water channels built and farmland leveled, but also terraced fields were developed on mountain slopes, and even quick recovery from flood disasters was achieved. This achievement was summarized as the "Dazhai experience," which symbolizes the conquest and transformation of nature by the socialist system.

[6] Lee, Young Ji. "A Utopia of Self-Reliance Dazhai and the Mutation of Global Capitalism in Maoist China." positions: asia critique 28, no. 4 (2020): 756-788. muse.jhu.edu/article/772332.

On another aspect, we can appreciate the determination to conquer nature from the rural landscape of "Dazhai-style" villages. Looking at the master plan of Qingyong Village, compared with the layout of traditional Chinese villages, we can clearly see that the "Dazhai-style" villages have replaced the organic layout conforming to the terrain with a centralized layout, and also replaced traditional houses with multi-layered collective housing. On the one hand, these villages save land resources and expand the area of cultivated land as much as possible, and on the other hand, they replace traditional dwellings with modernist buildings that have the meaning of highlighting the level of human development.

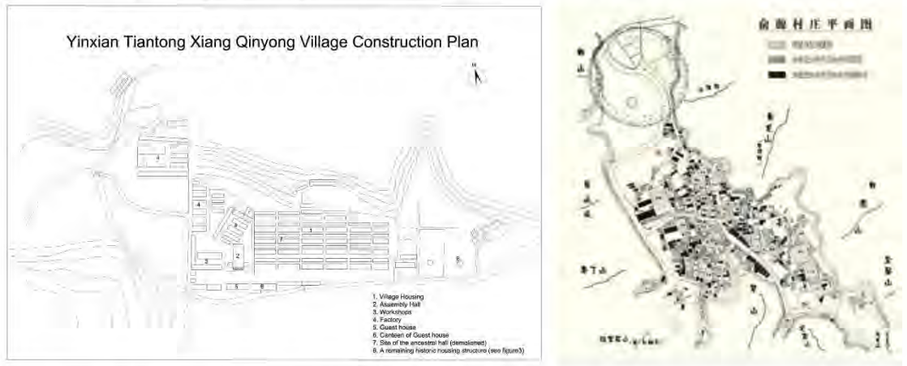

Figure 7,8 Master plan of Dazhai-style village and traditional Chinese village

3.3.2 Independence and self-reliance

An important international background of the "In Agriculture, learn from Dazhai" movement is the Sino-Soviet conflict. In the context of being generally isolated in the international community, adopting a policy of self-sufficiency domestically became a reasonable choice. According to Judith Shapiro: This was both a security precaution to guard against distribution problems in the event of war and a way of reducing the impoverished state government's responsibility to provide relief. [7]The example provided by Dazhai was too good to be true, for not only did he overcome the flood disaster on his own, but he even built better homes and water projects than before. It was such deeds of self-reliance in the face of adverse conditions that inspired the Chinese people in those difficult times.

On another level, this example of building a self-reliant village is very symbolic. Lee said: Against this backdrop, a variety of visual images portrayed the Dazhai commune as a self-sufficient utopia, which signified an independent China.[8]

3.3.3 Collectivized social structure

During the construction of Dazhai-style villages, the most important process was the collectivization of the entire rural social structure. The purpose of collectivization mainly has two aspects. One is to adapt to the requirements of socialist ideals, where private ownership is negated, and the ultimate goal is to achieve common prosperity in society. The other aspect is that collectivization is considered an important means of liberating productive forces. Not only can larger collectives undertake larger-scale and more arduous tasks, but the family is also considered a social model that restricts productivity. Collectivization attempts to liberate women from the domestic labor and involve them in genuine social labor.

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[7] Judith Shapiro. 2001. Mao's War Against Nature : Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China. Studies in Environment and History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://search-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip&db=e025xna&AN=230714&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

[8] Lee, Young Ji. "A Utopia of Self-Reliance Dazhai and the Mutation of Global Capitalism in Maoist China." positions: asia critique 28, no. 4 (2020): 756-788. muse.jhu.edu/article/772332.

We can find the spatial evidence of collectivization process from two aspects. For residential space, the family used to be the basic social unit in traditional rural China, and scattered households were the basic appearance of Chinese rural areas. However, all of this was thoroughly changed. By observing the floor plan of the newly built housing, we can find that the privacy of space has been completely eliminated. Three neighboring households share the same public staircase, emphasizing that public space belongs to the collective rather than the individual.

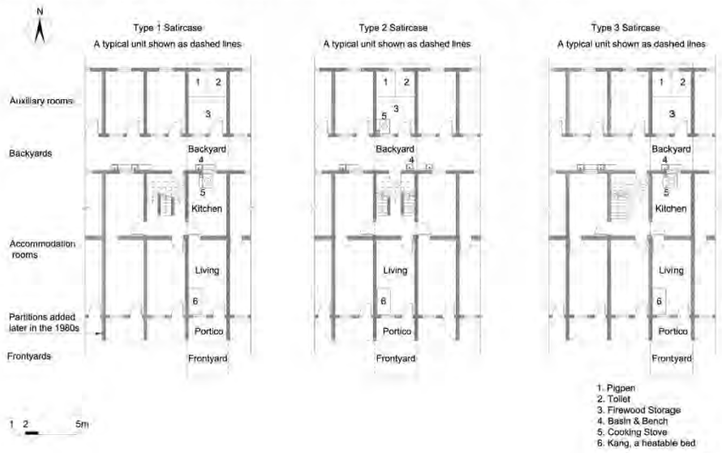

Figure 9 Plans of housing in Qinyong village

For community space, in the past, the family was the basic unit of traditional Chinese rural areas, and clans were an important basis for maintaining social structure. Therefore, ancestral halls became important spaces for public life. However, in the case of Qinyong Village, the ancestral hall was demolished, and the public space was transformed into a square and other functional space.

Figure 10 Demolished ancestral hall in Qinyong village

In Dazhai, more visual materials show that the cultural life here is already very close to modern life, including various collective activities such as sports and watching movies. The overall planning of Dazhai also provides space for such activities.

The construction of socialist culture in rural China is accomplished through the re-planning of settlement patterns and the use of the collective as a unit of communal activity.

Picture 11,12,13 Master plan of Dazhai and community activities

3.3.4 Egalitarian ideals

After the people's commune movement in China, the ideal of egalitarianism deeply rooted in people's hearts. Evidence from Qinyong Village shows that the construction of residential buildings fully highlighted the requirements of egalitarianism. Village cadres also lived together with members of the commune, achieving complete equality in material resources. Everyone ate and worked together in the canteen.

Figure 14 Collective housing in Qinyong village

3.4 Contradictions between utopia and reality

However, despite the utopian ideals that the Dazhai movement held for socialist rural areas, the harsh reality of underdeveloped conditions still needed to be faced. The conquest of nature was not achieved through modern mechanization, but instead relied on longer and more intense labor as well as the spirit of "Foolish Old Man Removes the Mountains".

The ideal of self-sufficiency faced even greater challenges. There is much evidence that at the national level, China was not able to become self-reliant. After the Sino-Soviet conflict, China began to look for other international capital to replace the original position that Soviet had in international trade. According to Lee Young ji: After the Sino-Soviet split, China's trade with noncommunist countries increased

from $1.37 billion in 1960 to $ 2.12 billion in 1964. [9]Later, with the easing of relations between China and the United States and the eventual establishment of diplomatic relations, China's participation in the international division of labor became deeper and deeper.

This is clearly not a change that the Chinese government is actively seeking. However, China's leaders gradually realized that independent and autonomous development could not be accomplished industrialization quickly.

Egalitarianism seems to be the most deadly of all. Socialism demands a tremendous amount of surplus to achieve its egalitarian ideals, including welfare. Without sufficient material resources to meet the needs of all, egalitarianism greatly suppressed the motivation of the commune members to work, and almost directly led to the birth of the family joint production responsibility system and the bankruptcy of the rural collectivization process after 1978. A set of data shows that in 1979, 12 of the 18 farmers in the Xiaogang production team produced more than 10,000 pounds of grain, oil production exceeded the sum of 20 years since the launch of cooperative, and the income of the community members increased six times over the previous year.[10] In addition, communal canteens and pot-luck meals led to great waste, adding to the already poor rural economy.

3.5 Root of the contradictions

In China during the post-war Maoist era, leaders of the government hoped to solve the same problem: how to achieve socialist industrialization with an extremely weak economic foundation. There were two characteristics involved: the weakness of the economic foundation and the rejection of capitalist economy in the socialist development path. The problem was simple yet difficult to solve: how to achieve the accumulation of industrial capital while rejecting capitalism? The answer given by Maoist China was to use the rural-urban income gap, where surplus in rural agriculture was used to support the development of industry in cities, and a large amount of agricultural funds were extracted to support the development of industry. describe the development of agriculture in China during the Mao era in this way: Unfavorable terms of trade were set on farm products, which effectively imposed heavy taxes on farmers. The hukou or household registration system was implemented to keep heavily taxed farmers from leaving rural areas. Furthermore, farmers were prohibited from engaging in any nonfarm activities. These policies initially helped to ensure that the government could extract surpluses from the agricultural sector to support the capital accumulation in the industrial sector.[11]

The focus of this article is not to analyze whether this policy is reasonable or not, but rather from this perspective we can see the position of agriculture in the national economy at this time, which is entirely in service of industrial development. This put enormous pressure on agriculture in Maoist China from beginning to end. It is precisely because of this that rural reform was radical and had high demands.

[9] Lee, Young Ji. "A Utopia of Self-Reliance Dazhai and the Mutation of Global Capitalism in Maoist China." positions: asia critique 28, no. 4 (2020): 756-788. muse.jhu.edu/article/772332.

[10] Wikipedia. 2023. "Household Responsibility System." Wikimedia Foundation. Last modified February 10, 2023. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Household_responsibility_system.

[11] Zhu, Xiaodong. "Understanding China's Growth: Past, Present, and Future." The Journal of Economic Perspectives 26, no. 4 (2012): 103–24. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23290282.

However, it is clear that this irrational relationship is not sustainable in the long run, so Mao-era China is in a constant cycle of radical goal-setting and then revision after failing to achieve them. Lee Young ji concluded that: While China wanted to build an industrialized socialist country, it also wanted to remain self-reliant. These two desires were simply irreconcilable. Constructing socialism in Maoist China may have been an impossible project from the very beginning,[12]

3.6 The Alienation of the Movement during the Cultural Revolution

In 1966, the Cultural Revolution, a controversial 10-year movement, began and swept across all aspects of China, profoundly changing the country. The " in Agriculture, Learn from Dazhai" movement became a tool of the Cultural Revolution in rural areas, transforming from just an agricultural campaign to one that affected all aspects of society. Additionally, the overly radical ideas of the Great Leap Forward period were reintroduced. Chen Yonggui, the former secretary of Dazhai Village (later became Vice Premier of the State Council), wanted to revert the basic accounting unit back to the commune, emphasizing class struggle and the elimination of private ownership in rural development. These changes caused the " in Agriculture, Learn from Dazhai" movement to lose its original advantages and progressiveness and completely merged with the left-leaning thought of the Cultural Revolution.

[12] Lee, Young Ji. "A Utopia of Self-Reliance Dazhai and the Mutation of Global Capitalism in Maoist China." positions: asia critique 28, no. 4 (2020): 756-788. muse.jhu.edu/article/772332.

3.7 The ending of the movement "In agriculture, learn from Dazhai"

After 1977, the "Gang of Four" was crushed and the Cultural Revolution came to an end. However, Chen Yonggui still put forward the radical strategies of "three major and one public" and "poor transition" at the central conference. Deng Xiaoping and other leaders who support him had to send editorials in the People's Daily to criticize the phenomenon of "In agriculture, learn from Dazhai". "In 1978, Chen Yonggui resigned from his position as vice premier after becoming disillusioned and moved away from the central leadership. Meanwhile, Xiaogang village in Fengyang, Anhui province, tried out the non-commune system of contracting production to households, which gained the support of the central government. Subsequently, the household joint production contracting responsibility system was extended to the whole country, and the roaring process of rural collectivization came to an end.

In recent years, after the political debate over the Dazhai movement has dissipated, the government has returned to a peaceful perspective on the movement's legacy, and some experts have been recommending that certain historically significant Dazhai-style villages be preserved as cultural heritage. Some Dazhai-style villages have been developed into tourist attractions, and some iconic buildings of the era have been transformed by celebrity architects into popular attractions, becoming a window for tourists to experience and feel the historical period. In 2018, The Qinyong village elementary school has been transformed into a hostel and is now one of the accommodation options for tourists coming here.

Figure 15,16 Hostel transformed from Qinyong primary school

4 Conclusion

The first thing we need to recognize is that the path taken by New China after its establishment is such a unique one, despite the experience of "an elder brother" the Soviet Union. However, the experience gained by the Chinese leaders during the Anti-Japanese War and the Civil War was that they must follow a path that is in line with China's national conditions, which means that no theory or experience should be taken as an absolute guide. Even if we look back today at the less than 80-year history of New China, we will be amazed at every step that is incredible and different from others.

The theoretical source of the contradictions in socialist modernization is that in Marx and Engels' socialist theory, socialist revolution should occur in developed countries that have already achieved modernization. In reality, however, all socialist revolutions occurred in countries that had not fully achieved modernization, which made all leaders of socialist countries face the same problem: the reality of backward productivity levels must be faced in the long term, so how can we achieve socialist industrialization?

Back to 1961, Liu Shaoqi made a judgment that the most important contradiction in China was: The contradiction between the advanced social system and the backward social productive forces. However, this was strongly denied by the radical faction led by Mao at that time. Mao always believed that the main contradiction in China was the contradiction between the socialist proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

I try to introduce the "impossible triangle" in economics to explain this contradictions, which is the impossible triangle in socialist modernization construction: a completely socialist system, a rapid industrialization process, and a backward level of productivity. During Mao's era, China insisted on the first two elements, and all efforts were made to overcome the backward productivity level to achieve the first two goals. After the reform and opening-up, China chose the last two elements, introducing some market economy elements with capitalist characteristics into the system, and the radical collectivization process was completely interrupted. In the new era, China has reinterpreted the socialist system. We can say that Marxism has once again been sinicized. Perhaps someday in the future, when we have completed modernization and industrialization, we will rethink this issue to find a new path.

5 Epilogue

I want to tell a story to end this essay. In ancient China during the Three Kingdoms period, Liu Bei was initially just a weaver and shoe seller. When he was still relatively weak, his city was attacked and pursued by Cao Cao. Surprisingly, Liu Bei led the a

million civilians who followed him to escape. Other generals in the army advised Liu Bei to abandon the civilians, as this would seriously slow down the army's marching speed. However, Liu Bei persisted in this incredible behavior. The Chinese military strategy says, "Love for the people can be annoying," which clearly points out this contradiction: caring for the people in war is a disadvantageous factor. But it is difficult to say what Liu Bei relied on when he later launched several Northern expeditions and occupied six states of Cao Wei with the power of one state. The so-called “people's hearts” can often play a huge role invisibly.

When we look back on the past, we should at least have respect for the construction of utopia, because it was not necessary to provide such a utopia for everyone. It was possible to follow a gentler and easier path of development, which is a path that others have already taken.

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