

- Patriarchal domination, the fight for power and women between young and old in two versions known to Persian literature and folklore: the victory of an old (ruler, husband) or of a young (successor to the throne, lover) symbolized by a fierce animal (a bull, a boar), the former solution being much more frequent in Persian literature: the old despot dominates, the young, compared to an animal sacrifice, dies and is mourned by the whole of nature; in modern literature the conflict takes a political dimension, the despotic patriarch being replaced by foreign powers, a despotic regime, its secret services etc.
- Traces of the cult of female deities: the festival of Esfandārmaz – Mother-Earth, the patron of farmers, of women and probably of chthonic creatures (scorpions, snakes), a spring storm conceived as hierogamy of Sky and Earth; traces of the features of a goddess of Nature in epic heroines: their close relationship with water and plants the Snake-Queen and her ties with water and the underworld; the transformations of epic female types in modern prose by ascribing them new political and social roles.
- A metatextual issue that stands apart from the dominating topics of the work is the reflection on the status of a poet (symbolized by a nightingale) and of that of a “learned man” in a broader meaning, in their changing roles: an eulogist of the heroic past, a court singer, a mystic, a creative individuality in confrontation with a conformist society; a bard ridiculing the ways of his masters, a moralist – adviser of the king; in modern literature: a chronicler, whose writings arise questions about the historical truth and its versions in written sources and in human memory, about the worth of a document, and of a hagiographical legend.

The above author’s enumeration in no way exhausts the list of topics that reiterate within the book, but to some extent shows their range, the degree of their mutual interconnections and their continuity through the ages to the modern day. As seen from the above short enumeration the texts are not short notes, but extensive well documented and deep considered studies of an high value. This is a very important step in the study of myth. Many texts non translated before have been excellently translated in French, maintaining the traces of their poetic versification. The author did not succeed to maintain the Persian transcription in the Persian texts. The problem of the inconveniencies have been solved by the use of foot-notes. This has not however influenced quality of the study very valuable not only for those interested in the subject.

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Józef Pawłowski, *Przeszłość w ideologii Komunistycznej Partii Chin*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2013, 309 pp.

The reviewed publication on the ideological foundations of the Chinese Communist Party is both valuable and interesting. It is interesting for everyone who deals with the

Chinese problematic, evolution of domestic situation and modernization processes whose initiator was the communist party. The author of this monograph tries to find in the ideology which is propagated by the party all the historical experiences and cultural legacy, which are used by the political leaders to legitimize the changes. It has to be explained that liberal economic reforms in the communist country originate in the civilization legacy. As written in introduction by the author: 'At present, when the political situation in China is more stable than ever before, the role of this country on international arena became indisputable, the opening up of the country to the outside world and cultural exchange with other civilizations has started and is being continued, the patterns to adapt China to the needs of the contemporary period, especially in the spiritual and cultural dimension, are being searched in the cultural legacy of China's past'. In his book the author analyzes ideological foundations for the CCP since its establishment until the present day, he compares mottos and slogans used by the party, putting emphasis on those historical elements and traditional Chinese values which appear in propaganda texts, official party documents, official statements, lectures. This analysis is done very thoroughly and objectively.

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters. Chapter I entitled *Origin of Ideology. Ideology and the Past* is a theoretical chapter whose aim is to explain the concepts which appear in the dissertation: ideology, historical consciousness, social consciousness. I have to emphasize one thing. In my opinion it is not the 'ideology', but the adjective 'ideological' that is associated with falsification of truth and an intentional doctrinaire approach to the surrounding reality. Ideology itself is usually treated as an entirety of values, patterns of ideals, which show motives of action. In the first chapter the author chooses a definition of ideology, contemplates the essence of ideology, describes the concepts of ideology, explains the meaning of historical consciousness as well as its role in ideology and the way it is used by ideologies. By referring to the authors of definitions, by quoting various definitions, different theorists dealing with ideology, social and historical consciousness, the author made some choice. It was not an easy task, because we have to be aware of the ambiguity of that term, and abundance of approaches to these problems. It seems, however, that the author lived up to this task, in a possibly comprehensive way presented the evolution of this concept and the way of understanding and defining ideology in the subsequent chapters.

The remaining chapters are based on chronological criterion. Chapter II entitled *Attempts of Breaking with the Past 1921–1949* shows **how the rich culture of China could be used not to create the ideological basis for the activity of the Chinese Communist Party, but rather how the communist party encouraged support for the communist movement and revolution by drawing from traditional culture**. On the other hand the author described splits, intra-party struggles as well as how traditional culture and history was used in this struggle.

In chapter III *Struggle for a New Reality 1949–1965* Józef Pawłowski describes the period when the CCP assumed power, organized a new state and tried to legitimize it by breaking with the Chinese tradition, or by looking for the sources of legitimization of

the communist regime in Confucian texts. As pointed out by Pawłowski „They did not search in them (revolutionary past and old culture – M.P.’s note) progressive elements nor sources of national essence, but they started using them as a specific instrument of political activity on ideological front”. The author describes from the perspective of rhetoric such campaigns as the Great Leap Forward, fight against four parasites, concept of lost territories referring to the ideological war with the Soviet Union or problem of independence of Mongolia.

Chapter IV is on the idea of cultural revolution, correctly named by the author ‘a decade of chaos’. So-called ‘7 May directive’ was a breakthrough, which started the process of moving revolution from the sphere of culture to the sphere of political movement. Mao Zedong appealed in this directive for the transformation of the whole country into a school of revolution and for the learning of revolutionary spirit from the Chinese army. Also a group for Cultural Revolution, led by Chen Boda, was established. In this chapter the author describes Mao’s tactics of destroying his enemies as well as the slogans, which were used. The author emphasizes that this period was characterized not only, or not first of all, by verbal jousting, but also by mass persecution of the revealed ‘enemies of the people’, ‘rightists’ and ‘counterrevolutionaries’. He also mentions the destruction of traditional culture, monuments of architecture and Chinese science. He cites the examples of total savagery of the elites – e.g. School of Maoism in Beijing requested in its document *One Hundred Principles of Destroying the Old and Establishing the New* to prohibit sharing food with guests, considered listening to Beethoven or Chopin’s music as counterrevolutionary. It demanded prohibition of breeding dogs, cats and canaries. ‘The ideals of Mao’ were glorified and all ‘bourgeois authorities’ were harshly criticized. Pawłowski also analyzes in this chapter the texts by Chen Boda and Lin Biao and their disappearance from the political scene. Press and academic criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius, which had a reactionary nature, lasted until 1975, when the authorities changed in China and Deng Xiaoping was elected as vice chairperson of the CCP. Mao managed to remove him from power, because he started conducting reforms in the name of the seriously ill Zhou Enlai, but a mass demonstration on Tiananmen Square after Zhou Enlai’s death in 1976 was a signal of an ideological fatigue of the ‘radicals’ in the Chinese society.

Chapter V describes party ideology from 1978 to 1989, from the moment when Deng Xiaoping assumed power until the students’ protests on Tiananmen Square. All earlier campaigns, starting from the Great Leap Forward, were condemned, and the program of economic reforms and opening up was initiated. This opening up, as mentioned by the author, fostered a serious debate on the history of Imperial China. Patriotic education, consisting on the strengthening of the consciousness and knowledge on national culture, became a part of the work of the CCP propaganda departments. Propagation of the values of the Chinese culture was also visible in international activity, during the lectures of Chinese leaders at the universities.

Chapter VI is entitled *Between Marxism and National Ideology 1990–2002*. At that time the Chinese leaders strongly stressed commitment to traditional culture in building

a socialist society. At the beginning of 2000 Jiang Zemin announced the theory of three representations, which according to official party historiography constitutes at present an original contribution to the CCP ideology and to the development of Marxism with Chinese characteristics. In his statements Jiang Zemin many times referred to the values of the traditional Chinese culture.

The last Chapter VII concerns modern times – the years 2002–2012. The author cites the statements by presidents Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, who stressed the necessity of adaptation of the Chinese cultural heritage ‘in new historical circumstances’. The author claims that ‘emphasizing this aspect by Hu Jintao can be considered as a confirmation that according to the CCP new conditions appeared, in which not only a redefinition of approach towards traditional Chinese culture occurs, but also ideological usage of valuable elements of cultural and civilization heritage created by the Chinese nation within thousands of years is becoming possible’. China propagates also its culture and language, Confucius Institutes are being established all over the world. A new concept of a ‘harmonious society’ also refers to the Chinese tradition, which according to Professor Wang Jie from the Central Party School has always underscored social harmony.

I cannot agree with all the statements of the author. When comparing Soviet and Chinese communism in the introduction he writes: ‘The Chinese communism in reality has never surpassed the borders of China and has never been used to expand the sphere of influence, as was done by the Soviet Union, or on the other pole – by the United States which used the ideology of freedom and democracy’. While I agree with the statement that the Chinese communism or a broader Asian communism was permeated with nationalism, which was related to the role played by the communist parties in national independence struggle against the European colonial expansionism, I cannot agree with the statement that China did not try to use ideology to spread its influence on the other countries. In East Asia and Southeast Asia, where the communist parties were strong and where they needed the support of China, especially after the proclamation of the People’s Republic of China we could observe ideological influences of the CCP. It is worth mentioning the Vietnamese communist party – which used the name of Workers’ Party of Vietnam, or the accusations against the PRC about the support for the communist partisans in Burma and Indonesia.

In conclusions the author writes that evolution of the CCP’s approach towards the prerevolutionary past was related to the political situation in China and internal situation in the party itself. He does not say anything about an external factor of the evolution of the party’s ideology, even though the world changed and the usage of the achievements of economic globalization has been a strong side of China.

Despite some remarks which can appear during the lecture of the book, I can wholeheartedly recommend it to the readers. It shows the history of China from a specific point of view – confrontation of party leaders and theorists with the rich history of the Chinese civilization.