Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

# China's Second World of Poetry: The Sichuan Avant-Garde, 1982-1992

Day, M.

**Citation**
Day, M. (2005, October 4). *China's Second World of Poetry: The Sichuan Avant-Garde, 1982-1992*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/57725

| | |
|---|---|
| Version: | Not Applicable (or Unknown) |
| License: | Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden |
| Downloaded from: | https://hdl.handle.net/1887/57725 |

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page

Universiteit Leiden

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/57725 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author**: Day, Michael
**Title**: China's Second World of Poetry: The Sichuan Avant-Garde, 1982-1992
**Issue Date**: 2005-10-04

# China's Second World of Poetry: The Sichuan Avant-Garde, 1982-1992

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus Dr. D.D. Breimer,
hoogleraar in de faculteit der Wiskunde en
Natuurwetenschappen en die der Geneeskunde,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 4 oktober 2005
klokke 14:15 uur
door

Michael Day
geboren te Vancouver, Canada
in 1959

Promotiecommissie:

| | |
|---|---|
| Promotor: | Prof. dr. Maghiel van Crevel |
| Referent: | Prof. dr. Michel Hockx (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London) |
| Overige leden: | Dr. Li Runxia (Nankai Universiteit, Tianjin) |
| | Prof. dr. Ernst van Alphen |
| | Prof. dr. Thony Visser |

## Table of Contents

**Acknowledgements**.....5

**Preface**……..……..8

**Chapter 1: Avant-Garde Poetry Nationwide – A Brief Overview**……..……19

**Chapter 2: Zhou Lunyou: Underground Poetry during the 1970s**…… 36

**Chapter 3: *The Born-Again Forest*: An Early Publication**…….…….47

**Chapter 4: Macho Men or Poets Errant?**……..80
Poetry on University Campuses…….80
A Third Generation……83
Hu Dong, Wan Xia, and Macho Men……89
Li Yawei……...100
Ma Song……...104
Finishing with University……108

**Chapter 5: A Confluence of Interests: The Institution of the Anti-Institutional**….115
Setting the Scene……..115
The Establishment of the Sichuan Young Poets Association……..124
The First Product of the Association: *Modernists Federation*…….131

**Chapter 6: The Poetry of *Modernists Federation***……137

**Chapter 7: *Make It New* and *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry***…….…..…170
Growing Ties and a Setback……171
*Day By Day Make It New* and the Makings of an Unofficial Avant-Garde Polemic……...181
*Experimental Poetry*: A Final Joint Action…….196

**Chapter 8: Moving into the Public Eye: A Grand Exhibition**……..…….217
Public Acceptance of Modernization and Marginalization…….218
The Poetry of Zhai Yongming…….227
The Poetry and Poetry Criticism of Ouyang Jianghe……...239
The Activities and Poetry of Liao Yiwu……..249

**Chapter 9: *Han Poetry, The Red Flag,* and *The Woman's Poetry Paper***……...269
*Han Poetry*……...271
*The Red Flag*.....285
*The Woman's Poetry Paper* and Xichang……296

**Chapter 10: *Not-Not***……..304
Not-Not Theory, Name, and Formation…….305
The Poetry of *Not-Not*……323

**Chapter 11: After June Fourth 1989: In the Shadow of Death**……..……..348
Liao Yiwu and <Slaughter>……350

Zhou Lunyou's Prison Poetry…….358
Haizi: A New Martyr for the Avant-Garde……364
New Journals and a New Poetry……370

**Chapter 12: A Struggle for Survival**..……..…..…384
The Public Disappearance of the Avant-Garde…….385
Unofficial Poetry Journals – 1990-1992……390
The Poetry of 1990-1992……...402

**Epilogue**……..426

**Glossary of Chinese Names (with biographical details)**…….434

**Bibliography: Official Publications of Sichuan Poets**……444

**Unofficial Publications of Sichuan Poets**……489

**Secondary Sources and Translations**……..506

**Sichuan Unofficial Journal List and List of Major Sichuan Avant-Garde Poets and the Journals their work can be found in**…….563

**A Timeline For Chinese Poetry**…….……...566

**Summary in Dutch / Samenvatting in het Nederlands**..…..……572

**Curriculum Vitae**…….…..….575

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Where to begin? and where to end?

In some ways, this feels like the finish of a 24-year journey that began early on a Monday morning in September 1980, when Jerry Schmidt, my first teacher of Chinese, and now a good friend, introduced himself in a classroom at the University of British Columbia. And I was there because my best friends at the time – the See family – were Chinese.

During the seven years I lived in China between 1982 and 1992, I met, made friends with, and was encouraged to do what I have now finally done by seemingly countless numbers of poets and other artists and intellectuals – most of them not resident in Sichuan, where I was only ever a visitor.

The Sichuan subject of this thesis is a result of my friend Liu Xiaobo giving me a copy of an unofficial poetry journal edited by Liao Yiwu. In 1986-1988, I used to go Liu's room at Beijing Normal University to talk about literature we had bought, or been given. My interest in the poetry published in Liao's journal led me to write him a letter, and this elicited an invitation to visit him in Fuling. There I also met Li Yawei, Xiao Kaiyu, He Xiaozhu, Gou Mingjun, Zhou Zhongling, Ba Tie, and others. And when I returned to Beijing, I contacted Tang Xiaodu, a good friend of Liao's, whom Liao felt I should know.

While in Sichuan, I was handed large amounts of unofficial poetry material, and Tang offered me more. In the spring of 1988, Tang arranged for me to 'appear' at and, subsequently, be officially invited to the Grand Canal national poetry conference held in Huaiyin and Yangzhou. There I met several other avant-garde poets, such as Ouyang Jianghe, Zhou Lunyou, Han Dong, and Chen Dongdong, many of whom I would next see as I wandered the country visiting poets during May-August 1989. And my collection of materials kept growing. I thank them all for their time, work, and friendship.

After my expulsion from China in late October 1991, I spent the next five years in Vancouver, and a lot of that time in UBC's Asian Studies Library searching the stacks for the poetry of my friends and other poets I admired. There, also, I completed my MA and started a doctorate, which I would not know how to complete until being passed on to Leiden by Michel Hockx of SOAS in the summer of 2000.

The years after my expulsion had been a period of intermittent emotional turmoil (as I came to terms with not being able to live in China anymore) and financial crisis. This was somewhat mitigated by the support and encouragement of Michelle Yeh, nominally my long-distance doctoral advisor until I chose to move to Prague in 1997, and George McWhirter of UBC's Creative Writing department, who oversaw my translation of a few hundred poems.

When, in the summer of 2000, my interest in doing a doctorate was rekindled, Michel Hockx put me in touch with Olga Lomova at Charles University, and she invited me to give seminars and teach courses there. In 2002, I finally registered as a doctoral student at the University of Leiden, and in 2003 – at the urging of Olga, Mirka, and Stan'a – I applied for and won funding from the CCK Foundation for a yearlong period (2003-2004), without which this doctoral thesis could not have been completed.

Olga has also seen to it that I have had free access to computers in the Department of Sinology at Charles University. Without her support, many of the materials I have used in this thesis would have been inaccessible to me, and I could not have contributed to the DACHS project managed by the Chinese libraries at the universities of Heidelberg and Leiden. That said, I thank Remy Cristini for all his IT help, enthusiasm, and friendship, and Hanno Lecher for his similar support.

Another good friend at Leiden, and now at Shenzhen University, is Zhang Xiaohong. Her work on China's avant-garde woman poets, especially the poetry of Zhai Yongming, has been of great help to me.

Finally – my family.

My parents, three brothers, and my half-sister have always been supportive, even proud of me, in all this Chinese stuff I have done over the years. The basement of my mother's house is the repository of most of my unofficial poetry materials and a few thousand

books I have collected over the years. Even on the occasion of my wedding with Stephanie in Minnesota in 2002, my mother flew in with a heavy load of materials I had asked her to bring. And through all the years I was away in China and, now, Europe, I missed her and loved her.

And then there is Stephanie. She would rather be in Minnesota than anywhere else in the world, but… she married me. She loves me and believes in me. She makes me happy. If by September 2005 I am unable to find work at a university teaching modern Chinese literature and language, I will be disappointed, but I will move on to another career. And I will be happy, because this doctorate is done, because it will satisfy the long-held expectations of my family and my friends in China, and, most importantly, because I will be with Stephanie and we can start our own family wherever in the world we will be.

## PREFACE

Much of what I write in this text is based on personal fieldwork done in China during 1982-1992, when I was resident in China for a total of seven years. Aside from prolonged contact, conversation, and correspondence with a great number of poets and scholars, I collected a large amount of literary materials, including unofficial, privately printed poetry journals and poetry collections, hand-written drafts of poetry and related essays, officially published poetry anthologies and individual collections, and audio recordings of poetry readings. At the time, my interest was general and nationwide. However, upon later reflection, I found that my materials and knowledge were most complete in relation to the poets Sichuan and their poetry.

The findings of my 1994 Master's thesis at the University of British Columbia (Vancouver, Canada) have fed into this text. That thesis focused on the poetry and lives of three Sichuan poets: Liao Yiwu, Zhou Lunyou, and Li Yawei. Here, I address the events and environment that led to Sichuan becoming a hotbed of avant-garde poetry during the 1980s and beyond – in other words, the genesis of the contemporary Chinese poetry avant-garde.

I believe that this is an important contribution to scholarship in the area of modern Chinese poetry. A full history of the developments in the poetry scene during the 1980s must take into account the unofficial gray areas where much of the impetus towards poetic 'modernization' found its source. Such a study, whether nationwide or limited to one region or province, is still unpublishable for political reasons in China. There have been books dealing with underground literature during the Cultural Revolution 1966-1976 and the activities of the *Today* (今天) poets 1978-1980, but only a small number of articles and chapters in various books and journals, in Chinese and English, on what followed.

To date the best English-language study of developments after – and because of the influence of – *Today* can be found in Maghiel van Crevel's *Language Shattered: Contemporary Chinese Poetry and Duoduo* (1996). Duoduo was a peripheral *Today* poet at the time (1970s, early 1980s), but Prof. van Crevel helpfully devotes 80 pages over two chapters (pp. 21-101) to developments in the unofficial world of poetry in China as a whole during the 1970s and 1980s. *Modern Chinese Poetry: Theory and Practice since 1917* by Michelle Yeh (1991) is the best overview in English of the overall aesthetic development of twentieth century Chinese poetry to date, but due to its very nature, deals only briefly with the poetry and related events of the 1980s in China. As a final example, Bonnie S. McDougall and Kam Louie's *The Literature of Twentieth Century China* (1997) deals with post-*Today* poetry in all of two pages (pp. 429-430).

I use the term *avant-garde* in reference to a vanguard of poets who seek to rescue and expand the scope of the art. Therefore, this also refers to the initial rediscovery, or the genuine discovery, by Mainland Chinese poets of all that this means in the context of Chinese and World poetry, much as it had in the 1910s and 1920s to the first practitioners of New Poetry (新诗). This world of relatively obscure 'Isms' was something Deng Xiaoping and the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had little comprehension of when they relaxed cultural policies in 1978 after decades of political and cultural repression, and let the voices of Chinese poetry be heard again. A knowledgeable reader or writer of poetry in the west might know what all of this would be from university literature classes and Norton anthologies – from seminal works such as *Leaves of Grass* and <The Waste Land>, to important poets such as Emily Dickinson, Ezra Pound, Mandelstam, Mayakovsky, Pasternak, Milosz, Breton, Stevens, Williams, Ginsberg, Ashbery, Berryman, Olsen, Plath, Brodsky, and so on down to the present day. This western experience entailed a drawn out period of about 100 years, fully experienced by no one person. China's poets would condense all this into a period of just 10 years, a situation that can only be compared with developments during the 1920s and 1930s when China first opened to world culture.

In China, however, we find all this re-enacted, adopted, adapted, reacted against, and improvised on over a period of 10-15 years. This was an anarchic state of poetry, an

advanced seminar in poetics and poetry writing for – often – rank beginners in the art. Thousands of young poetry lovers and students in all parts of China encountered the poetry of *Today*, the New Poetry of pre-1949 China, and translations of western avant-garde poetry and poetics for the first time, as, from 1978, China's publishing houses and literary journals began to print, or re-print, material that for decades had been unpublishable.

All these activities and the networking and planning that were going on at all times from 1978 throughout China, would ultimately lead to the creation of what Zhou Lunyou in 1986 termed a 'Second World of Poetry'[1] – a sub-field in the general field of contemporary Chinese poetry, inhabited by poets more responsive to, and more influenced by, each other and translated works than to officially published poetry and criticism. While much of the poetry published in this Second World can be termed avant-garde, and was officially published on various occasions, the term refers primarily to an unofficial, or underground, publishing scene that was the initial site of most avant-garde poetry publication.

A study that tried to record Second World events in all parts of China would, I believe, prove to be too unwieldy and generalized to be insightful or of lasting scholarly value.

So, something manageable then…the province of Sichuan. But why Sichuan?

Firstly, I found that my materials and knowledge were most complete in relation to the poets and poetry of post-Mao Sichuan. That said, where linkages occur, the scene outside Sichuan will be elucidated as necessary.

Secondly, for reasons of convenience, geography, and internal politics (in general and in the realm of modern Chinese culture), Western scholarly research has been largely limited to China's coastal areas from Beijing south to Hongkong. The fact is that there was, and is, much more to be seen and uncovered in the rest of China, and in the area of poetry this is emphatically the case – as this study shall show. This is not to deny the validity and quality of the poetry and poets who have been brought to the attention of readers outside China interested in contemporary Chinese poetry, but an attempt to fill in several gaps which understandably (in the circumstances) exist at the present time.

---

[1] A term coined by Zhou Lunyou in an article published in the first issue of the broadsheet *Not-Not Criticism* (*非非评论*): <On the Second World of Poetry > (论第二诗界; August 13-15, 1986).

However, the best reasons for my choice of Sichuan and its avant-garde poets are the quality of their poetry and their collective ‘story’. The quality and representative nature of their poetry is exhibited by the selections of what I, and most others in this field, consider to be among the most authoritative and nonpartisan of multi-author poetry anthologies published by China’s official press since the 1987 in the list below. This situation is also reflected in instances of publication in official literary journals.

1) *A Selection of Contemporary Chinese Experimental Poetry* (*中国当代实验诗选*); editors: Tang Xiaodu, Wang Jiaxin; published 1987, 224 pages; 31 poets, including 6 Sichuan poets (23 poems, 50 pages).
2) *A Grand Overview of China’s Modernist Poetry Groups 1986-1988* (*中国现代主义诗群大观1986-1988*); editors: Xu Jingya, Meng Lang, Cao Changqing, and Lü Guipin; published 1989, 558 pages; including 33 Sichuan poets (77 poems, 89 pages).
3) *An Appreciation Dictionary of Chinese Exploratory Poetry* (*中国探索诗鉴赏辞典*); editor: Chen Chao, published 1989, 664 pages. *The relevant section for post-1982 poets is found in the last section of the book, pp. 458-664; 41 poets, including 12 Sichuan poets (34 poems, 65 pages of the 206).
4) *The Happy Dance of Corduroy* (*灯心绒幸福的舞蹈*); editor: Tang Xiaodu, published 1992, 300 pages; 37 poets, including 13 Sichuan poets (72 poems, 133 pages).
5) *With Dreams for Horses: Poetry of the Newborn Generation*（*以梦为马：新生代诗选*); editor: Chen Chao, published 1993, 324 pages; 48 poets, including 18 Sichuan poets (77 poems, 129 pages).
6) *A Leopard on an Apple: The Poetry of Women* (*苹果上的豹：女性诗卷*); editor: Cui Weiping, published 1993, 205 pages; 14 poets, including 3 Sichuan poets (48 poems, 50 pages).
7) *In Symmetry with Death: Long Poems and Poetry Sequences* (*与死亡对称：长诗，组诗诗卷*); editor: Tang Xiaodu, published 1993, 308 pages; 20 poets, including 4 Sichuan poets (49 pages).
8) *Avant-garde Poetry* (*先锋诗歌*); editor: Tang Xiaodu, published 1999, 348 pages; 50 poets, including 14 Sichuan poets (45 poems, 83 pages).

As noted, this is only a partial list. Although there have been several other anthologies, many are clearly partisan in nature or suffer from weak editorial guidelines (some of these will be dealt with, when appropriate, in the main text).

My general impression of poetry out of Sichuan, confirmed in discussions with the poetry critic Tang Xiaodu (editor or co-editor of #1, 4,7, and 8 above), is that, broadly speaking, in creating often highly original, indeed startling, imagery, poets of the

province appear to make more imaginative use of diction than poets from other parts of China. This may be due to the highly competitive poetic environment in which they learn their craft, given the large number of practicing poets of some note, especially during the 1980s.

In addition, during the period in question radical changes in individual writing styles and poetic technique occurred more frequently among Sichuan's poets than among those of other regions in China. Furthermore, Sichuan's unofficial Second World of Poetry was the largest and one of the most active and influential in China during the period in question.

Geremie Barmé, in the introduction to *In the Red: On Contemporary Chinese Culture* (1999), points out that the relationship of unofficial culture (or counterculture in general) with the over-culture underwent a sea change after the seminal political event of recent times in China (the bloody repression of the peaceful protest movement on June 4, 1989) and a roughly equivalent event in China's market reforms (Deng Xiaoping's 'tour of the South' in January 1992). The elements of "rebellion and co-option, attitude and accommodation" that Barmé builds his book around, while primarily relating to events during the 1990s, were also present to lesser but growing degrees during the 1980s – but not in as pronounced a manner as later when a more mature market economy (and its attendant market for culture) came into existence. Instead, the account that follows will end very near where Barmé's book begins.

Today's avant-garde poet has access to the Internet and many more small – and laxly controlled – publishing houses than the poet of the 1980s. What is now best referred to as avant-garde poetry was necessarily underground during the 1970s. The danger of even the execution of underground poets during the Cultural Revolution in fact ended with the fall of the Gang of Four in 1976. However, throughout the 1980s there was still a danger of arrest and a stint in labor-reform camp, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 11, which deals with the effects of the June Fourth 1989 cultural crackdown. Today, police harassment and threats to employment are still a continuing occupational hazard. Continued state-control, guidance, and censorship of China's cultural organs, including official literary journals and publishing houses, dictate the continued existence of anti-

institutional avant-garde poetry institutions, such as self-published poetry journals, throughout the period covered by this study.

I hold that without a better understanding of developments within this Second World of Poetry, critics of contemporary Chinese avant-garde poetry, whether within or without China, are in danger of producing overly formalistic aesthetically-oriented studies of individual poets and poems based on necessarily simplistic, inaccurate generalizations.

In the French sociologist of culture Pierre Bourdieu's terms, avant-garde poetry is essentially a matrix of literary activities by poets for poets within a highly restricted sub-field of culture, ultimately meaning that the poets themselves (and fellow-traveler critics) are the initial legitimizing agents and, thus, the decisive arbiters of recognition and consecration (and desecration). Given the subject and scope of this study, I have found it useful and apt to refer to the theories and models of Bourdieu. Essays he wrote during 1968-1987 on relevant subjects are collected in *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Polity, 1993). In 1992, Bourdieu followed these efforts with *Le Règles de l'art* (*The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*; Polity, 1996), an updated book-length study based on the previously mentioned essays. A first application of Bourdieu's theories to China has been compiled by Michel Hockx, who edited a collection of essays under the title *The Literary Field of Twentieth-Century China* in 1999 (Curzon).

In his writing, Bourdieu's model is culled from the emergence of the French literary avant-garde during the latter half of the nineteenth century and later related developments. Given that this was also a crucial period in the development of western industrialization and the attendant emergence of modern educational, publishing, democratic, and social structures, it may seem that there can be little convergence between the work of Bourdieu and my work set under the CCP dictatorship. However, these are extra-field occurrences that, while influencing the cultural field as a whole and specific sectors of it more than others, have less efficacy in the restricted sub-fields that are the avant-garde of any cultural activity. After 1978, the relaxation of CCP repression allowed sufficient space for the avant-garde to develop, albeit with its own Chinese characteristics.

Bourdieu shows that the cultural field tends to operate as the economic world reversed,

or a bad-faith economy: agents active in the field apportion greater value to symbolic capital than to economic capital and invest in their cultural efforts accordingly. This is so because economic success (and popularization) is held to devalue products and activities that are initially of high cultural value. This is particularly true of the avant-garde and related agents of consecration, or legitimization, such as universities, museums, and cultural critics. The avant-garde is shown to have developed as a reaction against political-moralizing uses of literature and the popularization of literature, both of which mean subservience to the real economy and dominant political groups. In the middle ground between these two poles, ‘serious’ or ‘high’ art and its practitioners and admirers develop aesthetic theories and traditions based on beliefs in the disinterested pursuit of ideals, such as that of beauty or truth, spiritual or otherwise. The esoteric nature of much of the work and criticism produced means that audiences are small, and appropriately educated, and economic rewards, if there ever are any, are often posthumous or late in arriving. The fact that the critical and poetical terminology common to the avant-garde is often borrowed from religion and philosophy tells its own tale.

Bourdieu defines a cultural field as a space of forces, or struggle, in which ‘producers’, either consciously or unconsciously, stake out ‘positions’ and ‘position-takings’ with respect to other agents already present in the field, or entering the field at the same time. Positions and position-takings are in large part determined by the *habitus* of these agents, which, as the term suggests, refers to relevant acquired habits and the skills, knowledge, and tendencies the individual agent is born with, or into, and acquires through life experience (upbringing, formal education, and so on). A map of any individual’s positions within a cultural field reveals a ‘social trajectory’, and knowledge of that individual’s habitus reveals the ‘possible’ position-takings available to the individual in relation to the state of the field at any given time. For this reason, decisions on position-takings are frequently unconscious, being grounded in habitus and that individual’s perceived position in the field, or the position that is aspired to.

Bourdieu describes the emergence of the modern French cultural field after the disappearance of the old systems of political and religious patronage and control, and the appearance of new cultural consumers (the bourgeoisie and the working class) and modern cultural institutions (universities, museums, etc.). The emergence of a modern

cultural marketplace and relatively independent institutions of consecration led to divisions within the fields of cultural production (literature, fine art, etc.) and an eventual reordering of the entire field of cultural production. In the case of France, the bourgeoisie and the working class became culture consumers, or economic opportunities for producers, resulting in the production of culture more or less to target audience tastes. In part as a response, or reaction, to these developments, there emerged an avant-garde dedicated to 'serious' or 'high' art and the slogan "art for art's sake" – and not for the sake of money, thus the economy reversed referred to above.

The appearance of the avant-garde implies the shared *illusio* of the importance of art to modern culture and life, of a sense of being guardians of disinterested cultural production devoted to beauty, spiritual discovery, and artistic traditions (or selected portions of traditions, as identified by individual agents). However, the betterment of humanity, or society, is considered a tainted motive, ultimately in the service of the ruling social groups, and therefore to be shunned.

Some critics have devalued Bourdieu's work as Marxist because he makes frequent references to classes and uses terms such as 'the bourgeoisie' and 'producer', for example. However, the term 'the bourgeoisie' was coined in nineteenth-century France in response to evident social changes then occurring, and was later borrowed by Marx. On the other hand, for Bourdieu 'producer' is a generic term used to avoid the culturally loaded, highly mystified term 'creator' that is an intimate part of the shared *illusio* of a cultural field. That said, he prefers the use of concrete terms such as 'poet' and 'intellectual' wherever possible.

However, unlike the "sub-field of high literature" dealt with Bourdieu, the sub-field referred to here as the Second World of Poetry possesses only an avant-garde and lacks any form of "establishment" that would be recognizable by western standards. This situation is a result of the unofficial nature of the Second World in which the only valid legitimizing agents are the resident poets and their unofficial publications – these poets have greater prestige and thus cultural authority than others, due to longer histories of publication or longer histories and greater accumulated prestige within the sub-field. In this sense, the earlier Misty poets can be seen as taking on the role of an "established avant-garde," as they are to some degree legitimized as a target for attack by newcomers

to the sub-field, on account of their earlier and more frequent official publication in the PRC, and subsequent recognition by sinologists and critics outside the country.

Thus, paradoxically, the appearance of acceptance and mere occasional publication of the Second World poets in the CCP-dominated First World of "official" media in the PRC (and, therefore, a form of recognition) has a potentially delegitimizing effect, especially in the eyes of ambitious newcomers to the Second World. This is, in fact, the political element touched on only briefly in the western-oriented model constructed by Bourdieu. To an extent, this situation mirrors the western avant-garde's reaction against the accumulation of popularity and economic capital through art, which in post-Mao China during the period covered by this study is overshadowed by the accumulation of the political capital necessary before anything else.

Given the inherent instability of the unofficial Second World that arises from the pressurized, borderline illegality of these poets' publication activities, internal legitimizing agents and a resultant "establishment" cannot enjoy more than a fleeting existence. What cultural legitimacy can be attained is therefore tenuous and frequently reliant on external sources, such as translated foreign poetry and critiques that are often soon destabilized by translations of newer, antagonistic poetical tendencies and critiques as thrown up through the mechanisms of the western avant-garde, as described by Bourdieu. A further paradox results from the universal desire for recognition that leads avant-garde poets in the PRC to seek, or accept, publication in official media, which thereby potentially undermines their own moral authority and position-takings against the CCP-dominated literary establishment.

This is a brief summary of some of Bourdieu's salient points. Just as he demonstrates the efficacy of his theories by applying them to nineteenth-century French literature and art, I will show their efficacy in relation to the Second World of Poetry and avant-garde poetry in 1980s Sichuan. I will, however, attempt to limit specific references to the theories of Bourdieu, restricting references to those points in the study where I feel they may be useful and enlightening.

Whenever possible, I shall work poems into the text in their entirety, weaving them into the story as it develops, treating texts with the tools that seem appropriate at the time and

which may, in fact, be suggested by the poets themselves, several of whom espoused this or that aesthetic doctrine. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

Where possible, I shall apply the standards the poets themselves claim as their own when judging their work. I will attempt to draw my own conclusions, based on close reading practices, as to whether what has been produced is 'successful' as a work of poetry within the context of China's Second World of Poetry at the time.

This begs the question as to what can be considered successful poetry, or even poetry. This issue is of particular importance with regard to New Poetry in China, still struggling – as it has been since its inception in 1917 – to find favor and an audience comparable to that which still exists for classical Chinese poetry, both in China and overseas.

I am aware that by focusing on a limited number of avant-garde poets, I am serving a legitimizing function necessary to the creation of the avant-garde sub-field in Sichuan and China as a whole. However, it is my hope that readers will find my treatment balanced and fair, focused as much on the poetry written by the poets in question as on their position-takings and other related activities, all of which constitute the genesis of the avant-garde during 1982-1992. Also, due to limited access to issues of *The Poetry Press* (*诗歌报*), for example, during 1986-1989, I have been unable to fully document avant-garde polemics and position-takings in official literary publications. I have primarily focused on such activity as it was embodied and published in unofficial media within Sichuan. As the primary focus of this study is the establishment of the autonomous sub-field of the avant-garde in China, I do not believe this to be a major weakness.

Given the groundbreaking nature of my work, I have felt the need to footnote heavily in several chapters. It is my hope that this will allow interested scholars to pursue related topics, with footnotes serving as a guide to sources and themes of possible interest that are beyond the scope of this study. As in any field of study, the importance of basic fact-finding cannot be stressed enough, especially when such work has not been done on a systematic basis. It is my hope that this study fills the gap that currently exists inside and outside of China. It is of interest to note that there have appeared in China in recent years a number of books consisting of collections of poetry, interviews, photographs, etc. dealing with avant-garde poetry of the 1980s. I am particularly grateful for one of these:

the Sichuan poet Yang Li's *Splendor* (灿烂; 2004), three chapters of which first appeared on the Internet in 2003.

On a final note, a glance at the bibliography indicates that I have used several sources available on the Internet. Part of the reason for this is that I live in Prague and there are virtually no relevant resources available to me here. I have been able to make trips to Vancouver and Leiden to gather materials, but a surprising amount – much of it new – is readily available for download on the Internet. I hope the bibliography may serve as a partial guide to scholars similarly inclined. Furthermore, through DACHS, the joint venture digital archiving project between the University of Heidelberg and the University of Leiden, I have been able to preserve valuable materials in the poetry section of the project, for which I am responsible.

It is my hope that this study will be published online and be freely accessible to all interested in this area. In so doing, I hope to be able to stimulate debate and further research in the area. As responses to my DACHS work to date indicate, Chinese poets will also take part. A dialogue with all interested parties will allow me to update, correct, and expand on what I have written here, and in so doing produce a form of living scholarship, which I believe is the future of scholarship that deals with current events or the recent past.

In what follows, I shall trace the development of the avant-garde in Sichuan on a chronological basis. After a general national overview of the sub-field, I shall address the pre-1978 situation through a brief study of an individual poet (Zhou Lunyou). This will be followed by a focus on group and journal formation, as well as examining related poetry, beginning with *The Born-Again Forest* (1982) and followed by *Macho Men* (1983-1984); the Sichuan Young Poets Association and *Modernists Federation* (1984-1985); *Day By Day Make It New* and *Contemporary Chinese Experimental Poetry* (1985); *Han Poetry*, *The Red Flag* and *Not-Not* (1986-1989); and a number of journals which appeared after June Fourth 1989 (1989-1992). Throughout this, I will track the career trajectories of a number of significant poets, such as Zhou Lunyou, Ouyang Jianghe, Zhai Yongming, and Liao Yiwu, while noting the success, or the lack of it, of avant-garde poetry within the literary establishment and among the poetry-reading public.

# CHAPTER 1: AVANT-GARDE POETRY NATIONWIDE – A BRIEF OVERVIEW

For 30 years, until 1978, the term avant-garde poetry (先锋诗歌) had little or no meaning in China. The sense of the term avant-garde in China is potentially double-edged due to its political, Marxist usage as a reference to the communist party as the 'vanguard' of the proletariat. However, since the mid-1980s the term has been borrowed from western literary theory to refer to works of art that push out the edges of accepted artistic practice, in other words in reference to experimental forms and techniques.[2] In China in 1978, there was a public rediscovery of modern poetry – and for those readers under the age of thirty possibly the appearance of poetry they had never read nor heard tell of. For the majority of Chinese poets and poetry-readers the assumption to power of the CCP in 1949 eventually led to the inability to read, or continue reading, translations of contemporary Western avant-garde poetry and the modernist poetry written by Chinese poets. This situation did not change until after the death of Mao Zedong and the fall of The Gang of Four in 1976, and the subsequent rise to power of Deng Xiaoping in 1978. The poets of the 1940s, and, often, their translations, were still available to an ever-dwindling readership throughout this period, but it is in no way evident that these resources had any discernible impact on Chinese poetry until the public appearance of unofficial (非官方) or underground (地下) poetry written in the late-1960s and 1970s by young poets born after 1949.

The public reappearance of this poetry was in large part due to the purely political needs of Deng Xiaoping and his supporters in the CCP who encouraged the opening of a Pandora's box of free speech in 1978, as witnessed by the Beijing Spring (北京之春) and

[2] See Yeh (1991c).

Democracy Wall (民主墙), in order to depose Mao's anointed successor, Hua Guofeng. One of the spirits to leap out of the box was poetry. And leap out it did – after a period of 10 years of gestation – in the form of the poet Huang Xiang and the Enlightenment Society (启蒙社) in Guizhou and Beijing, and the unofficial literary journal *Today* in Beijing and its pack of aspiring poets of a decidedly modernist bent.[3]

Apart from the clandestine reading of translations of foreign works, banned Chinese literature, and the occasional poem written by exceptional individuals, before 1976 there was little homegrown underground literature to speak of in China. Much of what little there was consisted of escapist fiction (romances, detective and spy stories) none of which addressed the domestic social or political situation at the time.[4]

Underground poetry in the 1960s and 1970s did exist, but was largely confined to small groups of friends and trusted poetry lovers. A detailed account of these individuals, in particular the genesis of the *Today* group of poets, can be found in Chapter two of Maghiel van Crevel's *Language Shattered*.

The first transformative public appearance of domestic underground literature on any scale of note occurred during the Beijing Spring of November 1978 - May 1979. Literary journals such as Beijing's *Today* appeared among numerous unauthorized political journals that were sold at Beijing's Democracy Wall and similar locations in other major Chinese cities. Many of these journals also published poetry of a political nature, but *Today* was the only journal with a professed commitment to non-political literature, both poetry and fiction.

Although these journals were illegal, they were permitted to exist for as long as politically useful during Deng's purge of Maoists from the CCP leadership – hence the use of the term 'unofficial' rather than 'underground'.[5] In China, all books and magazines must receive permission to be published from CCP-controlled publishing and censorship organs. Once such permission is granted, the management of a publishing house or journal receives a book number (书号) and a fixed selling price, both of which must be

[3] For more on *Today* poetry and poets see Yeh (1991c): 85-88; Chapter 13: 421-440 in McDougall & Louie (1997); also van Crevel (1996): 21-68; and essays by Pan & Pan, and Tay in Kinkley ed. (1985).
[4] Howard Goldblatt & Leo Ou-fan Lee, <The Dissenting Voice> in Hsu Kai-yu (1980a): 911-916. Also, Yang Jian (1993a).
[5] As used in Goodman (1981).

printed in the book or journal. This situation has in recent years been relaxed somewhat at certain times, but this description of controls over publication holds more or less true for the period of time covered within these pages.

In fact, the poetry of *Today* was so well received at the time that several poems by poets such as Bei Dao, Shu Ting, Jianghe, and Gu Cheng were soon published in official literary journals, such as Beijing's *Poetry Monthly* (*诗刊* – hereafter referred to as *Poetry*). Bei Dao is perhaps the best known and most influential of the *Today* poets, and his poem <The Answer> (回答)[6] and its refrain "I don't believe...." marked an important turning point in the history of what is known in China as New Poetry (新诗).[7] However, while publication in official literary journals was recognition of a sort – something very desirable to aspiring poets – it was a potentially double-edged sword, given that this was recognition by an official journal in which the bulk of the published poetry necessarily served politico-cultural goals espoused by the state cultural apparatus.

Nevertheless, *Today* poetry featured the hitherto forbidden themes of alienation, humanism, a striking use of personal symbolism and imagery, and a pervasive spirit of skepticism, which distinguished the best of this poetry from the staid realistic, or idealistic revolutionary verse, which after 1949 had been inspired by the CCP-dictated national mood and prevailing political ideology and vision.

At a national poetry conference convened in Nanning, Guangxi province, in May 1980, the overwhelming tone of the debate about *Today* poetry was negative. The *Today* poets and their many fellow travelers, who had sprung up throughout China, were termed 'misty' or 'obscure' (朦胧) poets because of their use of personal symbolism and other modernist literary devices not common to post-1949 poetry. Older poets and readers of establishment poetry who did not share the experiences and backgrounds of the rusticated youths,[8] and whose faith in communism was not yet shattered, found this so-called Misty poetry incomprehensible, if not subversive. This led to a rebuttal in defense of Misty

[6] In Duke, ed., (1985). This was the first of the *Today* poems to be published, appearing in the March 1979 edition of *Poetry*.

[7] This term refers to poetry written in the vernacular language -- spoken Mandarin Chinese. Before 1917, all poetry had been written in the classical written language (文言), which bore little relation to vernacular speech and thus was beyond the grasp of 99% of the population, who had insufficient education.

[8] These were normally recent urban high school graduates, 16-18 years of age, who were sent to live in the countryside to learn from the farmers and thus eliminate bourgeois tendencies. Those without good contacts in the CCP found it very difficult to return to their homes until the early 1980s.

poetry by the critic Xie Mian in the national *Guangming Daily* newspaper (*光明日报*) in May, and sparked off an on-again off-again polemic over avant-garde poetry in official literary periodicals, which continued throughout the 1980s and early 1990s.[9] A reluctant acceptance of sorts of Misty poetry by the CCP cultural establishment was apparently granted in 1985 when the first of many Misty poetry anthologies was published.[10] Meanwhile, the apparent popularity of Misty poetry and the official publication of anthologies also had the effect of solidifying Misty poetry as a target for newcomers to the emerging literary sub-field of avant-garde poetry.

Establishment critics in officially published essays attacking the poetry of the Today group initially used the term Misty poetry as an expression of abuse. Only poetry that praised and bolstered the spirit of the nation (民族) and the CCP, poetry that is of the people and by the people, and in the service of the CCP, could hope to encapsulate truth, goodness, and beauty in their work.[11]

The source of this enmity can be traced back to Mao Zedong's <Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art> (在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话) in May 1942.[12] While interpretations of Mao's comments have varied with changes in the political climate, since 1949 this document has been held over the heads of all Chinese cultural producers in an effort to have them turn out morally uplifting, educational art and literature in a realist mode (socialist or revolutionary realism, depending on the time period in question).

The first sentence of Mao's <Talks> set the tone for what was to follow in the text itself and over the years since 1942:

> The purpose of our meeting today is precisely to fit art and literature properly into the whole revolutionary machine as one of its component parts, to make them a powerful weapon for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and annihilating the enemy and to help the

[9] <Facing the New Rising> (在新的崛起面前), in Yao Jiahua ed. (1989): 9-13.
[10] Yan Yuejun et al. ed. (1987; 5th edition).
[11] *The people* (人民) here is used in a traditional communist sense as referring to those people who are deemed to be supportive or useful to the revolution or the party. See, Ai Fei (1992), for a typical critical attack on all Misty and avant-garde poetry.
[12] Mao Zedong (1968): 804-835.

people to fight the enemy with one heart and one mind.....[13]

Mao went on to state: “Our standpoint is that of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people.”[14] And the people, who constituted over 90 percent of the population according to Mao, were the workers, peasants and soldiers (a holy trinity referred to by the shorthand Chinese term 工农兵), and the “... working masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie together with its intelligentsia, who are also allies in the revolution and are capable of lasting cooperation with us.”[15] Plainly, poets and other artists were required to fall into line with the party if they were to be welcomed into a CCP-controlled cultural establishment. During the wars against the Japanese, the Nationalists (国民党), and the Americans (in Korea and Vietnam), in addition to continuous class warfare until 1976, the line that they had to toe was drawn both clearly and conservatively during most of the following four decades.

Therefore, the fact that *Today*, the journal, was merely banned in 1980, and none of its poets arrested, sent to labor camps or executed, as would have been the case in previous years, indicated that some measure of tolerance or differences of opinion now existed within the CCP literary establishment. Further evidence of this appeared in the publication of state-run media where several articles were published in defense of Misty poetry by such noted establishment poetry critics as Xie Mian and Sun Shaozhen.[16]

In autumn 1983, as part of the campaign to ‘clear out spiritual pollution’ (清除精神污染) launched so as to combat the spread of ‘bourgeois liberalism’ (资产阶级自由化) from the west, an all-out attack was begun by establishment critics against humanism, alienation, and the use of modernist literary techniques in general, and Misty poetry in particular.[17] However, by this time, it was already too late – the damage the CCP sought to prevent had been done. Between 1979 and 1983, a larger number of newcomer poets (generally five to ten years younger than the *Today* poets) in all parts of China had been reading and emulating Misty poetry and formerly forbidden translated poetry from the west. By 1982, they had begun to find their own, very different voices, and the

[13] In Hsu Kai-yu, (1980a): 29.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.: 31.
[16] See Yao Jiahua ed. (1989).
[17] See <1979-1987: A Chronicle of Purges> in Barmé & Minford ed. (1988): 343-352.

emergence of what became known as the ‘Second Tide of Poetry’ (第二次诗潮) began. Other terms used are ‘the Third Generation’ (第三代), ‘Post-Misty Poetry ’ (后朦胧诗), and ‘the Newborn Generation ’ (新生代).

The term ‘Second Tide of Poetry’ can be readily understood, coming as it did in the wake of the ‘tide’ of Misty poetry. ‘The Third Generation’, however, is somewhat problematic in that there are three or four possible interpretations of the term. For the purposes of what is written here, the Third Generation is best understood as a generation of poets following two earlier generations who had experimented with modernist poetic techniques in China: poets such as Li Jinfa and Dai Wangshu in the 1920s and 1930s and poets of the Nine Leaves (九叶）group,[18] such as Mu Dan and Zheng Min, in the 1940s (First Generation); and the Misty poets, such as Bei Dao, Mang Ke, and Shu Ting in the 1970s (Second Generation).[19] A thorough account of these developments can be found in Michelle Yeh’s *Modern Chinese Poetry: Theory and Practice since 1917*.

In part, the rise of the newer poets (not all were younger) was a reaction to what they viewed as the unacceptable dualistic aspect of Chinese poetry – either establishment poetry or Misty poetry. Their dissatisfaction with both types of poetry can be traced to a pronounced generation gap between them and earlier poets. Misty poetry seemed a natural outgrowth of disillusionment with Maoism in the pre-1978 period, and was inaugurated or stimulated by *Today* poetry. The poetry of the newcomers was written against the backdrop of a relatively liberal (by modern Chinese standards), rapidly changing social environment during the late 1970s and early 1980s, and their poetry was a reflection of this quite different background, or individual habitus. This more open and outward-looking environment encouraged the search for and development of new artistic impulses and the growth of individuality as not seen in China since at least 1949. Moreover, as already noted, the CCP attempted to act against these tendencies by way of cultural campaigns, thus stimulating reactions.

[18] The group name was not formalized until the publication in 1992 of *The Poetry of the Nine Leaves Group* (*九叶派诗选*), edited by Lan Dizhi.
[19] See Zhu Lingbo (1987).

In his preface to a 1992 anthology of Post-Misty Poetry,[20] Tang Xiaodu, one of China's most knowledgeable critics of post-1976 poetry, offers a useful – although necessarily generalizing – comparison of the different social-political circumstances and attitudes which differentiate the newer poets, whom he terms Third Generation, from the Misty poets:

-- Misty poetry was a manifestation of antagonism directed against the unified ideological front that had existed in all areas of Chinese society prior to 1976. The Third Generation, on the other hand, evolved out of a society on the road to pluralism (in the realm of the arts in any case) that had witnessed the collapse of Marxism (and Mao Zedong Thought).
-- Misty poets had limited choices in terms of form and content because of the CCP's tight control over culture before the 1980s. The Third Generation, however, enjoyed the possibility of several choices in the environment of relative cultural liberality that accompanied Deng Xiaoping's opening to the outside world in 1979.
-- Misty poetry evinced the crisis of values in Chinese society in the wake of the Cultural Revolution that had done so much to destroy the value system that the CCP had been attempting to inculcate. By the time of the rise of the Third Generation, values of any kind were at best loose, or were far removed from the realities of everyday life.
-- In the wake of the Cultural Revolution, many Chinese artists attempted to reintroduce human and spiritual elements into commonly held morality as a direct response to the ideological and physical excesses of the preceding years. By the mid-1980s however, morality was rapidly becoming just another commodity, an object like any other that could be bought or sold when the price was right.

What Tang fails to note is that the Misty poets' very interest in inculcating moral values to readers smacked of the didactic goals pursued by CCP-sponsored art, as well as traditional, Confucian-influenced art. That younger poets would react against this, and against the moralizing tone of some Misty poets, is understandable when considered in light of Bourdieu's model of the cultural field. Newcomers to poetry, in search of recognition, would accordingly highlight such differences in order to stake a position in the literary sub-field. Because of the different backgrounds, or habitus, of the poets, the poetry of the two periods also exhibited very different intellectual attitudes:

-- Misty poetry was suffused with humanism, thoughts on human nature and lyrical strength, while Third Generation poetry put greater emphasis on the primal state of

[20] Tang ed. (1992): 1-8. What follows is a paraphrased version of Tang's observations, with some necessary expansion.

the life of the individual.

-- The Misty poets enjoyed the lofty feelings engendered by their pursuit of freedom. The newer poets, on the other hand, had to endure the weightless feeling that accompanies freedom attained, even if, by western standards, this freedom was still of a strictly limited variety.

-- A universally held, healthy spirit of skepticism brought Misty poets together, as evinced by Bei Dao's <The Answer>. The sense of responsibility felt by Misty poets was torn asunder by the self-centered, individual nature of Third Generation poetry which was questing after a deeper exploration of individual circumstances, perception and language. 'Man' was no longer a concept writ large as it had been by much Misty poetry as poets strove to empower the self with the dignity and respect lost to poetry during the preceding decades, but was now writ small by the Third Generation, in part as a reflection of a rejection of the romantic-heroic stance of much Misty poetry, and in recognition of the insignificance and powerlessness of the individual in China's modernizing state.

-- Finally, Misty poetry was suffused with a tragic consciousness that accompanied the poet's revolt against alienation – having been somehow expelled from a perceived group, be that the Red Guards or The People. Third Generation poetry, however, was characterized by the sort of empty feeling which results from the acceptance of alienation and from poets perceiving themselves as outsiders.

As individuals perceiving themselves to be outside all establishment conventions, for avant-garde poets there were no limitations on what could be written or on how it could be written. Everything but politics, which was left to establishment poets, was fair game thematically. All forms of diction were now the language of poetry. Standards were those that poets set for themselves based on their understanding of the modern masters (in translation or otherwise) and the often short-lived influence of other avant-garde poets. This situation came about after 1982 and the gradual establishment of the restricted sub-field of avant-garde poetry centered on several unofficial poetry journals. By 1983, polemics among the poets in this 'Second World of Poetry' had already begun and were expressed through groups and their journals. What Tang sketches out is the generally shared *illusio* of the poetry avant-garde in China, and the grounds for claims to the disinterested positions within that field of poets who propound the slogan of art for art's sake.

Avant-garde links with any form of Chinese literary tradition are tenuous at best. It was easy to assail the ideological and formal constraints of the CCP literary establishment's socialist and revolutionary realism, and then to revolt against Misty conventions and style, but much more difficult to locate a literary tradition from which they could work.

This resulted in a great deal of confusion over the importance of literary tradition, the poet's relationship to it, and even over what the term 'tradition' actually refers to. Bourdieu notes that the avant-garde sub-field of culture is the site of continuous polemics over the definitions of who is a poet and what is poetry. The following chapters will show that the only tradition that seems relevant to the events that unfolded in the sub-field of avant-garde poetry during the period under review is that of western avant-garde poetry dating from nineteenth-century France as well as that of the Anglo-American tradition dating from Walt Whitman. However, given the political dangers inherent in claiming such a tradition as one's own, China's avant-garde artists tend to approach the issue in an oblique manner.

Comments, published in April 1993, by Nanjing-based poet Han Dong, are indicative of the unique difficulties China's young poets feel themselves forced to deal with:

> ... Each writer gets his start from reading. Today, therefore, convincing and authoritative works are naturally translated works. We all feel deeply that there is no tradition to rely upon -- the great Chinese classical literary tradition seems to have been invalidated. Actually, this is in fact the case. With the exception of the 'great classical spirit', concrete works and the classics have already been cut off from us with regard to the written language. They are of no use to the writing of today, and the so-called spirit of the classics, if it has lost the immediacy of the written word, necessarily lapses into mystical interpretation and speculation. This point is not only obvious, but it is also gladly admitted to by all. In fact, we have already become orphans of literary tradition.
>
> In search of solace, by coincidence everyone turned to the west. In order to strengthen oneself and also to 'move towards the world', how to graft oneself onto the western literary tradition has become the direction of the efforts of very many poets today. Unfortunately, this goal can only be arrived at indirectly through translated works. In terms of written texts, we study translated works and afterwards write similar things imitatively. Later, they must still be translated once again into English or other languages and promoted to the west in order to capture an 'international market'.
>
> ... So as to remedy gaps in logic, poets have expounded an illusion: namely so-called 'cosmopolitanism'. They think of themselves as first being a member of the human race, only afterwards are they born into a particular nationality and use a particular language in writing. In my opinion this is merely a kind of moral defense and incapable of changing the [fact of] isolation from the [Chinese] written language....
>
> Learning from translated works is the same as learning from classical literature. It can be one of our sources of inspiration. We can only speculate about and imagine the spirit, the interpretations and all the possibilities which lie

behind the concrete written word....[21]

Here we find new evidence of what Lin Yusheng deals with in his book *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness*.[22] Lin shows how, in fact, anti-traditional writers often attacked tradition while apparently unaware that they themselves were still within it. In fact, the argument has been made that this behavior is in itself part of that tradition. How, for instance, can the modern Chinese language which derives from and still retains elements of the classical language be said to be entirely unrelated or incomprehensible? Moreover, how does native tradition become mere 'inspiration' when a poet clearly goes back to it for thematic or linguistic material? Most post-1976 poets, and the majority of educated Chinese for that matter, have read and continue to read the masterpieces of China's classical tradition. The continuing strength of China's linguistic and other cultural traditions begs the question what traditions are truly applicable, and suggests primary borrowings can only be forms and ideas, such as the model of permanent cultural revolution inherent in the functioning of the western cultural avant-garde.

Han's views also go some way towards explaining why China's avant-garde poets have had a tendency to form groups around poetry journals or otherwise. Some groups were loosely based on friendships, charismatic individuals, and general poetic tendencies or commonly held poetic theories. In the former USSR, by contrast, there was only one recorded attempt to create an unofficial literary journal before the mid-80s.[23] Perhaps the continued strength of and accessibility to the modern Russian literary tradition is one of the reasons for this apparent anomaly there, and the lack of such a strong modern tradition in New Poetry one of the reasons behind the tendency to group together in China. Then again, these are the classic tactics of newcomers to poetry as they seek recognition and positions in the field. Nor are they new to China, as such activity was commonplace during the 1920s and 1930s, a situation described by Michel Hockx in *Questions of Style: Literary Societies and Literary Journals in Modern China 1911-1937*.

Having said the newly emergent avant-garde poets were opposed to the romanticism and heroic posturing of many Misty poets, it should be pointed out that this did not

[21] Han Dong & Zhu Wen (1993).
[22] Lin Yusheng (1979).
[23] Edward Brown (1982): 342.

preclude elements of romanticism in their own poetry. However, given the apparent insignificance and powerlessness of the individual and this self-perceived outsider's position within Chinese society – a situation which in itself led to a great increase in the numbers of avant-garde poets late in 1984 or early in 1985, many avant-garde poets adopted an anti-heroic position, and most of the rest took on that of a self-perceived neutral observer. Self-assertion remained an important element, but now the focus was shifted from that of the Misty poets upon the human condition and society in general, to a focus upon the specific details and circumstances of life and poetry. Individual truth supplanted Misty attempts to speak truth for a generation – even if the generation they addressed had been restricted to former Red Guards and rusticated youths during and immediately after the Cultural Revolution period.

The first of the avant-garde unofficial journals were Chengdu's *Macho Men* (*莽汉*) and *Modern Poetry Internal Exchange Materials* (*现代诗歌内部交流资料*) also known as *Modernists Federation*, Nanjing's *Them* (*他们*),[24] and *Day By Day Make It New* (*日日新*) of Chongqing. Having been published without book numbers, these journals were all eventually banned by the authorities, not because of overtly subversive political content – for there was none – but due primarily to the illegality of truly free expression or dissident viewpoints and, secondarily, an intolerance for the poetic themes and diction of the products of the 'Second World of Poetry '. It is also at this point that it became evident to close observers of Chinese poetry that such a Second World existed.

However, repression did not result in a reduction of the number of such publications, but in a plethora of new titles as old groups dissolved after journals were banned and then reformed again under new titles. The production of a journal in China is a matter of collecting the necessary manuscripts and funds, and then searching out a small printing operation that suffers more from financial need than fear of local authorities – a process much easier today than it was during 1982-1992. Furthermore, local repression meant that printing was often done in towns or provinces other than the ones in which the editors resided.

[24] The longest-lived unofficial poetry journal: 1985-1995, 9 issues. The journal reemerged as a website with a bi-monthly e-journal in August 2002 at www.tamen.net .

Between December 1984 and December 1986, six of China's most influential unofficial poetry journals of the time came out of Sichuan, despite what were arguably the most repressive local conditions in all of China:

1. *Macho Men*; Chengdu, December 1984.
2. *Modern Poetry Internal Exchange Materials* (*Modernists Federation*); Chengdu, March 1985.
3. *Day By Day Make It New*; Chongqing, March 1985.
4. *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry* (*中国现代实验诗*); Fuling, September 1985.
5. *Not-Not Poetical Works and Poetics* (*非非*); Xichang-Chengdu, May 1986.
6. *Han Poetry* (*汉诗*); Chengdu, December 1986.

By mid-1986, a small number of establishment literary journals, such as *Guandong Literature Monthly* (*关东文学月刊*) and *The Poetry Press* (*诗歌报*), had begun to publish Third Generation poetry on a regular basis. The latter half of the year was marked by the official Third Generation coming-out party in the pages of the *Shenzhen Youth Daily* (*深圳青年报*) and *The Poetry Press* of Hefei, when the poet-critic Xu Jingya organized <A Grand Exhibition of Modernist Poetry Groups on China's Poetry Scene 1986> (中国诗坛1986' 现代诗群体大展).[25] Of the 65 'groups' (群体) featured, several were individuals masquerading as groups or small groups made up of two or three poets who came together – or were brought together by the editors – just for the occasion. Furthermore, many of the groups had already ceased to exist. Despite this, most were represented by an abbreviated manifesto and one or more poems.

There was a method to this apparent madness, or sickness, as many establishment critics termed it. At the basis of all this loud clamoring was a demand to be recognized as poets and to be taken seriously as such in China. Unfortunately, the limited selection of poetry and abbreviated manifestos constituted a confusing array shorn of context that obscured some fine poetry and allowed establishment and foreign poetry critics to effectively dismiss the lot as immature, talent-poor boors.[26]

[25] Published in book form as part of Xu et al. ed. (1988).
[26] For example, see critical articles published by numerous critics in *Poetry* during 1987.

During a brief period in the mid-1980s, it seemed that all the modernist and post-modernist experiments with form and content were flooding from the west into China during a mad rush to 'catch up', to become part of a worldwide community of poetry once again after an absence of almost 40 years. This same rush was also occurring in many other areas of Chinese life, <A Grand Exhibition> was merely a graphic representation of the seeming chaos that existed in the realm of poetry at the time.

Translations of recent foreign poetry and new translations, or new editions of old translations of foreign literary classics and of western literary theory, both ancient and modern, had begun to flood China's bookstores and establishment literary journals in the early 1980s. Taken together with the influence and significance of *Today* and its poetry, the resulting explosion should have come as little surprise.

However, the favorable turn of events in 1986 came to an abrupt halt in January 1987 when CCP General Secretary Hu Yaobang was forced to resign his post and a campaign against 'bourgeois liberalization' in the arts resulted in tight editorial policies weighted against avant-garde poetry. National negative examples were made of Sichuan's Liao Yiwu and Yi Lei of Tianjin, two poets whose work had been published in the combined number 1-2 issue of *People's Literature Monthly* (*人民文学月刊*).[27] Their poems were held up as examples of the kind of poetry that was not to be published in China: Liao's poem was too dark, obscure, and obscene, and Yi Lei's was considered overly lewd. [28]

At the same time, harassment of the editors of unofficial poetry journals was stepped up. The first of the now seemingly annual campaigns since the 1950s began in early 1987 against illegal publications and pornography. Unofficial poetry journals were specifically targeted as illegal publications. During 1987, avant-garde poets disappeared from the pages of establishment literary journals, the only references to their existence occurring in numerous articles condemning their poetry.[29] In 1988, however, the cultural atmosphere in China was once again sufficiently liberal to allow avant-garde poetry to begin reappearing in official journals and poetry anthologies.

---

[27] Yi Lei, <A Single Girl's Bedroom> (独身女人的卧室), pp. 51-54； Liao Yiwu, <The City of Death> (死城), pp. 58-62.

[28] As told to the author by the poets involved. Liao was suspended from his work, the official literary magazine he edited was closed, and his poetry was not allowed to be published in official literary journals until June 1988.

[29] See relevant issues of *Poetry* and *The Poetry Press*.

By the summer of 1989, unofficial avant-garde poetry journals appeared to have attained for their poets results comparable to those of *Today*: their journals had brought avant-garde poets and poetry to the attention of other poets and poetry critics in China and the west. This led to a limited penetration of the establishment-controlled print media and public discussion of their poetry, and gave avant-garde poetry access to a broader reading public.

The Tian'anmen Massacre of June 4, 1989 proved to be a watershed for avant-garde poets. Many felt that as anti- or non-establishment poets they had an obligation to respond to the situation. However, many other poets lost the impulse to act because of prolonged circumspection during the summer of that year.[30] For these poets self-imposed silence was the only answer they could muster. While their professed neutrality or revulsion at all matters political was called into doubt, and while they did feel an urge to explore their emotions in their poetry, almost all did no more than ponder the issue as they shifted uncomfortably under the weight of impending responsibility. After a respectful period of silence, most avant-garde poets picked up where they had left off -- habit, social and material pressures, and fear ultimately won out over their initial reactions of outrage and horror, and pangs of conscience. A number of these poets, faced with their inability to respond, gave up writing poetry entirely.

This leads one to ponder the thesis propounded by Geremie Barmé in *In The Red*. Speaking of Chinese culture in the 1990s, he states: "... Individual artists struggle to maintain or achieve their independence ... they are faced with a choice of suffering complete cultural ostracism or accepting the State's efforts to incorporate them in a new social contract, one in which consensus replaces coercion, and complicity subverts criticism." [31]

And it has always been thus. Poets such as Ouyang Jianghe and Zhai Yongming, like the Misty poet Shu Ting before them, were anxious to join the CCP's Writer's Association in the early 1980s (unlike Shu, Ouyang and Zhai were unsuccessful). And Liao Yiwu traded on his friendships with elder establishment poets (Bai Hang and Liu

[30] These observations are based on the author's discussions with numerous Second World poets in various parts of China during the summer of 1989 and after.
[31] Geremie Barmé (1999): 2.

Shahe) to obtain an editorial post at a small official literary journal – although he lost this post in 1987 and was expelled from the Association in 1989.

Barmé goes on to apply the thesis of Miklos Haraszti's book, *The Velvet Prison: Artists Under State Socialism*,[32] to current realities in China. While the six cultural-political purges carried out by the CCP over the ten years between March 1979 and June 1989 did little to appease artists and intellectuals, the effects of economic reforms during the same period, and particularly in the years since, have led many to make the compromises required of them. Haraszti speaks of "Naive Heroes" who espouse humanistic values and freedom of expression while speaking out against self-censorship, and "Maverick Artists" who are true dissidents as they reject the state culture and its system of reward for compromise in order to retain their independence. These categories tend to merge into one in the cases of Liao Yiwu and Zhou Lunyou (whose 1991 tract, <A Stance of Refusal> [拒绝的姿态], Barmé paraphrases to conclude his second chapter, <An Iron Fist in a Velvet Glove>). While one may call the gestures of these two Sichuan poets "naive" (Barmé's choice of words with regard to Zhou) or "maverick", in the case of Zhou his choice was made after spending almost two years in jails and prison camps after several years of what Barmé and Haraszti would term compromise and self-censorship. In Liao's case, he ceased all compromising on the morning of June 4, 1989 when he sat down to pen the final two parts of his long poem, <Slaughter> (屠杀), and then wrote the poem <Requiem for Souls> (安魂), which he and six other Sichuan poets produced in video format in March 1990 – after which they were all arrested. Both have continued their careers as poets and literary activists since their release from China's labor camps, but are essentially unemployable, living off what money they can earn while undertaking clandestine literary projects, or off the support of family and friends.

However, these two are the exceptions to the rule. This rule, as Haraszti and Barmé explain it, sees artists pushing outward on the borders of what is acceptable to the state cultural organs, and, after some difficulty, finding what was once deemed outrageous becoming acceptable, if not actually encouraged. Initial cultural establishment resistance to modernist (Misty) and avant-garde (Third Generation) literary techniques and themes

[32] Miklos Haraszti (1987).

during the 1980s has been overcome, and since 1993 most avant-garde poets and poetry are potentially publishable – provided there is a market for them and their work.

As in the west, this is the biggest difficulty faced by avant-garde poets. In China, not much poetry is read in comparison to the heyday of Misty poetry in the early 1980s (for reasons already mentioned, i.e. lack of generational bonds and appeal, etc.). Poets often have to find their own financing for collections and anthologies they wish officially published (which are still subject to limited censorship), unofficial poetry journals are still published (on paper or on the Internet), but primarily due to a lack of money and readership rather than the overt hostility of the cultural establishment. In Bourdieu's terms, and as his research shows, the cultural avant-garde consciously marginalize themselves, primarily producing cultural goods for peers and connoisseurs, and posterity.

Given that by 1986, avant-garde poets had managed to establish a Second World, or sub-field, of poetry of their own, it may seem confusing that they still desire official publication. Part of the reason for this may be due to the absence of universally acceptable legitimizing institutions, of institutions of consecration, as university curricula and official literary journals are still unable to fulfill this role due to continuing CCP controls. In partial compensation, there has been an increase in the official publication of partisan anthologies (many privately funded) that have fueled Second World polemics, which are consequently aired in establishment literary journals and on the Internet, as well as – and often first – in unofficial journals. The result has been the continuing existence of China's Second World of Poetry, especially for newcomers to the sub-field who have less access to official publication than better known, older poets, who may also be invited to poetry conferences in China and overseas. In line with the permanent cultural revolution inherent in the avant-garde, newcomers see these better known poets as being on the road to consecration by the Chinese establishment or overseas sinologists, and thus positions or markers against which to measure their own position-takings – much as the Third Generation had with regard to Misty poets. Consequently, the adoption of this western avant-garde tradition, and a tendency toward art for art's sake, has led to increasing marginalization, a process already well under way by 1986. In China, as in the west, readers must be trained in the aesthetic traditions of the avant-garde by universities and specialist publishers – in other words, introduced to the field – or else poets in China

are reduced to writing for poets, within an avant-garde that has little opportunity to achieve the relative success of its western mentor.

What follows is a record of the path Sichuan's avant-garde poets took from the early post-Misty 1980s, through cultural battles with the establishment and their own internecine travails during the mid- and late-1980s, to positions inside and beyond the pale of the state-tolerated poetry of today's China.

## CHAPTER 2: ZHOU LUNYOU: UNDERGROUND POETRY DURING THE 1970s

As with the poets who coalesced into the *Today* poetry group in Beijing in 1978, there was also clandestine poetry activity in Sichuan before that time. To date the best account of this scene in Sichuan, and the most complete collection of such poetry, can be found in *A Selection of the Poetry of Zhou Lunyou: Burning Brambles* (*周伦佑诗选：燃烧的荆棘*).[33] Zhou Lunyou is the oldest of the poets to be dealt with over the course of this text (born 1952), but also one of the most active during the period in question (1982-1992) and to this day. A resident of Xichang, a smallish city in the southwest of the province, nearer to Yunnan and Tibet than Chengdu, Zhou's poetry circulated among trusted acquaintances in that area[34] prior to the death of Mao and the Fall of the Gang of Four in 1976. However, none of this poetry was officially published until 1999 in Taiwan.[35] By his own account, Zhou began writing poetry in July 1969 – a poem entitled <Words sent from Youth> (青春寄语), said by him to be heavily influenced by pre-1949 poets Wen Yiduo and Xu Zhimo. Before this, he states that he and his elder twin brother, Zhou Lunzuo, had been able to obtain a good number of valuable texts to read in Xichang and its environs, where several encampments of rusticated educated-youths were located. These included the works of Pushkin, Lermontov and Byron, *A Selection of China's New Poetry* (*中国新诗选*), *The Compilation of China's New Literature – Poetry Collection* (*中国新文学大系—诗集*), *A Selection of the Poetry and Other Writings of Feng Zhi* (*冯*

[33] Zhou Lunyou (2002b); some of these poems and related material can be found in Zhou (1999b).
[34] Zhou lists some of these people: his brother Zhou Lunzuo, Wang Ning, Huang Guotian, Wang Shigang (Lan Ma), Ouyang Lihai, Liu Jiansen, Bai Kangning, Lin Yusheng, Xu Xinghe (this last being Xichang's only published poet of New Poetry – in the 1960s).
[35] Zhou (1999b). Unless otherwise noted, all background information and poetry is from Zhou (1999b): 139-167, or Zhou (2002b).

*至诗文选集*), *A Selection of the Poetry and Other Writings of Wen Yiduo* (*闻一多诗文选集*), and *Poems of the Dadu River* (*大渡河诗抄*) by the contemporary Sichuan poet Yan Yi. Unfortunately, these early poems of Zhou's were lost or destroyed as a result of efforts to hide them during periods of high political tension, when Zhou felt there was a danger of having his accommodations searched in 1972, and again in 1973 after Zhou Lunzuo had been arrested for writing a big character poster entitled <Questions> (疑问).

A lifelong interest in Daoism seemingly began in 1971 when Zhou read Laozi and Zhuangzi, and this was followed, in 1972, by the reading of CCP-internal publications of the works of Bakunin and Kropotkin, as well as the poetry of Tagore, Liang Zongdai, and Wang Jingzhi.[36] It is from this year that the first of the eighteen poems in Zhou's extant collection dates:

**<I Stand Watch over a Mountain of Ice>** (我守着一座冰山)
1972/02/12

Watching over a mountain of ice
mouthful by mouthful
I swallow cold ice
hot emotion melts pieces of ice
the ice consumes hot emotion
ice, little by little lessens
the heart, colder with each passing instant

I know
I cannot melt the whole mountain of ice
----- limited resources of heat about spent
but I'm not discouraged: [if I] swallow a bit
this world is a little less cold
there's a bit more warmth in the world of man
more true feeling

Watching over a mountain of ice
mouthful by mouthful
I swallow cold ice

[36] Liang was a pre-WWII poet who later became a translator and professor of literature and foreign languages. Liang was one of the first and best translators of Baudelaire, Valéry and other French symbolist poets, Shakespeare, Goethe, Montaigne, Rilke, Roman Roland, etc., as well as being the teacher and mentor of the well-known poet-translator Bian Zhilin. See Bai Hua (1996a): Part 2, Chapter 3, for more on Liang. Wang was also an early practitioner of New Poetry.

Here there are evident influences of symbolism, intense subjectivity, no use of rhyme (in the Chinese original), and a notable lack of punctuation – altogether strong indications of a young poet who wishes to be 'modernist,' certainly with respect to poetry publicly available at this time. It is also unforgivably – if not criminally – bourgeois, as the protagonist stands alone in his view of the world in which he lives, this at a time when all published poetry was written in the name of the workers, peasants, soldiers or the collective nation in general – with Mao's published classical verse the lone exception which proved the rule. This is somewhat tempered by an apparently humanist desire to melt the 'ice' of China's Cultural Revolution world.

Zhou goes on to record reading, in 1973, several internal CCP publications, including *On Liberty* (1859) by Jonathan Mills, and *Proposed Roads to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism* (1917) and *Principles of Social Reconstruction* (1917) by Bertrand Russell. From his friend Wang Ning, he was able to borrow copies of the discontinued bi-monthly journal, *World Literature* (*世界文学*) in which he read Chen Jingrong's[37] translations of Baudelaire's poetry and a critical essay by Aragon on Baudelaire's *Flowers of Evil*.

Later that year, in November, Zhou put together his first poetry collection under the name of *Melodies of Youth* (*青春的旋律*), which contained 25 poems and an article in lieu of a preface (代序) for the poet, who was supposedly already dead – a simple protective device in case copies of the collection fell into the wrong hands.

In 1974, Zhou read an internally published copy of Arnold Toynbee's *A Study of History*, a pre-'49 edition of *The Complete Works of Lu Xun* (*鲁迅全集*), *Research Materials of the Wei-Jin, North-South Dynasties Literary History* (*魏晋南北朝文学史参考资料*), *Ji Kang's Works* (*嵇康集*), and *The History of Chinese Thought* (*中国思想通史*), edited by Hou Wailu. Like many others at this time, Zhou also began to try his hand at classical regulated verse. Zhou states that he was led to this by way of Lu Xun, leading onto an even greater interest in Ji Kang.[38] Ji came from a fatherless, impoverished background and studied hard to master literature, metaphysical thought and music. His

[37] A member of the Nine Leaves group (1940s) and a noted translator.
[38] A poet and member of the 'seven sages of the bamboo grove', eventually executed. The 'sages' were poets and former courtiers who had retired from civil life in eremitic seclusion near Nanjing.

poetry exhibited a detached, critical viewpoint of society that understandably appealed to Zhou at the time. However, as noted previously, this was also an era greatly influenced by the person and writings of Mao Zedong, and Mao's regulated verse was one of the few permitted literary materials of the time. Nevertheless, it must be said that Zhou's subject matter more closely resembles that of Ji than Mao, even though Zhou does state that he also experimented with *ci* (词), or classical lyric meters,[39] a form that did not come into existence until long after Ji's death, and which Mao favored.

In 1975, Zhou identified with the thesis of Lu Xun's translation of *The Symbols of Depression* (*苦闷的象征*) by the Japanese aesthetic theorist Kuriyagawa Hakuson 厨川白村. In this book, for the first time, he came across the names of Sigmund Freud and Henri Bergson and their theories concerning the powers of intuition and the irrational, and felt himself drawn more to Freud (an influence which becomes readily apparent in Zhou's work in the 1980s). In addition, during this year, Zhou read *The History of Russian Literature*, *On Classical Russian Authors*, *Selected Writings of Vassarion Belinsky*, and *The Aesthetic Writings of Chernyshevsky*. Zhou goes on to state that he was impressed by the sense of personal mission with regard to literature and other pursuits exhibited by Herzen, Belinskii, Chernyshevsky, and others.

Zhou's idealism and reaction against CCP cultural repression was further evidenced by <A Test> (试验; 1975/05/21):

> A rooster
> enclosed in a black room
> roundabout no sign of light
>
> It thirsts for radiance
> shakes wings, and pecks
> at the four walls
>
> The master opens a window ---
>
> A firefly flashes in front of the window
> [the rooster] shouts: it's daybreak
> The master empties a bowl of cold water over it

[39] A regulated verse form that came into existence during the Tang dynasty, 618-907.

Some stars peek in the window
it sings loud: daybreak……
The master rewards it with a stone

The moon rises
it thinks, then says: day……
The master awards it a beating with a stick

Day breaks, it is silent
and mistakenly takes day for night
The master says: This is a sick chicken

This poem seems allegorical – perhaps a comment on how poets and others may react when presented with a glimmer of freedom or hope of it? The master can be read as the CCP, or Mao, and this may be a comment on the second fall of Deng Xiaoping as a result of Gang of Four machinations in 1975, or just the way in which CCP political movements have terrorized Chinese people and made them unsure of even the most basic truths in life – the test revealing their inability to live in truth. Clearly, however, the reference to the rooster might more productively be indicative of Chinese intellectuals in general, especially of the post-May Fourth variety, who had, prior to 1949, been heralds of a new and greater age for a modern China, but who had been locked in a 'dark room' for decades and were no longer able to discern what true light, or freedom, might be, or how to respond to it.

In 1976, Zhou Lunyou continued his self-education with reading <On Freedom of Will> by Schopenhauer and Russell's *A History of Western Philosophy* (1945), in which he found himself particularly attracted to Russell's introductions to the thought of Nietzsche and Bergson. He was also able to obtain copies of *Selected Poetry of Alberti* and *Selected Poetry of Aragon*, both editions published before the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. In addition, he was able to get his hands on a 1957-edition of *The Selected Works of Mayakovsky* and found himself particularly drawn to his early, short poems written while a representative of the school of Futurism.

Many of these texts were also the reading material of other budding poets at this time, such as those of *Today*. Denied university educations, often sent to live in the countryside and learn from the farmers, such individuals were forced to become autodictats if they wanted to pursue intellectual interests. The knowledge of, and the willingness to accept,

the risks they ran are indicative of the strength of their character, their devotedness to the art of poetry, as well as that of their reaction against the current state of the art in China.

How did all this affect Zhou's poetry?

Possibly the title of the next poem translated here – <Dirge of Youth> (青春的挽歌) — indicates the influence of Schopenhauer. In fact, it is a very personal cry of rage and despair, written by Zhou for his generation of youth. He himself was not sent to the countryside or border regions – except for the years his family spent there from the early-1960s on as a result of both his parents being minor functionaries in the pre-1949 Nationalist government in the area[40] — instead Zhou had the 'luck' to be forced to work as a furnace operator in a Xichang pharmaceuticals plant while his friends and Zhou Lunzuo were sent out of the city. Zhou Lunyou, Zhou Lunzuo, and an older brother (driven mad by Cultural Revolution persecution for writing an essay critical of CCP policies at university) had insisted on a course of self-education, despite the objections of their parents who feared that a little education was a harmful thing under the prevailing political circumstances.[41]

…..
O, has there ever been an age in which youth has suffered this fate
In which country have the young experienced our pain
The spirit suffocated, breathing restricted
The shadow of a smile in a dream will also carry terror
We thirst for knowledge, [but] books [we] open are full of empty slogans
We search for truth, but what we get are lies and fallacies
We have hope, ideals, and also millstones
However what await us are shit buckets, metal hoes --- a life of forced labor
The whip of destiny drives us to the borderlands, the countryside ---
Like those columns of prisoners of yesteryear exiled to Siberia
…..

It is of interest to note that this poem was written on the day of, and the day after, the death of Zhou Enlai (Jan. 8-9, 1976) and contains no apparent reference to this fact. Instead, one week later, on Jan. 15, Zhou Lunyou wrote <Democracy is Dead, Long Live Democracy – mourning Prime Minister Zhou Enlai> (民主死了，民主万岁—悼周恩来

[40] Personal communication.
[41] For more details see Day (1994): 99-101.

总理). What makes this poem remarkable is its use of colloquial Chinese and modern poetics – the vast majority of commemorative poems written for Zhou were written in a classical style in the classical language.[42] These poems did not appear in public until the massive public outpouring that occurred on April 5, the traditional Chinese grave cleaning holiday, when thousands of individuals gathered in Tian'anmen Square in Beijing to present wreaths and recite poems written in honor of Zhou Enlai. Mao and the Gang of Four had banned any public ceremonies for Zhou at the time of his death, and the 'illegal' public activity in Beijing and elsewhere in April was quickly crushed by the police and military and deemed counter-revolutionary in nature.[43] At four stanzas of nine long, rhymed lines, Zhou Lunyou's poem is much longer than poems later seen and heard in Beijing, and, being written in the modern, colloquial language, was a very dangerous act at the time. Some lines from the poem indicate just how dangerous:

…..
no solemn rites, also no right to assemble,
…..
For many years, he used an enormous body to protect the people's interests,
…..
Ah, who can make historical judgment, evaluate the feats and crimes of his life?
Us --- the scales in the hearts of the people are best able to weigh right and wrong.
…..
Written lies can never conceal bloody acts!
…..

Here Zhou Lunyou is apparently referring to the political attacks on Zhou Enlai by the Gang of Four, both before and after his death. So far, none of this departs from the other poetry written to commemorate Zhou's death and vilify the Gang of Four (if not also Mao). However, the last stanza is very unusual and deserves a full translation:

Ah, we mourn him, but don't excessively praise,
in a lofty position, yet he was different from that gang of power seekers.
Diligently working, although [he] never gave us special kindness,
we respect him, only because of his upright character and magnanimousness.
Ah, weep! People, mournfully sigh over your fate.
Ah, go berserk! Butchers, quickly give free play to your despotic ways!

[42] See *Tian'anmen Poetry Collection* (*天安门诗抄*). Beijing: The People's Publishing House (人民出版社), 1978.
[43] For more details, see Goodman (1981).

Is he dead? I ask the rivers, I ask the earth ---
No, in the silence of eight hundred million I can already hear rumbling thunder.
--- O, democracy, democracy is dead, long live democracy!

What is very different here is the apparently objective view of Zhou Enlai, a man who had been in the top echelons of the party since before 1949, and who, by that very fact, could not be absolved of all blame for what followed. There are very few, if any, other poems of that time attempting such a balanced view of the man. He was 'good' in comparison to many others, but the man was no saint. To this day, this is an assessment of Zhou Enlai that is seldom heard or read in China. Part of the reason for this is the fact that Zhou was a mentor and protector of Deng Xiaoping. Certainly, 'democracy' – as Zhou Lunyou refers to it in this poem – was never something Zhou Enlai or Deng had much interest in.

In December 1976, Zhou Lunyou compiled his second collection of poetry, bringing together 31 poems written during 1975-1976, giving it the name *Dirge of Youth* from the above poem. At the same time, he also compiled a collection of old-style classical verse under the name of *Bamboo by the North Window* (*北窗竹*), a grouping of 70 poems altogether.

The final poem in the collection under discussion is of interest in how it addresses Zhou Lunyou's state of mind at the time (December 1976) and as a milestone to judge what occurred later with regard to his choice of poetic themes, diction, and technique:

**<Discovery>** (发现) [Dec. 20, 1976]

From cracks between tiles
down drips a little sunlight
I quickly gather it in hands
afraid it will scatter on the ground
a hot current spreads from my hands
the splitting of cells accelerates
blood speeds in circulation
muscles grow tense

Sunlight beats on my hands
I fear it'll leak
through fingers to the ground
scoop it up, drink it down ---

a hot current spreads in my mouth
the tongue becomes straight
the brain becomes rich
the heart, burning hot

Given that Zhou Lunyou had no access to the poetry of the *Today* poets and their Beijing literary salons (there apparently were none in Xichang), there are still some similarities in themes and poetic stance – the loner outside of society, the desire to speak for others of similar experience, the stress on the humanity of the Big 'I'. However, Zhou's poetry seems to lack the optimism and the belief in the possibility of creating a new, more humane 'order' in China often seen in Misty poetry in general, and seems to be more directly critical of current events in China. Ultimately, as seen in this early poetry, he appears to adopt a more adversarial position vis-à-vis the CCP than most Misty poets. This may have come about because of his family's experiences of CCP political repression during the Cultural Revolution.

Zhou describes how his attempts to have some of these poems published in official journals in 1979 and 1980 were all rebuffed (<Discovery>, above, was very nearly published, but finally rejected) and attributes these rejections to this more openly critical poetic stance.

Looking back on these poems, Zhou sees an over-reliance on rhyme, staid line patterns and poetic form, and an inability to rise beyond critical-realist and humanist stances.[44] However, given his confining circumstances in Xichang, Zhou does not feel that this work compares badly with much of what was written at the same time by *Today* poets and others.

Like many others of his age and interests in China, Zhou read the poetry of the *Today* group avidly and set out to imitate them after they appeared in establishment literary journals, such as *Poetry*, from 1978 on. Ultimately, this course of self-study did lead to the publication of Zhou's poetry in various journals. Zhou's <Solitary Pine> (孤松) was published in the October 1981 issue of *Poetry*. *Feitian Literature Monthly* (*飞天文学月刊*) of Lanzhou, in Gansu province, published a group of three poems in its August 1982 issue – <Spring Festival> (春节), <The Mistake> (错误), and <Recollections> (回忆).

[44] Zhou (2002b): 4.

From this time until 1985, several other Misty-style poems of Zhou's were published in the above-mentioned nationally circulated journals as well as *Sichuan Literature Monthly* (*四川文学月刊*) and *Stars Poetry Monthly* (*星星诗刊*) of Chengdu, and *People's Literature* of Beijing.[45]

Two of these Misty-style poems follow:

**<The Solitary Pine>**

A historian
Strolls alone on the high plateau
Time has played a joke on him
He has lost the way home
He stands on a precipice
    staring off into the distance
The stars take the place of his stern gaze
All that remains is a clear head
He continues in his undertaking
Writing his life into chronicles
The rings of the wheel of time
Are a history that will never decay

**<Spring Festival>**

I'm a honeybee
Flying out of a traditional Oriental painting,
On each festival day along my way,
From mugwort leaf and calamus  I gather honey
                in bitter delicate fragrances
I collect a trace of poetic mood
From a mooncake as round as the moon
And a moon as round as a mooncake
I gather a fulfilling desire
From the scattered oblique shadows of chrysanthemums
And cornel, I harvest a homesick melody
Carrying so many stories and legends
I descend upon your pistil
And gather a little pollen
To make a spring of colors

[45] See Bibliography for further details.

Compared to his earlier poetry, it is evident why this verse is clearly more acceptable to the CCP literary establishment. Both poems make use of traditional symbolism – the pine representative of the long-suffering, upright loner-intellectual who remains standing firm in his task after much trial and torment; and the honey bee doing what honey bees do in the spring. No direct or otherwise obvious social criticism here, but this was not a game that Zhou would go on with for long. In the meantime, however, he was learning his craft and enjoying the sight of his name in print, achieving some of the recognition that all aspiring poets desire.

However, at about the same time Zhou was being officially published for the first time, in the provincial capital of Chengdu much else was afoot, as a group of poets began to organize their own version of the *Today* poetry journal for newcomers to the art who were still learning at the feet of the Misty poets.

## CHAPTER 3: *THE BORN-AGAIN FOREST*: AN EARLY PUBLICATION

It comes as something of a surprise how little has been publicly said in China or elsewhere about this earliest of Sichuan's privately produced poetry journals. The works of fifteen poets are featured in *The Born-Again Forest* (*次生林*), of whom ten are Sichuan poets, and five of the total are now prominent and prolific poets known throughout China and overseas. The latter five poets are Ouyang Jianghe, Zhai Yongming, Zhong Ming, Bai Hua[46] and the then Guizhou-based poet-dissident, Huang Xiang[47] of The Enlightenment Society of Beijing Spring-renown. It is also somewhat surprising how little Bai Hua and Zhong Ming have had to say about the genesis of this journal. In the 1990s, both had officially published, lengthy autobiographical books that dealt with developments in Sichuan poetry, focusing to some extent on events during the 1980s.[48]

In Zhong Ming's own words:

> … At the time, I very much wanted to unite northern and southern poets by way of a mimeograph publication even more special than *Today* and *The Rising Generation.*[49] I don't know why I then felt this was very important. I remember that Luo Gengye was responsible for contacting the Beijing poets, but don't know why he wasn't successful. I invited You Xiaosu, Guo Jian, Chen Jinke and Ouyang Jianghe to Sichuan Normal University to discuss putting out a publication. Before this, Wang Daorong had put out *Wild Grass*[50] in Chengdu. We had never met, only

---

[46] Not to be confused with the older, eponymous army writer of the 1981 film script *Unrequited Love* (*苦恋*).

[47] Huang has been resident overseas since 1997. See Andrew Emerson (2004) for details on Huang's life and poetry.

[48] See Bai Hua (1996a), and Zhong Ming (1998).

[49] *崛起的一代*, a poetry journal founded by Huang Xiang et al. in Guizhou in 1980.

[50] *野草*. This appears to be a reference to one of the three issues of this journal produced by Chen Mo and Deng Ken, the first of which appeared in March 1979 during the height of the Beijing Spring period. Wang Daorong was one of several contributors to the journal at the time. Formed during mid-1960s, *Wild Grass* was also one of the earliest underground poetry groups/salons to operate in China. Initially consisting of over a dozen members, another dozen or so entered the group during the 1970s when two poetry collections

> corresponded a few times. But later I included his poetry in *The Born-Again Forest*. With no northern poets participating, I found myself considering the issue of southern poetry. I contacted Guizhou by way of Li Jinxi, a female classmate in the Chinese Department who wrote poetry. From Tang Yaping she got the addresses of Huang Xiang, Ya Mo (Wu Lixian) and Zhang Jiayan. And the poetry manuscripts of Chongqing's Bai Hua and Guangzhou's Wu Shaoqiu, I got from Peng Yilin who was at the time still studying at Sichuan Normal. Zhang Jiayan was the main editor of *The Rising Generation*, and through him poets in Hunan and Hubei also mailed in their work. … .[51]

Here are only the barest of bones about the genesis of the journal, and these are colored by a seeming reticence about certain factors. For example: Is it possible that Zhong would have 'forgotten', or had no apparent interest in, important issues such as why the northern poets did not wish to participate, and why no work of Hubei and Hunan poets was chosen for publication? Aside from Huang Xiang and Wu Shaoqiu, the three other out-of-province poets were Liang Fuqing and Chen Yuanling, both of Guizhou, and Lu Lu[52](Lu Guoxin) of Xining in Qinghai, but formerly a classmate of Zhong's in Sichuan. Zhong must have exercised his editorial judgment, but he does not wish to comment on the subject, just as he chooses not to talk about any of the poetry published in the journal, with the exception of Bai Hua's famous poem <Expression> (表达),[53] which was first published in *Born-Again.*[54] Bai Hua himself in *The Left Side – Lyric poets of the Mao Zedong Era* (*左边—毛泽东时代的抒情诗人*), frequently refers to this poem,[55] but not

---

were produced (1971, 1974). Due to the political pressures of the time, the group changed the name of their journal to *Poetry Friends* (*诗友*), of which 27 issues were produced before it was blacklisted. *Poetry Friends* reappeared in 1988, but after 4 June 1989 two of the group's poets were arrested (Du Jiusen and Xu Lu) the journal closed for a year before reappearing in 1990. Up to 2000, 87 issues of *Poetry Friends* had appeared. Among many contributors since 1979 were the well-known local Misty poet Luo Gengye and the Wholism poetry group member Pan Jiazhu. Two poetry collections have been published in recent years: *A Selection of Wild Grass Poetry* (*野草诗选*; 1994) and *The Path of Wild Grass* (*野草之路*; 1999). For more on this group and the circumstances of various members since the mid-1960s see: Deng Ken (1994), (2000), (2004a), (2004b), and Cai Yongmei (2004).

[51] Zhong (1996): 67.

[52] Lu was a classmate of Zhong's, and, together with fellow classmates Meng Ming and Xiong Yu, put together a pamphlet of their poems in 1980: *One Two Three Four* (*一，二，三，四*); Zhong (1998): 676-677.

[53] Anthologized in Tang & Wang ed. (1987), Chen Chao ed. (1989), and Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992).

[54] Zhong (1998): 677-680.

[55] Bai Hua (1996a); Part 2, Chapters 2, 3, and 4; Part 3, Chapter 5; Part 4, Chapter 1.

once to its publication in *Born-Again*, and then only to say that his poetry was supplied to Zhong by Wu Shaoqiu.[56]

In Part 3 of Bai's book – <Chongqing, 1982-1986; Chapter 3: An English Teacher at Agriculture University>, he adds little to what Zhong has already said, aside from praising him as the editor of Sichuan's first two "underground" poetry journals – the other being *A Selection of Foreign Modern Poetry* (*外国现代诗选*), which also appeared in 1982 and contained the translated work of Dylan Thomas, Wallace Stevens, Sylvia Plath, and others. In fact, it is the quality and influence of the latter journal that Bai Hua praises, while merely commenting on *Born-Again*'s historic value and adding that it was the first underground poetry journal to actually 'look good' (its covers were plastic coated, and black-and-white drawings were interspersed throughout the journal – the work of Guo Jian).

The only other comment by Zhong Ming that is of some value concerns the use of quotations from Marx or Engels in the editor's comments, or introduction, to unofficial poetry journals, as in *Today* and *The Rising Generation.*[57] He refers to this as the "poeticization" (诗化) of these loaded political classics, as well as being an indication of oppositional re-exegeses of the world as read by the CCP. Zhong restricted himself to one line from Engels' <The Development of Socialism from Empty Thoughts to Science> (社会主义有空想发展伪科学): "Although correctly expressing the general nature of the whole state of phenomena, it is insufficient in explaining the details which constitute this general state; and if we are not aware of these details, we cannot understand the general state." Zhong deploys this quotation in a refutation of CCP-establishment critics who were at the time attacking the poetry and poets of *Today* and those who were attempting to follow in their footsteps, experimenting with forms and techniques deemed inappropriate.[58]

It might seem that this citation of Engels is little more than a pre-emptive bit of protective lip service in a nod to official censors, and this may have been the case with regard to *Today* and other Beijing Spring publications. The editors of the first issue of

[56] Ibid., Part 2, Chapter 4: 56.
[57] Zhong (1996): 69.
[58] See relevant essays in Wu ed. (1993); Yao ed. (1989); and Yang & Liu (1985).

*Today* featured a lengthy quotation from Marx to open the second paragraph of the journal's opening <To the Reader> (致读者) announcement. Zhong, on the other hand, buries his much briefer Engel's quote in the third paragraph. In fact, the first line of the quotation from Marx used in *Today* may have inspired Zhong's choice of his journal's name: "You praise the multifarious changes in Nature that gladden eyes and minds, and its endless, bounteous treasures; you do not insist roses and violets emit the same fragrance; yet why do you insist that the world's most fertile thing – the spirit – can possess only one form of existence?" Zhong says nothing of it, but it is not beyond the realm of possibility that his choice of a 'born-again forest', with all such growth entails, found inspiration in Marx as quoted in *Today*.

Already, in 1982, Zhong Ming speaks of a new poetry, moving on from the practice of *Today*:

> … [The time] when a few poems could stir up enthusiasm is already gone forever; those souls who tremble after experiencing storms, in coming to understand the actual bad practice, also begin to calm down; as usual people of the world in the crowded ranks of mankind quickly glance back, and without clearly seeing anything carry on walking forward talking happily, simple-minded as before, as always looking down on self-conscious heroes, and do not dare go against society, as before praising barren hills and letting the Himalayas be obliterated by murky snow and mist.

It is poetry, the new poetry, that is one of the details being missed by society, and the detail that *Born-Again* is meant to provide to those interested in such. Zhong goes on to explain the journal's *raison d'êtr*e in more detail:

> … that poets are dissatisfied with universal indifference, or barbarity, and as a result convey a rebellious spirit is beyond dispute… True poetry cannot appear without impediments, but all in all it carries still uncertain rhythms, a rebirth of a primitively pure nature.
>
> When people reacquire the experience of being poets and become entangled in the delights of poetry, they will ultimately admire our efforts today, and with tolerance and sympathy confirm the art of individuals and the influence of individualization… 'Our religion materializes ourselves within facts, within hypothetical facts; it pins its emotions to these facts, but today's facts are unable to support it; however, in poetry thought is everything … poetry pins its emotions to thought, and thought is indeed fact,' (from Mathew Arnold, <On Poetry>)… this kind of fact must become a thing of

supreme value to people.

Zhong's use of a quotation from Arnold appears to be a counter-weight to Engels' – the social comment balanced by the poetic – and, placed as it is near the end of his comments, seems to carry greater weight. Simply put, Zhong advocates a new social orientation toward the details of the life of the individual: emotion and thought, and, ultimately, poetry as the true embodiment of this. Arnold advocated the study of the English language, literature, and poetry as a humanizing tool to be applied to the newly risen, and still rising, middle class of 18th and 19th century Britain.[59] Substitute the word Chinese for English and it is easy to imagine Chinese poets of the 1970s and early 1980s picking up Arnold's mantel, much as many of China's poets of the pre-War period had done, and attempting to humanize the people of China (like Lu Xun's attempt to be a literary doctor to the nation), if not the then almost insignificantly small middle-class specifically.

A variant translation of the title *Cisheng lin* (*次生林*) is 'Second-growth forest'. This translation is justified by an excerpt from a letter from a forest technician working in Sichuan's Wolong Nature Reservation, which is published on the first page of the journal, before the <Editor's explanation> (编者说明) above and the table of contents. There is intentional irony in this, given that the definition of the term in the letter refers to a forest that recovers after a natural disaster or human interference of some sort. It is easy to connect this with the natural disasters and failed economic schemes of the Great Leap Forward and the early 1960s, when tens of millions died of starvation and related causes, and the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath. However, this term is likely used in reference to the whole of Chinese society, and not merely poetry, ergo its placement at the forefront of the journal, followed by a poetry-centered foreword, which stresses the spiritual dimension. This being the case, the translation of *Born-Again Forest* – complete with all its religious overtones – is preferable, for to say poetry in some quarters of China's Second World has been something of a quasi-religious movement would not be an exaggeration.[60]

[59] See Eagleton (1996a): 21-23.
[60] See Michelle Yeh (1996b).

Another feature of the journal is a brief poetical statement, ranging from one sentence to two paragraphs, from each poet before the presentation of their work. The first of these poets is Ouyang Jianghe. In a nation obsessed with nomenclature as it concerns the CCP hierarchy, who is on lists and where one is on them are of paramount importance. This is particularly true among the poetry avant-garde in initial quests for recognition. The changing structure of this particular nomenclature in the unofficial poetry journals of Sichuan is of particular interest, in as much as this is both reflective of friendships, artistic proclivities, and other not necessarily poetry-related concerns, and very much related to who are the organizers of said journal. *Born-Again*'s 'list', in the form of the table of contents, looks like this:

1) Ouyang Jianghe (Chengdu), 4 poems, 14 pages;
2) You Xiaosu (Chengdu), 4 poems, 12 pages;
3) Chen Jinke (Chengdu), 3 poems, 8 pages;
4) Zhai Yongming (Chengdu, b. 1955), 2 poems, 3 pages;
5) Wang Daorong (Chengdu), 3 poems, 5 pages;
6) Xiong Yu (Chengdu), 4 poems, 8 pages;
7) Lu Lu (Xining), 4 poems, 8 pages;
8) Meng Ming (Chengdu), 3 poems, 7 pages;
9) Zhong Ming (Chengdu, b. 1953), 4 poems, 9 pages;
10) Peng Yilin (Chongqing), 1 poem, 4 pages;
11) Bai Hua (Chongqing, b. 1956), 2 poems, 5 pages;
12) Wu Shaoqiu (Guangzhou), 2 poems, 6 pages;
13) Liang Fuqing (Guizhou), 1 poem, 6 pages;
14) Chen Yuanling (Guizhou), 4 poems, 4 pages;
15) Huang Xiang (Guizhou), 1 poem, 10 pages.

As mentioned previously, five of these fifteen poets are names that are recognizable to knowledgeable readers of Chinese poetry today, and this fact, in and of itself, is quite remarkable. However, with the exception of the one previously mentioned poem of Bai Hua's, the quality of the work is reflective of the early stage of the growth of the born-again forest that was Chinese poetry, especially by poets in their early to mid-20s who had only recently proclaimed themselves to be poets (with the exception of Huang Xiang who was both older and more practiced). First off, there is the obvious group of eight Chengdu poets, followed by the three from Guizhou, two from Chongqing, and one each from Xining and Guangzhou. We know that Wang Daorong was included because his

poetry appeared in an earlier poetry journal – which leaves six poets from Chengdu who apparently were acquaintances of Zhong's.

### *Ouyang Jianghe and Misty Beginnings*

In fact, Zhong Ming, Ouyang Jianghe, Zhai Yongming, and You Xiaosu had been friends since 1981. Ouyang had first met You at Sichuan University, where You was a student, in 1978.[61] This was also the year that Ouyang became serious about writing poetry, and, with the encouragement and introductions of the established poets Sun Jingxuan[62] and Luo Gengye, had poems published in *Sichuan Literature* and *Stars*. In 1981, Ouyang attended a literary activity organized at a steel plant in Chengdu by the plant's literary society and Sichuan University's poetry society.[63] Zhai was there at the invitation of a friend who worked at the plant and for its literary society, and, having made the acquaintance of poets, she turned her previous hobby of poetry into a profession.[64] Ouyang and Zhai also met Zhong Ming at literary activities in 1981, and Ouyang's acquaintance with Peng Yilin at a similar activity led to a first meeting with Bai Hua, when Ouyang traveled with Peng to Chongqing, where Peng lived and Ouyang had attended high school. During 1981-1984, Ouyang became the first of Sichuan's avant-garde poets to be invited to lecture on modern poetry, first at universities in Chengdu and then in Chongqing. In an interview conducted by Yang Li in 2001, Ouyang states that he has never been an organizer or an editor of an unofficial journal, but has rather always been a "core member" (核心成员) and "planner" (谋划者). However, he does not explain why this was the case, nor does he explain what his influence might have been on the many journals he participated in during 1982-1992.[65]

---

[61] Yang Li (2004): 431.
[62] Sun was a 'returned' poet, in other words a poet condemned by the CCP as a rightist in the 1950s or 1960s who returned as establishment poets in 1978 with the rise to power of the 'returned' Deng Xiaoping. In Sun's case, he was branded a rightist in 1958 and sent to the countryside; in 1981, he acquiesced to writing and having published a self-criticism that allowed him to retain his post on the *Stars* editorial board. See Flower (1997): Chapter Four.
[63] Yang Li (2004): 432.
[64] Ibid.: 471.
[65] Ibid.: 433-434.

Given that Ouyang was the first officially published and best known (at the time) of the local poets involved in the journal, it is no surprise to see him chosen by the editors to lead off *Born-Again* with this statement:

> Wanting to express the highest truth, one must transcend truth of an immediate, individual and general significance. Poetry is not a great pile of permutations or a series of purely individual daily experiences accompanied by extreme fortuitousness. To merely remain capturing instantaneous experiences, instantaneous images and instantaneous impulses is far from enough.
>
> Poetry is a look back at every phenomenon in all of the natural world and the whole of mankind's society from every side, after the poet has moved to the highest conceptual and emotional levels, with a vision that has been abstracted and filled with universal meaning.

These poetical statements are of particular interest. In some ways, they are indications of the insecurities and ambitions of the poets themselves, a sort of biographical note that may or may not be as opaque as the poetry that follows. They do not appear in other journals of this type in Sichuan, but do elsewhere in China. They also appear in the first officially published anthology of post-Misty avant-garde poetry: Tang Xiaodu and Wang Jiaxin's *Selections of Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry*.[66] In addition, through the mid- and late-1980s it was common to find such statements before mini-collections of such poetry in the more liberal official literary periodicals, such as *Author Literary Monthly* (*作家文学月刊*) of Changchun and *Guandong Literary Monthly* of Liaoyuan in Liaoning province.

Under the circumstances, this is understandable, as poets sought to have themselves and their art taken seriously once again after, arguably, twenty-three years (if not forty, from the date of Mao's <Yan'an Talks>). During this time, poetry was effectively treated as a branch of CCP propaganda – although poets, such as Guo Xiaochuan and He Jingzhi, did produce works that employed fine poetical technique in service to their chosen master. On the other hand, there is also an urge among newcomers to achieve recognition and distinction in the avant-garde sub-field, or the larger field of poetry in general, and such statements can be read as position-takings.

---

[66] Tang & Wang ed. (1987). Of the authors published in *Born-Again*, this volume includes work by Bai Hua, Ouyang Jianghe, and Zhai Yongming.

However, in the cases of Zhai, Zhong, and Bai, their statements are here restricted to one line. Possibly, it was Ouyang Jianghe's interests in poetic theory, even in 1981-1982, which earned him the right to lead off the collection with his rather lofty-sounding, romantic rhetoric. The other three had only this to say:

Zhai Yongming: Because it is creation left for future lives, my heart will always refuse to lose its aspirations.

Zhong Ming: To look at this world, we only need one eye.

Bai Hua: What the world gives us is only one form of enlightenment.

Moving on to the poetry itself in *Born-Again*, no small number of titles appears to hark back to the nature imagery, if not the titles, of *Today* poetry. For example, the first three poems of Ouyang Jianghe's indicate this influence: <Snowy Night> and <Sundown: Impressions and Feelings>, and the third, <Untitled>, is a title, or non-title, favored by poets such as Bei Dao and Duoduo. There is also You Xiaosu's <Still Sundown>, Wang Daorong's <The Second Month>, Lu Lu's <Twilight>, Meng Ming's <Winter>, Bai Hua's <To Autumn>, and Wu Shaoqiu's <Springtime, A Child Falls into the River>. Also, as with *Today* poetry, plants and animals feature prominently: Zhai Yongming's <Dandelions>, Lu Lu's <Autumn Chrysanthemums>, Meng Ming's <Peacock>, Zhong Ming's <Black Tea> and <Birds in Flight>, and Liang Fuqing's poetic sequence <Wild Beast: A Love Song>. Finally, Chen Yuanling has a poem entitled <Mama, My Time's Stopped> – an apparent response to a famous Misty poem by Liang Xiaobin: <China, My Key's Lost>.

The visual appearance of the journal, as already noted by Bai Hua, was of importance to Zhong Ming and leads one to believe that much thought was put into the choice of the first poem (by Ouyang Jianghe), as well as all the poems included in their totality. Zhong would have been aware that the plasticized covers and the artwork inside would impress readers, as would the name of the well-known (unique in this collection at the time), heavily politicized Huang Xiang at the end of the collection. The trick was to get readers to read more than this one poem, hence its being placed last and so many 'familiar' titles to be found in the table of contents. Ouyang Jianghe's first poem – <Snowy Night> (雪夜)

– thus should be the ‘hook’ to draw readers into reading the rest of the collection. The first stanza reads as follows:

> It’s that coldest snowy night of a year
> quietly gathering up
> the gentle, fragrant talk piled by the fire basin
> together we move toward a vast white wilderness
> move toward a dream of winter
> move into the distance

This hook is intended for those who are able to place themselves within the pronoun “we” – other poets, or friends of poets and New Poetry (many of these would have been found on university campuses in Chengdu and Chongqing, even if they had no real experience of the polar conditions described). It would also have helped that the first named poet in the journal is Jianghe, and not Ouyang Jianghe. Jianghe is the name of a famous *Today* poet, but it is also the given name of this previously unknown Sichuan poet. Many of the readers in Chengdu may have known the difference, but there must also have been a fair amount of confusion, with the only hint as to this Jianghe’s identity in a parenthetical Chengdu beside his name in the table of contents. In Sichuan, their Jianghe was often referred to as ‘little (小) Jianghe’ and the other as ‘big (大)’.[67] He did not take the pen name of Ouyang Jianghe until 1986. Here, in *Born-Again*, it is just possible that both Zhong Ming and he were taking deliberate advantage of the possible confusion among younger, less knowledgeable readers.

In 1982, Zhong Ming had just graduated and was working at Sichuan Normal University in Chengdu. He, as most everyone else, had little money. The mimeographed journal would have had a print run in the low hundreds, and, as with later such journals would be distributed to, and by, contributors to the journal and friends, at nominal or no cost. In fact, the editor and the contributors would probably have known most of their readership beforehand.[68]

---

[67] From conversations with Sichuan poets.

[68] Bai Hua (1996, Part 4, Chapter 5) writes that the journal subsequently came to the attention of the authorities in Sichuan. He relates that when Zhong was asked to explain the purpose of the journal, he replied: ‘To become famous’ (为了出名).

And, so, in Ouyang Jianghe's poem 'we' are talking around a warm fire before setting off on a long journey on a frigid, snowy, windy, moonless night. This is the world 'we' grew up in, are used to, and 'we' walk through it without fear towards a different world beyond this one (走向世界). This would appear to be a reference to the years of the Cultural Revolution, and this hostile environment is reminiscent of that described in several poems written by the *Today* poets and Shi Zhi, many of which Ouyang would have read. The poem is not dated, and could just have easily been written during the 1970s as in 1982, following the crackdown on Beijing's Democracy Wall in 1980 and the subsequent closure of *Today*.

There is a clear reference to Bei Dao's <The Answer> which opens the eighth stanza of Ouyang's ten-stanza poem: "Having spent childhood in an ice-age / you grow into the lord of snow / and are no more afraid of the cold….".[69] While Bei Dao, who was born in 1949, may previously have experienced something other than the 'ice-age' (if this is held to refer to the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath and not the entire period of CCP rule in China), Ouyang (b. 1956) and his fellow travelers seem to feel they grew up in this ice-age, were formed by it, and, at the time of *Born-Again Forest*, still live in it.

Finally:

> A starless night sky
> like a fairy tale without words
> pored over in a blizzard, gradually
> we are also frozen into characters in the tale
> on that coldest snowy night of the year
> at that last watch point on the edge of night

This reference to a 'fairy tale' recalls poems by Gu Cheng (1956-1993), one of the youngest of the *Today* poets, sometimes called the 'poet of fairy tales' (童话诗人). Gu Cheng's poem <A Generation> (一代人) seems to have been written for Ouyang Jianghe's 'we': "Black night gave me black eyes / yet I use them to search for light." Only here all have been transformed into characters in a bleak, frigid fairy tale – 'we' are frozen in place in expectation of a dawn to come, having left behind the comforts of the communal hearth referred to in the third line of the first stanza ("the gentle, fragrant talk

[69] See the first two lines of <The Answer>'s second stanza: "The ice-age is past, / why ice everywhere?…".

piled by the fire basin"). It is possible to read this poem as a position-taking by Ouyang Jianghe, Zhong Ming, and the other contributors to this journal – with the exception of Huang Xiang – setting them apart from the somewhat elder *Today* poets. In fact, with few exceptions (Ouyang and Zhong), the age differential is five-to-seven years on average. However, those few years could have meant the difference between actively participating as a Red Guard during the height of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969), with all this implies, and then being 'sent down' (下放; or 'rusticated') to the countryside for periods of up to ten years, and, on the other hand, being a younger observer of these events before also being sent down for a briefer period of time in the early- or mid-1970s. The term 'educated youth' (知识青年) has been used to refer to both groups however, as they both were sent down after high school or had that education interrupted when entire families were sent down for 'reeducation'.[70] Another approach to this apparent difference could be to take into account how long the individual in question had been writing poetry. Again, with exceptions, such as Zhou Lunyou, most of the post-Misty poets began writing poetry *circa* 1980, and read and were influenced by *Today* poetry. The *Today* poets, once they were published in nationally circulated, establishment journals such as *Poetry* and *People's Literature*, were transformed into pioneers and educators.

The differences between these two general groupings may seem subtle, but they did exist, particularly in the minds of younger poets who could not have shared many of the experiences and worldviews of the *Today* poets and sought to reflect their own experiences in poetry. At this point, while the younger poets were still learning the trade of New Poetry and perceived themselves to be engaged in an effort to reclaim it from previous political misuses, there seems to have been little sense of envy or competitiveness with regard to the famous (in poetry circles, at least) Bei Dao, Jianghe, Shu Ting, *cum suis*.[71] This would follow soon enough.

---

[70] For more of an insight into this, a comparison of the short stories of Bei Dao and Han Dong is particularly enlightening, but is beyond the scope of this study.

[71] An abbreviated age comparison of relevant poets: Huang Xiang (b. 1941), Shi Zhi (1948), Duoduo (1951), Yan Li (1954);
*Today* poets: Bei Dao (b. 1949), Jianghe (1949), Mang Ke (1950), Shu Ting (1952), Yang Lian (1955), Gu Cheng (1956-1993);
'Older' Sichuan poets: Zhou Lunyou (b. 1952), Zhong Ming (1953), Zhai Yongming (1955), Bai Hua (1956), Ouyang Jianghe (1956), Sun Wenbo (1956);
'Younger': Liao Yiwu (1958), Shi Guanghua (1958), Xiao Kaiyu (1960), Yang Li (1962), Wan Xia

It is, however, of interest to note what appears to be a preliminary differentiation of a non-hostile, or non-competitive, variety. This 'we' of Ouyang Jianghe's lacks individuality, and refers to a group of apparently like-minded individuals who could be a generation of younger, or newer, poets, or a coterie of poetry-lovers such as the Chengdu poets (with the possible exception of Wang Daorong) published in *Born-Again*.

Ouyang Jianghe addresses an international theme in <Variation: The Twentieth Century> (变奏：第二十世纪), which opens with: "This is a century that has lost it's virginity…" Here there are references to heroin, nuclear weapons, sex, the Venus de Milo, the deleterious influence of Isms on the arts, the Jonestown massacre in Guyana, the leaning tower of Pisa, Israel, Picasso, and Apollo, as well as the Great Wall and tortoise shell inscriptions.

There is very little of such internationalism in the work of the *Today* poets, who adhered primarily to native subject matter, imagery, and personal experience. While they too must have known something of current events outside of China, contemporary Western artistic traditions and trends, etc., there is very little evidence of this in *Today* poetry – beyond the use of symbolist and modernist poetic techniques in their poetry. Duoduo wrote two poems in 1974 – <Marguerita's Travels with Me> (玛格里和我的旅行) and <Doctor Zhivago> ( 日瓦格医生) – in which similar foreign subject matter appeared, but this poem would not have been available to Ouyang Jianghe.[72] While such subject matter was not uncommon in pre-1949 New Poetry,[73] it would have come as something of a surprise, even shock, to those younger readers who had not yet had access to this older poetry, or translations of western poetry.

In Ouyang Jianghe's poem there is a new voice crying out for admission to a new world – as previously inferred in <Snowy Night> – a much bigger world of which China is merely a part, not all. The *Today* poets, on the other hand, were understandably, primarily concerned with their own experience and a humanization of China, themselves, and

---

(1962), Tang Yaping (1962), Zhang Zao (1962), He Xiaozhu (1963), Li Yawei (1963), Zheng Danyi (1963), Song Qu (1963), Song Wei (1964).

[72] See van Crevel (1996): 142-146; 128-130.

[73] For example, see translations of poetry by Xu Zhimo, such as <Elegy for Mansfield>, <Thomas Hardy>, and <Second Farewell to Cambridge> in Michelle Yeh ed. & trans. (1992); and by Xu Zhimo and Wang Duqing in Kai-yu Hsu ed. & trans. (1963).

poetry after the Cultural Revolution and the death of Mao, and before China's re-opening to the world following the first economic reforms of Deng Xiaoping's CCP leadership.

*You Xiaosu*

Bei Dao's 'ice-age' also reappears near the conclusion to You Xiaosu's <Gold Bell> (金钟), but here it is used in a long, dramatic, lyrical love poem:

"Do you know of the ice-age?"
"No"
"Then there was no love"

You Xiaosu is little know outside of Sichuan, and possibly would not be known at all today if Zhong Ming were not his exclusive champion, writing of him as he has in his three-volume opus *Spectator* (Zhong's translation of *pangguanzhe 旁观者*, normally rendered as 'bystander').[74] Admittedly, You did write daring love poetry for the time and was well-known in Chengdu in the early 1980s, but the following impressionistic – or 'misty' – poem is an example of a superficially apolitical work which strives to apply some of the poetic techniques exhibited in earlier *Today* and Misty poetry in general.

**<It's Still Dusk>** (依然是黄昏)

Seems to be snowing
the time beside me begins to cloud up
snowflakes like a crowd of sleepwalkers
possessing a single direction
yet indifferent to the old one
perhaps only my thought of this moment
in a windless sunset
goes on a immaterial trek

It's still dusk
not one person walks toward me
no beams of familiar sunlight
I have not the slightest doubt
there is nothing before my eyes

[74] Zhong Ming (1998b).

nothing
distant and huge

Must hide
must sympathize
all people are like this
fingers slowly fall from eyes
but nothing can be seen
disquiet and restlessness beset the mind

I hear the sky bend
I see the emptiness of a small stone
looking back once and again
dusk even now as before

This poem is both apolitical and very political, as was much Misty poetry.

This sunset could be a reference to the death of Mao, which would then make this poem a statement about the lack of change since that time (six years previous). Otherwise, the poet stands alone as ever with his thoughts and heightened sensitivities. As with Ouyang Jianghe, there is little or no use of rhyme or punctuation in You Xiaosu's poetry. Ouyang seems to favor regular stanza and line lengths, but You has no such inclinations.

### *Chen Jinke*

The first of Chen Jinke's three poems, <For Y> (给 Y), is a paean to You Xiaosu and the power of poetry – further evidence of You's influence at the time. <Campfire> (篝火), the second of his poems in *Born-Again*, appears to describe the fires that have burnt in the hearts of the youth of the poet's experience – as a young pioneer, or Red Guard – to ill effect; again, "in the final winter" (1976, the death of Zhou Enlai?); and, finally, the real thing "in early summer / by the pretty seaside" and the youth of China… "a crowd of suffering stars happily gather / rise, into deep blue space / forming a new constellation", at which the universe rejoices. Chen's third poem, <Mountain Range> (山峦), is a lyrical, impressionistic account of the Himalayan Mountains in Sichuan, a poetic subject that would be fruitfully mined for years to come. There had been politically motivated hymns to the Himalayas previously, but this was among the first to be written with no political

subtext in evidence, beyond a paean to the uplifting, pure spirit of mountains and, by extension, life and everything beyond the mess of Chinese human society.

### *Zhai Yongming*

Zhai Yongming is the only female poet in *Born-Again Forest.* This might seem to reflect badly on Zhong's editing, but the fact is that there have been few anthologized female poets in the history of Chinese poetry.[75] In 1982, the sole frequently anthologized female poet of classical Chinese poetry was Li Qingzhao (1081?-circa 1150). New Poetry has seen an increase in this number, as could be expected, but still the number is low: Bing Xin (1900-1999),[76] Chen Jingrong (1917-1989), and Zheng Min (1920- ) prime among them. Misty poetry threw up new names, but still not a great increase: Shu Ting, Fu Tianlin, and Wang Xiaoni. Zhai is one of the first well-known female poets to rise in the wake of the Misty poets, but – as will be seen – she and changing circumstances would inspire many more (for example, in Sichuan alone, Tang Yaping, Xiao An, Liu Tao, Xiaoxiao, Chen Xiaofan, Tang Danhong, Hong Ying, and Yin Lichuan).

Zhai had met Zhong Ming and Ouyang Jianghe at unofficial poetry gatherings in Chengdu during 1981. It was also in this year that she came to the attention of the editors, who were also poets, of *Stars*,[77] much as other poets, such as Zhou Lunyou and Liao Yiwu, would later. These older poets, such as Sun Jingxuan, Bai Hang, Chen Xi, and Liu Shahe, acted as mentors to young poets they held to be promising, and the young poets' work was more easily published in *Stars* and other official journals as a result of this relationship. For Zhai, this close relationship with editor-poets at *Stars* would end in 1983 because of increased attacks on Misty poetry by official critics and her mother's illness.

Zhai Yongming has two lyric poems in *The Born-Again Forest*, and both seem indicative of the influence of the poetry of Bing Xin and Shu Ting.

---

[75] In fact, there were thousands of women poets. For more on this, and why they were not anthologized, see Chang & Saussy ed. (2000).

[76] Bing Xin wrote most of her poetry for newspapers and magazines in the early 1920s and collected these in two poetry collections, both published in 1923: *Constellations* (*繁星*) and *Spring Water* (*春水*).

[77] Conversation with Zhai in Aarhus, Denmark, on 28 April, 2004.

**<Dandelions>** (蒲公英)

Who has trodden out shallow footprints in the champaign
A bamboo basket flung onto the riverbank is full of green smells
Wind, gathers up innumerable balls of down
Unfolding a stretch of wingless fireflies
A dandelion is like a white smile
Spreading a mood of Spring

Enticed by this dreamlike miracle
A little girl who's forgotten to cut vegetables
Step by step enters the picture
Purses her small mouth
An illusion floats across the long dyke
A white flame
Lights a pair of chaste pupils

The years long ago regressed the boundary marker of youth
A lullaby occasionally still stirs my childhood memories

Childhood memories were a favorite theme of Bing Xin, as were plant and flower imagery to which it was often linked. Shu Ting also was using much plant and flower imagery at the time,[78] but was more inclined to weave a net of private symbolism linked to themes of love or social concerns. It is not clear that Zhai was influenced by either of these female poets however, as plants and flowers were also a common theme for traditional and modern poetry written by male poets. Furthermore, traditional male poets felt no compunction about writing poetry from what they considered a female point of view. And several female figures did appear in classical poetry: various goddesses, the courtesan, and the good, long-suffering wife chief among them.

So, being a woman poet was a serious business for Zhai, as for any other woman who wished to be known as a poet in China. These two poems come across as juvenilia, even exercises, stepping-stones on her path to maturity and a distinctive voice of her own.

**<Last Night I had a Thought>** (昨夜，我有一个构思)

Last night I had a thought -----

[78] See poems dedicated to mango trees, maple leaves, plum blossoms, rubber trees, locust trees, and irises, etc., such as <To a Rubber Tree> （致橡树）and <Maple Leaves> （枫叶）in Yan Yuejun et. al. ed. (1985).

We ran from a small grass hut to a big river
A wooden paddle supplanted our interface with the ground
To the other bank [we] went
Gathering up a ripeness which arrives with Autumn
Wind comes as if bidden
Waves want to change my course
But I have a compass
The straight-backed mast is me

Last night I had a thought -----
We lit a campfire
In a cold night stood guard over a distant promise
Even though the brook still sobs under a layer of ice
The horizon still keeps a black silence
Our gaze is forever to the east
There a star is
Telling of daybreak and the fall of dusk
Finally rising up
That pillar of light represents the morrow
The rays of morning light prancing on the mountaintop are me

In 1974, at the age of 19, after high school graduation, Zhai Yongming was sent to live in the countryside, or 'rusticated', for two years. This poem seems to hark back to that experience, though without biographical detail beyond an ode to her strength of character at the time (a characteristic of Misty poetry). In hindsight – and also at the time – the symbolic imagery seems obvious, even clumsy, with its echoes of the *Today* poets (dusk, star, daybreak, the mast). Zhai will return to her years as a rusticated youth in a later, artistically more successful poetry sequence <Peaceful Village> (静安庄) in 1985. Most obviously, however, the second stanza appears to be a rewriting of Ouyang Jianghe's opening poem, <Snowy Night>, where the campfire, cold night, etc. can also be found. The friendship between the two Chengdu poets makes such a situation quite possible.

*Wang Daorong*

Wang Daorong's <Small Alley> (小巷) is of particular interest as it is an apparent rewriting of <Rainy Alley> (雨巷) by Dai Wangshu (1905-1950), one of the acknowledged classics of New Poetry. Written in 1928, <Rainy Alley> was one of the

first and most successful poems written in Chinese in the French impressionistic style. It has also been accused of representing an extreme bourgeois, nihilistic trend among some poets of the time.[79] The subject of Dai's poem is a sad memory of a beautiful girl walking through an alley, rendered with a haunting use of rhyme, repetition, and parallelism.

Wang's poem cannot be accused of similar failings, but he does attempt to emulate the form and style of Dai:

Walls
gray, red
white, yellow
walls

at birth
a place of windows

growing green vines and gauze curtains
quietly concealing
venomous eyes
TV and guns[80]

The peace of early morning
struck dead at
the newly painted
small alley

my small alley
reading last words left on
a wall by the wind

standing beside a well overgrown
by moss. Here is a
solitary lilac
like a long lost melody
in death
ancient and at peace…..

[79] In May 1928, there was a violent clash between Japanese troops and the National Revolutionary Army in Ji'nan, Shandong province, and Marshall Zhang Zuolin was assassinated in June, all of which contributed to the rise of a cry for more socially responsible work from artists sympathetic to the CCP. See Gregory Lee (1989).

[80] Appears as "TTV" in the journal; could also be CTV: China TV.

The primary end-rhymes are *–iang* (x 11) and *–ang* (x 6), which are further reinforced by *–uang* (x 3) – a total of twenty characters out of the 111 used in the entire poem. 'Wall' (墙) both opens and concludes the first stanza, and others of these characters appear as line-end rhymes 7 times. While Dai's poem is decidedly melancholy in tone and is far more musical and whimsical than Wang's, Wang's poem conveys an angry tone and message – although why that may be is ambiguous. The alley has somehow changed (newly and colorfully painted), and that change is linked to death, possibly the death of an ancient way of life, symbolized by the lilac. Guns and malevolence fill Wang's alley, instead of Dai's rain and memory, and the "last words" on the wall may be the remains of an execution notice, all too common during the Cultural Revolution. The fresh paint hints at renewal of a sort, perhaps referent to Deng's so-called reforms, but the poet reveals this as a dangerous facade. Written in China in 1982, after the closure of *Today* in 1980, and with the recent crackdown against bourgeois liberalization and the ongoing attacks on Misty poetry, this poem seems to be addressing Chinese current reality, very unlike Dai Wangshu's.

It is also worth noting, that if this poem was, as Zhong Ming suggests, selected from an issue of the officially banned *Wild Grass*, Zhong was also making something of a political statement by including it and two other poems by Wang in *The Born-Again Generation*.

### *Xiong Yu*

A rewriting of Gu Cheng's <A Generation> appears again, this time in the final lines of Xiong Yu's <Someone knocks at the door> (有人敲门). Here "Black night gave me black eyes / yet I use them to search for light" becomes:

Du Du Du

The top is spinning
It's a sun rising out of a cemetery
that falls into the black eyes of a child

All Gu Cheng's romantic heroism has been stripped out. The poem renders China as a wasteland represented by a deserted, crumbling courtyard, house, temple and, finally, cemetery. Moreover, Xiong Yu seems a very conscious product of it. The mood is much the same in his other poems: <Strolling> (散步), <The Beach> (沙滩), and <The Song of Stones and Us> (我们和石子的歌).

*Lu Lu*

While Lu Lu's work is, for the most part, almost as bleak in tone, he does hold out hope: poetry and love as antidotes to the seemingly omnipresent malaise. Most interesting, for the time, was his modernist experimentation with form in the poem <Weariness> (倦):

**1**

when that cruelly hot eye
finally closes behind a mountain
the earth punished till numb
then disgorges a long long breath ……

**2**

like a shadow
I walk watching the night sky
my shadow follows close
one dark shadow piled on another

**3**

sound clock

clock sound

clock
。
。
。
sound

**4**

the sky is a great lid
----- releasing a pattering rain
an umbrella is a little lid
----- rain falls in a patter

**5**

the gateway to hell
truly is inscribed with a line of heavy black characters?

**6**

“Freeze the brain!”
this idea is really amusing
----- the steel plate is damn hot

**7**

sound clock

clock sound
clock
◦
◦
◦
sound

**8**

Really, walking at night
why ever open your eyes?

**9**

Tomorrow……
Tomorrow……

Is this a poem written by an insomniac?

The sequence opens with an ‘aabb’ end-rhyme scheme. Is this a beautiful ending to a very hot day? Glad for the sun to be gone, anyway. Rhyme does not reappear in any of the other segments. However, what follows is seemingly a description of the mental torture an insomniac might endure: the oppressive nature of shadows and darkness in segments 2, 5 and 8; obsession with sounds (clocks and rain) and the passage of time in 3,

5 and 7; and something bordering on madness in 6, concluding with what can be taken as a plea, a prayer, or a promise: tomorrow – but it may never come, or, at the least, is not yet here. Again, this may also be read as alluding to the death of Mao and the intervening six years. Experimentation with character layout on the page, as in segments 3 and 7, was not unknown before 1949, but now this – like so much else – was new and unfamiliar again, especially for establishment literary hacks who had nothing good to say about it.[81]

Comments by Gu Gong in response to Gu Cheng's <Love me, Sea> （爱我吧，海） are exemplary:

> I understand my child Gu Cheng's poetry less and less, and am getting angrier and angrier……
>
> Reading on, my fury increases: Too downcast, too frightening!…[82]

### *Meng Ming and Zhong Ming*

The motto set before Meng Ming's three poems reads: "I hope every one of my words is true." Moreover, his poems are marked by a good-natured earnestness, dealing with emotions, mutual understanding, freedom, and beauty, and, unusually, portraying winter in an eponymous poem as a harbinger of spring.

Meng is followed by Zhong Ming and the unrelenting bleakness of the world glimpsed through his eyes in a selection of four poems: <Jumping from the House> (跳房) on escape and preparations to do so from cultural tradition; <Meaningless Fragments> (没有意义的片断) on misery and death; <Black Tea> (红茶菌)[83] about a world like a sealed bottle, full of troubles and emptiness, in which only words and poetry give nourishment; and <Flying Birds> (飞鸟) on being trapped in a brutal world of birds – birds carrying

---

[81] See Yao ed. (1989), especially essays by Gu Gong (Gu Cheng's father), Gong Mu, Gong Liu, and Zheng Bonong.

[82] This is excerpted from Gu's <Two Generations – Talking from poetry's "incomprehensibility"> （两代人—从诗的"不懂"谈起）, first published in the October 1980 issue of *Poetry*, in Yao Jiahua ed. (1989): 35-43.

[83] Dedicated "to the poet B. H." (致诗人 B. H.), who may or may not have been Bai Hua, although Zhong has claimed that he had yet to meet him and had only read his poetry. Possibly this is a poetic response to Bai's work – the poem's theme would seem to be appropriate.

the sense of alien, incomprehensible chaos. This last poem is of some formal and stylistic interest. Firstly, beneath the title are two lines of poetry in English:

> We are the hollow man
> We are the stuffed man
> T. S. Eliot <THE HOLLOW MEN>

The girl Junzi[84]
died my heart
simultaneously died too

A heavy
shade flew over
black reed blossoms fill the brain

Giant hornets
on a bomb run
again we see Proserpine[85]

Seizing her
flowers thrown into
an incomparably black heart

The sumptuousness of a summer night
pulls in its wings
lays a wedding bed

Welcoming everlasting
days and a comatose naked body

A pair of white
ducks descend

Feathers gently quiver
a return to ribs[86]
completing the holy joining

Blazing daylight
we die
love causes us to live again

---

[84] [Zhong's note] "In the summer of 1980, because of shattered ideals and the indifference of her mother and the world the multi-talented Junzi unfortunately killed herself in Beijing."
[85] [Zhong's note] "Proserpine: The Queen of Hell."
[86] [Zhong's note] "*New Testament* Chapter 2: Jehovah made Adam from dust, and afterwards took one of his ribs and made Eve for his companion."

In a kingdom of birds
I curse
traps  killing
the alliance of great boom nets

References to Eliot, Proserpine, and the Bible indicate future developments in Zhong's poetry, and some similarity in interests between him and Ouyang Jianghe. Whether this liberal importation of western poetic tradition and culture into Chinese poetry is appropriate is a question that has bedeviled New Poetry since its inception. Forms, techniques, and the use of colloquial language are a lesser issue which most writers, readers, and critics of New Poetry have more or less come to terms with. However, poems such as this were often attacked as elements of a vanguard of 'wholesale westernization' (全盘西化). In fact, a campaign against Misty poetry and, more broadly, bourgeois liberalization was underway just at the time *Born-Again* appeared. While it seems that the poem is meant to be read as no more than a memorial for a friend, there is good reason not to do so, apart from the public nature of its appearance here. Zhong's later poetry will see a much deeper mining of the western cultural tradition, as well as of the Chinese – a truly difficult experience for even the most devoted of poetry readers in any language. Possibly, at this stage, Romantic and Victorian poetry, earlier New Poetry, and the modern Russian poets, Osip Mandelstam and Boris Pasternak, among other influences, inspired Zhong. (Both Ouyang Jianghe and Zhong Ming translated poems of, and wrote poems on, Mandelstam and Pasternak in later years.)

However, does the poem succeed artistically? In 1982, the appearance of Greek and Christian mythology in a Chinese language poem written in China would have been somewhat shocking – certainly not what was practiced by *Today* poets, and only familiar to those who remembered pre-1949 New Poetry or had access to such earlier poetry and translations of western poetry. Equating Junzi with Proserpine and Eve might seem excessive, but is perhaps explained by the Cultural Revolution and the verbal excesses of that time. The showy use of two lines from Eliot's <Hollow Men> is uncalled for, as it only seems to connect with the closing denunciation of the state of Chinese society. Eliot's poem was written in criticism of a world lacking beliefs and faith in general, while

Zhong's mix of Christian and pagan imagery here has more in common with Romantic and Victorian poetry than with that of early modernism.

### *Bai Hua and Peng Yilin*

Following Zhong, after a single poem by Peng Yilin – apparently a love song to his hometown, Chongqing, <The City: A Love Affair Suddenly Ignited> (城市：突然触发的一次恋爱) – there are two poems by Bai Hua, also a native of Chongqing, but written while a student in far-off Guangzhou. According to Bai Hua,[87] from the autumn of 1981, for one year he read and studied the translated poetry of Baudelaire, Verlaine, Valéry, Mallarmé, and Rilke, among others, learning the art of Symbolism. In his words, he learned anger from *The Flowers of Evil*, sighs from Verlaine, and colorlessness and frailty from Valéry, and these allowed him to find a voice to express his own dirges. <To Autumn> (致秋天), the first of the poems here, is an example of his newly acquired skills:

Autumn rolls in
the blue of the ocean spreads toward land
throwing a big piece of sorrow at mankind
a heavy, deep yellow
comes sweeping across the horizon

I want to protest against this color
a season that should be cursed
a seaside with no teeth
a prematurely bald prairie
a cast-off woman
a blind codger
flocks of white butterflies
a dried-out heart
a moldy dream

The season and the color entangles naked lamp-light
tosses a multi-colored misery all over the street
lights the fire of a large tract of pain
the fire of fatigue, the fire of mayhem
that everlasting, fiery melancholy
burns out the last, lonely autumnal sun

[87] See Bai Hua (1996a), Part 2, Chapter 2.

It seems clear that this poem is heavily influenced by Baudelaire's practice of *correspondances*, the idea that sensations are not merely sensations, but that they can convey an array of thoughts or feelings. The following poem, <Expression> (表达),[88] while in the same vein, however, is far more original and daring in conception, while still quite raw in practice. According to Bai, he had seen 'expression' as the title of an English-language poem in early 1981, and was so entranced by the word that it stayed with him and became the title of this poem written in October 1981 – though he has no recollection of having read the English-language poem itself.

In *Born-Again*, beneath the title to Bai's poem there is a single line from Samuel Beckett – "People live within an unspeakable feeling of sorrow"[89] – which is not found in any later published version of the poem. Thus, Bai hints not only at a difficulty of expression, but at a parallel existential aspect as well.

I want to express a mood
a white sentiment
This mood can't speak for itself
Neither can you feel its presence
But it exists
It comes from another celestial body
only for this day, this night
does it come into this strange world

It's desolate yet beautiful
dragging a long shadow
But it can't find another shadow to speak with

If you say it's like a stone
cold and silent
I'll tell you it's a flower
The scent of this flower moves stealthily under the night sky
Only when you die
does it enter your plain of awareness

Music is incapable of carrying this mood
Dance can't express its form

[88] This poem was officially published for the first time in Tang & Wang ed. (1987): 118-120.
[89] 人活着有一种不可言喻的悲伤感.

You can not know the number of its hairs
and don't know why it is combed in this style

You love her, she doesn't love you
Your love began last year on the eve of Spring
Why not this year at the dawn of winter?

I want to express a mood of the motion of cells
I want to ponder why they rebel against themselves
bringing to themselves odd stirrings and rage

I know that this mood is hard to express
Like the night, why does it fall at this moment?
Why do you die now?
I know that the flow of blood is soundless
Though tragic
this iron-paved earth will not be melted by it

The flow of water makes sound
The crackle of a tree makes a sound.
A snake wound around a frog makes sound
This sound presages what?
Does it mean to pass on a particular mood?
Or express a philosophy contained within it?

There are also those sounds of crying
Those inexpressible wails
The sons and daughters of China have wept beneath the ancient walls
The true children of Christ have wept in Jerusalem
Tens of thousands have died at Hiroshima
The Japanese have wept
Those who died for a just cause, and the timid have also wept
But all of this is hard to understand

A white mood
An inexpressible sentiment
on this night has come into this world
beyond our vision
within our central nerve
it silently shrouds the entire universe
it won't die, neither will it leave us
in our hearts it goes on and on
it can't be calmed, can't be sensed and known

What begins as a highly personal expression of a sentiment (which at the same time is universalized through use of the pronouns ‘you’, ‘she’ and ‘I’) is suddenly wrenched into the realm of hackneyed imagery and the cant of politics in the last two stanzas. Perhaps Bai was still not sure of the feasibility of purely personal expression in 1982, while the poetic environment in which he moved was still highly politicized. He may also have been merely keeping his head down, wary of attacks from official literary hack-critics. Possibly, he was also unsure of his audience’s ability to process and comprehend lyrical ambiguity rooted in purely sensory experience. This poem, like several others written over the course of the next few years, is concerned, in part, with the various difficulties of poetic expression. Bai makes it a practice of restating the familiar in unfamiliar ways. His unique brand of lyricism features cognitive angles and perspectives that are regularly askew in his pursuit of words to express the seemingly inexpressible.

### *Wu Shaoqiu, Liang Fuqing, and Chen Yuanling*

Following on, Wu Shaoqiu’s poems consist of two bleak studies: <Spring　A Child Falls into a River> (春天，有一个孩子掉进河里) exposes the differences in winter between the north and the south of China, and the unremembered disappearance of a child;[90] and <Thirteen-line poem> (十三行诗)[91] reveals bleakness and loneliness as dawn is followed by a storm. Both poems may be read as referring to the crackdown following the Beijing Spring period in China. There follows a sequence of seven poems by Liang Fuqing entitled <Wild Beast　Love Song> (野兽　情歌) – a bleak rendition of life in the countryside, presumably as a rusticated youth. The editors place four short poems by Chen Yuanling after this: <Position> (方位) sees the poet lost with no place in the world, <Adventure> (探险) has him on a journey of self-discovery, and <Boulders> (岩石) sees him risen with sight of a dark world and memory of a bloody past.

The third of these four, however, is of some interest in relation to a famous Misty poem by Liang Xiaobin: <China, I’ve Lost My Key> (中国，我的钥匙丢了), a very political

[90] See Maghiel van Crevel (2005) for comments on the possible influence of this poem on the later work of the Beijing poet Haizi: <Spring: Ten Children Haizi> (春天，十个海子).
[91] This seems to be a take on 14-line poems (十四行诗), as sonnets are called.

poem, dealing with rootless, discarded feelings of former Red Guards and rusticated youths. The title of Chen's poem – <Momma, My Time's Stopped> (妈妈，我的时间停了) – appears a deliberate echo of, or response to, Liang's:

Cries at falling to earth,
a sprung hour hand.
A clock of life born with difficulty.

Coquettish tears,
a fixed minute hand.
A morbid clock of life.

Riotous dream-shades,
gulp down the second hand.
A malformed clock of life.

Momma, my time's stopped,
an exposed soul,
buried time,
a rotten clock of life.

Held up against the highly personal, self-pitying poem of Liang's, this strikes a more modernist tone. Here there is no reference to an evil past shared by many, but a continuing bleak situation without heroes or victims, a (clock of) life in China that is still difficult, morose, deformed and corrupt, shorn of the naive hopes and plaints of poems like Liang's. 'Momma' and 'China' are interchangeable here and in Liang's poem – Chen's use of momma instead adds to the sense of irony with which this poem is imbued.

*Huang Xiang*

The last ten pages of *Born-Again* are given over to Huang Xiang and eight parts of his long "psychological narrative"[92] poem, <Cries out of a Nightmare – A Living Tombstone> (魇 – 活着的墓碑). Below the title is a brief verse that further clarifies the poem's subject matter for the prospective reader:

[92] Huang's words: 99 (心理叙事诗). A translation of the poem in its entirety can be found in Andrew G. Emerson (2004).

I feel I am already dead
But I still live
This poem of mine
    is the music of death
is a living tombstone

This is followed by a prose preface and a verse introduction (引子), then six poems selected from two of at least ten sections of the poem. Huang seems to attempt to recreate the long, flowing lines of Whitman here (and in most of his previous and subsequent poetry). The selections here dwell on various tragedies, the crises of thought, faith, and morals of Huang's generation – which, given his age (b. 1941), would include all those born into post-1949 China. He quests after man's truth, a way out from an unnatural world not of his choosing, thus striking the very Romantic figure of the lonely cultural hero.

*In Conclusion*

This is a dire conclusion to *Born-Again Forest*, although there was never much hope for more than this, despite Zhong's choice of the journal's name. After all, the leadoff poem did start on a dark, cold, snowy night – written by a poet (Ouyang Jianghe) living in Chengdu! This symbolism frequently employed by *Today* poets like Bei Dao and Mang Ke – true northerners – is evident throughout *Born-Again.* The poets here are still, to lesser or greater extents, students of the Misty poets. Bai Hua is a notable exception.

If there is anything that can be called a 'Sichuan' voice in *Born-Again Forest*, it must be the apparent perception of the poets themselves to be still living in an 'ice-age', possibly moving towards something better, but more likely than not this would be some other country or some other future – they are seeking to enter 'the world', but still reside in a dark, restrictive China (Ouyang Jianghe, <Snowy Night>). There is evidence of alienation from both China and Misty poetry, a feeling of powerlessness and a struggle to give voice to the self: a self shorn of optimism and the romantic, heroic 'I' evident in much Misty poetry. Perhaps the lack of the experience of being Red Guards during the anarchic days of 1966-1969 left the somewhat younger poets with no illusions about their

individual – or group – power to change their conditions through personal action, much less poetry (with the possible exception of Huang Xiang). This generalization could just as easily be applied to many other poets of similar experience, or lack of such, elsewhere in China. However, this does seem to be the first noticeable beginning of a turning away from the poetry of *Today*, certainly the first such collection of like-minded individuals that evidence this in China. With regard to poetic technique, they may have still been learning from Misty poetry, but thematically there are signs of movement off in different directions. Some proof of this is in the reworking of famous images from Bei Dao, Gu Cheng, Shu Ting, and Liang Xiaobin.

So, in the end, Zhong Ming's attempt to unite new Chinese poetry, north and south, fails in more ways than the simple fact of being unable to recruit poets from the north. Yet, here is also something new, a darker vision of individuals alienated from the country and culture in which they live. If not accusingly screaming out to be recognized and valued as individuals and poets, like Huang Xiang, there is a muted recognition of a similar bent in their choices of subject and voice in this collection. Zhong's decision to include poetry by Huang Xiang indicates that he was aware of this affinity. That said, Zhong's silence on these issues in later recollections is perhaps indicative of present disapproval or disavowal of past actions and earlier poetry. If this is true, he has clearly misjudged the position and value of his journal in the development of avant-garde poetry in China in general and Sichuan in particular.

In 1991, in an interview with Maghiel van Crevel,[93] Zhong Ming was very outspoken about having helped move the 'center' of contemporary poetry southward by means of *Born-Again*, which he claimed to have been a 'large-scale', influential underground poetry journal. However, this is a rather far-fetched claim on Zhong's part. During the author's years in China (1982-1984, 1986-1988, 1989-1991), while collecting materials and conversing with avant-garde poets in all parts of the country, there was no mention of this journal by anyone other than Zhong Ming, Ouyang Jianghe, and a few other Sichuan poets. Still, the journal evidently was a major influence on poets in Chengdu and Chongqing, and this in itself was an important achievement, as the journal stands as proof of a preliminary stage in the development on Sichuan avant-garde poetry. Chinese

[93] Notes taken by Maghiel van Crevel at the time (unpublished).

literary critics would take up this North-South issue during the 1990s, and this would develop into a major polemic in 1998-2000 in which Zhong Ming would play his part. Whether Zhong Ming and his journal were early indicators of the existence of such a split, or the precipitators of it, is an issue that may be worthy of further study.[94]

In 1982, in *Born-Again Forest*, there was yet no apparent animosity directed at the better-known exemplars of Misty poetry. None of the poets in this journal would ever explicitly take part in such a polemic. This would come soon enough, as shortly after the appearance of *Born-Again* ambitious, even newer newcomer poets in Sichuan would begin a revolt against China's official cultural orthodoxy and literary classics – both ancient and contemporary, including Misty poetry.

[94] See further comments on this issue in the Conclusion to this text.

# CHAPTER 4: MACHO MEN OR POETS ERRANT?

## Poetry on University Campuses

By 1980, poetry, or writing, groups probably existed in every university in China. Zhong Ming attested to the presence of self-published poetry collections circulating on Sichuan's university campuses in the previous chapter, specifically his group's journal *One, Two, Three, Four* (一，二，三，四).[95] Some of this activity may have been inspired by the *Today* group in Beijing, but the majority of these students would have known little of them, aside from the few officially published poems, and would have been taking advantage of the new, relative freedoms of association and expression. This was abetted by Chinese intelligentsia's traditional love of literature in general, and poetry in particular. Students were living in relative isolation in walled campuses where comings and goings were closely monitored and only authorized visitors were allowed to enter. There were curfews and single-sex, same-department dormitories that were also policed. However, under varying degrees of school and CCP supervision, students were encouraged to create their own social and cultural life within campuses.

The explosion of poetry groups out of these educational quarters and into society in 1984-1985 in Sichuan was to some degree triggered by one poet-activist who had a foot in the campuses of schools in Chengdu and Chongqing – Wan Xia (b. 1962). A resident of Chengdu, though born in Chongqing, Wan was a student (class of 1980) in the Chinese department of the Teacher's College in Nanchong, a town of 200,000, equidistant to the east of Chengdu and to the north of Chongqing. There were groups of students from both

[95] This group consisted of himself and classmates Xiong Yu, Meng Ming, and Lu Lu at the Teacher's University in Beipei, a suburb of Chongqing, in 1980-1982.

these metropolises and many more from the countryside and small towns in eastern Sichuan attending the school.

In <Heroes and Toughs> (英雄于泼皮),[96] Li Yawei (b. 1963 in Youyang, class of 1979) briefly describes the genesis prior to 1984 of the poetry group that would take the name of Macho Men:

> During their time in university, Wan Xia with Li Xueming, Zhu Zhiyong, and others put together *Rainbow* (*彩虹*); I, Hu Yu, and others did *An Instant* (*刹那*); and because these groups of poetry wall-poster-paper (诗歌墙报) makers used Gold Shield brand hardcover notebooks to write in, they united to form *Gold Shield* (*金盾*). Hu Dong was the head of the *Flowers of a Hundred Colors* (*百色花*) poetry society at Sichuan University [in Chengdu]. These activities and 'writing groups' (写作班子) can be said to be the prelude to the Macho Men group (流派). From the start they seemed to hint at this generation of poets' fear of solitude, need of the collective, and an inability to leave the organization; later ….. the appearance in their hundreds and thousands of poetry societies all over China was a clear-cut illustration of this point.

As Li goes on to point out, it was as if these younger student-poets felt the need for collective action as a way of making up for what they had missed out on, but had observed at a distance – the collective activities of the Red Guards and rusticated youth of the 1960s and 1970s. Many of the poets born in 1960, or later, would not have witnessed the extremes of violence during 1966-1969. Instead, it was the free rides on trains all over the country, being reviewed by Mao Zedong on Tian'anmen Square, collective action without adult leadership or supervision, and even being sent to the countryside in the 1970s that might seem romantic to a boy in the countryside such as Li Yawei. Especially as it was from these youths Li had been able to borrow translations of works by Platonov, Hegel, Pushkin, and other foreign writers at the time.[97]

Yet, this seems a far too simplistic explanation. The isolated conditions in which Chinese students of higher education were forced to live were combined with what students like Li Yawei and Wan Xia, felt was bad teaching methodology, bad teachers,

---

[96] Li Yawei (1996a).

[97] Unless otherwise noted, the background material for this chapter can be found in separate interviews with Wan Xia and Li Yawei by Yang Li in November, 2001, in Chapter 4 of *Splendor* (*灿烂*); Yang Li (2004): 189-268.

and a bad selection of literary materials – an unsurprising fact what with the reopening of universities after as much as a twelve year hiatus in 1978.[98] This situation led students to seek out other avenues to education and life. Li goes as far as to say: "One thing that I will take pride in till the end of my life, is that my endless skipping of class totaled over three years at least [of the four spent at college]."[99]

Wan Xia, for instance, turned his attention to several other activities beyond school and his love of poetry: he learned to play the guitar and mouth organ, was known as a fashionable dresser, even though he had to find money by selling whatever could be sold on the local markets (most students had to get by on what little money was sent from their families) – money that also financed drinking and womanizing. Li Yawei was neither the fop Wan was, nor the successful womanizer, and had joined the school boxing club. Wan, on the other hand, was arrested in 1981 along with one other classmate (three others were released without charge) for a drunken brawl in the town that occurred after a disco he and his friends had organized.

According to Li, he first met Wan Xia in his third year, 1982, because of their common pursuits of skipping class, womanizing, and fighting. Li says of himself that he was not much of a poet at the time, and was primarily influenced by Pushkin and Xu Zhimo, while Wan and Hu Dong were more influenced by the songs of Taiwanese pop-star Deng Lijun and others then popular on campuses in China. Prior to university, like many others during the 1970s influenced by Mao Zedong's poetry, Li had first self-studied classical regulated verse and written traditional-style poetry. It was Wan Xia and Li's classmate Hu Yu were the best poets at the time. Hu Yu would ransack the libraries for pre-1949 translations of western poetry of every Ism, and work to emulate these. No poetry of Li's pre-1984 phase is extant (all were confiscated by the police upon his arrest for involvement in the Liao Yiwu poetry-based performance-art video case in March 1990). Here is one of Hu Yu's poems:

---

[98] This situation was witnessed and experienced by the author as a student at Shandong University (1982-83) and Nanjing University (1983-84). During the early 1970s, some universities were reopened and offered 2-year technical degrees to specially selected students – the poet Zhai Yongming was a graduate of such a program.

[99] Li Yawei (1996a): 132.

**<Window Flower>** (窗花; October 18, 1983)[100]

From out of the unclear outline of the riverbank
you insert
a champaign in autumn
in my firm chest
making the autumnal sun sing out your joy
making joy illuminate the path beyond the door
and on your shadow too
stamping my great, coarse postmark
as if I'm driving a big wagon
past your door for the first time

There are elements of surrealism and symbolism, and no punctuation. Here is a dreamlike riverbank inspiring a stream of consciousness beating a path to the door of an object of desire. Is the flower a woman in a window, seen in passing? And are the "big wagon" and the "door" sexual symbols? This all seems plausible and in keeping with the interests of these young men at the time. If so, this is a surprisingly refined rendition of Hu Yu's supposed lust, something not noted of the Macho Men poets who came together in 1984, including Hu Yu. However, before this was to happen, Wan Xia had an important role to play.

## A Third Generation

In 1982, Wan Xia brought the university poets of Chengdu and Chongqing together for the first time. Wan had become friends with poets in both cities by 1981: through Hu Dong he had met Zhao Ye, Tang Yaping and others in Chengdu (all students at Sichuan University), and through a former high school classmate he had met Liao Xi and others who went to school in the Beipei suburb of Chongqing. During the summer of 1982, they all decided to get together and do something big for this newcomer generation of poets, as they saw themselves. Hu Dong was responsible for organizing in Chengdu, Liao Xi in Chongqing, and Wan Xia in Nanchong. They agreed to meet and to bring poetry they had gathered to the Southwest Teachers' University in Beipei over the October First holiday

[100] Li Yawei ed. (2001): 19.

period. In Wan Xia's words: "We'd come to feel that if we united, we definitely could have a fight with 'Misty poetry'. Our poetry was different from theirs; they were all in all much better than us, they'd been rusticated, suffered, had extremely complicated experiences. All three of us were very excited…."[101]

While admitting that the quality of their poetry was not up to Misty standards, the decisive factor was the difference in life experience and view, and the corresponding need for the voices of the younger, newer generation to be heard. In total over twenty poet-representatives from the three cities gathered in Beipei: four from Chengdu (Hu Dong, Zhao Ye, Tang Yaping and Beiwang), three from Nanchong (Wan Xia, Zhu Ziyong and Li Xuemin) and the rest from schools in Beipei and other parts of Chongqing. Watches and clothing had been sold, rooms made available, and food tickets collected by the students in Beipei. Everyone threw their poetry on one big table… and then the arguments started. About writing styles. About who was more modern, more progressive, or less so. However, the big argument came about over the name of this new generation. (Small semi-official poetry collections had already been distributed on campuses in Beipei under the names of *This Generation* [*这一代*][102] and *An Ordinary Generation* [*普通一代*].) Someone asked what it should be called, and very quickly, "the Third Generation" was suggested – Wan Xia remembers it coming from the Beipei/Chongqing side, Liao Xi or Chen Lin.[103] The name was agreed as a title for a journal that would feature the work of all three cities' poets.

According to Wan, the name was inspired by Mao Zedong's 1949 article, <Farewell, Leighton Stuart> (别了，司徒雷登),[104] in which Mao says that the Imperialists' hopes lie with the third or fourth generation of post-revolution children. In other words, the Imperialists' hopes lay in 'peaceful evolution' (和平演变) and the consequential

---

[101] Yang Li (2004): 206.

[102] *This Generation* was a student-run, literary journal, a national-level cooperative venture involving editors from thirteen different student magazines. Like other of its kind in China at the time (1978-1981), it was partly funded by the schools and monitored by the Communist Youth League. Another influential student magazine in Sichuan was *Jin River* (*Jinjiang 锦江*, mis-transliterated as *Jinhe 锦河* in Link), published by Sichuan University in Chengdu, 1979-1980 (4 issues). See Link (1999): 93, 188-190.

[103] Yang Li (2004): 207-208.

[104] Mao Zedong (1968): 1380-1387. John Leighton Stuart (1876-1962) was the last American ambassador in Beijing before the Nixon-rapprochement, leaving China in 1949. He had been born in China to missionary parents and was fluent in Chinese.

overthrow of the CCP. The generation of Wan Xia and his friends was that Third Generation, after the generations of socialist realist poets such as He Jingzhi (b. 1924, the first) and Misty poets such as Bei Dao (b. 1949, the second). Although the age difference was not great between themselves and Bei Dao, for example, the differences in life experience were and this seemed valid enough to classify the ex-Red Guards and rusticated youths as a separate, previous generation.

On the third day of the meeting, the day when they were to decide on the pieces that would appear in the collection, a furious argument broke out over the writing of a preface. According to Wan, Liao Xi and the Chongqing group wanted it made clear that their group had come up with the name, Third Generation. The Chengdu and Nanchong groups felt that it was ridiculous to differentiate between each other, to divide into groups, when they were all in it together as the Third Generation. Ultimately, this led to a shouting match, with Zhao Ye and Tang Yaping at the forefront battling it out with the Chongqing poets. In the end, all parties left unhappy, no journal was produced, and relations between the poets in Chongqing and the rest of Sichuan went into a deep freeze.

In 1983, Zhao Ye, Beiwang, Tang Yaping, Hu Xiaobo, Deng Xiang, and other Chengdu university poets did put out a collection of their poetry entitled *The Third Generation*.[105] A couple of weeks after the failed Chongqing conference in October 1982, Wan Xia wrote the outline of a manifesto for a mooted journal of that name after discussions with Zhao Ye, Hu Dong, and Beiwang in Nanchong, but, although a manifesto was published, Wan's poetry was not used in the *The Third Generation*.

At about this time in 1982, Wan Xia wrote the poem <Red Tiles> (红瓦).[106] In it are the long flowing lines, over a lengthy eleven stanzas, which would characterize later Macho Men poetry. The poem is also an explicit attack on 'Third Generation' poets – in apparent reference to Liao Xi and other Chongqing poets who claimed the title – clearly implying that they were too closely following the model of second generation, or Misty, poetry. In fact, it can also be interpreted as an indirect, critical response to the publication of *The Born-Again Forest*, which appeared at this time. Nonetheless, there is much more

[105] See Deng Xiang (2004).
[106] This version of the poem is from the October 1986 issue of *China Literature Monthly*.

to the poem than this, as it is strikingly experimental in form and subject, essentially a stream-of-consciousness triggered by the sight of red tiles:

Who told me
what these rows of red tiles
actually mean

see the city eyes wide-open walk by
see the classical crowds pass through buildings of no consequence
see the four limbs in days of love experience recurrent tremors
see wrinkles scatter over the entire body
see the hair occupying the face go completely white
see raindrops crawl up a red curtain
see music plaster a belly onto a watery surface and mutely skim over
see me obscenely catch a cold
sneezing a sneeze that doesn't lose the air of a gentleman

…..

see the sky on the roof whoosh away
see Chinese people earnestly spit
see Du Fu[107] disappointed as an official suddenly find great inspiration in poetry and become an immortal poet
see there is never an emperor in Zhaojun's[108] bed and suddenly sadness finally flees
see the cobbler nailing horseshoes up on the whole street
see the crazed laughter of ducks sweep over the riverbank
see the pillow has a bad habit of excessive masturbation
see Confucius make a date

see Lu Xun[109] creaking as he scrubs the thick filth off Ah Q[110]
see the Middle East fighting nonstop
see a teleconference solemnly convened
see too much sun cause dizziness eyes to go black veins to curl and dilate
see poets picked out with fire tongs by editors and thrown into WCs

**see fat flying saucers flee hither and thither**
**see Gu Cheng and Bei Dao quickly escape into the mountains**
**see second-generation eyes swollen by tears incessantly make self-criticisms**
**see the Third Generation ceaselessly have wet dreams in a loving relationship with a dandelion**

[107] A Tang dynasty poet.
[108] A Han dynasty imperial concubine sent to be the wife of a barbarian king.
[109] China's most famous early writer of fiction in plain language.
[110] The title character of Lu Xun's *The True Story of Ah Q* (*阿Q 真传*; 1922), noted for his ability to interpret every defeat and humiliation as a psychological victory.

**see he is a page in a gilded book**
**page after page leafing through broken records**
**see a fish that has shed its scales become a bird and try to land before the dry season**
**see him in all seriousness take off his real face remove skin, teeth**
**take off thick socks in all seriousness**
**iron them in a low-hanging sack**
**see clouds with lipstick in a forest walking back and forth**
**see the sky suddenly tilt dumping people into the sea**
**wanting to enjoy it and then the quick birds happily share a cup**

…..

see an erroneous outcome in my suppositions
see me as uncertified testimony
I am the testimony of all people

see stomachs perforated
see dating concentrated like a rain of bullets
see one eye obscured
see the world seen as two halves
see husbands rape wives
see the silent sacrifice of a ship's captain under attack of torpedoes not leaving the banquet
see a yawn batting a morning out the window
see this city as
a great chess game in which a king moves

The city is apparently contemporary life, and China, and the general the speaker in the poem, or Wan Xia, who presumably has ordered the world as he sees fit. There is an emphasis on the speaker's perception, as this is a poem written one rainy morning, while the bored speaker, with a cold, gazes out his window on the red-tiled roofs of the city below.

The reference above to 'self-criticism' by second generation poets possibly alludes to an article written in praise of Misty poetry by Xu Jingya, then a student at Jilin University. First published in the 1981 second issue of Beijing's *Contemporary Literature Research Series* (*当代文学研究丛刊*), the article was extensively rewritten and published in 1983 in the January issue of *Contemporary Literary Arts Thought-Tide* (*当代文艺思潮*), a literary criticism journal out of Lanzhou in northwest China. Xu, together with the *Today* poets Bei Dao, Gu Cheng, and Yang Lian, were later among the primary targets of the

campaign launched by the CCP against 'spiritual pollution' (精神污染) in October 1983. Under great pressure, Xu wrote and had published an essay meant as a self-criticism and a rectification of his critical stance in the *People's Daily* (*人民日报*) on 5 March 1984. This indicates that part – if not all – of the above highlighted-stanza was written in 1984 and not in late 1982, when the bulk of the poem may have been written.[111]

That said, this is one of the first overtly mocking attacks on 'second generation', or Misty, poet behavior – but not their poetry – by younger poets to appear in China. However, the following lines commenting on 'Third Generation' poets and poetry are a bit more complicated: either Wan Xia – or the speaker in the poem – is being self-critical as well, or the speaker is distancing himself from this so-called new generation. This latter view carries some weight, given the 1982 clash with the Chongqing poets over ownership of the term 'Third Generation'. Furthermore, the rest of the stanza seems to be devoted to satirical comments specifically aimed at the poets and poetry of *The Born-Again Forest*. The reference to "dandelions" recalls Zhai Yongming's eponymous poem and the Misty-influenced style of much of the poetry in the journal. The "gilded book" seems to refer to the *Born-Again* itself in all its plasticized, arty glory, which is perhaps regarded as a perceived-ticket (by the journal's poets) into the Misty ranks. The poetry is like "broken-records" all repeating a similar mantra, and the poets are like "clouds with lipstick in a forest" as they attempt to attract attention and establish themselves as masters of the Misty art. The connection between *Born-Again* and the 'Third Generation' in Chongqing is explained by Zhong Ming's continuing close-links with the poets in Beipei where he had recently graduated from university. Presumably, at the time he supported their poetry against that of poets such as Hu Dong and Wan Xia, who sought to strike off on poetical paths away from Misty poetry. In due course, however, the term 'Third Generation' would be wrested away from Chongqing and re-branded by Yang Li, Li Yawei, and others. Yet, how very ambiguous and confusing the stanza in question must have struck the vast majority of readers of <Red Tiles> in *China Literature* in 1986, when the poem was first officially published. Nonetheless, this stanza, and also the form

[111] The above translation is based on the version of the poem published in the October 1986 issue of Beijing's *China Literature Monthly* (*中国文学月刊*). An earlier version, published December 1984 in the unofficial poetry journal *Macho Men*, is unavailable to the author.

and technique evinced by the poem itself, is indicative of the ‘generation gap’ and the growth of hostile feelings that already had sprung up between some older and younger poets in Sichuan by the end of 1982.

### Hu Dong, Wan Xia, and Macho Men

Meanwhile, by October 1983, Hu Dong was getting restless and working out a new style of poetry for himself. The following is an example of what he was writing at the time:

**<Intersection 2 Subjects>** (街口二题) [112]

A. Finally look down on them from head top
obverse sides • flanks • reverse sides
distribute the same actual smiling expression
leaning under an advertising billboard
pretending to be serious about examining every face
the look of a vigilant secret agent
the head slowly turns to question the air
absorbed in calculating the time red lights flash
two hands simultaneously inserted into trouser pockets
whistling without a care in the world
pondering the color of the sky at eventide
I don’t want to keep up one pose
yawn for forty minutes
then ruthlessly pinch out a cigarette butt
and speedily traverse the avenue
traverse some day in 1983
B. In the past I walked past
a pagoda-shaped construction a sluggishly swelling
dusk telling an extremely unreal story
pedestrian • pedestrian • pedestrian
definitely at a distance of three meters apart
I love listening to peddlers shouting their wares
apples leaking out of a shopping bag
briskly rolling toward the curb
In the past I walked past
a pagoda-shaped construction a sluggishly swelling

[112] Li Yawei ed. (2001): 14.

dusk • the parasol trees are a row of ugly men
trunks exposing horny muscles • biceps • pectorals
shirttails and iced beer
the avenue wafting a fragrance
of fried chestnuts overdone

These appear to be views and memories of a street, or streets, in Chengdu, tales of the like one might expect from a truant university student with time to kill. Not surprisingly, as Wan Xia recalls, poems like these were not recognized as poems at the time, not when compared to the exalted subject matter and diction of Misty poetry. Boring events related by a bored narrator? Superficially yes, but, in fact, no. This was life too – life for many of these younger poets and other people their age who had no opportunity to define their lives in a 'great historical age', as the Cultural Revolution might be termed. In place of this, there is restlessness, brooding discontent, and an unruly identity apparently in search of an outlet. Although it could be argued that the conclusion is somewhat poetic, just possibly that is Hu Dong's way of laughing at those who look for such things in his poetry. Lots of insignificant action, and no aspiration to more, no sight of anything beyond what is laid out before the reader with words from a normal vocabulary. That is life too – but not necessarily the life that the poet (or the reader) wants.

Still, this is not yet what would be called Macho Men poetry.

Before this was to happen, in October in Chongqing, *Poetry* and the Chongqing branch of the official Literary Association held a poetry conference. At this conference there were calls to "raise high the flag of socialist poetry", "eliminate capitalist spiritual pollution" and sharp criticism of the so-called "three risings" (三个崛起), referring to articles written by Xie Mian, Sun Shaozhen, and Xu Jingya in support of the 'new poetry tide' (新诗潮) that had begun uprising with the *Today* poets in 1979. This led to a national campaign that continued for some months in the national media and in universities. The fact that this campaign began in Sichuan means that all poets and aspiring poets in the province were well aware of it, but the reaction was rather the opposite of what had been intended, if the poetry Hu Dong, Wan Xia, *cum suis* went on to write is any indication.

During the Chinese New Year holiday, Wan Xia and Hu Dong decided to do something big of their own, to create a masculine, active, story-based poetry that would make full use of colloquial speech. During January and February of 1984, they proceeded to write the first Macho Men poems.

<I want to Board a Slow Boat to Paris> (我想乘上一艘慢船到巴黎去) and <Woman> (女人)[113] by Hu Dong are remembered by Wan Xia and Li Yawei as being the first of the Macho Men poems, written in January, 1984. The first stanza of <Slow Boat> is startlingly different from poems written before this by Hu Dong:

> I want to board a slow boat to Paris
> to go see van Gogh see Baudelaire see Picasso
> to further check up on the family class status they hid
> then execute all these scumbags by shooting
> do all the women they planned but had no time to do
> evenly allotting them to you allotting them to me
> allotting them to Confucius and his disciples and followers

There are a further ten stanzas of varying line counts between seven and ten, the shortest line being seven characters long, the longest nineteen, and most of the rest of ten or more. The use of colloquial language is extreme and unseen in poetry at the time in China: “scumbags” (混蛋) and “do” (搞), a common colloquialism meaning ‘fuck’, are clear examples of this, with “cock” (鸡巴) appearing later in the poem. Then there is the broad use of politically loaded terms reminiscent of the Cultural Revolution that would also stand out: “check up on hidden family class status” and “evenly allotting”, not to mention “execute by shooting”. Overall, the poem was expressly designed to shock and unrelentingly continues to do so up to the very end:

> I want to board a slow boat to Paris
> on the way I’ll make love with the girls of every country
> no matter of what country the girls must all be pretty
> they’ll bear me sons of many varieties
> after the little scumbags grow up they’ll also wander hither and yon
> become good guys bad guys become outstanding humankind

[113] Both poems in Zhou Lunyou ed. (1994d); <Woman> also in Xi Ping ed. (1988); <Slow Boat> also in Chen Xuguang ed. (1994).

no matter where they go people will notice them
their eyes will be a pitch-black color
in the rumbling river of man in any situation
I will take extra precautions against these bastards Who are they
They are my sons My fine sons

Given the time when this was written, this poem strikes readers today as being funny, daring, and irrepressible, and in this sense, artistically interesting. It is also a tongue-in-cheek rant designed to mock those who have wild dreams like those described, thinking – or dreaming – of themselves as some sort of god's gift to China and the world. Big talk from little men who can do no more than talk. Even more so coming after the events of the previous year at the 'Third Generation' conference in Beipei, where many little men (and women) thought so much of themselves and fought so hard about such a little thing as the copyright to the name of an unofficial poetry journal. In doing so, it was possible for others (and themselves) to characterize them as acting like Red Guards (in Wan Xia's words), or like scumbags (in Hu's) who were birthed by Mao and the Cultural Revolution. Only, in this case, it is not the homes of Chinese 'capitalists' and their lackeys that are being ransacked, but the supposed home of modern western culture, Paris and its museums. In very real figurative and literal senses, this was what many newcomers to the avant-garde of every field of the fine arts were doing at the time, and continue to do to this day. And this was even more reason why a such a poem could not have expected a rapturous welcome among China's other precocious, pretentious, and very serious young poets and lovers of New Poetry.

The critic Wang Yichuan notes that poets the age of Hu Dong would know Paris as the site of the Commune, the song The Communist Internationale, and the place where many of the old CCP leadership (including Deng Xiaoping) went to study early in the twentieth century.[114] However, Wang misses the significance of Paris also being the birthplace of the avant-garde movement: the Macho Men go to Paris to destroy the consecrated avant-garde (van Gogh, Picasso, Baudelaire) and in so doing take part in a new (for China), acceptable (in the west), bloodless revolution in culture. Critics such as Li Xinyu recognize that Macho Men poetry was a challenge to 'serious' poetry, but fail to provide the context or a satisfactory explanation for their behavior, stating that these and other

[114] See Wang Yichuan (1999): 253-261.

newcomer poets often satirized life as they saw it with the plain, and sometimes coarse, language that people really speak.[115]

On the other hand, <Woman> is something else again:

You are a spear you are a shield you're a corridor a big broad bridge
you're a city gate open wide rivers enter freely pass through
I freely pass through

You're a hotbed begetting poetry begetting me begetting yourself
you are art you're love you're power the hermit crab of
wealth you are a bogus big-tailed donkey
my big-tailed donkey

You are soft curly hairs a lower abdomen a soft
passed-over area you are a dirty public toilet a
complete excretory system you are my abruptly
swollen Adam's apple stiff stubble

You're a steel sash a water tower a smoke stack an assault gun concentrated
fire-power you're the fear of first-time copulation the sobs
after virginity's lost this kind of thing
we do it a thousand times

You're a French horn a deafening bass drum my bass drum
you are music in complex keys an oval playhouse an equilateral
triangle a low-class pub you're free association let me
associate again

You're a diary a phone number too much poor wording during
the pickup a military review a trip you're us alone
together dizzy for no reason I fully approve of dizziness

You are Mona Lisa Jane Eyre an Anna Karenina you're Lin Daiyu
you're a seventy-year-old Dowager Empress Catherine
the Second you're any woman I know
I'd rather choose a cow that meets my needs

You're a brawl a raised switchblade a drug dealer a
venereal disease you're a fresh wound pain-killing cream insomnia
amnesia an absolutely perfect mask
you're a brilliant suckling animal

[115] For example, see Li Xinyu (2000): 289-290 and Chen Zhongyi (1994): 159-163 for treatment of Macho Men poems in this manner.

You're a mural a tapestry a potted landscape carefully crafted by
a gardener you are the gardener a red cape-draped
bullfighter you're military regulations for all
males I resolutely adhere to those rules

You're the dripping sweat before birth an annual plant
a pretty duck-billed beast any old ugly
monkey an oily raisin the raisin I most love to eat
I don't care about these things good wine gets better
with age

You are milk stains on the chest you're disheveled clothes bright
flowery nappies you're a homecoming after a twenty-seven-year sentence you are my
home if you become a widow my widow
you can just beat it

You're the question you're the answer a totem a brutal circumcision
you're a great mass the earliest pictograph the
first encyclopedia and this book every man must
keep on his desk at this moment I'm laboring to read it

You are the start of man you are the root you are woman

What starts as an obvious, very crude backhanded paean to woman becomes slightly more subtle and well meaning by the end. The obvious spear-shield usage opens the piece (namely, *maodun* 矛盾 'contradiction'), followed by clear sexual innuendo ("corridor" and "city gate", etc.). That is the hook – a hook that more or less continues for the first five stanzas. Alternatively, not a hook, as the crudity and low humor may turn off most readers who are not young men with women/sex on their minds, and emancipated readers (or listeners) would probably be horrified.

However, by the end, after a brief rehearsal of what life of woman-with-man might mean, the woman is idolized for what she brings to man and to the life of the man, and for the gift of life itself. By the end of the poem, there is nothing but the sound of truth: After all the filthy jokes and 'fun', there is the serious subject of life and all that woman brings to it. In China, woman is held up as the 'dutiful wife and loving mother'. In reality, as depicted, for example, at various points in Cao Xueqin's classic, *A Dream of Red Mansions* (*红楼梦*), women in China (as elsewhere) are more often used and abused by men. The appearance of Lin Daiyu, the novel's principal female protagonist, in Hu's

poem reinforces such a reading, just as her juxtaposition to the Qing dynasty Dowager Empress, Ci Xi, highlights extreme, unrealistic images of women in general. This poem seems to reposition the woman in the more sordid truth of reality – the male view of woman as an object of very selfish sexual desires, as playthings, and the reality of woman's positions as mother and wife. This is not what could be called a progressive, feminist picture, but it is one that fits well with current reality and seems well meaning on the part of the poet.

Aside from the subject matter of these two poems by Hu Dong, there is also the matter of poetic form. To a western reader of poetry, an immediate response might be to ask if Hu Dong had read Ginsberg. The subject matter of <Slow Boat>, long lines, lists, etc., all seem reminiscent of his work. However, both Wan Xia and Li Yawei claim in their interviews with Yang Li that they did not see translations of his poetry (namely, <Howl>) until it appeared in a Sichuan unofficial poetry journal during the summer of 1985. The poem in its entirety, translated by the Xi'an-based poet-translator Daozi, appeared on the last six pages of *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry* long before any officially published version became available. (Ginsberg and other Beats are all the rage now in China. Interestingly, Bai Hua in *The Left Side* writes of possessing a 1978 edition of *Howl and Other Poems* – a reprint of the original 1956 book of Ginsberg's poetry.[116] He does not state when or how he came into possession of it, but that was presumably after 1985.) Despite this, critics, such as Cheng Guangwei,[117] state the influence of Ginsberg and Beat poetry in general as if it were fact.

In 1984, there were already available translations of the poetry of Whitman and Neruda, as well as Senghor, replete with similar long lines and the free adaptation of the unpoetic, the vulgar, the profane, and the obscene. However, were Chinese readers ready for the realization that poems need no longer look like 'poems', or need, for that matter, no longer 'sound' like poems? This goes back to ideas that seem to have been adopted from the western avant-garde tradition – primarily those of self-willed marginalization and permanent revolution as newcomer avant-garde poets reacted against those perceived to be moving toward some form of consecration. In the context of 1983-1984 China, the

[116] Bai Hua (1996a), Chapter 4, Part 2.
[117] Cheng (2003): 294.

target of newcomers in search of recognition would have to have been Misty poetry and those who held such poets to be exemplars of the craft, such as many of the poets who contributed to *The Born-Again Forest*. Furthermore, the first target audience for these poems was university students of a similar age – the attempt to shock (the girls and conservatives) and at humor (for the like-minded) is deliberate.

Wan Xia soon began producing similar poems, about thirty in total to Hu Dong's twenty, over the first three months of 1984. Here is one of Wan's first:

**<The Date>** (约会; Jan. 31, 1984)[118]

Knock before you enter
respect for her is of the utmost importance
when you see her nose mouth and other organs
fully plugged by tubes a bottle or a cork
don't be greatly shocked by small things
don't ask
what's wrong
you must don an air of nonchalance
and absolutely must not compare a former wife to the present

Quickly find a chair and sit tight by her side
allay all sense of urgency  you don't want breathing difficulties
by all means don't be boorish
while talking strive to look into her eyes
make her feel you're sincere
given the chance massage some major pressure points
intimate expression conveys another type of tongue

When love is at its fiery point
it benefits a patient body and soul
so visiting times are best not too long
normally best between ten to twenty days
once before sleep
three tablets a go  washed down with tepid boiled water

A lot of optimistic talk is a stimulus
like the normal cordial shaking of hands

[118] From *Macho Men*, 1984.

This is a description of a wife or girlfriend in hospital, being visited by a lascivious husband or boyfriend.[119] Physical love is suggested as a form of medicine. This is a crude poem, evidently meant to shock; yet, it could just as easily be an accurate psychological portrayal, if one accepts sexual urges as a normal part of life. Orthodox Chinese critics, such as Gong Liu and Zheng Bonong in essays published in 1983,[120] would have it that too much reality is a bad thing for poetry, if not all art – particularly if that reality is not the one they see, or, in the case of the CCP, the one they want to see. Then again, if poetry's 'task' were to somehow beautify the world, how different would that be from a CCP task to present the world in a form that was favored by the party? Although, at the time, these criticisms were aimed at *Today* poets in particular and Misty poets in general, these also seem to be issues indirectly addressed by Macho Men poetry simply by these poets' choice of subject matter, language and form. (These poets, like other intellectuals, were surely aware of the criticism.)

Wan was entering his last few months at university and, appropriately, he made this the topic of one of his more successful poems of this variety:

**<Tests>** (考试; Feb. 22, 1984)[121]

Riding a stout warhorse with a great shout
a professor aims a huge fist at my head and blocks all escape routes
luckily last night I committed adultery with all the world's masterpieces

I avoid an annihilating blow

Heavens  what guy invented this logic
this is the ancient Chinese language of what land!
which planet Mars possesses this odd question for aspirant graduate students
you must rub your eyes must tighten the strings
this is a conspiracy  the restoration of the old order
momma's whatever
see them furiously swallow the bait
I abruptly ignite a homemade landmine[122]

[119] The term 'wife' (妻) here most likely means girlfriend, given the ages of the writer and his likely target audience – young men of a similar age – who would use the term as slang in conversation with others of their age group.
[120] In Yang & Chun ed. (1986, vol. 2).
[121] Li Yawei ed. (2001).
[122] Meaning 'fart' (拉响土地雷).

The woman who likes to type dashes
takes big round ellipses
and types them like a rain of bullets on all questions
on the cafeteria the cinema on men's and women's toilets
the braid on her head
sways  a bright oily piece of shit

…..

Round up the professors with an armed flying saucer
review round the clock with a flashlight in a toilet
test re-sitting more than once
at test time decline time extensions
register the artful hellion as one of the best
drop the one who works against you
to the class of 'eighty-one
to test in ancient Chinese

This poem allows an insight into Wan Xia's mind as his graduation and other exams approached in 1984. He seems conflicted – mocking, yet anxious to do well and even remain as a graduate student. Coincidentally, March 1984 was the end of Wan Xia and Hu Dong as Macho Men poets. Li Yawei speculates that this was possibly due to 'round the clock reviewing' for their finals.[123] In any case, both Hu and Wan would move on to different styles of poetry in the months to come. Hu and Wan coined the group name Macho Men in February after the Spring Festival holiday, following a poetry reading they gave on campus in Nanchong. The public response to their poetry had been uniformly one of shock at what listeners thought was little more than coarse language and swearing. This led to consideration of group names like His Momma's (他妈的) and Momma's Whatever (妈妈的) – the former is the national swearword in China, and the latter is another version of that taken out the mouth of Lu Xun's fictional character, Ah Q. According to Wan Xia in his interview with Yang Li, Hu Dong suggested Toughs or Good Men (好汉) as a better choice, before Wan Xia himself came up with Macho

[123] Li Yawei (1996a): 131.

Men.[124] One of Wan Xia's last Macho Men poems was eponymous (and possibly inspired the choice of group name) and described these 'men' as he imagined they should be:

**<Macho Men>** (莽汉; Feb. 26, 1984)[125]

must have a strong stink of sweat of smoke of urine an oily black face
deep sunken eyes dangling arms
must exercise mightily must brawl must beat the bottoms of the old lady and children
must hold you close to their bosoms
must have a loud voice must speak coarsely must weep wildly laugh madly swear
must be of few words be silent
must order the kid at the inn to bring big bowls of booze big bowls of beef must only
stop when drunk must drink and have fun not go crazy with booze

want coarse women want bastard children want good men want fierce action want
violence want speed
want revenge but in ten years if necessary want to stand in front of an enemy and say
don't stand so firm
must have an upright attitude must take responsibility must on one's own initiative
step up and say I did this
must kill oneself must jump into the sea must write a will but if no time then don't
must shout it's another life in twenty years must help victims of injustice

…..

The poem is clearly influenced by Hu Dong's <Slow Boat>. Here also are strong elements of romanticization in a very traditional sense. The reference to the big bowls of beef and booze are right out of *Water Margins* (*水浒传*), a classic of Chinese fiction, reminiscent of tales of characters such as Li Lu, Song Jiang, and Wu Song, big-hearted, yet violent, outlaw-heroes. Macho Men seem almost indistinguishable from the traditional figure of the medieval Chinese knight errant, the most popular male figure in China's popular fiction and films.

[124] This is corroborated by Li Yawei in both his interview with Yang Li (2004), and in Li Yawei (1996a): 130.
[125] Li Yawei ed. (2001).

**Li Yawei**

While Wan Xia was busy writing this new poetry in Nanchong, he was also busy proselytizing, convincing his poet friends to lend their pens to the effort. Li Yawei, who had graduated the previous year, had been assigned a job as a high school Chinese and music teacher in a small eastern Sichuan town called Dingshi. Wan had written to him in January and asked him to come to Nanchong, where Li then fell under Wan's sway and took to writing Macho Men poetry.[126] Wan and Li then worked on converting others in person, or by letter: chief among these were Hu Yu, Li Ao, Er Mao, Liang Yue, Wang Jianjun, Chen Dong, and Ma Song. Li was to be the convert-in-chief, the man who would take the banner from Wan and Hu and run with it, spreading Macho Men throughout Sichuan and beyond its borders to the rest of China in years to come. What follows is one of the first poems Li wrote as a 'Macho Man', and the first poem in the *Macho Men* collection Wan Xia compiled in December 1984 in Chengdu:

<**I am China**> (我是中国)[127]

However, possibly I'm a woman
My history is a few lovely years of roaming
I live, to forget my
Big tummy easily birthing many sons, so as to
Not forget me, for
Him still to become a real something
Or not become a real something
I live, I will be another me
I am my own man, drinking bad booze
Smoking duff cigarettes, growing a face full of stubble
I am my own man
For his tiger-cub courage, I act as his woman
I am the whole voluptuous world
See --- the roads on my fat belly wrap it so tight
Take me completely, devil!

Actually, I'm a foul poet turned back by fate
I want to snatch back those words spoken with the dead
We reckon that's everything or simply everything is nothing

[126] Li Yawei (1996a): 131.
[127] In Xi Ping ed. (1988) and Zhou Lunyou ed. (1994d).

Possibly I'm another me, many me's half me's
I am future history, the road at the other end of the bus stop
I am success abandoned halfway there
I am a great bridge, a city, a chimney and a wholesaler of cheap tobacco
I am many poets and foul poets ---
A wanderer within the riddles of matter
Trouser crotch ceaselessly ripped by dogs and poverty
I am the father and son of science and an experimenter on 45 bucks a month
The hubbie[128] of a big-footed farmwoman

I have innumerable developed physiques and countless malicious faces
My name is man --- the nickname of a pirate
I'm absolutely not a foul poet picked out with fire-tongs by editors
I am not a foul poet, I'm innumerable men
I construct the world, construct my old lady
I'm my most familiar friends, I'm Wan Xia I'm Hu Yu
Old-lady Qin the loan shark and the fiancée who flings me far away
I'm the face glimpsed and then forgotten by me
I'm the fatherland's present, past and future
I'm the Yellow Emperor, the deceased, [but] mainly a living person
I'm an academic report and have been approved by academia
I am a map of China
I am China
I'm a police baton stuck into this piece of dirt
a hoe, a pair of big feet or a calculator
On this piece of dirt the many me's female me's half me's
All are me and other me's
I am China

Here Li incorporates the expansive "I" of Whitman and Guo Moruo of *The Goddesses* (*女神*; 1921) poetry collection in describing a China that in many ways appears to be the antithesis of Whitman's America. The spirit of China is depicted as a passive, inert thing typified by the female principle (阴), sexually repressed to the point of castration. The poem's humor and tone of self-mockery are recurrent elements in Li's poetry of this period. The critic Wang Yichuan sees the poem as a deconstruction of the image of China found in the poems of the Misty poets Shu Ting, Jianghe, Liang Xiaobin, and Yang Lian, who approach the topic in a serious, cultured way, treating the nation as a sacred cultural construct.[129] Instead, Li's China is the China of everyday life by everyday people, made

[128] 女婿 literally translates as 'son-in-law', but often means 'husband' when used colloquially.
[129] See Wang Yichuan (1998): 222-230.

up of innumerable individuals (the character “I” or “me” appears 43 times). Wang seemingly cannot see the link between this and the poetry of Walt Whitman.

<Graduation Work Assignment> (毕业分配)[130] is a longer poem written in March 1984, and is closely connected to Li’s experience of the previous year. It jokily addresses the current concerns of old classmates, such as Wan Xia:

> In summer all things
> are graduated and assigned work
> buddies all leave girlfriends in lower years
> leave them in spacious classrooms reading dead books reading dead letters to themselves
>
> But I will contact you of my own accord, will in letters
> talk about my new life, new environment and interesting neighbors
> promptly report the happy news when my swollen liver has improved
> at New Year’s and on holidays
> I will also mail you a false diamond made of a bitch’s tooth
> mail out mountain goat skins, Fuling pickled mustard tubers or other local specialties
>
> …..

And so on, ultimately comparing the place he lives to an uncivilized land peopled by horse-riding barbarians with no use for writing, himself among them, together with a girlfriend as his wife and also mother to a pack of wild children.

Themes such as these offered imaginative escape and freedom from China’s – and Li’s own – social reality, at the same time commenting obliquely and humorously upon it. Here also could be found a modicum of comfort and companionship now that he was isolated from his old school pals. For example, Li could wander into ancient China and from there, in satirical visions, comment caustically on the present day, as in a poem written in April 1984:

**<Su Dongpo and his Friends>** (苏东坡和他的朋友们)[131]

> ….

[130] Li Yawei ed. (2001); also the first poem in this collection.
[131] Yang Shunli & Lei Mingchu ed., *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry* (1985).

This group of horse riding
intellectuals wandering about in antiquity
occasionally carry their pens in supplication to the emperor and frolic before him
raise intricately rhymed opinions
sometimes accepted, and the land is at peace
most of the time they become the esteemed forerunners of rightists

…..

The celebrated Song dynasty poet Su Dongpo[132] is not the intended target of any real criticism here; he is presented as just an ordinary guy. Instead, that seems to be directed at poets who, like the "foul poets" (臭诗人) in <I am China> and those 'Third Generation' poets mocked by Wan Xia in <Red Tiles>, are willing to produce art which suits and pleases the powers that be, whether that be the CCP cultural establishment or important Misty poets, such as Bei Dao. More common for Li were humorous poems on quotidian events or ordinary people, such as <Life> (生活), <Sunday> (星期天), <Girlfriend> (女友), <Wife> (妻子), <Menopause> (更年期) and <Old Zhang and a Love that Blots out the Sun> (老张和遮天蔽日的爱情).[133] These are all good examples of the 'story' aspect of poetry that Macho Men poets espoused, and the last listed is possibly the first such poem Li wrote:

Old Zhang a glossy stick[134] of the milk-suckled two-limbed variety
lives in a monsoon in the northern hemisphere
when mankind enters April by twos and threes
He once sat in a teahouse and affirmed:
Love will come and blot out the sun

A female of the milk-suckled two-limbed variety
with a love like gas-bubbles caused his nose to run for several years
then, after watching watching he'd had enough

He began to swear all women were whores
even began to swear at his ma
after swearing, like ordinary people he'd drown his sorrows in booze
so drunk his mouth'd curl into a strange face

[132] For biographical data, name in Chinese characters, etc., see Glossary of Chinese Names.
[133] In Yang Shunli & Lei Mingchu ed., *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry* (1985); <Old Zhang> is also in Xi Ping ed. (1988).
[134] 光棍 meaning 'bachelor'.

These days, love is mixed with lies, booze with water too

Aged love is as strong as old reserve spirits
"Women can't appreciate this sort of thing"
Old Zhang's head shakes like a street vendor's cymbal

He sees the ocean of the accordionist
and still must remember, beats his chest stamps his feet
When he walks into the mysterious night of playing reed flutes
sometimes he still somberly thinks of a sixteen-year-old girl

Now, Old Zhang has the wrinkled head of a walnut
a body as thin as the second hand of a watch
he roams the streets, silent like a squid
occasionally hears a woman, then says: "Ai!"

This is the story of an old man who has had an unhappy experience of love rendered as a poem written in colloquial diction. The eastern Sichuan dialect term for 'whore' (梭叶子) would have been both shocking and humorous to natives of the province, condemned as sordid and unpoetic by traditionalists, and not understood at all by outsiders. An old, drunken bachelor alone with his memories, a thin squid with the head of a walnut wandering into a night full of accordion and flute music, could he be the imagined future self of a young poet? Or a young poet prematurely aged? Regardless, there is more romance, sensitivity, and poetry in the poem than at first meets the eye. This does not appear to be a poem mocking old drunks or a subtle piece of self-mockery alone. Such sensitivity and close observation of others, and of life in general, was to become a hallmark of Li's poetry in later years.

**Ma Song**

Both Wan Xia and Li Yawei, in their interviews with Yang Li, remark on the surprising emergence in May 1984 of Ma Song as a true 'Macho Man' poet, stating that he was, and still is, the real thing. As they tell it, Ma was one of the wildest of their many wild non-poet friends in Nanchong. Like Li, he was of the class of 1979, but upon making the acquaintance of Wan and his buddies a year lower than himself, in 1981 he

successfully feigned insanity and got the year off, thus reentering school as their classmate the following year. Ma was a student in the mathematics department yet his main interests at the time were not in mathematics or poetry, but in drinking, womanizing, and fighting, which is how he met Li and Wan. Li had written to Ma in his hometown of Ya'an about Macho Men poetry in February 1984, sending him copies of Hu Dong's, Wan Xia's, Li's own, and others' poetry. (Ma Song had instigated a brawl between three Nanchong schools and two factories in the spring of 1983, was arrested by the police, and subsequently expelled by his school.[135]) However, it was not until May 1984 that Ma responded to Li and the others, and produced a poem that surprised them all:

**<The Coffeehouse>** (咖啡馆)[136]

The coffeehouse awakes,
it's like a female night-shift attendant in a guesthouse,
stretching long and hard,
preparing to receive a spring night as messy as an obstetric bed,
so as to consume all sorts of difficultly-birthed new lessons of life,
allowing one to attain a trinity of delight;

The coffeehouse appears with a motive in the city and
on streets like leavening bread,
as soon as it's alight,
it takes those roaming like a basketball,
  and airdrops them into a black boxcar,
from then on rendering all cries powerless on tenterhooks
throughout the day,
it always exhibits itself as a titular homicide scene,
causing the coroner, thrill-seeking young men and girls
to experience lovers after they've been ravaged, to remember a wrinkly
golden wedding and a malnourished poet attending university in autumn
yet selling off his autumn clothes • boxing gloves, an older sister, a younger brother,
a lover with a mask of techniques practicing in a Chinese medicine hospital,
a wealthy businessman • a contractor • the blood debt for winning the Nobel Prize,
isn't it beneath the spotlights of a photo studio  isn't it at thirty-five
seeking and still unable to find a proper lover,
giving a not-yet-adult illegitimate child a pathetically small inheritance and
here a bundle there a pile of dark purple family belongings;

[135] Li Yawei (1996a): 132.
[136] The first published version can be found in *Macho Men.* There are several differences – most of which are apparently the result of mistakes and sloppy editing – in the version of this poem found in *Modernists Federation.*

Well isn't it,
the coffeehouse says to me:
The Yangtze's waves in back push those in front,
a generation of new men sturdily grows,
…..

For a twenty-one-year-old poet this seems strangely mature. In addition, it appears to be evidence of what Ma Song has been doing with himself since being expelled from school. (Ma would go on to become, at various times and in various places in China, a peddler, a piano tuner, a drummer, a book merchant, and a marketing man.) The coffeehouse itself seems to be a symbol of modernity: it is unlikely that there was a coffeehouse in a small town like Ya'an in 1984, and even in Chengdu and Chongqing in 1988-1989 the author has no clear recollection of more than a handful of such establishments. Coffee, cigarettes and alcohol would have been the only 'drugs' available to these poets in those days, coffee perhaps seeming the most 'western' and, therefore, decadent. There is also a suggestion that this may be a take on the coffeehouses in which French avant-garde poets congregated on the Left Bank in Paris during the nineteenth century.

Ma goes on to describe how disappointed girlfriends have been in him, how poor he is, how he is unwilling to do more than dream and bitterly play with words while the world passes him by.

…..

The coffeehouse is actually a hermaphrodite
hidden in the deepest depths of life after Liberation an old secret agent,
in China this fertile, beautiful land of great area and many things,
it is a devotion that fosters maturity,
and a thought that blows apart
devotion
it peers haphazardly about in all seasons,
always like a fashion show as ripe as the open fields,
enticing different tall short fat thin ruses and loneliness,
to dance a trendy collective boogie;
it's friendly, approachable,
presenting 30-year-old widowers and 40-year-old widows with one
dinosaur egg after another,
causing the museum extreme anxiety,

under the moon it raises a faith in the dawn of a great fire and
functions as a fire extinguisher,
it always causes a stream-of-consciousness so red it goes purple to flow from the
bottom
of one heart to another.

I and you,
you and her
are you willing to come again and drink a cup of coffee like that?
Don't forget when young,
all must nonetheless take from the smiles dissolved in coffee and
the short lives like the smiles the feeling of an eternal wooing,
filtered in the north wind, accreting,
to become immovable by force of nature
guts forming a stone
a brightly colored
gallstone.

Despite the hash that has been made of this poem in several official collections due to a poor job of editing in the unofficial journal *Modernists Federation*, it stands out as one of the most thoroughly modernist poems of the Macho Men group. This is not only because of the successful use of a stream-of-consciousness style, but also due to the darkly humorous, anxiously lonely words of the narrator seated with his cup of coffee as he ponders the world and his place in it. Artistically, at times, some of the longer lines are well handled, but others are bogged down in overly convoluted conceits. Yet it is the very 'gall' of this poet, of these poets – in the sense of their impudence – that often made their work a delight to read (and hear, if one was lucky enough to come across them in Sichuan) at the time. Whether or not the Macho Men poets had read or even heard of Ginsberg is not an issue. Drugs and homosexuality were not subjects of conversation or poetry in China in 1984, unless the discussion was about foreign customs: however, the wish to shock readers out of old habits has been common to avant-garde poetry since Baudelaire. Moreover, writing about and for friends was common to classical Chinese poetry as well as New Poetry. Instead, the Macho Men, like Ginsberg, owe something of a debt to Whitman, Neruda, and the western avant-garde tradition for the form and language they used – namely, the long poetic line driven on my expansive emotions and subject matter and diction closely connected to the interests of the 'common man' of their experience.

That said, the content was their own, fashioned out of their lives and the Chinese language.

Ma Song went on to create another lengthy, much-praised poem entitled <The Birthday March> (生日进行曲) in August, which was also published in the unofficial poetry journals *Macho Men* and *Modernists Federation*.[137] This poem was written by Ma during a visit to Ya'an by Li Yawei, Liang Yue, and Hu Yu in the summer of 1984. Li remembers a drunken Ma Song standing on a table in a restaurant giving an impromptu recital of <Birthday>.[138]

**Finishing with University**

It was also at this time that Li wrote another of the well-anthologized pieces of Macho Men poetry: <Hard Men> (硬汉们).[139] In some senses, this poem and not Wan Xia's <Macho Men>, is the poetic manifesto of the group. No longer trapped within campus walls, the Macho Men poets sought direct and complete engagement with the world as "… porcupines with poems dangling from our waists / we're dubious characters / submerged drifting masts." They sought to embody the male principle (阳), which they believed to be largely absent from China's culture. Shamelessness and fearlessness were to be their trademarks. The self in Li's poem is both the creator and the victim of conflict. Here, again, the prevailing tone is one of self-mockery. In contrast to the once-heroic stance of the self in Misty poetry (of the 1970s variety), the self is crushed, collapsed, a situation revealed by the contrast between the insignificant, powerless individual and the monstrous, overpowering nature of the world he enters. Action and movement are the keys to existence in such a world. The 'hard men' embody an anti-heroic consciousness as they refuse all modes of existence dictated by a repressive regime and dead traditions. China lies passive before them:

---

[137] In *Modernists Federation* simply entitled <Birthday> (生日).
[138] Li Yawei (1996a): 133.
[139] The second poem in *Macho Men*, also included in *Modernists Federation*. Anthologized in Xi Ping ed. (1988), Zhou Lunyou ed. (1994d), and Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992).

…..
Go, and along with roads choke whole mountains
along with the trackers for the boats pull the Yangtze straight
with the Yangtze force the sea back
go set out and see our vast world
see the wasteland history has left to us
let's go, my hard men![140]

In Wan Xia's preface to *Macho Men* in December 1984, he does not refer to 'macho men' at all, but uses the term 'hard men' to refer to the poets and poetry he and Hu Dong brought into the world in January of the same year. He states that both he and Hu had "withdrawn from the 'hard man' poetry group" in March or April. His use of the term and quotations from Li Yawei's <Hard Men> indicates that he now considered Li to be its leader. Wan's editing of this *Macho Men* journal and the inclusion of their poetry in the *Modernists Federation* journal, which he also edited, indicate that he was still supporting them in their endeavors and wanted to promote them and their poetry within Sichuan and beyond, an intention he clearly states in the preface to *Macho Men*. 1985 would see just this happen, and the style of poetry, as well their lifestyle, would prove to have a lasting impact on several poets and some of the poetry groups that were to come into existence in the province over the next few months.

In conclusion, it seems fitting that this chapter end with an autobiographical poem written by Li Yawei in November 1984 – too late, apparently, for inclusion in the two journals edited by Wan Xia discussed above, but a poem that has proven to be Li's most anthologized piece of work: <The Chinese Department> (中文系).[141] Unfortunately, an abbreviated version of this poem,[142] presumably edited down for reasons of limited space, was first published officially in *The Poetry Press* on October 21, 1986, as part of <A Grand Exhibition of Modernist Poetry Groups on China's Poetry Scene 1986> edited by the poet Xu Jingya.[143] A similar version also was reproduced in a resultant book

[140] These are the concluding lines to the rewritten version of the poem that first appeared in Li's own unofficial collection, *Macho Men: Li Yawei Poetry Selection 1984-1985* (*莽汉：李亚伟诗选 1984-1985*); reproduced in Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992): 80-83.
[141] In Xu Jingya et al. ed. (1988), Chen Chao ed. (1989), Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992), Chen Chao ed. (1993), Chen Xuguang ed. (1994), and Zhou Lunyou ed. (1994d).
[142] See a translation of this version in Day (1998).
[143] Part I appeared on the date above in the *Poetry Press,* and Parts II and III in the *Shenzhen Youth Daily* on the same date and on October 24.

published in 1988,[144] and consequently has often appeared in this form in other anthologies. Below is a translation of the version that appears in Li Yawei's own unofficial collection of poetry for the years 1984-1985. All other versions, including those in anthologies edited by Tang Xiaodu and Zhou Lunyou,[145] are missing at least three whole stanzas and parts of others. Not surprisingly, one of the complaints about the <Grand Exhibition> during discussions with Sichuan poets, was about the sloppy editing job done by Xu Jingya and the other editors.

That said, this poem, even in its edited-down form, offers the reader a peek into the lives of the Macho Men and serves as one of the better examples of the group's poetry. At the same time, this poem allows one to better imagine what life and study – or the lack of it – were like for young literary-minded men and women in universities that were still recovering from their closure during the Cultural Revolution period.

The Chinese department is a great well-baited river
in the shallows, a professor and a group of lecturers are casting nets
the netted fish
when brought up on the bank become teaching assistants, later
they become secretaries for Qu Yuan,[146] the retinue of Li Bai[147]
and kings in tales for children, then
go to cast their nets again

Sometimes, an old woman like a tree trunk
comes to the river dock --- the place Lu Xun washed his hands
whips up some long since stagnant soap suds
and has children eat them. An old man
while at the lectern quick-fries weeds
and throws in some expired MSG
those who want to consume weeds[148]completely and the edges of flowers[149]
deposit Lu Xun in a bank and eat the interest

On the upper reaches of the river, Confucius is still angling
some profs use the tufts of beards as fishing line
and in the name of Confucius lay out the innumerable people they've hooked

[144] Xu et. al. (1988)
[145] Zhou ed. (1994d); Tang ed. (1992).
[146] The earliest named Chinese poet.
[147] Also transliterated as Li Po, a Tang dynasty poet.
[148] A reference to Lu Xun's work of prose poetry, *Weeds* (*野草*) (1927).
[149] Lu Xun's collection of essays, more properly translated as *Literature by the Flowers* (*花边文学*), is here translated differently according to the clear intentions of Li.

when the bell sounds on the steps of lecture theatres
stairs and the lattice of windows raise up waves of the setting sun
a small bespectacled fish is still on its own chewing the bait
being a big poet in antiquity leading a band of small poets in writing poems
writing the rock that Wang Wei[150] wrote
some stupid golden carp or a foolish silver one
in term-end fishing interrogations will probably
be slapped with exams and quickly stumble out the door

The teacher told us to be great men
we must eat their leftovers and recite their coughs
Yawei wants to be a great man
        wants to work together with the great men of antiquity
everyday he coughs up all sorts of sounds from the library
to the dormitory

Sometimes in the reading room Byron speaks in anastrophic sentences
man is floodwater because woman is too small a riverbed
children in groups of boys and girls go to the riverbank to practice
and when Zola begins to lecture in the teahouse
man is floodwater because woman is an old wood deep in a mountain
some naughty carp come ashore to go to West mountain, mount Hua[151]

After Yawei and friends read Zhuangzi
they imitated white clouds and loitered on mountaintops
went to let fall the spring rains of pre-Han times
a portion of these pals
on the weekend after gnawing on crusty bread still want to
chew the eighth level of *Inferno*, until they sleep
under duvets still feeling the ferocity of hellfire
sometimes unsleeping they rock their bodies
through the portals of thought swimming into burning cinemas
or other places inappropriate to mention

First-year students, those
little goldfish, gold carp still not frequent eaters
of bacteria in libraries and teahouses often moor in classrooms or
beside fellow-villagers sometimes under tables of the Queen of Spades
joyfully shuttling to and fro

Poet Hu Yu is an old hand at social intercourse
but he isn't very good at roller-skating, so
on his long hair he often slides into
places where female students congregate and uses his cheeks

[150] A Tang dynasty nature poet.
[151] This and the following two stanzas are commonly left out of anthologized versions of this poem.

to sing of evening breezes blowing over Peng Hu bay
more often he's with Yawei
in the cracks between stones in pubs spitting out all kinds of gas bubbles

Twenty-four-year-old Brother Ao
hasn't written a poem in twenty-four years
but is a poem himself
forever loving a girl from five meters' distance
on holidays sending half-price telegrams
due to not remembering if Han Yu[152] was Chinese or Russian
Brother Ao tragically dropped a grade, he wanted to escape
but feared that when he crawled up on a Hongkong beach the police would
immediately haul him away to a classical Chinese language test

Everyday after getting out of bed Wan Xia's problem is
whether to keep eating or
never to eat again
together with his girlfriend after selling his old clothes
the signal to drink often buzzes in his head
the angry waves of the Yellow river, in a corner hangs
in his body like a water faucet strike
a missing-persons poster and his easel

Little Mianyang the sworn brother of us all
after taking a month to read half a page in a textbook went to the cafeteria
picked up his food and also picked a fight with a cook
yet ultimately he was blown out of the shallows
by the deep-water mine put together by model-student Jiang
now no one knows at which far-off bus stop he's starving to death

The Chinese department's like this
students worship the ancients and Wang Li[153] and the blackboards by day
and by night worship the silver screen or just as easily
chase women through the streets
Chinese department girls normally only mix with department boys
there's no time to speak with kids of other departments
this demonstrates the department's capacity for self-reliance
that medical school golden girl Yawei loved in the dew
was pawned off for a long time to a skinny monkey in history
but finally returned to Yawei
he is the founding father of attacks on the medical school he refused to negotiate
there's a possibility of medical school girls all dying young and the medical school
having the glorious possibility to be the wife-school of the Chinese department

[152] A Tang dynasty poet.
[153] The editor of the standard textbook on classical Chinese language in China.

Poet Yangyang is always planning
to marry a girl he's just met always
gliding up to the food voucher gambling table with a shark face
this thug is acquainted with four cooks
but to this day still doesn't know the writing class teacher
he once had the brilliant idea that the textile plant
is a cinema and the cinema is a delicious hot-pot
the hot-pot is the medical school and the medical school is knowledge
knowledge is a book and books are women
women are tests
and each man better make the grade

The Chinese department flows on like this[154]
professors in lectures move about murmuring
once students find the key words
outside they write them into a vortex write out
the traps the profs probably set
blowing the gas bubbles spat out by mumbling
profs out on tree-shaded avenues at term's end

The professors also ride on their gas bubbles
floating down as if their hands hold a long mythical spear
like a Boxer general patrolling on a river
on that side of the river saying "zhi"[155] on this side "hu"
on encountering a situation the prof alertly asks the password: "zhe"
in the dark a student answers "ye"

According to twenty-two rules of military conduct the leaders order
students' thought to be free order students
not to talk nonsense at assemblies of any size
the twenty-two rules of military conduct require that professors urge students
to bring forth new fruit but when reporting back to waitresses in pubs
not to soil final exam papers

The Chinese department also studies foreign literature
primarily Baudelaire and Gorky, one evening
a flustered looking lecturer raced out of the toilets
he shouted: Students
disperse immediately, there's a modernist inside

The Chinese department flowed on ancient battlefields
on professors cherishing chastity and profound artistic conceptions of the moon

[154] These final six stanzas are often reedited as three, and those three are even further abbreviated, taking lines willy-nilly from the six.
[155] Zhi 之, Hu 乎, Zhe 者, Ye 也: these four words are characters of many meanings and frequent occurrence in classical Chinese language.

beneath which flowed female defenders of their own chastity running on riverbanks
the stone caverns were seated full of widows loyal to Du Fu
and third concubines seated full of the humiliated concubines of scholars

The Chinese department flowed from the ancient path of Ma Zhiyuan[156]
later took on the identity of an object
and was placed before life by a passive sentence
today the Chinese department flows onto the lectern of the Mao Duns[157] and Ba Jins[158]

Sometimes the Chinese department flowed in dreams, slowly
like the waves of urine Yawei pisses on the dry earth like the disappearing
then again rising footprints behind the pitiful roaming little Mianyang, its waves
are following piles of sealed exams for graduation off into the distance

[156] A Yuan dynasty play-write of classical nationalistic *zaju* 杂剧 drama (ca. 1250- between 1321 and 1324).
[157] A writer of fiction (1896-1981).
[158] A Chengdu-born writer of fiction (1904- ).

# CHAPTER 5: A CONFLUENCE OF INTERESTS: THE INSTITUTION OF THE ANTI-INSTITUTIONAL

In October and November of 1984 a confluence of the interests of Sichuan's avant-garde poets led to a province-wide union in an attempt to make room for themselves – or at least a few of them – as recognized 'poets' in a public, if not official, sense. In other parts of China similar events involving groupings of newcomer poets were also occurring. In hindsight, given the thousands of poets involved and the scores of publications they produced nationwide, it seems that the shock that was expressed by many critics in 1986 upon the exposure of the nation to this plethora of new poetry in the <Grand Exhibition> was somewhat disingenuous. On the face of it, up to this point, these younger poets might have been justified in believing there was an attempt by the CCP-led literary establishment to suppress them and their new work.

This chapter will lay out in some detail a few of the activities that were occurring in an 'underground' fashion 'among ordinary folk' (民间) during 1983-1984. Much of this information is based on the memories of various participants in Sichuan and, as a result, must be taken with a grain of salt. The account below is based on the evidence of the available concrete materials, in addition to conversations between the author and several of the participants.

## Setting the Scene

Aside from a genuine interest in the art of poetry, opportunity and self-promotion are the two decisive factors that led to the appearance of the *Today* group in Beijing in 1978. There was a period of liberalization allowed at a time when the Deng faction was still

trying to dispose of Maoist elements in the CCP (primarily Hua Guofeng and his cohort of conservative Maoist survivors in the leadership) while the trials of the Gang of Four were being conducted, and there also happened to be an ambitious group of talented, young poets (and other artists) centered around underground literary salons in Beijing that had been in existence for some time.[159] Consciously or otherwise, for newcomer poets the *Today* poets whose work eventually appeared in Beijing's *Poetry* – the must-read of all lovers of poetry – were not only exemplars of a new form of poetry writing, but also an object lesson to all of China's aspiring poets in just how to get the recognition, if not the adulation, the *Today* group had received, and still were receiving. *Today* had shown all younger poets that group activity of this kind was possibly more effective than poetry collections produced for individual poets.

In Sichuan, it was not only publication in *Poetry* that was much sought after by poets of all persuasions, but also in *Stars* published in Chengdu, a nationally circulated monthly poetry journal considered second in rank to the Beijing-based journal. *Sichuan Literature,* also with a national circulation and based in Chengdu, was a third choice in terms of prestige. It has already been noted that Zhou Lunyou bombarded the editorial offices of these journals with his manuscript poems, finally being published in all three in 1982-1983. Zhai Yongming and Liao Yiwu had similar success at approximately the same time. And Ouyang Jianghe had preceded them all in 1981-1982.

It is difficult to over-emphasize the importance of the publication of a would-be poet's work in one of these nationally circulated journals in China. There is little doubt that an early love of poetry was the initial motivating – and continuing – impulse behind the vast majority of the individual decisions to write poetry. Beyond that there was strong self-belief in one's abilities, support and encouragement from an initial group (however large) of readers, and finally, and perhaps most crucially, the willingness to promote oneself in the search for editors who will be enamored of one's work. Quite apart from whatever material rewards could be won (not much), it must have been the public acknowledgement of being a 'poet' that was the primary goal. In a country such as China, where the literary heritage is an important source of national pride, this was quite some aim, and one the attainment of which only time could possibly prove. Still, to be so

[159] Van Crevel (1996): 52-58.

publicly labeled a 'poet' in the present day put one already, however prematurely, among the likes of such acknowledged masters of classical forms as Qu Yuan, Li Bai, Du Fu, Su Dongpo and, even, Mao Zedong – the initial source of inspiration for many of these younger poets. Much of this can be said about any poet elsewhere in the world within their literary traditions, and individuals such as Emily Dickinson are the rare exceptions that prove the rule.

Few poets anywhere seem to enjoy going into any real detail about their efforts at self-promotion. And there are, accordingly, few comments to be found among Sichuan's poets in this regard. Wan Xia, in a November 2001 interview with Yang Li in Beijing, claims that he wrote out Macho Men poems (not just his own) on toilet paper and condoms and sent them to famous poets and official literary journals in 1984.[160] Not surprisingly, none of these poems were selected for publication at the time. However, the poems did somehow come to circulate on campuses in the northeast. Wan cannot remember clearly, but thinks he sent copies to Xu Jingya or Lü Guipin, poets associated with Misty poetry who were resident at Jilin University at the time. As a result, Wan and others of the Macho Men poets struck up a correspondence with young poets in the northeast, notably Guo Lijia and Shao Chunguang, who both came to be considered part of the Macho Men group by the Sichuan poets. Wan Xia made trips to the northeast in both the autumn of 1984 and early 1985 during which he further cemented this link. Eventually, once a friend of Guo Lijia – the young editor Zong Renfa – discovered their poetry in 1985, many of their poems began to be published in the Liaoyuan-based *Guandong Literature* in a special bimonthly section devoted to 'Third Generation' poets.[161]

A refreshingly frank discussion of these issues and what was occurring in Sichuan at the time by Yang Ran can be found on the Internet.[162] Yang was born in Chengdu, and

---

[160] Yang Li (2004): 212.
[161] Zong has been an editor at *Author* based in Changchun since 1988. *Guandong Literature* was highly unusual in that while every second issue was devoted to 'high', or 'serious', literature, the other six issues in the year were given over to 'popular' literature. This latter literature served to support the 'serious' art, a publishing model of Zong Renfa's devising that proved successful from 1985 on, but was not copied by other literary journals elsewhere in China. The author has collected the journal and spoken with Zong on several occasions. Additional background information can be found in an interview with Guo Lijia in Yang Li (2004): 269-281.
[162] See Yang Ran (2002a).

was an early schoolmate of Liao Yiwu. In 1976 upon graduation from middle school, Yang was sent to the countryside as a rusticated youth. Except for two years at Chengdu Teachers University (1978-1980), he has lived, married, taught, and written his poetry in the small town of Ranyi. He relates how his desire to become a famous poet, and his jealousy of other young poets published in *Poetry* and *Stars*, led him to put together his own private poetry collection in the winter of 1980. This consisted of 114 poems written between the years 1974-1980, which he then mailed to a dozen-or-so well-known poets and twenty-odd friends. None of the poets responded, but he did receive encouragement from his friends. Yang claims that this jealousy and the limited opportunities to be published led many young poets (including himself) to feel antipathy toward the official poetry scene and the poets published in those journals, such as the Misty poets. He sees this as one of the reasons, if not the main one, that young poets began to reject Bei Dao *cum suis*, opposed all forms of poetic tradition, and imported western poetical Isms, in the search for poetry that would distinguish their work from officially acceptable poetry. And this, Yang argues, led to the view among many younger poets that official poetry actively worked against their 'new' poetry, blocked the modernist experimenters, and was attempting to stifle the genius of the young generation of poets. Yang holds that a natural outgrowth of this situation was the desire to publish their own journals and organize poetry groupings.

These are similar to the feelings that Bei Dao and other *Today* poets had in 1978, which led to their decision to produce their unofficial journal. This fact was not entirely lost on the younger poets, but jealousy and a competitive spirit led to mixed feelings about these predecessors who were publishable – if only intermittently – in *Poetry* and *Stars*.

In mid-1981, Yang Ran and a friend in Ranyi worked together to put out a poetry handbill (传单) entitled *Poetry Seeds* (*诗种*), which they mailed to friends in Chengdu. They received a very enthusiastic response and in October Yang traveled to Chengdu where, together with Liao Yiwu and another aspiring poet, he organized the Traveling Clouds (行云) poetry society. Liao, then a long-distance truck driver following a stint as a cook in the countryside, brought in other poets of his acquaintance, such as the woman poet Li Jing. Yang was in charge of printing operations in Ranyi, and over the course of the next year put out eight issues of *Poetry Seeds* and twenty-nine of *Traveling Clouds*

(also in handbill format). Aside from works by Yang, Liao, and Li, there was also the work of Gu Cheng, who had begun a correspondence with Yang after receiving the first issue of *Poetry Seeds*.

By way of these handbills, in 1982 Liao was able to get an introduction to the editors and official poets of *Stars* where he received both education as a poet and part-time editing work in reading and commenting on some of the thousands of poetry manuscripts that were mailed into the journal's editorial offices. As a result, Liao had some of his poems published in the poetry section of *Sichuan Literature*.[163] He made the pages of *Stars* in 1983 with the poetic sequence <Ancestral Land: The Age of the Sons> (祖国：儿子们的年代), and finally appeared in *Poetry* in February 1984. Liao Yiwu had clearly made it as a poet in the official literary scene.

Yang Ran, on the other hand, had to wait until 1984 before having a poem placed in *Stars*.[164] This, he says, was the direct result of Liao recommending him for a job reading manuscripts for that journal in Chengdu during Yang's summer vacation in 1983. Later, he attended a conference convened by *Sichuan Literature* where it was announced that the journal would cease to carry a poetry section from January 1984. Many of the younger poets present were extremely unhappy to see one of the few opportunities to publish eliminated, so Yang organized a petition, which all the younger poets signed and which was ultimately ignored without any explanation. CCP cultural policies such as these angered and alienated many younger poets. Autumn 1983 also saw the CCP cultural establishment mount a six-month-long campaign specifically meant to counter and denounce the popularity of Misty poetry and modernism among younger poets and readers of poetry.[165]

Yang's response was to return to Ranyi and to form a purely local poetry society with a friend: *Honey Flower* (*蜂蜜花*). And there followed a poetry journal, or paper, of the same name. In addition, also during the summer of 1983, Yang had been to a writing conference for poets at Qiongxia where he had met several local young poets. Later in 1983, they were able to form the Qiongxia poetry society, and with the support of the

---

[163] <The Date> (约会) and <A! Bamboo Shoot Diggers> (啊！挖笋的人) in the September 1982 issue.
[164] May issue, <Searching for a Bronze Statue> (寻找一座铜像).
[165] Barmé & Minford ed. (1988): 345.

local cultural bureau produced a poetry journal called *Daybreak* (*晨*). In 1985, this society would become the Qiongxia branch of the province-wide Young Poets Association, and produce *The Third Generation Poetry Paper* (*第三代人诗报*), in addition to *Daybreak*, until the provincial government banned the association following nationwide student demonstrations in December 1986-January 1987.

### *Yang Li*

Another even more precocious self-promoter and organizer was Yang Li. In his last year of high school in Chengdu in 1980, he and four friends put out two issues of a poetry journal called *The Plague* (*鼠疫*), named after Camus' novel by the same name. Copies of the journal came into the hands of the police who put an end to their activities.[166] Following graduation, Yang worked as a bank teller for four years, but, in 1983, he and some of his old classmates put out one issue of another poetry journal entitled *Nevertheless* (*然而*). The publication in this journal of Yang's poems <The Stranger> (怪客),[167] the title of which is apparently derived from Camus' novel *The Outsider*,[168] and <Noon> (中午)[169] made his name as an avant-garde poet, even if it did not lead to immediate publication in an official literary journal. Yang's interest in Camus had carried on to the reading of translations of French *nouveau roman*, and the biblioclastic theories of Robbe-Grillet: namely that novels should be about things, be an individual version and vision of things, and be a systematized and analytical record of things. Yang now attempted this in poetry:

**<The Stranger>**[170]

When a train traveling into the past stops at a small station
A woman wearing a red windbreaker
Gets down from the fifth carriage from the end

[166] Yang Li (2004): 59-61
[167] In Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992)
[168] *L'Etranger* in the French is translated as *局外人*(The Outsider) for the Chinese version of the book, presumably from an English translation by the same name. Yang may have known a French-speaker.
[169] In Xi Ping ed. (1988).
[170] Both this and <Noon> are in *Modernists Federation*.

When the train moves
This woman heads off in the opposite direction of the train

A red spot

Those houses are squat
Strangely short --- crowded close like musical notes
Scattered around by a musical genius

There is a similarly undersized road passing through these houses
The stranger is coming up this road (the footprints he leaves
Can make a woman pregnant)

By chance it snows that night. This guy
Leaning forward
Wears a black windbreaker
Squeezes into the squattest little wooden hut of all the houses

A black spot

In the restaurant by the road
Just as the waiter and some drinking oldsters are discussing the stranger
That woman wearing the red windbreaker
Rushes in
Outside, the snow has yet to melt

Remember that afternoon a seldom-seen drizzle fell
The sky, low and small
I tell my news to a strange telephone
Go find that eraser lost in primary school

You certainly want to know: Who am I?

While I walk
I silently recite the places I'm going to: this place
This place. I remember to myself

The woman wearing the red windbreaker sits on a chair by the window
What do you want to eat? The waiter asks
"The stranger!" this woman says and from a pocket
pulls out a handgun  puts it on the table

From here the actor in the poem wanders in fear outside; gets lost; appears on a boulevard in Paris where all are frightened of him; and then he is on a train without a terminus,

telling a nun she cannot get off; he realizes all is false – including his own words; all the women vanish; he is told the woman in black has committed suicide; he meets a sick old man; the power goes out; he looks for a woman; and enters a room full of people dancing in candlelight…

…..

"Excuse me," I'm very polite: "Of you all

Who is the stranger?"

I'm the stranger
You're the stranger
The stranger is the stranger

He joins them in their dance. On the morning of the third day, the dead woman is gone, but he then sees her sitting, thinking on a bench in a park. He sees the nun again, but then again, maybe not:

Again it's the small hours of the night
The stranger wearing his black windbreaker
Leans forward and pushes in

As far as I'm concerned
I'm the stranger

Is this poetry? It was not considered so by most of its readers until Yang Li met Wan Xia in Chengdu in 1984. When Yang read the poems of the Macho Men, he felt he had found poetic soul mates, poets who faced similar criticism. Essentially <The Stranger> is an existentialist denial of reality and of self. On the printed page, it certainly looks like poetry. The language is simple, rhymeless, and there is plenty of action. A novel condensed into a poem? Actually, it is more like the script of a play or a film, with minimal dialogue, but with vital stage directions meant to be internalized and acted out by the various actors who are in fact one actor – the reader.

This poetry shares the concern with narrative encouraged by Wan Xia and Hu Dong in Macho Men poetry, as well as what Yang Li, Li Yawei and Wan, in their November 2001

interviews, consider to be a “counter-cultural” (反文化) stance with regard to officially acknowledged poetry: that is, the lyrical (抒情) tradition at the center of classical Chinese poetry (particularly *shi* 诗 and *ci* 词). There is also a rejection of the ‘root-seeking’ (寻根) poetry that had sprung up out of the work of the *Today* poets Jianghe and Yang Lian, which was influencing a growing number of poets in Sichuan at the time: Shi Guanghua, the brothers Song Wei and Song Qu, Liao Yiwu, and Ouyang Jianghe, among others.

Yang Li writes in much the same style in <Noon>, only here the speaker seems to be located in a quiet coffeehouse on a hot day – a coincidental similarity with Ma Song’s 1984 poem, <The Coffeehouse>. The main actors are noon and the imagination, or memory, which are populated by ‘you’, ‘me’, ‘he’, and ‘she’ to express personal desires and angst:

…..

This noon
Should be like that waitress leaning back sleeping in a chair in the coffeehouse
A high ceiling fan
Twirls her skirt. This
Noon
Should be like her red knickers sometimes seen sometimes not
This noon is boring ---
Who isn’t

Can’t say there’s any loneliness
This noon
Should be lying like everybody in their own rooms
Let the boulevard
Lie there exhausted as you this noon
Too hot --- it says
Need
A kind of
Quiet

This quiet might be only possible in death, at the end of the making of the poem, and in that blank space beneath it, forever unfilled, always empty, unlike the bordello-like vessel that is “this noon.”

If they were not officially published at the time, these poems did serve as a link for Yang to Wan Xia and his ever-growing circle of poetry friends and associates in Chengdu and the rest of the province. Given the development of a province-wide range of friendships centered on ambitious individual poets such as Yang Li, Liao Yiwu, Zhou Lunyou, and Wan Xia in particular, and the greater freedoms of movement and expression enjoyed by these poets than any of their predecessors since at least 1949, it was perhaps inevitable that something bigger would occur.

### The Establishment of the Sichuan Young Poets Association

In and of itself, the Sichuan Young Poets Association (四川省青年诗人协会) amounted to little more than a province-wide talking shop. However, it did provide a forum in which several like-minded poets were able to meet, and thereby created the opportunities that yielded two major poetry journal publications in 1985 (*Modernists Federation* and *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry*), and the creation of two further poetry groups and their journals (*Not-Not* and *Han Poetry*) in 1986. The impetus towards the organization of the Association in its initial stage, however, seems to have come from Xichang, in the person of Zhou Lunyou's elder twin brother Zhou Lunzuo.

The Zhou family in its entirety is of some interest to this study.[171] Their parents, having served the Chinese Nationalists as minor functionaries before 1949, were subjected to persecution during each of the political campaigns that washed over China until 1976. Residence in the remote western Sichuan town of Xichang further added to the family's difficulties. In small Chinese towns, a smaller population often means that the victims of political campaigns become permanent scapegoats placed at the top of the list of the usual suspects to be rounded up with each new campaign.

Inevitably, in the early 1960s, the Zhou family was ordered out into the countryside near Xichang in order to have their class-consciousness rectified and raised through toiling with the farmers on the land. Before this, the Zhou family's eldest son had been

[171]This information is based on conversations between the author of this study and Zhou Lunyou during 1988 and 1989, and with his wife Zhou Yaqin in 1990, while Zhou Lunyou was imprisoned.

able to win a place at university in Chengdu. There he was driven insane by persecution during the Cultural Revolution, because a theoretical article he wrote was viewed as an attack upon the regime.

Compelled to go to the countryside and unable to attend school after only three years of primary education, Zhou Lunyou and his elder twin brother, Lunzuo, began a program of intensive self-education, against the wishes of their parents. With the death of Mao and the fall of the Gang of Four in 1976, the education system slowly returned to a state of pre-Cultural Revolution normalcy, and the twins were able to complete college degrees by way of TV University in 1979.

Like his elder brother, however, Lunzuo's interests also lay in politics and philosophy. Initially a high-school teacher, due to an essay deemed critical of the CCP he was arrested in 1980 (and again in 1987) and sentenced to two years of 'reform through labor' – a fate that was also to befall Lunyou in August 1989.[172]

As a result of Zhou Lunzuo's essays and Lunyou's success as a poet in the early 1980s, the twins had made a large number of acquaintances in Xichang and its environs, and consequently also in Chengdu. In the summer of 1984, Lunzuo was mulling a possible essay topic to be entitled <A Study of the Composition of Human Personality> (人格建构学). His ideas were praised by Zhou Lunyou and his local poet-friends, Jimu Langge and Wang Shigang (later to take the pen-name Lan Ma), who then recommended them to friends in Chengdu.[173]

Zhou Lunyou had become close friends with the Chengdu poets Liao Yiwu and Li Zhengguang when all three attended the officially sponsored Sichuan Youth Creative Activists Delegates Conference in autumn 1983, at which they had publicly challenged

[172] Zhou brother number four was sentenced to life imprisonment on trumped-up charges of rape (of a girlfriend who was the daughter of a local high official) in the early 1980s. Finally, in early 1990, the youngest of the five brothers, a taxi driver whom their parents had successfully kept out of school and illiterate, was killed in a car accident. The driver of the other vehicle was clearly at fault, but was never charged. Up until that time, this son and his wife had been able to parlay Deng's economic reform policies into a thriving chicken farm that allowed him to drive Xichang's first privately owned taxi cab and purchase a newly-built apartment.

[173] The following details can be found in an essay written by Zhou Lunzuo and published in the ninth issue of *Not-Not*. This is the only detailed account of these matters in existence and, due to Zhou Lunzuo's relative neutrality as a non-poet, rings far truer than any of the very partial accounts of events from other individuals, including Zhou Lunyou, Wan Xia, and Yang Li. See Zhou Lunzuo (2001): 396-451, in Zhou Lunyou ed. (2001e).

current literary orthodoxy.[174] The three came to be collectively known as the Three Musketeers (三剑客[175]), and this name was given to their larger group, or forum, a coterie that included the two woman poets, Li Juan and Liu Tao (later to become the wife of Wang Shigang).[176] It was these two who were so enthused by Zhou Lunzuo's essay topic that they undertook to arrange for him to lecture at Sichuan University in Chengdu through Zhao Ye, who was the leader of the university's poetry society at the time. Zhou Lunzuo traveled to Chengdu in early October 1984 and was put up in Wan Xia's home, where he also made the acquaintance of Yang Li. On October 13, Zhou Lunzuo gave his lecture to a receptive audience of hundreds at Sichuan University. The school wanted him to lecture again and he drew invitations from the Medical Institute and the Chinese Medicine Institute. However, all came to naught when the university party organization objected to Zhou Lunzuo's reply to a question about Marx at the first lecture – he had said that Marx had little to say on the subject of his lecture beyond the effect of economics on people. At the time, it was still punishable heterodoxy to state that Marx did not have an answer to everything.[177]

One of the listeners to Zhou Lunzuo's lecture at Sichuan University had been Chen Lirong, who would become a managing director of the Sichuan Knowledge Development Workers Association (四川省智力开发工作者协会), officially established in July 1984.[178] Chen wanted the Association's activities to expand beyond the purely educational into broader cultural areas and, together with Zhou Lunzuo, hit upon the idea of setting up a group of lecturers who would travel throughout the province and, ultimately, the country. The initial core group of lecturers was to consist of the Zhou twins, Ouyang Jianghe (then still known as Jianghe), Wang Shigang, and a few others. This idea was scrapped due to Zhou Lunzuo's political difficulties after the university lecture, but he was instead hired to work in the Association's offices. While there, Zhou

[174] Zhou Lunyou ed. (1994b): 108.
[175] A label used for several other threesomes in contemporary Chinese poetry. For example, see Maghiel van Crevel (1996): 49-50.
[176] Ibid.; in 1983, presumably after the conference, the three poets were joined by Liu Tao, Chen Xiaofan, Wang Shigang, Li Juan, and Wan Xia, among others, and, in 1984, Yang Yuanhong, Zhao Ye, Shi Guanghua, Song Qu and Song Wei also took part. It was also at the Activists Conference that Zhou Lunyou first met He Xiaozhu, a resident of Fuling, who later became a contributor to the Zhou-edited *Not-Not* (1986-1989).
[177] Zhou Lunzuo (2001): 403.
[178] Ibid.: 410.

was visited by poet-friends such as Wan Xia, Liu Tao, Li Juan and another female poet, Chen Xiaofan, who all made the acquaintance of Chen Lirong and others in the Association. In late October 1984, Yang Li suggested that the Association set up some sort of organization for young poets and this idea appealed to Chen, softened up, as he effectively was, by the young, vibrant poets who frequently visited Zhou Lunzuo there.

At the time, in Zhou Lunzuo's eyes, there were two groups of poets in Sichuan: one, centered around Ouyang Jianghe, Zhai Yongming, Zhong Ming, Bai Hua (essentially the poets of *The Born-Again Forest*), had close connections with Misty poets and poetry,[179] considered themselves to be proper modernists, and had nothing to do with the other group. This other group included Zhou Lunyou, Liao Yiwu, Li Zhengguang, Liu Tao, Li Juan, Wang Shigang, Jimu Langge (the pen name of Ma Xiaoming), Yang Li, Wan Xia, and others. Zhou Lunzuo thought that Ouyang Jianghe would be the hardest to bring around, but felt that as neutrals he and Chen Lirong might be able to get the two groups to work together within the similarly neutral Association.[180]

Chen was able to convince the other directors on the Association's board to establish an arts department under which he would manage this new organization. He and Zhou Lunzuo approached Ouyang Jianghe, who agreed to join under the condition that the Association send an official letter of invitation to his military work unit in which he would be asked to take the position of vice president of the new organization. With Ouyang Jianghe and his group now willing to cooperate, and Chen Lirong as the president, Lunzuo was asked to draw up a list of names for other leadership positions. He remembers preparing the following list:[181]

President: Chen Lirong
Vice Presidents: Ouyang Jianghe, Li Zhengguang, Luo Gengye, Zhou Lunyou (also

[179] Ouyang met Yang Lian in 1981, and had traveled together with him, Zhai Yongming, and others to Jiuzhai Gou, a famous tourist site in western Sichuan. Before this, a poetry meeting in honor of Yang had been convened in Chengdu's Wangjiang Park. In 1982-1983, Yang returned to Chengdu with Bei Dao. See Yang Li (2004): 431-433.
[180] Zhou Lunzuo (2001): 412. This impression would have been reinforced by Zhou Lunyou's editing of a poetry collection in autumn 1984 that was tentatively entitled *Wolves* (*狼们*). Zhou Lunyou wanted to promote a "primitive, instinctive, untamed free expression of life consciousness" in poetry, and had selected work of his own, Yang Li (then using the penname Jiazi), Wan Xia, Hu Dong, Li Yawei, Li Yao, Liu Tao, Chen Xiaofan, Lan Ma, and Liu Jiansen. Zhou says Yang Li was responsible for the collection not being printed. See Zhou Lunyou (1994b): 108.
[181] Zhou Lunzuo (2001): 410.

Secretary General)
Assistant Secretary Generals: Zhai Yongming, Liao Yiwu, and Wang Shigang
Directors: Yang Li, Yang Yuanhong, Zhong Ming, Liu Tao, Li Juan, Chen Xiaofan, Shi Guanghua, Song Qu, Song Wei, Wan Xia, Zhao Ye, Hu Xiaobo.

Not a poet himself, Zhou Lunzuo did not wish to be part of this organization, and he returned to Xichang after giving this list to Chen Lirong. Chen was also not a poet, but he was a director, and now head of a newly established arts department, at the Knowledge Development Workers Association, a body recognized by, and under the supervision of, the provincial department of the Communist Youth League Council. This provenance would prove invaluable in providing necessary letters of introduction to printers who would produce the publications of various 'research societies' (研究学会) during 1985 and 1986, including *Modernists Federation*, *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry*, *Han Poetry*, and *Not-Not*.[182]

The Sichuan Young Poets Association was officially established on November 4, 1984, at a special congress held in the Chengdu Municipality Working People's Cultural Hall Auditorium. Predictably, Zhou Lunzuo's list was altered.

How it was changed can be seen in a brief notice published on page eight of the Association's first publication: *Modernists Federation*. The concluding two paragraphs run as follows:

> Currently the association has 110 members, association branch membership runs close to 2,000, and [the association] is in the process of establishing five district branches. The Chongqing University Student Branch has already been established and has 1,200 members; the Chengdu Municipal Universities Branch has 400 members.
>
> Currently the association has three research groups: the Oriental Culture Research Society (东方文化研究学会), the Wholism Research Society (整体主义研究学会), and the Third Generation Alliance (第三代人同盟). After repeated discussions and consultations among the directorate, Comrade Luo Gengye was chosen as president, (Ouyang) Jianghe, Fu Tianlin, Li Zhengguang, and Wan Xia as vice-presidents, and Comrade Shi Guanghua as acting secretary general(代任秘书长).

The changes to the initial list tendered by Zhou Lunzuo are instructive in several senses as to what the poets wanted this association to promote. It is perhaps not surprising that

[182] Ibid.: 409.

Chen Lirong was willing to relinquish the role of president. It is also unsurprising that Zhai Yongming had no interest in acting as a vice-president, for she was looking after her mother, who was in hospital at the time.[183] What is surprising is the disappearance of Zhou Lunyou's name from this new list, although he did remain a director. The other surprise might be the appearance of Wan Xia as a vice-president. According to Zhou Lunyou in an April 7, 2001 interview with a reporter from the *Asia Pacific Times* (*亚太时报*),[184] Wan Xia's involvement in the preparatory phase was in propaganda work, but after the list of positions had already been finalized, the directors gave in to Wan Xia's pleading and added the position of "deputy secretary general (and vice-president) in charge of propaganda" which was subsequently filled by Wan.

It is also of interest to note the creation of the two research – or 'study' – societies and the alliance. These titles deliberately hark back to similarly-titled organizations created during the May Fourth period (1917-1922) when such bodies, in all spheres of social life – including one founded by Mao Zedong in 1918 which led on to the birth of the CCP[185] – sprang up like mushrooms in China's major cities. Furthermore, Yang Li, Wan Xia, and the Macho Men poets took the title of 'Third Generation' from the Chongqing poets of the 1982 Beipei conference by adding the character for 'person' (人) to 'Third Generation'. Given such apparent political machinations on the parts of those involved in the Association, it would seem that the organization was not purely oriented toward the art of poetry.

However, on 18 January 1985, Zhou Lunyou received a telegram in Xichang (where he was working on a collection of poetry that ultimately remained unpublished, and which may be why Shi is listed as 'acting' secretary general) from Yang Yuanhong in Chengdu telling him to return and that Wan Xia was mounting a *coup d'état* of sorts. Zhou says that Wan, together with a "trusted friend" of Zhou's, had created a new board of directors consisting of people not in the association, called for an expanded congress, named himself as both a vice-president and the secretary general of the association, and made

[183] More on this in Chapter 6.
[184] Xiao Yun (2001).
[185] Chow (1960): 74-75.

one of his co-plotters a vice president. Zhou returned to Chengdu, confronted Wan Xia, and the *coup* was forthwith aborted.

In his November 2001 interview with Yang Li, Wan Xia goes into some detail as to why he may have tried to alter the leadership structure of the association. He states he did not like the pointless, interminable meetings, and that Shi Guanghua and Zhou Lunyou were only interested in publishing things. Wan wanted activities such as the parties, poetry readings, and lectures he had organized on campus in Nanchong. Wan also says he thought that the poetry of himself, Yang Li, Hu Dong, Li Yawei, etc., belonged to the future, that Ouyang Jianghe, Li Zhengguang, and Zhou Lunyou were incapable of putting anything good together, and that Luo Gengye was only interested in doing business.[186]

These comments indicate that the list published in the journal is accurate as to the leadership before the *coup* attempt, and that Chen may have stepped down in favor of Luo as president before publication of the journal in 1985. This also rings true with Wan Xia's comments about others only being interested in getting things published, for both Luo Gengye and Fu Tianlin (a woman poet who appears as a vice president in the journal's list) were members of the official Writers Association and were Sichuan's most famous practitioners of Misty poetry. Both poets were selected as representatives of Misty poetry in the tremendously successful *Misty Poetry Selections* (*朦胧诗选*) published in Shenyang in November 1985.[187] Asking members of the official Writers Association to lend their names to Second World projects would become common practice for unofficial journals, as it was hoped that doing so would provide some modicum of protection against official wrath directed at their illegal publications.

Zhou Lunyou's reference to a "trusted friend" who participated with Wan Xia in the attempted *coup* was to Yang Li, a fact confirmed by Shi Guanghua in his 2001 interview with Yang.[188] The vagueness of Zhou, Yang, and others on this matter may have much to do with saving face, for most of Sichuan's prominent younger poets had been somehow involved in these events, pro- or anti-*coup*, and in hindsight would not have wished to admit to any role in such political shenanigans. In any case, personal relationships were

[186] Yang Li (2003b). The author downloaded this chapter from the Xiangpi Internet site in March 2003. This information, which appears on page 24 there, is edited out of Yang (2004) where it should appear on page 217. Perhaps Yang or Wan felt the comments were too incendiary.
[187] Yan Yuejun et. al., ed. (1985); by the fifth reprint in April 1987, 192,500 copies had been published.
[188] Yang Li (2004): 414.

strained, or broken, and in many cases continue so to this day, as comments by Wan Xia, Yang Li, and Zhou Lunyou in 2001 indicate. In 1986, however, Zhou and Yang seemed to have repaired their personal relationship, as Zhou invited Yang to join his and Wang Shigang's nascent *Not-Not* group.

So far, all of this is centered on events in Chengdu. Little is said anywhere about what took place in Chongqing and its environs, where many of Sichuan's universities and colleges are located, and in which the Young Poets Association claimed 1,400 members. In Bai Hua's book *The Left Side*, there is a brief account of events in November-December 1984 when the Association was being set up.[189] Wu Shiping was one of the main organizers of what was called the Chongqing Youth Cultural Arts Association (重庆青年文化艺术协会). Peng Yilin, a friend of Bai and Zhong Ming whose poetry had been included in *Born-again Forest*, was also one of the leaders. Bai and another friend, the poet Zhang Zao, attended the last preparatory meeting in Beipei, and it was there that Bai first met Pan Jiazhu, who was made a vice-president of this association and was then teaching English at the Liberation Army Communications Institute in Linyuan, another suburb of Chongqing. In 1988, Pan would become a poet and theorist of the Wholism group in Chengdu.

### The First Product of the Association: *Modernists Federation*

*Modernists Federation* is the English name of the first journal produced by the Association, which is given on the front cover in Chinese as *现代诗内部交流资料* (*Modern Poetry Internal Exchange Materials*). The innocuous Chinese title was evidently chosen to maintain legality, as the journal did not have a book number that would allow it to be publicly circulated and sold. (The last few issues of *Today* had also taken this tack in 1980 in a vain attempt to avoid being banned.) Presumably, the journal was meant for circulation among Young Poets Association members only – at least that is what the authorities would have been told. The cover also carries the date "January 1985," but the editors' comments on the back inside-cover indicate that the journal did

[189] Bai Hua (1996a): Part 3, Chapter 6.

not appear until March of that year. Further proof of this is found on page 19 where, at the conclusion of Shi Guanghua's poetic contribution, it is noted that final changes were made to the text on February 26, 1985.

The back cover carries contact information and the list of editors. The Oriental Culture and Wholism research societies are credited as the "sponsors" or "principal producers" (主办) of the journal, Wan Xia is editor-in-chief, and Yang Li and Zhao Ye are his assistants – all three were members of the Third Generation Alliance. However, the "responsible editors of this issue" (本期责任编辑) are listed as Song Wei, Hu Dong, Zhao Ye, Shi Guanghua, Wan Xia, Yang Li, and Wang Gu. In comments made during his interview with Yang Li, Wan Xia claims that his original hope of getting maximum exposure for what he felt was new, experimental poetry by the likes of the Macho Men poets and Yang Li was never high. He claims the association was controlled by the Song bothers, Shi Guanghua (Wholism poets), and Zhao Ye and the local university student poets; all of whom Wan felt were not up to the job of producing a journal.[190] This might mean that the January 18 attempted leadership *coup* was Wan's endeavor to create a 'Third Generation' journal, and this could explain the later March publication date. Yet Wan then goes on to admit that they could not do an issue of just 'Third Generation' poets, because there was also good poetry from Shi Guanghua, the Song brothers, Ouyang Jianghe, and Beijing's Haizi, among others.[191] Liao Yiwu had been put in charge of contacting poets and soliciting contributions for the journal before the *coup*, and the contents of the journal that eventually emerged seems to have come about through his efforts as much as anyone else's.

The end result was a journal of 82 pages (including editors' comments on both the inside front- and inside back-covers) divided into six sections. The first section, entitled <Conclusion or Beginning> (结局或开始) – the title of one of Bei Dao's most famous poems – had only seven pages, which carried the poetry of Bei Dao, Gu Cheng, Yang Lian (these three were *Today* poets), Xu Jingya, and Luo Gengye. As is often the unwritten rule of unofficial poetry journals, works in *Modernists Federation* were previously unpublished in official literary journals, and by including the works of well

[190] Yang Li (2003b): 23. Again, the relevant comments have been edited out of Yang (2004): 217.
[191] Ibid.: 24.

known Misty poets the journal was able to acquire a certain cachet, or – in Bourdieu's term – symbolic capital. The appearance of the journal, both inside and out, was highly professional, on a par, in fact, with *Poetry*. There were three poems each from Bei Dao and Gu Cheng: Bei Dao's <Conspirators> (同谋),[192] <Curriculum Vitae> (履历), and <Capriccio> (随想); and Gu Cheng's <The Sea of Parting> (分别的海), <Garden of Dreams> (梦园), and <Coming Close> (来临). Yang Lian's contribution was <The High Plateau> (高原), a long three part segment of the second <Dunhuang> (敦煌) section of his series <Ceremonies of Souls> (礼魂). This latter work was, strictly speaking, already no longer Misty poetry, but poetry that was more 'root-seeking', or a search for the soul of Chinese culture.

In their 2001 interview, the newcomer poets Yang Li and Li Yawei complain about Wan Xia and the other editors' decision to include Misty poetry, saying it was a simple ruse to attract the attention of official literary editors to the poetry of *Modernists Federation* in the hope of possible official publication for the non-Misty work. Coming almost twenty years later from Yang Li, then one of the editors, there is a ring of self-justification – if not deliberate distortion – in his words: in light of later events, who could argue that *all* the Association poets were not hoping for just such an outcome? Poets such as Li Yawei and Ma Song, who had no part in the editorial process, might have had such sentiments at the time, but it would be hard to believe that they were not thrilled to see their work published in such a fine-looking journal. Nor would it be difficult to imagine that they might also have felt some satisfaction in seeing their names so closely linked to those of Bei Dao, Gu Cheng, and Yang Lian. Surely this had been an unstated intent of the editors, in addition to a desire to interest poetry-lovers (and publishers) beyond Sichuan's borders in their journal – Misty poets acting as a 'hook' – and an apparent desire to include the finest poetry available to them in their journal. Here Liao Yiwu's admiration of *Today* poets and his responsibility in soliciting work from out-of-province poets played a large part. In this respect, Liao's influence would be seen again later in 1985 in the composition of the Association's next journal, *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry*.

[192] In Tang Xiaodu ed. (1993b).

The influence of Yang Lian on contemporary poetry in Sichuan was immediately apparent in the second section of poetry under the heading of <Asian Bronze> (亚洲铜), the title of the poem by Haizi[193] that concludes the twenty-two-page section.[194] The other relatively short poem in this section is one by the Beijing poet, Niu Bo. The remaining six poems are all very lengthy and belong to what is best referred to as the Wholism (整体主义) tendency, including work by Shi Guanghua, Song Wei and Song Qu, Ouyang Jianghe, Liao Yiwu, Li Zhengguang, and Zhou Lunyou (the Three Musketeers, still intact on paper at least).

The third section is entitled <The Third Generation Poetry Conference> (第三代人诗会). This section is the biggest, at twenty-nine pages in length and over twenty poems. Here are poems by Yang Li, Ma Song, Hu Dong, and Li Yawei, all previously discussed, and all written at least six months and up to two years earlier in the case of Yang Li.

It is of interest to note the layout of the table of contents at this point. It is two pages long, and clearly what were felt by the editors to be the most important authors and works are to be found on the first page, starting with the name of Bei Dao and ending with that of Wan Xia. The names of twenty-two poets are on the first page (six of whom were out-of-province) and their work is given fifty-one, or roughly two thirds, of the journal's seventy-eight poetry pages. Zhang Zao, Zhang Xiaobo, Zhao Ye, and Wan Xia are the other poets under the Third Generation banner on the first page. The editor's comments (presumably those of Wan Xia) on the inside front- and inside back-covers make reference to only these three (or two and a half) sections and to the poets and work found on page one of the table of contents. At the top of page two, the Third Generation section is filled out by four poets of the university student group from Chengdu – Deng Xiang,[195] Hu Xiaobo, Huang Yun, and Cheng Ning – and an honorary member of Macho Men from the northeast, Guo Lijia.

---

[193] In Xi Ping ed. (1988).

[194] This poem was written in 1984, and in 1985 was awarded the May Fourth Special Prize for Literature at the first such award ceremony at Beijing University, from where Haizi had graduated in 1983. See Xiang Weiguo (2002): 124. See Yeh (1998): 281-296, for an article on the position of this poem in Haizi's oeuvre.

[195] Deng's two poems were selected from the 1983 journal *The Third Generation*: <A Man> (一个汉子) and <Story> (故事). See Deng Xiang (2004) for these poems.

The following section is only nine pages long and carries thirteen works by six poets who constitute a glaring absence up to this point: the women. Here then, finally, their poetry is consigned to a section simply entitled <Woman Poets> (女诗人). And all the poets previously mentioned as active in the Sichuan avant-garde poetry scene are here: Zhai Yongming, Liu Tao, Li Yao, Li Jing, Li Juan, and Chen Xiaofan. There is no contribution from Fu Tianlin, who was apparently drafted into the association as a vice-president for appearance's sake only.[196]

The fifth section of poetry is designated <The Sea of Summer> (夏之海). Eleven poems are crowded onto six pages, with Wang Shigang's contribution suffering a horrible hatchet job of editing. Kunming-resident Yu Jian's oft-anthologized <Opus # 11> (作品 11 号) concludes the poetry of this section. The section also holds three excellent poems by Bai Hua, as well as poems by Zhong Ming, Yang Yuanhong, Chen Dong, Zhang Xiande, and Sun Wenbo.

Finally, there is an important section titled <Foreign Poetry> (外国诗), which consists of the husband-and-wife translation team of Daozi and Zhao Qiong of Xi'an presenting four poems from Sylvia Plath's *Ariel* collection, and an essay from Daozi entitled <Plath and the 'Confessional School' of Poetry> (普拉斯与“自白派”诗歌).

Looking at this impressive list of names, it can be said that no other unofficial poetry journal in China matched it until the 1990s and the appearance of *Modern Han Poetry* (*现代汉诗*), a nationally circulated unofficial journal edited variously in Beijing, Shanghai, Chengdu, Hangzhou, and Shenzhen, which selected poetry from other unofficial journals all over the country.[197] There have been criticisms – by Li Yawei and Yang Li in their interview for example – that the focus of *Modernists Federation* was too

[196] Personal communication with Liao Yiwu in 1989. Ouyang Jianghe had been familiar with establishment poets, such as Fu, Liu Shahe, Luo Gengye, Li Gang, and others since 1978, and may have played a role in involving figures such as Fu and Luo in the Association. See Yang Li (2004): 430-432.

[197] An argument might be made that the winter 1985 unofficial journal *75 Chinese Contemporary Poems* (*当代中国诗歌七十五首*), edited by Huang Beiling and Meng Lang from Beijing and Shanghai respectively, fulfills such a role. However, of the thirty-two poets whose work is selected, only five are from beyond Beijing and Shanghai and its environs. There are three poems each from Bai Hua and Zhai Yongming, as representatives of Sichuan. In addition, as the selection of these two poets indicates, the issue was overwhelmingly devoted to lyric poetry. Bai's poems are <Who> (谁), <Afternoon> (下午), and <Reason> (道理), and Zhai's are <Nightmare> (噩梦), <Evidence> (证明), and <The Finish> (结束), all from the 20-poem sequence <Woman> (# 10, #12, and # 20).

diffuse. However, today *Modernists Federation* reads like an anthology of avant-garde poetry for 1984. The one instance that comes close to matching *Modernists Federation* is the next of the Young Poet Association's journals, *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry*, published in September 1985. This journal would carry the work of ten out-of-province avant-garde poets, only one of which – Bei Dao – was an older Misty poet.[198]

In *Modernists Federation*, all the names on the first page of the table of contents, with the exception of Li Zhengguang, can be found in most anthologies of post-Mao poetry published since 1987. Of those on the second page, the names of Zhai Yongming, Bai Hua, Sun Wenbo, and Yu Jian stand out in particular, and Guo Lijia, Liu Tao, Chen Xiaofan, Zhong Ming, and Wang Shigang (Lan Ma) will be familiar to any reader of avant-garde poetry of the 1980s and 1990s.

As for the poetry by non-Sichuan poets, Bei Dao's <Conspirators> -- the first poem in the journal – has become one of his most anthologized pieces, as has Yang Lian's <High Plateau>, Haizi's <Asian Bronze>, and Yu Jian's <Opus # 11>. The Second World poets of Sichuan were very much 'conspirators' in spirit with the *Today* poets and their journal, if not altogether with their poetry. As far as the Sichuan poets are concerned, there is much new, experimental work, and most is worth more than a brief comment in light of what became of these poets and their poetry in the ensuing years. With the exception of poems discussed in the preceding chapters, the next chapter will take a closer look at these texts.

[198] See Chapter 7 for more on this journal and related issues.

## CHAPTER 6: THE POETRY OF *MODERNISTS FEDERATION*

The work of Sichuan avant-garde poets in *Modernists Federation* was a first nationwide, public signal of a radical shift away from Misty poetry among China's younger poets. A few weeks later in 1985 another unofficial journal, Nanjing's *Them*, would also indicate as much. In *Modernists Federation* however, the placement of Misty poetry before that of the newer work set the issue in stark relief, although Yang Lian's <High Plateau> acted as the bridge to some of the poetry that followed. Like Misty poetry in general at the time, this new strain of what was termed 'roots-seeking' poetry was also under critical attack by the literary establishment. In March 1984, an article by Xiang Chuan attacking Yang Lian's <Norlang> (诺日朗)[199] appeared in the official *Literary Arts Bulletin* (*文艺通讯报*):

> Since the publication of his long poem <Norlang>, the young poet Yang Lian has been criticized for being too obscure and esoteric and ideologically unhealthy. The poem beautifies the ugliness of hooligans, scoundrels and "sexual liberationists." In order to enhance the supreme sanctity of this "male deity," the broad masses are portrayed as muddle-headed and insensitive.
> …..
> This is not the cry of a nation, not the call of an era; it is the voice of one individual over-riding a whole nation and a whole era. Its incantatory riddles express a presumptuous will to dominate.[200]

This, it might be argued, is precisely the poet's intention. The name of the poem is that of a Tibetan male deity, but also the name of a waterfall in Sichuan's Jiuzhaigou, as well as that of a mountain on the high plateau on the Sichuan-Gansu provincial border. Yang

[199] In Yan Yuejun et al. ed. (1987) and Tang Xiaodu ed. (1993b).
[200] This translation is from Barmé & Minford ed. (1988): 249.

Lian's poem sparked interest among younger Sichuan poets in local mythology and religious practices, past and present, of the Han Chinese and minority nationalities.

The objections to obscurity were common with regard to Misty poetry in general, but the use of, and the critical reaction to, sexual imagery, and national soul-searching not specifically related to the Cultural Revolution, were something new. Yang's poetry found an appreciative audience among Sichuan poets, Liao Yiwu in particular.

### *Ouyang Jianghe*

After the Misty poets in the first section of the journal, the first of the poems in the second, <Asian Bronze> section is Ouyang Jianghe's <The Suspended Coffin: Part I A Book of Heaven with no Words> (悬棺：第一章 无字天书)[201]:

> Every moment is the same moment.
> The silence you now hear is absolute: With the honor of a despot it enters the body of flesh and blood that rules all things and becomes five fiery horses galloping in five directions. The internal organs fracture and scatter into five elements – metal, wood, water, fire, and dirt.
> The Book of Heaven you now read has eyes for words: Each eye is the disappearance of a language or a pile of shattered vistas, propagating taboos and subterfuge. Echoes drift by, ranges of mountains sleep like beauties. The rain of yellowing plums is suspended without comment, everywhere songs and sobs are dried by the sun to become the salt in salt.
> The body you now touch is shaped like nothing: Facing empty waste lands, facing a species all of one face, sometimes collected, sometimes scattered, of incessant life and death, there is no soul to be called to the suspended coffin, nothing sacred to manifest. The shining path of heaven splashes out to become wind and water, all empty illusions of your eyes and ears.
> A king of kings with no country and no crown: Who is that?

Here again, as in Ouyang Jianghe's contributions to the *Born-Again Forest*, there appears the vision of a resident in Eliot's <The Waste Land>, but this time the poet is wandering through ruins of the once great culture that was China's. The image of the suspended coffin refers to an ancient, and little understood, Sichuan burial practice, and this corpse of culture and tradition allows Ouyang a unique perspective and voice within

[201] Parts I and III anthologized in Xi Ping ed. (1988).

the poem. Also, his delving into ancient mystical customs is yet another sign of western modernist poetical influences, which had been influenced by the theories of Carl Jung and Freud, and is a new trend in Sichuan's avant-garde poetry reinforced by most of the works in the <Asian Bronze> section.

Ouyang's poem as it appears here is prefaced by a quotation from Diderot, the eighteenth-century French *encyclopédiste* whose works appear to be another influence on the writing of this poem:

> They walked toward a huge castle. On the front of the castle was written: "I belong to no man, but to all. Even before you have entered you are in its midst, and after you leave you are still within."

The writing technique Ouyang adopts for this poem is seemingly that of St.-John Perse, a favorite poet of Eliot, who translated Perse's *Anabasis* (1922) from the French in 1931. Furthermore, a reading of Perse's poem reveals that Ouyang appears to have written his poem as a partial response: *Anabasis* is a series of images of migration, of conquest of vast spaces in Asiatic wastes, of destruction and foundation of cities and civilizations of various races and epochs of the ancient East. In his poem (and the following two parts), Ouyang creates a detailed image of China as just such a destroyed civilization, with its now seemingly unending corruption, decadence, and brutality. This subject matter would be revisited in a different form and more spectacular style by Liao Yiwu from 1985 until 1989, first in one long, five-part poem and, subsequently, two trilogies of long poems.

Ouyang Jianghe is one of the first poets of note in China to attempt Perse's form of what could be called 'prose-verse' poetry. For this reason, Eliot's justification of this form of poetry in his preface to Perse's poem is worth repeating:

> … Its sequences, its logic of imagery, are those of poetry and not of prose; and in consequence … the *declamation*, the system of stresses and pauses, which is partially exhibited by the punctuation and spacing, is that of poetry and not of prose.[202]

Other Sichuan poets would also attempt this form of poetry, and several would exhibit this tendency in *Modernists Federation* with poems written in 1984. Aside from Ouyang

[202] Perse (1959): 10-11.

Jianghe, there is formally similar work by Shi Guanghua, the brothers Song Wei and Song Qu, Li Zhengguang, Zhou Lunyou, and even Wan Xia.

This first part of Ouyang's poem was written in 1981 and seen by Yang Lian at the time (the other two parts were completed by 1984). Ouyang claims he sees the influence of this poem on Yang's later work, noting that Yang was half a teacher to him,[203] as presumably Ouyang and many other Sichuan poets had been earlier moved to write poetry of this type under the influence of Yang's and Jianghe's earlier poetry. (<Norlang> was written following a trip to Jiuzhaigou in the company of Ouyang, Zhai Yongming, and others in 1981, as noted in chapter 3.)

### *Liao Yiwu*

Liao Yiwu's <Lovers> (情侣) follows Ouyang Jianghe's <Suspended Coffin>. This poem stands as a milestone in Liao's development as a poet. Previously, Liao's poetry had been rooted in the people and places of his experience as indicated by the titles of some of his officially published poetry: <The Great Basin> (大盆地), <The Great High Plateau> (大高原), <A! The Bamboo-shoot Diggers> (啊！挖笋的人), and <The People> (人民), the first two and the last of which would go on to be official award-winning poems. In these poems, Liao's style was a blend of romanticism and realism, but recurrent themes of 'death' and 'distant travel' hinted at what was to follow. These were suggestions of his future inclination towards metaphysical themes and a tendency to devalue the world of man in the face of the far greater mysteries of the universe. In addition, the influence of Walt Whitman was evident in both Liao's imagery (the sexually charged forces of nature) and his long poetic line, with which Liao attempted to replicate the powerful overtones and clumsy eloquence of Whitman's odes to America, progress, and democracy.

Yet, <Lovers> was something of a departure from this Whitmanesque free verse form. Life appears as a maiden, as the speaker's nearest and dearest companion. She is,

[203] Yang Li (2004): 435.

however, a tyrannical lover who never, not even after corporeal death, releases one from one's vows:

Onward
Who's governing me?

(In this kind of night the starlight's very bright, the black sun
roars incessantly outside the world. As if a hand
from inside pulls shut my eyelids, suggesting --- don't go)

Onward
Who's governing me?

(The legendary stone conch has thrice sounded, the mountains are restless
hippopotami attracted to the sea
see the rise and fall of steep banks, open land grows ever narrower, the ocean has
thrice risen, painting pretty ripples on the sky --- what sort of scenery is this)

Onward
Who's governing me loosen your hand
like releasing a gradually cooling human life --- there is no alley on the earth
but I follow an alley without beginning or end, two feet in front four legs behind

…..

Never ending ….. is this destined to be? Onward onward onward
on the solid earth, until flesh fades away
and the soul continues on, soberly
walking on over the vast white continent

unapproachable love
Oh such unapproachable love

This poem is the first of many in which Liao catalogues the pain and suffering of mankind in general, and of the Han Chinese and the poets of that nation in particular, and renders the results in a surrealistic yet lyrical stream of rhymeless verse. In this respect, he is unique among this younger generation of poets. While others focused on intellectual-philosophical details, existential circumstances and the absurdities of everyday life, Liao developed a poetry centered upon the concept of a universal spirit or soul (泛灵观), mining ancient Chinese legends and religion of pre-Confucian times. Like Whitman, Blake, and Dylan Thomas (a major, direct influence), the imagery of Liao's

poetry from here on is elemental – of birth, energy, sex, and death. In Liao's poetry, this is the cycle to which mankind has been condemned since creation and which has taken on tragic overtones ever since mankind began to aspire to the status of creator – a transformation which occurred when man achieved self-awareness or, in Liao's terms, when man emerged from the ocean of his mother's belly. Liao does more, however, than give voice to the dirges that spring from his soul. His are also songs of his glands and nerves in an effort to free his poetry of what he, like Thomas and Whitman, felt was poetically sterile reason.

The influence in Liao's poem of the poetry attributed to pre-Han dynasty poet Qu Yuan is also apparent. In Qu's *Songs of Chu* (*楚辞*) – an ancient land that included eastern Sichuan – there is heavy use of erotic imagery that could be found in local shaman songs. Both in Qu's <Encountering Sorrow> (离骚) and in Liao's <Lovers>, the poet takes on the part of the suitor of an unattainable love-object – although in Qu's case traditional Confucian-influenced readings believe that to have been the king who has dismissed him from court.

<Lovers>, like the previous poem by Ouyang Jianghe, is not standard 'roots-seeking' or some form of Confucian revival in poetry, to which some critics have relegated both for their poetry of this period.[204] If Liao's poem is in some respects a rewriting of <Encountering Sorrow>, he appears to attempt to eliminate the Confucian reading of Qu Yuan's poetry: that the achievement of official favor and a position within the establishment was the traditional poet's greatest desire. In his poem, Liao stresses the shaman-esque, nature-centric elements – elements that are also abundant in Qu's poetry, but generally are overlooked or ignored for political interpretations favored by later Confucian (and CCP) rulers and critics.[205]

### *Poetry of Wholism*

The next two lengthy poems are by Shi Guanghua and the brothers Song Qu and Song Wei, the latter two writing together. These three initiated the idea of Wholism poetry in

[204] For example: Xiang Weiguo (2002): 118-122.
[205] See Schneider (1980).

June 1984 in Muchuan, home of the Songs, as the result of a quest to write epic poetry and a related poetic theory dating from the spring of 1983.[206] On page 30 of *Modernists Federation* can be found their initial public explanation of Wholism. First, they claim that Wholism is not a poetry group as such, but a basic thought structure for a state of culture: "an open state of consciousness accentuating the deterministic nature of Wholism and a tendency towards its manifestation." Wholism itself is claimed to be the true nature of Chinese ancient culture. Wholism is, however, a rejection of the dualistic *yin-yang* 阴阳 theory and the Confucian ideals of *renli* 仁礼 (benevolence and ritual), and an acceptance of Daoism's concepts of the Dao, the one, and nothingness, and the Song dynasty neo-Confucian ideal of *he* 和 (harmony); they claim that the description of the constitutive culture in the *Book of Changes* (*易经*) is as near to a complete description of the concept Wholism as can be found. However, they do not see this as a return to, or an obsession with, Chinese tradition, but as a natural, necessary result of developments in worldwide twentieth-century skeptical thought, which they see as moving in this direction in any case, and which brings together east, west, past, and present. This may have been a reference to the Asian-influenced New Age beliefs and cults that began to enter western culture in the 1950s.

Shi Guanghua states that he and the Songs were moved to create an Ism of their own by the example of the Macho Men and the fear that they would otherwise always be considered followers, or late-arriving confederates, of the type of poetry written by Yang Lian and Jianghe.[207] Shi also goes on to claim that the group's choice of name was a result of the influence of the three popular theories of the time: systems theory, control theory, and information theory. As people were always talking about life and existence as wholes, the name Wholism suggested itself to Shi. Later they would discover that such a theory, or Ism, with minor differences, already existed in the west. (More will be said about Wholism in Chapter 9.)

[206] Shi Guanghua (1986): 44-46.
[207] Yang Li (2004): 415.

The writers of the brief (four-paragraph) note on the Ism consider all the poetry in the <Asian Bronze> section as inclined towards their concept of Wholism.[208] However, as the work of Shi and the Songs here is clearly influenced by their admiration of the *Book of Changes* and the Song dynasty reworking of the concept of harmony, commentators such as Xiang Weiguo and Xu Jingya classify these poets as writers of "modern great fu" (现代大赋),[209] thereby dismissing them as modern descriptive prose-poetry writers and Confucians.

The titles of the poems in *Modernists Federation* speak to the interests of Shi and the Song brothers. Shi Guanghua's poem is one five-part chapter of a larger work called <The Imagery of Harmony> (和象) and bears the title <A Dream-talked Eagle> (呓鹰).[210] The speaker in the poem becomes the eagle and soars through the universe, commenting on the strife and futility observed below and within himself, finally coming to earth and to tranquility in the image of the eagle at harmony in its element. Song Qu and Song Wei's poem, <Tranquility and Harmony> (静和),[211] also records a search for peace and harmony in the world of nature, and an escape from the wearying world of man, symbolized here by a castle.

The great reclining Buddha at Dazu in Sichuan is the subject of the following, similarly themed poem by Li Zhengguang: <The Reclining Buddha> (卧佛). In this four-part chapter of a planned longer poem entitled <The Grand Spirit of the Vast River> (巨川雄魂), the poet is on a path to inner enlightenment and discovery of his place in the vast, harmonious river of life in the universe, loosely based on a legend of Sakyamuni's miraculous recovery from illness.

---

[208] In addition, in the note, the writers refer to Liao Yiwu's poem <Happy Earth> (乐土) as a poem of the Wholism tendency, but this poem – written in late 1984 – only appears in the 1986 issue of *Han Poetry*, yet another unofficial journal, but organized by the Wholism group. Similarly, the second part of Ouyang Jianghe's <Suspended Coffin> also appears in that same issue, while the third part was published in the unofficial *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry*, which appeared in September 1985. Several other poems and articles in *Han Poetry* were written during the first half of 1985, all of which indicates a Wholism journal was originally planned for publication that year. However, events dictated a later appearance of the journal in December 1986.

[209] Xu (1989): 143. The *fu* 赋 is a traditional form of poetry dating from the Han dynasty. One of the forms earliest and most famous practitioners was Sima Xiangru, who wrote elaborate descriptive verse on the emperor's gardens and hunting grounds, among other subjects. Sima was a native of what is now Sichuan province.

[210] Anthologized in Xi Ping ed. (1988).

[211] Ibid.

*Zhou Lunyou*

<The Man with the Owl> (带猫头鹰的男人)[212] is the first in a series of poems seemingly written as self-analysis by Zhou Lunyou. Over the next three years from the writing of this poem in June 1984, the exclusive subject of Zhou's poetry would be 'Man'. Focusing on experience, human nature, and reason, and the mask of personality, or personae, he would map the adventures of the human spirit under the control of the subconscious, and the automatic nature of man's manipulation of (and by) language. Through personal experience, illusions and dreams, Zhou would explore the irrational aspects of life by way of the formal linguistic management of the conscious and the unconscious. Compared to Zhou's previous Misty-influenced poetry, this new style is a radical departure and indicative of Zhou's new intellectual interests, as well as that of many other intellectuals in China. With regard to the sub-field of avant-garde poetry, Zhou and several other poets in *Modernists Federation* were staking out new positions differentiating themselves from Misty poets.

<The Man with the Owl> is a super-empirical cultural meditation intended to expose the pain and revelations resulting from alienation of the self from culture. This poem has structural and formal devices that Zhou would adopt in many of his future longer poems. Letters from the Latin alphabet demarcate the seven sections of the poem: A, B, C, D, E, F, and G. Here also for the first time Zhou brings into play his acerbic wit and ironic sense of humor, elements of the classical Chinese language, and Daoist references, all brought to bear in his assault on present-day Chinese cultural and linguistic characteristics. Remarkably, this poem is placed together with the work of Haizi, Shi Guanghua, the Song brothers, and Li Zhengguang, despite the fact that, at times, Zhou seems to be mocking, if not undermining, their work:

**A**

A plume stuck in my hair, I feel myself change into a different species.

[212] Ibid.

Infelicitous wings part the jungle, mountain ranges flee. Innumerable days have not bleached your feathers, you're a sage of yore.

Everything returns to tranquility.
A mountain chain determines your direction, valleys fill with wind. In a slow-moving twilight, a stalagmite silently prays to heaven. Gradually growing black, segment after segment peels off, like time, fingers. Between poses of sleep and wakefulness, the high plateau raises a basin and splashes out the dazzling flames of lamps……

On an orb the world in sleep becomes a river of moving dreams.

**B**

Was that noble prince awakened to the Way like you have been?
I emulate you in deep thinking one eye open one closed, and can never master it.
Two leaves coming together, inside the fruit is another prospect;
A river drinks the name of goddess Mi[213], slender and pure:
A mountain lies naked beneath tree roots enjoying the blue horse's shower:
Ring-shaped silver ornaments coldly shake, a pale hand picks up wine suffused with snake venom and pours it into a porcelain bowl with a pattern of human faces; Suddenly, your wings catch fire, on the white flames blooms the flower of a dream of mandala[214]……
Just as I was going express surprise, your open eye described to me the vision I had seen in a dream.
I was even more shocked: Shouldn't that closed eye of yours be able to see even deeper images?
The two eyes swap positions, still one eye open one eye closed.
I get it. Things a fish sees a bird cannot describe.

Zhou seems to ridicule the growing obsession for roots-seeking poetry and the members of Wholism, as much as he may be mocking himself. Furthermore, this poem was written not long after the Wholism group was formed in early June 1984. It was also at this time that Wang Shigang began to develop his ideas for what would serve as the central theory of Not-Not-ism (非非主义) from 1986: namely, 'pre-culture consciousness' (前文化意识), the ultimate in Chinese anti-culture theories. It seems likely that this is also the time when Wang took the pen-name of Lan Ma, or the 'blue horse' above, and would later "urinate" on all the fashionable cultural theories, just as Zhou seems to be doing to those

[213] *Mi fei* 宓妃: Goddess of the river Luo in Shaanxi.
[214] *Mantuo* 曼陀 is a variant of *mantuoluo* 曼陀萝 which in turn could be a variant of *mandana* (mandala), or the name of a Liang dynasty monk who was a famous translator of sutras, or the name of the plant *datura alba.*

who incorporate Daoism, neo-Confucianism, and Buddhism into their poetry. It is quite possible that poets in Chengdu did not yet know of the pen name Lan Ma, which appears in print for the first time in the first edition of *Not-Not* in May 1986.

The miraculous transformation of the speaker in the first line of Part A of Zhou's poem from a normal person into a sort of winged deity (the owl), possibly a Daoist immortal, by simply placing a plume on his head is far too easy. This plume itself seems to be a reference to the writer's pen (admittedly a western image, but Zhou is nothing if not eclectic in his approach to poetry). Another reading of this points to a split personality, the actor in the poem becoming the owl of the poem's title, and making possible the conversation between 'you' and 'I' that is carried on throughout the poem. Given that the word for owl in Chinese, *maotou ying* 猫头鹰, literally translates as 'cat-headed eagle', this may be a play on Shi Guanghua's poem above, if Zhou was aware of the plans and theories of the Wholism group. This birdman has "infelicitous wings," yet he is also a "sage (or immortal) of yore." Later this creature is caricatured as a "stalagmite silently praying." The final line of Part A has a variant reading: 云梦成流, translated above as "a river of moving dreams," can also be read as "sex dreams becoming a flow [of semen]".

The poem concludes with:

**G**

> You give me a pair of blind eyes, [they] fly even farther than wings.
> The Han gorge releases Laozi, do you know the direction he went?

The Han Gorge Pass (函谷关) is located in the southwest of Henan province. This treacherous gorge was the entrance to (or exit from) the state of Qin (located in northern Hubei and eastern Sichuan) during the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.E.). It is not clear whether Laozi is 'released' into or out of the pass. In any case, his whereabouts are unknown and unknowable. And yet even so, this blind man will go off on a febrile quest, having blind faith in his imagination and the visions this imparts to him – a flight of fancy heavily laden with the baggage of dimly grasped cultural and linguistic traditions.

For the next few years, in poetry and prose, Zhou would continue with this vein of poetry, ridiculing the vain posing (or position-takings) in the poetry of others, and trying

thereby to attempt to reveal the elusive, if not vacuous, nature of the words and values contained within much contemporary poetry. These interests and inclinations would help him gather a group of like-minded poets, such as Wang Shigang, Yang Li, and Shang Zhongmin, in early 1986, and together they would make up the core of the Xichang-Chengdu-based Not-Not group.

### *The Third Generation*

Page 31 of *Modernists Federation* is headed, like the previous two sections, by a bold-faced title: <Third Generation Poetry Conference>. Beneath it, however, is a further motto that acts as an explanation of the section's title:

> Following on the rise of the republic's flag came the first generation
> The ten years molded the second generation
> Beneath the broad backdrop of a great age, we were born –
> **The Third Generation**

As explained by Wan Xia in the Macho Men chapter, the first line refers to the poets who rose to prominent positions in the literary establishment after the triumph of the CCP in 1949; the ten years of the second line refers to the 1966-1976 Cultural Revolution period during which time the Misty poets learned their art; and the Third Generation has been born into the CCP's 'new era' (新时期) – only here it is termed a 'great age' (大时代), perhaps ironically, but also possibly because the poets now felt themselves to be in just such a great, freer age for poetry, and wanted their own, more appropriate term for it.

Aptly, Yang Li's <The Stranger> and <Noon> are the first two poems of the section. The next poet, however, is not a native of Sichuan. Zhang Zao is a native of Changsha in Hunan province, but after graduating from Hunan Teachers' University in 1982, he was accepted as a Master's student in the American and English Literature department of Chongqing's Sichuan Foreign Languages University in 1983. Although he was to leave for Germany only three years later, during his time in Sichuan, he made a great impression and many friends, produced three self-funded poetry collections, and

appeared in several of the province's major Second World poetry journals. This was his first such appearance.

The first two poems by Zhang Zao's in *Modernists Federation* are lyrics replete with traditional literary and Buddhist imagery – <Apple Orchard> (苹果树林) and <Story of Deep Autumn> (深秋的故事)[215] – while the third is a take on the *Book of Changes* – <Water of the Tenth Month> (十月之水).[216] Zhang's interest in China's literary and cultural tradition would seem to indicate a greater affinity with the Wholism group than with the Third Generation, but – as noted previously by Yang Li and Wan Xia – editorial politics had a great role to play in the making of this journal, and at times outweighed textual considerations.

The next poet, Zhang Xiaobo, is also from out-of-province. Zhang was a native of Jiangsu, but had recently graduated from university in Wuhan in Hubei province, and still lived there. His poem, <A Great Hill of Ice> (冰大阪), has much in common with Macho Men poetry. He writes of "modernist braves" who come at the world in waves: "We are / twenty first-century beasts, highly civilized beasts…" However, they do not survive this icy world that injures and ultimately annihilates these tragic heroes of poetry – only not quite all, as publication of this poem would indicate.

Zhao Ye has seven poems selected from two sequences of poems – <A River of Summer> (夏之河) and <Landscapes> (风景) – on the next three pages. As the titles indicate, these are bucolic thoughts apparently written while on sojourn in the countryside. They are of formal and technical interest, but cannot be considered 'experimental'. In fact, they would not have seemed out of place in an official literary journal – another of Wan Xia, Li Yawei, and Yang Li's criticisms of some of poetry in the unofficial journals in Sichuan during 1985. However, Wan and Yang had been intimately involved as editors in the production of *Modernists Federation*, so such criticism today sounds self-defensive, like an attempt to disassociate themselves from problems they may have perceived only in hindsight and in which they themselves played no small part.

---

[215] Both poems in Xi Ping ed. (1988).
[216] Anthologized in Tang & Wang ed. (1987).

Pages 42-49 of the journal are given over to Macho Men poetry: namely, Ma Song's <Coffeehouse> and <Birthday March>, Hu Dong's <Slow Boat> and <Woman>, and Li Yawei's <I am China> and <Hard Men> (all discussed in Chapter 4). A brief note explaining the provenance of the group and naming some of the current members prefaces this. Aside from the work of the poets above, Chen Dong's <Fresh-looking Fruit> (鲜色水果) is the only other typical Macho Men poem selected, and is found in the fifth section of the journal.

Hu Dong, like Wan Xia, no longer considered himself a member of the group, but his early Macho Men work is still selected. Wan Xia, on the other hand, has a new style here: <The Tattooed Wife> (黥妇, pronounced *qingfu*). The character *qing* was apparently obscure enough to require a footnote explaining its meaning. The word '*qingfu*', however, is an obvious homonym for a female 'illicit lover'情妇. What the footnote does not record is that this *qing* 黥 originally referred to an ancient punishment whereby criminals were tattooed on a visible part of their body (usually the face), and that its secondary meaning referred to the number of a slave, or conscript soldier, carved into the flesh so as to discourage escape.

The opening three lines of the first part of this four part sequence hint that all three of the possible meanings of *qing* apply: "Verbally born to this breast / the body of my bright red lips is still overlaid by the posture of it / roots scurry off into blood vessels". <The Bird> (鸟), the first part of the sequence, has obvious sexual connotations as a title,[217] and is packed with obscure language and archaic grammar in shorter lines than was Wan's custom when writing Macho Men poetry. It is replete with violent, sexual imagery, bringing man/animal and nature together in one character: *jun* 君, a term used in classical poetry as a polite form of 'you', but also carrying the possible alternative meanings of 'lord', 'father', 'husband' or 'master'. In the stylistically similar <Consequence of Illness> (病果), the second part, sexual organs shrivel into impotence before the breast. In part three, <The Heart of Stone> (石之心), written in prose-poetic form, there is the return of a heartless form of courage in a new world full of violence and sex, where long

[217] As in English slang, 'a bird' can be a reference to a woman in colloquial Chinese. Also, in Chinese, it is often a near-homophonous reference to the male genitals (*diao*), or 'swingers' in both Chinese and UK slang.

hair, blue jeans, kissing, pornography, and murder are acceptable, justified by convenient re-readings of the past, of Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, and so on. This section is populated by shamanesses (女巫), murderous wives, foolish boors (愚氓), and cruel tyrants (暴君). Finally, in <The Fate of the Rose> (玫瑰之命) – a title hinting at the loss of some form of virginity or perfection[218] – the consequence of all this seemingly random lechery, violence, and theft, is a cruel self-love which results in an illusory immortality for the practitioner and an abnormal death for the good and the talented. The wretched inherit the earth.

Given that Wan Xia had previously written poems such as <Red Tiles> and <Macho Men>, among others, it is tempting to read this as another attack on China's contemporary poets. However, <The Tattooed Wife> reads more convincingly as a generalized condemnation of modern Chinese culture and society in its narcissistic, insular nature. All are suckled at the breast of the mother/wife/whore and thereby infected, including the poet, as the first three lines of the poem indicate. But then again, possibly this is Wan Xia's take on 'roots-seeking' poetry, given that the word 'root' (根) appears so prominently in line three of the poem. The final line of the poem reads: "The self-love of the wolf pup develops a heart of stone and bears narcissus as fruit."

### *Zhai Yongming and Women's Poetry*

The nine pages devoted to the work of six of Sichuan's woman poets may seem scant to the contemporary western reader of poetry. However, in terms of China's unofficial poetry publications – not to mention official – this degree of representation for women amounted to something of a breakthrough at the time.[219] In total the work of 41 poets fills 74 pages in *Modernists Federation* – not including the four pages given over to the translated poetry of, and an essay about, Sylvia Plath that conclude the journal. The space devoted to the six woman poets is roughly proportional to that of individual men.

---

[218] The title may appear to be a pun on Umberto Eco's novel *The Name of the Rose*, as *ming* 名 (name) is a near homophone of 命. Also, there is some overlap in subject matter between the poem and the novel. However, it is unlikely that a translation of this novel was available in China at the time. Eco's novel was first published in 1980, but it is not clear if there was a Chinese translation of it in 1984. The Hollywood movie version of the book was distributed in 1986.

[219] See the discussion of Zhai Yongming in Chapter 3.

However, before the appearance in the 1990s of officially published anthologies and unofficial journals entirely devoted to avant-garde – or post-Misty – poetry by women, only the 1987 edition of *Not-Not* ever equaled this level of female participation.[220]

Despite this qualification, an even more remarkable achievement than the sheer number of female participants is the inclusion of two poems from a twenty-poem cycle that would in later years become a canonical work for China's women's poetry (女性诗歌). In fact, it could be said that these two poems represented the birth of the modern-woman-as-poet in China, and a new genre of poetry. The poet is Zhai Yongming and the series is entitled <Woman> (女人). That the *Modernists Federation*'s editors should choose her poetry to lead the section was no error, despite their possibly dismissive titling of the section as <Woman Poets>. By shunting the women into one section in the second half of the journal they were effectively ghettoized. As mentioned in Chapter 3, there had been few noted female practitioners of New Poetry or any other form of poetry in China. Perhaps it can be argued that giving women a section all there own would draw more attention to their writing and prevent them for being mistaken for men – as is regularly the case. However, given the circumstances of women poets in China, it is even more likely that their poetry could be more easily avoided by being clearly titled. It was not common practice to note the sex of authors in unofficial journals – *Today* and *Born-Again Forest* being cases in point – yet some of Sichuan's journals would continue to do so until 1987.[221]

During the early 1980s, the All China Women's Federation conducted a 'Four Selves' media campaign, as part of an effort to restore the individuality of women after their sex had been effectively de-feminized during the Cultural Revolution period. Focusing on individual women, the campaign called for self-respect, self-confidence, self-determination, and self-realization.[222] This latter goal of the campaign was to be seized

---

[220] Pages 62-84 of the journal's 138 pages are given over to seven woman poets. Of widely recognized officially published anthologies of avant-garde poetry of the 1980s, Tang & Wang ed. (1987) only have four female poets from a total of 31 poets selected. Similarly, Tang ed. (1992) – originally compiled for official publication in 1989 – selects only five women for a collection of 38 poets. Official poetry journals do, very occasionally, produce issues devoted – in whole or in part – to woman poets.

[221] This would also occur in *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry* (Sept. 1985) and *Not-Not* # 2 (1987).

[222] See Jeanne Hong Zhang (2003) for a brief synopsis of this situation and the role that women poets played in the expansion of gender consciousness and female subjectivity in recent years in China.

by women poets, but the first results – the appearance of women as self-empowering makers of poetry and other art forms – would not bear fruit until 1984, as demonstrated by the work of Zhai Yongming.

The date of the completion of <Woman> is given as November 1984 on the title page of a 1985 mimeograph of the series that also includes an essay as preface, <The Consciousness of Black Night> (黑夜意识), completed on April 17, 1985.[223] In fact, according to Zhai, most of the poetry was written in 1983, and it took her some months to have them printed up into a private collection.[224] On the page following the title page and before the preface, there are four lines of poetry as epigraphs: two attributed to Robinson Jeffers (1887-1962) and two to Sylvia Plath (1932-1963).

Jeffers: Of utmost importance
There must a black night on our bodies

Plath: Your body hurts me
As the world hurts god[225]

It is not clear whether these epigraphs were attached to the collection that was in circulation before or after the preface was written. However, Zhai herself admits to the influence of Plath on her poetry from 1983 until 1993,[226] and many critics have written on Zhai's <Woman> and this subject in both Chinese and English.[227] In an interview with Yang Li in November 2001, Zhai states that she only "liked" the poetry of Plath until 1985, but acknowledges the continuing influence of Plath's "tone" or manner of writing.[228]

Zhai composed <Woman> during long stays in hospital where she was accompanying her sick mother, at the same time she was reading translated poems by Plath and Jeffers,

[223] A copy of this mimeograph is in the author's collection of unofficial materials.
[224] Yang Li (2004): 473.
[225] From Plath's <Fever 103° >.
[226] Zhou Zan (2003).
[227] For example, in Chinese, two essays in Tang Xiaodu (2001), Zhou Zan (2002c), Huang Lin (1995), Xie & Liang (1993), Xiang Weiguo (2002), Chen Xuguang (1996), Li Zhen (2001), and Cui Weiping (1993a), ed. (1993), (2001); and in English, Yeh (1995) and (1999), Naikan Tao (1996) and (1999), and the only article to date devoted exclusively to the influence of Plath on Zhai by Zhang, Jeanne Hong (2002).
[228] Yang Li (2004): 480.

among other works that friends in Chengdu were bringing her.[229] In fact, Zhai spent the greater part of three years (1983-1985) in hospital and wrote two other well-received sequences of poems as well as <Woman>. Zhai states that this situation and environment attracted her to the poetry and images of agony, violence, and death that are so much a part of Plath's work, but these were not the only reasons why they began to appear in her poetry.[230] In the 2001 Yang Li interview, Zhai goes on to say that the sense of desperation she felt at the time was due to difficulties with her very traditional parents – specifically a desire for her father's love – and difficulties at her place of work because of her life-style and writing.[231] While much of Plath's favorite imagery (night, mirrors, stones, the empty house, etc.) can be found in Zhai's poems, the blackness in Plath is more of the heart, of her life, and of her obsession with death, than explicitly of the night. Zhai has said she has had no fear of death since she was very young, has never contemplated suicide, and that her concept of the consciousness of black night has more to do with sex than death.[232] It is also true that she often did her writing at night sitting on a bench in a corridor, after lights had been turned off in her ward and the hospital was quiet.[233]

Jeffers also makes use of many of these images and issues, but his is a search for strength in the face of danger, bleakness, and death – and he finds that strength in the sudden, violent strength of the hawk, in dead men's thoughts that have shed weakness, and in the enduring, permanent strength of rock. A 1935 poem by Jeffers seems a possible influence on the poetry of <Woman>:

**<Rock and Hawk>**[234]

Here is a symbol in which
Many high tragic thoughts
Watch their own eyes.

This gray rock, standing tall

[229] Zhai (1996a).
[230] Zhai (1995a).
[231] Yang Li (2004): 476-479.
[232] Ibid.: 478-480.
[233] Zhai (1995a).
[234] Ellman & O'Clair ed. (1970): 392.

On the headland, where the seawind
Lets no tree grow,

Earthquake proved, and signatured
By ages of storms: on its peak
A falcon has perched.

I think, here is your emblem
To hang in the future sky;
Not the cross, not the hive,

But this; bright power, dark peace;
Fierce consciousness joined with final
Disinterestedness;

Life with calm death; the falcon's
Realist eyes and act
Married to the massive

Mysticism of stone,
Which failure cannot cast down
Nor success make proud.

As women and as poets, Zhai and Plath both seek the strength and the mysticism of this stone,[235] but Zhai rejects and fears the violence of the hawk – the Chinese universal 'male principle' incarnate – while Plath is both attracted to and repelled by it, and at times in her poetry seeks to possess it. The images of the hawk and rock appear in various forms in Jeffers' poetry as principles of dynamism and revered inertness, which correspond nicely with the *yang* and *yin* of traditional popular Chinese thought.[236] Images of birds and rock (including mountains and stone objects) are also in frequent evidence in the poetry of Zhai. However, hawks and other birds of prey are rejected for neutral birds that embody freedoms and the strength derived from them.

An extract from the beginning of <The Consciousness of Black Night> (in its 1985 mimeograph form) serves to show how different from Plath Zhai Yongming is in her approach to this series of poems:

Now is the time I become truly powerful. In other words, now I'm finally aware of

[235] Zhang, Jeanne Hong (2002).
[236] Ellman & O'Clair ed. (1975): 386.

> the world around me and the implications of my presence in it. The consciousness inherent in each person and the universe – I call this the consciousness of the black night – has determined I must be a carrier of the thoughts, beliefs, and emotions of the female sex; and, furthermore, injects this burden directly into what I view as the greatest work of consciousness. And this is poetry.
>
> As half of the human race, the female sex is faced at birth with an entirely different world [from that of the male sex]. Her first glimpse of the world is necessarily tinged by her feelings and perception, even by a secret psychology of resistance. Does she spare no effort in throwing herself into life and creating a black night? And, in all sorts of crises, does she transform the world into a giant soul? Actually, each woman faces her own abyss – personal anguish and experience that continually vanishes and is continually confirmed – far from every person is able to defy this proportionate form of hardship up until their destruction. This is the initial black night: when it rises it leads us into a world that is entirely new, a world laid out in a particular way and at a particular angle, and which is unique to the female sex. This is not the path toward deliverance, but the path toward a full awakening…

Given that this essay was written at least five months after <Woman> was completed, it is difficult not to take this as a manifesto or a warning of sorts, for Zhai herself and other female poets. The essay incorporates Zhai's new, personal creed, but further on in the text she warns other female poets of the dangers of succumbing to male poetic interests and Isms, of losing themselves in the world of men. She firmly connects this unique female consciousness to the body of woman, which places her apart from man, and exhorts female poets to avoid the narrow, alienating company of male poet-dominated groups which will, either consciously or unconsciously, draw them away from their true selves, the consciousness of black night.

In *Modernists Federation,* the first poem of <Woman> is also the first poem of the journal's selection of women's poetry:

**<A Premonition>** (预感)[237]

> The woman in the black gown comes with the night
> her darting, secretive glance exhausts me
> suddenly I remember this is the season all fish die
> and all roads pass through the traces of birds in flight
>
> Like a corpse, a mountain range is dragged off by the darkness
> the heartbeat of a shrub nearby can be heard faintly

[237] In Xi Ping ed. (1988), Chen Chao ed. (1989), and Cui Weiping ed. (1993).

giant birds look down on me from the sky
with human eyes
all winter a consciousness rises and falls, cruel and male
in a savage, unheard-of atmosphere

I've kept an unusual calm throughout
as if blind, and so I see night in the day
a childlike frankness, my finger prints
can provide me no more sorrow
Footsteps! A sound getting older
dreams appear to know something of this, in my own eyes
I saw a blade's edge that had forgotten to flower
dancing on a multitude of bones, weighing down on the dusk

Fresh moss in their mouths, the meaning they besought
pours knowing smiles back into the breast
the night convulses, or doesn't, like a cough
choked back in the throat
I've already quit this dead-end hole

Jeanne Hong Zhang suggests it is possible the woman in black of the first line might be Plath invoked as an eyewitness to the I-speaker's journey both through this poem and the rest of <Woman>, and that there may be an explicit "anxiety of influence" at work.[238] This darkness – the woman, the night, the winter, and the dead-end hole – could equally refer to the *yin* principle (of which these images are all representative), which is a potentially hostile companion of the I-speaker, if this speaker is taken to be the female poet or Zhai herself. The giant birds in the sky are linked with an oppressive, cruel male consciousness – clear referents to the *yang* principle, which dominates the world, and through which the female poet must negotiate her way. The dead-end hole of the last line can be read as the place were the world of the *yin*, of all Chinese women, is located, and a place that the I-speaker no longer inhabits – the implication being that this is, or was, the place where she belonged, the place of other women. And if this is plausible, then the woman in black in the first line, who exhausts the I-speaker, is the role model that is rejected and left in the dead-end hole.

One of several alterations over the years made by Zhai Yongming to the twenty poems of <Woman> was to reduce the amount of violent imagery present in poems such as

[238] Zhang (2002): 113.

<Premonition>. The final two lines of the third stanza have now been changed to read: “I saw a time that had forgotten to flower / weighing down on the dusk”. Perhaps she found the imagery in those two lines too violent, too blunt, and too Plath, as well as being unnecessary. Certainly, replacing “blade’s edge” (刀刃) with “a time” (时辰) and completely excising “dancing on a multitude of bones” (在一群骨头上跳舞) is a dramatic change of imagery and of tone, but there is a resultant lesser change of overall tone between what went before and the final, more muted stanza.

<Premonition> begins Zhai’s journey on a path of self-creation – the creation of a space for her as Zhai Yongming, the I-speaker in the poems, a woman and a poet, to be herself within her chosen vocation. The series leads the reader through a hostile world – both internal and external – seemingly set against the I-speaker who, nevertheless, goes on to negotiate an ultimately safe path for herself.

The other of Zhai’s two poems in *Modernists Federation* is the fourteenth in the series:

**<July>** (七月)[239]

From now on summer is occupied by July
and restraint becomes conviction
from now on I hold up a heavy sky
and turn my back to the sun

You are a season beyond comprehension
only I discover your secrets when I’m in death’s embrace
I smile because there’re still these last black nights
my laugh is my right to remain in the world
and today the hand is still on the crown of my head
what sort of eye is it forces me to see
all methods now no longer exist

July will be another death
summer is its most appropriate season
I was born as a bird, and only die in the sky
you are the shadow encroaching on my perch
silencing me with mankind’s only trick

I’ve never had deep feelings, so sustained
so attentive, I’m a tiny teardrop

[239] In Cui Weiping ed. (1993).

gulping down the sun, I ripen in order to complete myself
and thus my heart is invulnerable

Can it be that I have been the black night that remains in my heart?
In the shadows of the setting sun I've felt
the flesh concealed within you, from start to finish
and so you're the misfortune poured over my body
in July wrapped in dewdrops and dust you sleep soundly
but who knows with what heaviness your bones
are waiting in the dusk

Here, Zhai Yongming seems to admit that the black night is inside her (or all women) and not in the world in which she lives, which is here a world of bright, hot light. The I-speaker lives freely and happily as a bird – but a bird that does not fly. Again, the fire of the sun and the heat of the summer are part of the universal *yang* principle, as is the sky, which is the only place in which the I-speaker/bird can die. However, the shadow, which encroaches on the non-flying bird's perch, is of the *yin*-principle, as is the earth on which she is perched. So there is a conflict with the world, but ultimately it is the conflict within that is defining, as the final stanza makes clear. The I-speaker turns her back to the sun and is oppressed by a heavy sky from the very start, but in the end the struggle, and its resolution, is internal like the heaviness of expectation of the black night, even in a season of light. The night takes on the flesh and bones that are finally discovered to be the I-speaker's.

Selecting only two poems of the twenty in <Woman> could never have done the series justice – presumably, the editors never had the intention to do so, given space considerations.[240] The hostility of Chinese male poets towards female poets and their work has been frequently noted by the author in everyday discourse, and has been commented on by Zhai Yongming herself,[241] unless a woman chooses to write on subjects that men write on too, in which case she is seen as inferior, but not threatening. It is therefore also possible that Zhai's perception that this was the case led her to write

[240] It is possible that the editors knew that six poems from the series would be published semi-officially – also in early 1985 – in Beijing University May Fourth Literary Association's (五四文学社) *New Poetry Tide Poetry Collection* (*新诗潮诗集*), a two-volume anthology of Misty and recent avant-garde poetry edited by Lao Mu. In the order in which they were published, the six poems from <Woman> were: #6 <The World> (世界), #4 <The Desolate Room> (荒屋), #5 <Desire> (渴望), #7 <Mother> (母亲), #11 <Monologue> (独白), and #9 <Anticipation> (憧憬): 717-724.
[241] Zhai (2003): 6-7.

<The Consciousness of Black Night> in May 1985 and attach it to <Woman> as a preface. A closer look at the poetry of the other Sichuan female poets may also provide part of the answer as to why Zhai felt moved to write this essay not long after *Modernists Federation* appeared in public.

The influence of *Modernists Federation* at the time, and Zhai's poetry in particular, is difficult to quantify. Anecdotes indicate that it had powerful affects on individual poets, and university students in particular. As a 20-year old Chengdu university student in 1986, the now well-known poet Tang Danhong relates how reading Zhai's two poems and the translated poetry of Sylvia Plath, in a copy of the journal given to her by her poet boyfriend, had a profound affect on her.[242] Ultimately, on meeting Zhai shortly after this, and observing her in the company of male university poets, Tang decided to take up poetry.

### *Other Woman Poets*

Of the six female poets selected for inclusion in *Modernists Federation*, only three are still active as poets today: Zhai Yongming, Liu Tao, and Chen Xiaofan. The names of two of the other three – Li Jing and Li Juan – appeared in the previous chapter as friends of Liao Yiwu, and the third – Li Yao – was a friend of Zhou Lunyou and his brother, as were Chen Xiaofan and Liu Tao. (The work of these three female poets would reappear in *Not-Not*, the unofficial journal edited by Zhou Lunyou from 1986.)

This left Zhai as the odd woman out. As a long-term patient in a Chengdu hospital, she was left out of all of the male-dominated politics of poetry that were occurring at the time in Sichuan, and was able to concentrate on her craft with excellent results. Conversely, it is not known if the three Li's above were somehow negatively influenced by the poetry groupings to which they belonged, or if their later decisions to quit participating, or writing poetry, were linked to the male domination of the poetry circles that they inhabited.

A cursory reading of the work of the other five female poets leads to the conclusion that Liu Tao and Chen Xiaofan were the most adventurous of the five, though not writing

[242] Tang Danhong (2002b).

what could be termed ‘women’s poetry’, as Zhai was. This is possibly another clue to their continued survival as poets.

Li Yao has two poems here – <The Tree of Life> (生命树)[243] and <Love Lost> (失恋) – and both deal with the subject of love addressed by an I-speaker of mixed emotions. Much the same can be said about the two poems by Li Jing that follow – <The White Crown of a Grave> (白色坟冠) and <A Leaf of Love> (爱之叶). Interesting as these poems may be in certain technical aspects, they would have been more at home in an official journal. The subject of these poems would have been considered appropriately feminine by the editors, and non-threatening – unlike Zhai’s <Woman>, especially once they had had a look at her later essay/preface. Perhaps this is part of the reason why all of the five other poets received more space for their poetry than Zhai did in *Modernists Federation*.[244]

The poetry of Li Juan is of more interest, if only in that she does not write on love, and that one of her three poems is dedicated to Yang Li. The poems are labeled as a sequence (组诗) under the title <3155 and something else> (3155 及其它): the first poem being the eponymous <3155>, followed by <Ship of Dreams> (梦船) and <The Eagle> (鹰). <Ship> is addressed by the I-speaker to a male friend, while <Eagle> is dedicated to Yang Li and explicitly borrows imagery from his poem <The Stranger>, and the male-figure is the I-speaker’s lover. <3155> is the better of the three poems, but is clearly influenced by Yang Li’s poetic techniques of the time (as described in Chapter 5).

The third of Liu Tao’s three poems – <Black Windbreaker> (黑风衣) – is also a love poem. <The Reflection> (影子),[245] the first poem, revolves around a couple, primarily from the perspective of the female who possesses a lively imagination – something the male seems to lack. The second poem is worth a closer look:

---

[243] In Xi Ping ed. (1988).
[244] Zhai had a little less than one page for her two poems, Liu Tao a little more than one for three, Li Juan a page and a half for two, Li Jing a page and a fraction for two, Li Juan a little less than a page and a half for three, and Chen Xiaofan two and a half for one.
[245] In Tang ed. (1992).

**<The Cracked Clock[246]>** (裂钟)[247]

A. does not disappear  the beams of light
from half an eyeball drum up shadows of the moon
beyond your forms they flow transforming an arm
it teases like
mad  incites a voluptuous
axial heart
from there  going past difficult-to-traverse  rifts
a mouth  open in enormous apprehension
when and where did the cursor start
to set off beneath my feet
revolving  is it one  of my
legs

B. I light up[248]
this night  this is my quiet light of day
the world noiselessly squirms
in the arms of my sleep-walking a commotion of shadows
within the distance extended to them
always distance  stuffed full  a position in the night
on a waste land losing blood  fire in water
clusters of postures in memory drifting
return the burning patterns to that sudden delineating stroke
from this arm the wind flies to
that arm, only the body of wind explosively cracks open

C. Again it's night  my days spin in the space of a pair of arms
spin my detritions my final calibration
about to shatter
is completeness born in the roar of ruin
the clear, melodious knocking of moonlight, the path is speechless
gracefully curling up the twisty summit

The poem is a meditation on temporality and life/death with clear female images not dissimilar to those present in the poetry of both Sylvia Plath and Zhai Yongming, but on the whole having more in common with Zhai's work in <Woman>. It is night again – although the color black is never stressed as it is in Zhai's work – and it is clear that Liu Tao takes Jeffers' line about everyone, man and woman, having something of the night about them, quite literally. The moon and shadows introduced in the second line are

[246] "Clock" may also be translated as 'bell'.
[247] In Xi Ping ed. (1988).
[248] The term 照临, here translated as "light up," may also be 'rule' or 'am present in'.

aspects of the *yin* principle. A note of increased ambiguity enters in line three with the plural form of 'you' in "your forms" (你们的形体). Logically, these forms would be those of the cracked, or damaged, clock and the moon and its shadows (women?). However, a half-moon has been likened to half a human eyeball, and a human arm becomes a time-telling arm attached to an "axial heart" (轴心), or axis, described in human (and female) terms as "voluptuous." A human mouth wide open and anxious seems a reference to The Scream, the famous woodcut of Edvard Munch's. Then the arm (手臂) becomes a "cursor" (指针) that begins its spinning planet-like journey "beneath *my* feet." In addition, it is the I-speaker's journey, the cursor now transforming into a leg of hers. So, the cracked clock is a body clock, the I-speaker's time which runs from birth through life to death, but through its comparative status with the moon, etc., takes on cosmological significance – despite the appearance of the I-speaker at the end, who thereby takes possession of the previously disembodied eyeball, arm, heart, and mouth.

The I-speaker as the fulcrum, or axis, of this poetical universe is unambiguously present in 'B' and 'C'. In B, from the start she is the light – but a night-light – and simultaneously rules the night (我照临 / 这夜), but inhabits the day in this stanza. In a Chinese context, this universe is now clearly feminized – even the "waste land" which loses blood, hinting at the I-speaker's self-identity as poet, then moving on to "fire in water" – the creative impulse is in the female form, the incessant creative mix of *yin* and *yang*. However, she is silent, sleepwalking through a world always perceived at a distance, not of herself.

In C, the I-speaker returns to the night, which is in fact her day – 我的白昼 – and the harmful contradictions *may* ultimately break her like an egg, or a clock, and birth a new whole self. However, this is a question yet to be answered. Meanwhile, time monotonously passes and the I-speaker's path twists up and away in silence. That said, the poetry of Zhai Yongming and this poem by Liu Tao effectively marked the end of that silence for female poets as practitioners of avant-garde poetry in China, if only at the unofficial level, in 1985.

The final two-and-a-half pages of this section are given over to a long work by Chen Xiaofan. Both the subject and form of this poem indicate it should have been included in *Modernists Federation*'s second section with other poetry that delved into cultural soul-

searching and prose-verse form. The title of the poem is <Emotions in B-Major> (情感 B 大调).[249] It consists of fifteen paragraphs, or stanzas, with lines of three to 23 characters, separated by three-character spaces between 'lines', set out left-to-right across the page. In fact, the poem is an ode to summer – to which the poem is explicitly dedicated – but a very Chinese summer, linked as it is throughout to popular Chinese mythology. The title is misleading in that it refers to western musical traditions. The music in the poem is in fact that of the 'poet', but a celestial Chinese poet of legendary qualities who has appropriated western form, as is made clear in the first paragraph. The poet/creator abandons the world of his creation (the poet is male) and his absence gives rise to legends in an attempt to fill the void, leading to the questions: "Who are you / Where have you gone / ?"

It is at this point, over one third of the way into the poem, that the I-speaker appears. The I-speaker finds herself on a waste land-like beach, populated by walking, cackling corpses and shades, washed up here by the tide, her hair green. There are clues that encourage the reader to identify this period with the Cultural Revolution – blamed on the ice and snow of the northland (北国) – and the poet/speaker's concurrent birth, physical and psychic. A treacherous reef is compared to a memorial plinth (纪念碑), presumably the one located in Tian'anmen Square in Beijing, on which *Today*'s Jianghe had previously written a famous poem by the same name. A spring of sorts is intimated after this, or the hope of spring. The I-speaker calls out for the return of the poet/creator ('you') from within herself, who is now identified as the "daughter of the ancient Yellow River," enticing her with the I-speaker's "emerald green wooden flute of the south." Ultimately, the summer approaches from the *fusang* 扶桑 tree of Xihe 熙和, the god who harnessed the sun at this tree where it rested at night – bringing with it a time of ripe and rich creation, of the songs and poetry of the southland (南国的歌). However, the summer is not quite there yet. If the volume and richness of poetry in China throughout the rest of the 1980s is anything to judge by, that summer did arrive for poetry and for poets such as Zhai Yongming, Liu Tao, Chen Xiaofan, and many others, both female and male.

[249] In Xi Ping ed. (1988).

*Bai Hua and Others*

The work of the Sichuan poets in the final section of *Modernists Federation* is an interesting hotchpotch of differing poetical techniques and subjects. The familiar name of Zhong Ming, the editor of *Born-Again Forest* (1982), appears here with two poems. A bleak and violent biographical poem, <Enter> (进入) is dedicated to Vincent van Gogh; <Reflection> (反射) adapts French behavioral science, the thought of Descartes, and the images of white mice subjected to electrical shocks, as a reflection on life and fate, and the Cultural Revolution in particular. Also appearing here for the first time, officially or unofficially, is the now well-known name of Sun Wenbo. His <The Clock Has Struck Seven P.M.> (钟，敲过下午七点) is a brief metaphysical meditation on death in the form of prose poetry.

Of greatest interest in this section, however, is the poetry of Bai Hua. The poem <Expression>, first published in *Born-Again Forest*, is reproduced here as the third of his three poems. Part of the reason for this must have been that Bai had altered the poem since 1982. For example, a line is added at the very end of the poem: instead of ending "it can't be calmed, can't be sensed and known," this line is now followed by "because we don't want to die" in reference to the "white mood" being 'expressed' by the poet. It would be this version of the poem that was selected by editors Tang Xiaodu and Wang Jiaxin for official publication in their 1987 collection of new, experimental poetry. It may also have been due to the fact that *Born-Again*, and the work published therein, had been ignored by official journals and publishing houses up to the time that <Expression> was reproduced in *Modernists Federation* – a more successful and widely-circulated publication. Tang and Wang also selected the other two poems by Bai Hua in *Modernists Federation* for publication in 1987.

In *The Left Side*,[250] Bai Hua writes that just prior to writing the following poem he had been reading poetry by André Breton,[251] specifically *Nadja* (1928), a collection of surrealist poems heavily influenced by Freudianism and Marxism. One August afternoon in Beipei, Bai and a friend escaped the oppressive heat of the afternoon in an air-

[250] Bai (1986), Part 3, Chapter 1.
[251] Ibid., Part 2, Chapter 3.

conditioned office. Given the heat and his jumpy nature, Bai was frightened by a sudden sound and his resulting emotions were the direct inspiration of what follows:

**<A Shudder>** (震顫; Aug.-Sept. 1982)

The black night sleeps soundly here
Nothing can happen
In this entire room only the waves upon the piano speak softly like a song
When you face an empty, motionless doorway
you'll be alarmed, frightened, you'll suddenly lose confidence
you'll jump nimbly aside
curling up in a corner of the room
within a minute a thousand dark thoughts flash by

At the end of a corridor a young girl washes her snow-white skin
murmuring she pours out her heart to you
loneliness is the poet's empress
the sound perplexes you
shadows are already swaying in the window

The lonesome scents of the flower garden
blowing into your thin breast
you will suddenly open the curtains
and happily take a peek
at the vast increase of lights outside

The flames are still slowly falling
not a trace of wind here
the sound gradually disappears
you will suddenly think of the Tokyo philharmonic
at this moment it is busily performing
you think of Alexandria's vast summer nights
the boiling seawater erodes the blockhouses of antiquity
a golden-haired maiden of Rome
has arrived on the teetering coast
listening closely to the angry roar of the tiger in the depths of the thick forest
she still smiles serenely
waiting for your song, you bitter wail
on a winter night next year you will kill a wild beast with a pistol

Each evening you spend half the night in meditation
you can't imagine how large the flocking throngs of thoughts are
like a swarm of bees roiling in your head,
waltzes, snow-bright lamplights, a full-figure of white skin
the stranger who's turned his head toward you

an elegant rigid corpse
a flame-red Spanish woman
trains, black clouds and waves bearing down on you
you won't be able to bear it
you'll suddenly drop heavily on the couch
clutching at your chest you'll gasp, rage, worry or forget
you'll die for a night
after a long while you'll revive
the sound comes toward you again
very near, almost brushing up onto your face
its breath and odor entering your body
surrounding you entirely
no matter what, you must die tonight
because she will be coming tomorrow
the dawn already passed on her distant seaside love-song

As the Taiwanese critic Huang Liang has pointed out,[252] there is still much evidence here of Bai's earlier symbolist phase, of which <Expression> was a product – only here the end product is more satisfying, more mature and confident, with Bai feeling no need to clarify possible obscurities. Instances of this can be found in his handling of the sound of the piano in the first stanza, the form of the girl in the second, and the description of the heat in the fourth. Emotions and memories, personal or second-hand, flood the mind of the you-speaker who lives in terror of "that sound" and of "her." No real clues are given as to who or what they are, ample space being left the reader to find an understanding.

In the spring of 1984, Bai Hua began to mine Chinese classical poetry for images and inspiration, while retaining symbolist and surrealist techniques as the fundaments of his poetry. In April, the Tang dynasty poet Li Bai (Li Po) wells up out of a glass of wine in <Spring> (春天)[253] instructing and inspiring the practicing poet. In *Modernists Federation*, another Tang dynasty poet materializes in the following poem:

**<Precipice>** (悬崖: May 1984)

A city is one person
two cities, the one direction
the outskirts of loneliness wait soundlessly

[252] Huang Liang (2000): 309-310.
[253] Also in Tang & Wang ed. (1987).

A strange trip
timid but aimlessly pressing forward
to pay back for some old atmosphere
restraint is murdering time

Don't climb the pavilion at night
an address has a death in it
that vague white neck
will turn its head toward you

At this moment if you make a poem
it's the same as building a sunken ship
a black tree
or a stretch of dyke on a rainy day

The exercise of restraint becomes unfathomable
a riddle of passage
the ears of a courtesan that can never be opened
the inexplicable departure of willpower

Your organs wither suddenly
Li He[254] cries out in pain
the hand of the Tang will not return

Again here, as in <Expression> and <Shudder>, the difficulties of poetic expression, and Bai's admitted fears of lyrical inadequacy, play a clear role in the poem. The title of the poem itself – <Precipice>, an image also used in <Shudder> -- hints at the danger the speaker feels about the situation he is in. The pavilion, the dyke, and the courtesan all hark back to the imagery of classical Chinese poetry. Ultimately, the speaker reassures himself that Li He and "the hand of the Tang will not return," are just ghosts – but he still fears them. Is this a clear case of the anxiety of influence? Or just the fear of ghosts? More likely a mixture of the two, and very skillfully mixed at that.

## *In Conclusion*

This has been an exhaustive study, over three chapters (including that on Macho Men), of Sichuan's avant-garde poetry as it publicly – if yet unofficially – appeared throughout the province and other parts of China for the first time in *Modernists Federation*. While some

[254] A Tang dynasty poet also latinized as Li Ho.

of the poets and their poetry had begun to be known outside Sichuan before 1985, this unofficial poetry journal proved to be a showcase of groundbreaking, nationwide significance. As noted, many of the poems in *Modernists Federation* were to appear in officially published literary journals and anthologies from 1986 on, and up to the present day. Such a list includes the poems of Bai Hua, Zhai Yongming, Ouyang Jianghe, Liao Yiwu, Shi Guanghua, Song Qu and Song Wei, Zhou Lunyou, Yang Li, Ma Song, Hu Dong, Li Yawei, Chen Xiaofan, Wang Shigang (Lan Ma),[255] and Liu Tao. This success was not the result of presentation alone, but primarily a reflection and recognition of the poetical qualities and experimentation of interest to poets and readers of poetry inside and outside of Sichuan. The interest and encouragement these poets received from each other, their readers, and even the editors of official literary organs (such as Tang Xiaodu, Wang Jiaxin, and Zong Renfa) in Sichuan and elsewhere would serve to encourage continued literary experimentation and related activities.

The avant-garde poetry and poetry-related activities of Sichuan's poets during 1984 were no more than a hopeful beginning to what would prove, during the course of 1985, to be a necessary consolidation of relationships and interests. The firm basis which resulted from these efforts during the rest of 1985 would prove to be the springboard from which Sichuan's, and indeed much of China's, avant-garde poetry would explode into view, seemingly fully-formed, before the eyes of the Chinese poetry-reading public in 1986. This occurrence was partly the result of a degree of liberalization in the CCP's cultural policies during the course of 1985, but the greatest credit must go to the poets, who were already poised to expand their activities and take advantage of the official publishing opportunities that came their way in 1986. The continued activities and poetical experimentation of avant-garde poets during 1985 was the key to the apparent breakthrough that occurred during the following year.

---

[255] This poem, <Decline>, noted in the previous chapter, is over 250 lines in length and, written in the spring of 1981, seemingly dwells on the sorrow, alienation and confusion of an educated youth's return to the city/civilization after wasted years in the countryside, and forms a resolution to seek the deeper truths of life and escape from nihilism. The version of the poem that appears in *Modernists Federation* is severely edited-down to less than half its length. However, the full version does appear in *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry* in September, 1985. Although not explicitly stated, it is possible that the editors chose to publish this 1981 poem due to its impact at the time, but also to indicate the source of the impetus to write poetry of the roots-seeking and Wholism tendencies in more recent times. The full poem can also be found in Xi Ping ed. (1988).

## CHAPTER 7: *MAKE IT NEW* AND *CHINESE CONTEMPORARY EXPERIMENTAL POETRY*

After the publication of *Modernists Federation* in March 1985, the Sichuan Young Poets Association was involved in the publication of a further two unofficial publications and a number of other activities carried out by individual members under the organization's hazy auspices. Over the course of 1985 the Association's activities moved out of Chengdu to the east, to Chongqing and Fuling, led by strong personalities and poets such as Zhou Lunyou, Bai Hua, and Liao Yiwu. *Day By Day Make It New* (*日日新*) – originally a saying of Confucius, but imported back into China from Ezra Pound and the Imagist Movement – was a journal edited by Bai Hua and Zhou Zhongling that appeared in Beipei/Chongqing in April; and *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry* appeared in Fuling in September. Other members of the Association organized lectures, such as a lecture and reading in honor of the 100th anniversary of Ezra Pound's birth organized by Zhang Zao in the Chongqing Municipal Library on 30 October 1985.[256] In early March the Chongqing branch of the Young Poets Association invited Bei Dao to give a poetry reading.[257] And not long after this, Zhou Lunyou and Zhou Lunzuo set off on a lecture tour through the province, visiting university and college campuses in Xichang, Chengdu, Chongqing, and Wuhan. During this time, Zhou Lunyou made new contacts that would help to lay the foundations for a poetry grouping gathered around the journal *Not-Not* in 1986.

All these activities, including those surrounding the production of *Macho Men* and *Modernists Federation*, and the networking and planning that were going on at all times throughout the province, would ultimately lead to the creation of a 'Second World of

[256] Bai Hua (1996a): Part 3, Chapter 6.
[257] Ibid.

Poetry' in Sichuan – a sub-field in the general field of contemporary Chinese poetry, inhabited by poets now more responsive to, and more influenced by, each other and translated works than to officially published poetry and criticism, and even Misty poetry. Denied official publication opportunities for avant-garde poetry during 1984-1985, Sichuan's poets took advantage of an increasingly liberal social and literary atmosphere, heretofore unknown in CCP China. Similar activities were occurring in other parts of China – unofficial poetry groupings and journals such as *Them* in Nanjing and *On the Sea* (*海上*) and *Continent* (*大陆*) in Shanghai – but nothing as organized and large-scale as what was taking place in Sichuan.

As the analysis of the poetry in *Modernists Federation* has already indicated, at least two major strains of poetical experimentation were developing in the province. The Wholism trend took an interest in the roots of Chinese culture, delving into traditional popular religion, mythology, and philosophy – a return to sources common to newcomer-challengers in the western avant-garde. The Third Generation trend, represented by the poetry of Yang Li and Macho Men, was exploring the poetical possibilities of existentialism, alienation, sexuality, and colloquial language, among other things. Bai Hua represented lesser trends with his innovative blending of lyricism, symbolism and surrealism, as did Zhai Yongming with her interest in a woman-centered, partially autobiographical approach to poetry. In fact, time would show that Zhai had more or less single-handedly marked out a position for women's poetry in the avant-garde sub-field. The unofficial journal *Modernists Federation* was the first unofficial calling card of these new poets and their new poetry in Sichuan, and throughout China.

### Growing Ties and a Setback

The interest in modernist poetry was growing stronger throughout the province – and all China – as was demonstrated by a lecture tour by Zhou Lunyou and Zhou Lunzuo. Initially, in January-February 1985, the twins presented a series of three lectures each in their native Xichang. Zhou Lunyou's lectures were offered at the local teachers' school to paying crowds in a packed auditorium that held about 200 listeners, and his topic was

<The Imaginative Forms of Modernist Poetry> (现代诗的想象形式).[258] The cost of 55 cents may not seem much to foreigners and the people of today's China, but in 1985 a movie ticket cost 20-30 cents and papers sold for 10 cents at most. As Zhou Lunzuo observes, part of the reason for such interest was natural curiosity, as Misty poetry and western modernist poetical forms had been under attack during a polemic in the Chinese literary media since 1980.[259] However, the lectures were also inspirational, as attested to by the Daliang Mountain poet (Zhou) Faxing, editor of the 1990s unofficial poetry journals *The Wind of the Kai People*[260] (*开风*: founded 1997) and *Independence* (*独立*: founded 1998). As an 18-year-old student at the Xichang Trade and Finance School, (Zhou) Faxing remembers Zhou's lectures on Misty poetry in particular, and modern poetry in general, inspiring him to start writing poetry.[261]

Encouraged by such interest, Zhou Lunyou contacted university poets in other parts of Sichuan suggesting he could present the same lecture at their schools. As an official in the Young Poets Association, he was able to acquire an official letter of introduction, which would pave the way for university authorities to grant permission to lecture and provide accommodation and payment to himself and his brother.[262] After the brothers had both asked for a two-month leave-of-absence from their workplaces, the tour got under way on April 10 at Sichuan Teachers' University in Chengdu. Over the next ten days Zhou Lunyou lectured three times there, before moving on to do the same at Sichuan University – all organized by the schools' poetry societies. The auditoriums were bigger than the one in Xichang, and were also full to bursting. On April 20, the Zhou's traveled to Beipei, the suburb of Chongqing that was home to the Southwest Teachers' University and the Southwest Agricultural University, and over the next two weeks Zhou Lunyou presented the same series of three lectures in both schools with similar results. While residing at the Teachers' University, Zhou was visited by local poets, including Bai Hua, who was teaching at the Agricultural University, and his friend Zhang Zao, a student at

[258] The information regarding this lecture tour is based on Zhou Lunzuo (2001): 417.
[259] Ibid: 421. See also Yao (1989) for a collection of relevant articles, both pro and con.
[260] A reference to the Kai people who live in Daliang Mountain County, three hours bus travel from Xichang. (Zhou) Faxing is Han Chinese, but this journal is primarily a forum for Kai and other minority nationalities writing poetry in Chinese.
[261] See (Zhou) Faxing (2003a). (Zhou) Faxing remembers the lectures occurring in October 1984. This may refer to earlier lectures given by Zhou Lunyou alone, written of by Zhou but without giving dates.
[262] Zhou Lunzuo (2001): 420.

the Foreign Languages College in Shapingba, another suburb of Chongqing. [263] (At this time, Bai and Zhang were in the process of producing the poetry journal *Day By Day Make It New*, discussed later in this chapter.) As in Chengdu previously, these meetings between poets primarily involved the reading and discussion of poetry – their own and that of others.

On May 5, after receiving invitations to lecture at other schools in the Chongqing area, the Zhou brothers went to Shapingba and took up residence in the Chongqing Teachers' College. While there, all the Zhous' lectures, accommodations, etc., were organized by the newly formed Chongqing University Students Poetry Federation (重庆大学生诗歌联合会) and its three leaders, Yan Xiaodong, Shang Zhongmin, and Zhang Jianming, then establishing the University Student Poetry Group (大学生诗派).[264] Zhou Lunyou had been corresponding with them for some time and the Federation was in the process of joining the Sichuan Young Poets Association. Yan Xiaodong was the head of the Teachers' College poetry society and Shang Zhongmin was head of the literary society at Chongqing University. In 1986, Shang would move to Chengdu and become one of the key members of the Not-Not poetry group, contributing poetry and theoretical essays. In addition, at this time, the Federation sponsored the publication of the first issue of the *Modern Poetry Paper* (*现代诗报*), edited by the poets Zheng Danyi and Wang Fan, both students at the Teachers' University in Beipei.[265]

Zhou Lunyou had finished his series of three lectures at the Chongqing Teachers' College and was about to move on to lecture at Chongqing University, when on May 11 an edict from the provincial educational authorities banned all further lectures by the brothers in Chongqing and anywhere else in Sichuan.[266] Moving quickly, the brothers caught a boat down the Yangtze River to Wuhan on May 15. Zhou Lunyou had previously contacted the literary societies at three universities in the city about lecturing there, and the leaders of the societies met the Zhou brothers as they disembarked in Wuhan two days later. Zhou Lunyou was able to complete his first series of lectures at

[263] Ibid: 426.
[264] Ibid: 430.
[265] Bai Hua (1996a): Part 3, Chapter 6. It should be restated that this student paper was of semi-official status, having been approved and partly funded by the university. This had also been the case with the earlier *This Generation.*
[266] Zhou Lunzuo (2001): 433-434.

the Central China Engineering College, before news of the ban on their lectures in Sichuan reached Wuhan and resulted in similar action by the Hubei government on May 23.[267] A delegation of propaganda department chiefs from Sichuan's schools of higher education happened to be in Wuhan, and they received instructions from Chengdu to ensure the Zhou brothers returned to Sichuan together with them. As it was, the brothers had already run out of money, and so, making the best of a bad situation, they accepted the delegation's 'hospitality' and returning to Chongqing. Upon finally returning to Xichang on June 4, the brothers discovered that on May 11 an official police investigation into their activities had already begun at their places of employment and all the schools at which they had lectured in Sichuan and Wuhan.[268] However, by September 1985 the matter was officially dropped without any real explanation.

It might be argued that Zhou Lunyou and Zhou Lunzuo's lecture tour was doomed by the enthusiastic response their lectures received at every school. Since 1980 there had been an ongoing political campaign against Misty poetry, western modernism in the arts, and what was perceived as 'bourgeois liberalization' in general, led by the more conservative elements in the CCP, especially in areas relating to culture and propaganda. However, in December 1984 at the Fourth Congress of the official, national Writers' Association, one of the top CCP leaders at the time, Hu Qili came out in favor of "creative freedom" (创作自由) for writers. At the same congress, writers and poets were for the first time permitted to elect by popular vote their own board of directors[269] – an action mirrored by the creation of the Sichuan Young Poets Association. In light of these events, it is not surprising that university students and the province's younger poets felt encouraged to establish their own poetry associations. Nor could Zhou Lunyou be entirely blamed for thinking that the time was also ripe for a lecture tour. However, moving so quickly to take advantage of a sliver of light at the top of the CCP cultural pyramid was to prove the undoing of the Zhou brothers' lecture tour.

According to Zhou Lunzuo, the banning of their lectures in Sichuan's universities on May 11 was the result of a negative report from the secretary of the Communist Youth League committee at Chongqing University. This report had been passed on to the

[267] Ibid: 436.
[268] Ibid: 439-442.
[269] Link (1999): 33.

Chongqing City Propaganda Department, and then on to Chengdu and the provincial Propaganda Department. The main complaint had been based on an overcrowded auditorium and some students who were unhappy about that situation at a lecture of Zhou Lunzuo's at Chongqing University. However, there were also said to be problems with the contents of the lectures.[270]

Zhou Lunyou's lectures, <The Imaginative Forms of Modernist Poetry>, dealt with subject matter seldom mentioned in university classrooms at the time in China – or since 1949, for that matter. Over three evenings, students received an explanation of how modernist poetry works, from symbolist up to high modernist practices, with examples from Chinese and western poetry, and this was followed by question-and-answer sessions.

The published outline-notes on which these lectures were based[271] show Zhou Lunyou's introduction to have been more than a little provocative as far as young, conservative members of the Communist Youth League might have been concerned. He outlined the recent polemic concerning Misty poetry and pointed out the inappropriate nature of using the old, politics-based critical model to criticize post-1976 literary phenomena. He then proceeded to list this model – "social criticism (including the theory of reflection)" – as but one of five great critical models for poetry, the others being moral criticism, formal criticism, archetypal criticism, and psychological criticism. There followed a further five parts to the lecture(s): 1) a definition of the imagination, drawing on Kant and Einstein; 2) three types of imagination, drawing on da Vinci, the Dadaists, and Croce; 3) three types of reality which constitute an individual's existence, here comparing traditional Chinese and modern western approaches, drawing on Jung, imagism, expressionism, Aristotle, Diderot, and Kant again; 4) the efforts to transcend the three types of reality, moving fully into the area of poetry and drawing on examples from Tang poetry, Frost, and others; and 5) the six imaginative forms of modern poetry (the abstract, the symbol, the communication of emotions, anti-logical associations, subjective time and place, and emotive expression), drawing on examples of traditional and newer forms of the Chinese and western arts to demonstrate that the art of modernist poetry is not entirely western or alien to China. The outline ends with a quotation from

[270] Zhou Lunzuo (2001): 434.
[271] Zhou Lunyou (1999a): 109-121.

Breton and Zhou Lunyou's own words: " 'Among all the dishonors we have inherited, humankind's greatest freedom – the imagination – is left to us.' Let us cherish it!"

The above amply demonstrates that Zhou Lunyou wanted to use this series of lectures to refute the official critics of Misty and western-influenced modernist poetry.[272] However, on the surface, this was merely tweaking the nose of the CCP's cultural organs and the cultural line they had been trying to impose, or re-impose, on the arts in China since 1980. The main criticism of his lectures dealt with concrete details, namely the impugning of the 'good name' of Guo Moruo[273] and Zhou's claim that "literature should transcend politics." These criticisms relate to the fifth part of Zhou's lectures, in which he stated that modern poets should transcend intrinsic and extrinsic schematizations, politics, and three-dimensional spatial perception – to which he referred as the three forms of reality.

It seems natural that a secretary of a university's Communist Youth League should be upset by a call to transcend politics in his school – university students were meant to be the hope of China, the brains behind the organization and functioning of society, and also the engine for any type of future reform. Yet, here was an outsider who had been invited by students to preach a message that must have seemed to the secretary to be telling the students to disconnect from society and politics, and pursue art alone. Given the circumstances at the time, it is surprising that these lectures were not banned while Zhou Lunyou was still in Chengdu.

In his lecture, Zhou made unattributed use of Hu Qili's call for "creative freedom," and this serves as indirect legitimization of his call for the depoliticization of poetry and poets. After 1949, Guo Moruo had written poetry and plays that served as propaganda pieces in the service of the CCP, and Zhou holds him up as a negative example to aspiring artists. However, the reverse could also be said to be true: if one wished to achieve fame, high position, and wealth in the here-and-now, it clearly paid to 'sell' one's services to the state, despite criticism from 'neutral' or 'pure' artists of the type Zhou Lunyou claimed to be.

---

[272] For more on modernism debate in China as a whole see Chen Xiaomei (1995).

[273] A native of Sichuan who first became famous as a poet upon the publication of what was the first book of 'modern' poetry published in China – *The Goddesses* (1921) – and later rose to senior positions in the CCP cultural apparatus.

Could Zhou have said all this without referring to CCP cultural policies, Hu Qili, and Guo Moruo? Yes, but the legitimacy of his message would have been weakened. In addition, his comments pandered to the interests of students and some teachers who would have been excited to hear words that were previously only ever uttered in private conversation – although many articles in defense of Misty poetry and modernist poetical practice, as well as Misty poetry itself, were being published again in official literary journals since January 1985.[274] Taken all together, Zhou's comments would seem to mark Zhou's direct participation in a political polemic regarding CCP cultural policies. Yet in 1985, and even today, not being a member of the CCP or the arts establishment he was not entitled to go to the youth of China with this political message. Furthermore, the Communist Youth League and the educational authorities in Sichuan province, by undertaking an investigation of the Zhou brothers' activities and of all those who had assisted them in organizing the lectures, were sending a clear message of their own to Sichuan's students and poets: Despite what Hu Qili may have indicated and what was being published in some official journals (not Sichuan's), we do not approve. The fact that the investigation started in May and was not wound up until September is an indication of how unwilling the Sichuan government was to implement a more liberal cultural line within the province. In his article about the lecture tour, Zhou Lunzuo lists the names of eleven individuals (mostly students), aside from himself and Zhou Lunyou, who either lost their positions (two) or were forced to write self-criticisms (all).[275]

The Second World of Poetry in Sichuan would become notable in China for the hostility of the local authorities towards the unofficial journals and activities of avant-garde poets. However, in this case the gradually improving political and cultural climate in 1985 in China as a whole prevented a more thorough investigation and more serious consequences for more people.

[274] For a list of relevant critical articles, see Yao ed. (1989): 531-536. Also, see 1985 issues of *Poetry*, for example, for poetry.
[275] Zhou Lunzuo (2001): 440.

*University Poets in Chongqing*

Mention has been made of Shang Zhongmin and Yan Xiaodong as organizers of the Chongqing University Student Poetry Federation and as founders of the University Student Poetry Group. There is confusion about this group among poetry critics in China. On two occasions the poet-critic Xu Jingya has claimed that the origins of the group, which he sees as a loose nationwide assembly of poets of similar inclination, are found in the establishment in 1982 of a special section for university student-poets by the Lanzhou-based, nationally circulated *Feitian Literature*.[276] Shanghai poet-activist Meng Lang goes so far as to write that Han Dong and Yu Jian – founders of the Nanjing-based unofficial poetry journal *Them*, who had had poetry published in *Feitian* – were also members of this group,[277] and critics such as Xiang Weiguo have uncritically accepted these claims.[278]

It is true that many of these poets were published in *Feitian*, and, doubtless due to editorial proclivities, there was a similarity in styles among them. However, this did not lead to the organization of any grouping, loose or otherwise, aside from the aforementioned *Them*. Han Dong has stated that he first read the poetry of future *Them*-contributors Yu Jian and Wang Yin in the Lanzhou-based 1982 unofficial poetry journal *Same Generation* (*同代*),[279] and liking their poetry had struck up correspondence with them.[280] Both Yu and Wang had poetry published in *Feitian*, but at later dates.[281]

In fact, in May 1985, entirely by coincidence, while Shang Zhongmin and Yan Xiaodong were organizing their poetry group, the first issue of *Them* appeared in Nanjing. As a further coincidence, it was in the April 1985 issue of *Feitian* that Shang Zhongmin first had a poem officially published. A revealing note from the author is appended to it:

Already in the fourth year [at university], the burden of class work and the burden on

[276] Xu et. al. ed. (1988): 186-187; and Xu (1989): 132-133.
[277] Xu et. al. ed. (1988): 186.
[278] Xiang (2002): 97-98.
[279] *Same Generation* also featured the poetry of Han Dong himself – his most famous poem, <About the Great Goose Pagoda> (有关大雁塔) – Bei Dao, Yan Li, Lu Yimin, Chen Dongdong, Niu Bo, Daozi, and Liao Yiwu, among others. The journal's editor was Feng Xincheng, later also a contributor to *Them*.
[280] Han Dong (2003c).
[281] Yu Jian in the January 1984 issue and Wang Yin in the January 1985 issue.

> the spirit are all pretty heavy. This poem's contents are primarily based on fact. One day we suddenly realized life cannot always march on following one-dimensional coordinates, [that] it should strike up varied melodies. This is the seventh time I've sent you poetry.

In fact, both Yan Xiaodong and Shang Zhongmin were in their final year of university. By the time they were able to edit and publish the first issue of *The University Student Poetry Paper* (*大学生诗报*) in June 1985[282] they were both about to leave university, and, in a few months, Shang would become a member of another poetry group (Not-Not). The "one day" on which "we" suddenly realized that life/poetry could be lived/written in more than one way (the officially acceptable way?) could have been the day Hu Qili spoke at the official Writers Association, but more likely was the day Shang read the poetry of Macho Men or *Modernists Federation*, as the poem published in *Feitian* seems to indicate:

**<Just Before the Test>** (临考之前)

> Page after page the days in books turn
> also day-by-day our well-behaved lives pass by
>
> Finally there's a day --- that day before a test
> our anxiety makes us ants on a hot pot
> the cracks between the teacher's teeth will not again let pass
> even half a syllable about a topic
> suddenly, on the silvery-white night of that day
> with a loud commotion we raise the siege of the very square teaching buildings
> and like giant birds throw ourselves down to perches on an irregularly shaped lawn

They start playing cards, drinking beer, argue, fight, and joke around.

> Also among us is a poet
> he often writes Ah wind Ah rain  anyway can't get away from Ah Ah
> but that night he had a good line  a publicly acknowledged good line of poetry
> he said youth should stamp to a disco beat swishing as they advance
> and then those who could twist and those who couldn't all began to twist

[282] Comments by Shang in Xu et. al. ed. (1988): 186. Apparently four issues in total where published, the last in autumn 1986. Dates are not clear, but the first issue seems to have appeared in June 1985 (as noted in <A Grand Exhibition>, but as 'June 1986' in Xu et al.).

They dance, there is shy interaction between boys and girls, and they sing songs. Going home at midnight they discover they've relaxed, are not worried about the test any more.

> Page after page the days in books turn
> and on that night before the test we stop going through books
> yet leaf our way through to a philosophy

Like Macho Men poetry, Shang uses a long unrhymed line, a narrative element, and plainspoken, colloquial Chinese. Considering where he hoped to publish the poem, it is not surprising that the crudity and black humor of Macho Men poetry is largely absent. However, there are still echoes of Li Yawei's <Chinese Department> where there is a more graphic description of how students react to the boredom and regimentation of student life. The poem can also be seen as a bland re-writing of Wan Xia's raucous <Tests> -- but while Shang's poem deals with the same university tests, it is also written to meet the official editorial test of *Feitian*. Finally, the first and final stanzas of Shang's poem echo the final stanza of Li's poem:

> Sometimes the Chinese department flowed in dreams, slowly
> like the waves of urine Yawei pisses on the dry earth like the disappearing
> then again rising footprints behind the pitiful roaming Mianyang, its waves
> are following piles of sealed exams for graduation off into the distance

Certainly there is no urine or openly mocking tone in Shang's poem, but the same feeling of an inexorable passage of time and general lassitude can be sensed. The students in Shang's poem leaf their way through to a philosophy of life, and the foregoing stanzas indicate that this is a message to loosen up, relax, live and enjoy life, much as Yawei described himself and his friends as trying to do at school in Nanchong.

Zhou Lunyou's understanding and explication of modernist poetry was able to attract the interest of young poets like Shang Zhongmin. While Shang shared certain traits with Nanjing's *Them* poets, the personal connection to Zhou by way of correspondence and personal contact, as well as geographic proximity, found him on the editorial board and among the contributors to Zhou's journal *Not-Not* when it first appeared in May 1986.

Furthermore, the <University Student Poetry School Manifesto> (大学生诗派宣言), which Shang wrote in the summer of 1986 at the request of Xu Jingya,[283] seems to be an indication of the influence of Zhou and the Not-Not group. In claiming that the Student 'school' of poetry called for "opposition to the sublime" (反崇高) – a slogan shared with Not-Not – "the elimination of the image" (消灭意象), and a "cold-blooded" (冷酷) handling of language, together with black humor – tendencies also shared by Not-Not and Macho Men – Shang effectively merged the Student 'school' with the Not-Not and Macho Men groups, and thereby claimed membership among the Third Generation for himself and any other Student poets who cared to follow his lead.

The fact that poets such as Yang Li, Li Yawei, Wan Xia, and even one of the principal *Them* poets (Ding Dang) contributed work to the first issue of *Not-Not* indicates the shared interests and poetical inclinations of the poets involved, both previously and at the time. As it is, it is these poets – including those of *Them* – who are today generally held to be the representatives of the Third Generation in contemporary Chinese poetry.[284]

### *Day By Day Make It New* and the Makings of an Unofficial Avant-Garde Polemic

In April 1984, Ouyang Jianghe had preceded Zhou Lunyou in lecturing on modernist poetry at the Southwest Teachers' College in Beipei/Chongqing. It was at this time that Ouyang first met, and then formed what amounted to a poetry circle with Bai Hua and Zhang Zao,[285] whom Bai had only first met the month before, not long after Zhang's arrival in Chongqing from his native Changsha in Hunan. Out of this confluence of mutual admiration and interests would come the poetry journal *Day By Day Make It New* in April 1985. It is also from this time that the name Zhou Zhongling – listed in the journal as co-editor with Bai Hua – first appears in Sichuan's Second World of Poetry.

Zhou Zhongling is a writer of modernist short fiction, but he also is the proprietor of one of Sichuan's first privately-owned printing shops, located across the road from the

[283] Xu et. al. ed. (1988): 185-186.
[284] See Xiang (2002): 94-117; Xie & Liang (1993): 165-304; Tang (2001): 74-80; Zhou Lunyou (1999a): 167-185, 194-201; and numerous officially published articles by other critics.
[285] Bai Hua (1996a): Part 3, Chapter 4.

back-entrance to the Southwest Agricultural University in Beipei – where Bai Hua was teaching English in the mid-1980s. Zhou's interest in all forms of modernist literature resulted in friendships with a large number of Sichuan's avant-garde poets. Furthermore, he was often also a source of funding for unofficial journals, and printed *Make It New* and several individual poetry collections, including those by Bai Hua, Zhang Zao, and Liao Yiwu. Individuals like Zhou Zhongling, with both money and a printing press, were extremely rare in China during the 1980s.

*Make It New* had the semi-official imprimatur of the Chongqing Youth Cultural Arts Association, an organization that had earlier joined the Sichuan Young Poets Association. The semi-official nature of the organization, and the fact it was also stated on the back of the journal that it was intended for 'internal circulation', made the printing of it a less risky undertaking for Zhou Zhongling. Safety was further ensured by drafting in a 'consultant' (顾问) the famous 'returned' poet Peng Yanjiao,[286] whose name featured prominently on the inside-leaf of the cover page. Zhou had to be wary of authorities who could heavily fine him, reduce his state-allotted paper allowance, or take away his business license. The fact that he is still in business today indicates both the intelligence and caution with which he played his role.[287]

The choice of the journal's name came about during a discussion about Ezra Pound's poetry between Zhou Zhongling, Bai Hua, and Zhang Zao. At the time Zhang had an abiding passion for Pound, Imagist poetry, and classical Chinese poetry, and this had had some influence on both the poetry of Bai Hua[288] and Ouyang Jianghe, as shall be demonstrated below. In his <Editor's Words> (编者的话) on the first page after the table of contents of *Make It New*, Bai notes that Pound had the Chinese characters 日日新 (day day new) printed on a neckerchief. These were words of Confucius that Pound also incorporated into an historical anecdote in <Canto LIII>:

Chen prayed on the mountain and

[286] A native of Fujian province, a poet, and editor since 1939. The term 'returned poet' referred to those poets of the 'first' generation who returned to writing poetry after a period of imposed silence during the time of the Cultural Revolution, or an even longer period after being labeled as 'rightists' during the 1950s.
[287] On paper allotment as a state instrument of control, see Link (1999): 94.
[288] Bai Hua (1996a), Part 3, Chapter 4. Both Bai Hua and Zhang Zao had the ability to read Pound in English, and presumably translated his poetry for Ouyang Jianghe and Zhou Zhongling, among others.

wrote MAKE IT NEW
on his bath tub
Day by day make it new

Pound's ability to combine history, mythology and masterful poetical technique fascinated the poets, and led Bai on behalf of the poets in *Make It New* to end his <Words> with two slogans which he claims encapsulate the spirit of 'new poetry': "Technique is the true test of an individual" and "Day by day make it new".

This being said, it comes as a surprise that there are two poems in the journal which were first published over two years previously in *Born-Again Forest*: Wu Shaoqiu's <Thirteen-Line Poem> and You Xiaosu's <It's Still Dusk>. As with the similar republication of Bai's <Expression> in *Modernists Federation*, presumably the editorial committee (listed as Zhang Zao, Ouyang Jianghe, Peng Yilin, Bai Hua, Zhou Zhongling, and Chen Yueling) decided that these poems had not received the attention they deserved. The fact that no newer works of these two poets are included supports this opinion, and the inclusion of these two poems may also indicate that the editors wished to encourage the poets to continue with their experimentation. However, if this was the case, the editors failed – it was ultimately left to Bai Hua and Zhong Ming in their autobiographical writings in the 1990s on this period to resurrect interest in the names, if not the poetry, of Wu Shaoqiu and You Xiaosu. Peng Yilin's name is also familiar from *Born-Again*, however his two poems here are new work.

*Make It New* itself, at 38 pages, is thin compared to many of the other journals dealt with in this study. However, the quality of the poetry found in the journal calls for a detailed analysis. With two exceptions, the poets in *Make It New* are natives – or residents, in the case of Zhang Zao – of Sichuan. The exceptions are Wu Shaoqiu of Guangzhou and Bei Dao of Beijing. Bei Dao's contribution – acquired by the editors during a recent visit to Chongqing – consists of two poems: <You Are Waiting for Me in the Rain> (你在雨中等待我) and <Many Years> (很多年), both first published here. The inclusion of Bei Dao's work speaks to the appreciation of his craftsmanship by the editors and the continuing influence of his work on this segment of China's avant-garde poets. Other names appear for the first time: Chen Yueling, Wang Yonggui, and Li Yi are

all natives of Chongqing – as are Bai Hua and Peng Yilin – the latter only eighteen-years-old at the time, and Lu Fu is a native of Leshan in the west of Sichuan.

There are also two prose works in *Make It New*, and both are indicative of the poetical interests of the journal's editors and the broader interests of Sichuan's avant-garde poets. After Bai's editorial comments and a preface written by Zhou Zhongling, there is a short essay entitled <Random Thoughts on Modern Poetry> (关于现代诗的随想) by Ouyang Jianghe (still going by the name of Jianghe). To conclude the journal, there is a translation by Zhang Zao (who was studying German as well as English) of Carl Jung's <On Poets> (论诗人).

In his essay, Ouyang speaks of a form of "purity" (纯粹) that he believes modern poetry offers poets and readers alike. This purity is ultimately spiritual, a return to the 'one', found after a journey through the travails of life as rendered by poetry. For Ouyang poetry is close to being "the spiritual substance of absolute reality" and, therefore, he claims: "the enterprise of poetry is the enterprise of kings," and "each poem is a spiritual kingdom" unto itself, with the caveat that the poet (or reader) is simultaneously a normal person living in the concrete world. Following this he cites Octavio Paz, Bai Hua ("every address is a death" from <Expression>), and St. John Perse to support his argument. Finally, Ouyang states that contemporary Chinese poetry lacks a "great master" (大师) who is needed to bring about sudden change in the nation's spiritual evolution, and will in his person act as a sort of cultural summation of a generation, or several generations. Wallace Stevens is cited as having had a similar wish, and Ouyang follows this with his hope that the current flood of poetry will not only include work of permanent value, but also contribute "a few world-class masters." He concludes:

> From Greece, the source of tragedy, Odysseus Elytis sent out this sort of prediction: "The breakout will die" (<Seven Nocturnes>). Modern poetry in the whole of China is now breaking out, is it also simultaneously dying?

With this, Ouyang Jianghe opens a polemic that continues to this day. This Nietzsche-like desire to find a Super Man, or men (are there any acknowledged, or desired, Super Women?), who will transform the world of poetry, has become an obsession for a certain type of poet the world over. In part, this belief in charisma is a response to the

marginalization of poetry during the twentieth century in all parts of the world influenced by European culture. This marginalization has come about because of the ascendancy of new, modern art forms, such as popular music, TV, movies, and photography, which have won massive audiences worldwide. The fact that in the west and in China more people are reading or writing poetry of all sorts today than at any time in history is, apparently, beside the point – poets should be kings. But, as Ouyang himself (and Stevens) points out, they are kings only within the field of the poetry they write, or within the poem itself. Therefore, a messianic poet must surely be a contradiction in Ouyang's own terms.

After the ravages of CCP cultural policy in recent years, in 1985 China it was understandable that young poets would seek to reestablish poetry as a respectable art in their own eyes and in those of others. Yet they must also have realized that poetry is the property of its writers first and of an audience second. So, this respect had primarily to be 'self-respect'. Given poetry's marginalized status, already evident in 1985 with regard to post-Misty poetry, there was little prospect of acquiring anything more than symbolic capital among a select group of people interested in the western-influenced modern arts. The fact that uncountable numbers of Chinese took up poetry in the late 1970s and early 1980s was more than enough evidence of the art's continuing high status in Chinese society. Apparently, there was little interest in maintaining the degree of real popularity that New Poetry briefly enjoyed after the Cultural Revolution period. Instead, poets such as those of Macho Men attempted to create a 'new' style of poetry directly accessible to the common man they felt themselves to be, writing about common experience in familiar, colloquial language. Presumably, Ouyang – and by implication, Bai Hua and Zhang Zao as well – was here indirectly criticizing the "technique" of other poets such as those of Macho Men, and via the choice of journal title, and Bai's and Ouyang's comments, urging other poets to choose their path, nominating Pound for emulation, if not also all the foreign poets mentioned by Ouyang in his essay. This was a movement toward the world, but simultaneously away from the Chinese poetry readers who had enjoyed the topicality of Misty poetry.

Despite this apparent contradiction, Cassandra-like cries such as Ouyang's, when he worries about the demise of Chinese poetry, continue to be heard to this day. This is true

whether speaking of the need for a Great Master (where in the world today is there a living poet such as Ouyang or Stevens describes?) or the necessity of a Chinese writer or poet to win the Nobel Prize for literature (the imprimatur of Swedes is somehow necessary to resurrect the far-from-dead art of poetry in China? and is s/he who wins it therefore a Great Master?).[289]

Jung's essay, <On Poets>, also speaks to this issue, and was doubtless chosen for translation and publication with this in mind. Jung addresses the mystery of creative power, rejecting Freud's idea that a poem's archetype can be found in the poet's life experience. Jung sees a poem as transcending the realm of individual life and allowing the poet's spirit and soul to be transmitted to the spirit and soul of humankind. Thus, the artist is his work, and not an individual. Jung describes art as a sort of internal impulse, and this impulse forces the artist to be a tool of art. The artist is a person without free will and is not questing for personal goals. Instead, he is a "collective person" passing on and forming the subconscious psychological life of all of humankind. As a result, all artists are at war within themselves – the earthly, common person versus this supra-human creative impulse. This explains the often-troubled life of an artist, and further emphasizes the need to address in isolation the artworks produced by him or her. Jung goes on to say that a great piece of art is a dream, and, although it may appear clear on the surface, yet of itself provides no explanation as to its meaning – nor can the author, for this is left to others and later generations. Furthermore, dreams never say "you should" or "this is truth," they only throw out images as Nature grows out plants.

The attraction of Jung's ideas to China's younger poets – and the avant-garde everywhere – is clear: not only do they serve to deflect the traditional moralistic, socio-politically grounded attacks by orthodox critics, they also elevate poets to a special status akin to that of a shaman, a seer, or an idiot-savant. The potential obscurity of poetry – of all art, and not just the modern – is authoritatively explained and excused. All poets answer to a higher authority, there is no questioning the validity of their 'dreams'; there is only the question of form, of technique, of best expressing what must be expressed. This brings us back to Bai Hua's and Ouyang Jianghe's comments at the front of *Make It New*.

[289] For more on this see Julia Lovell (2002b).

However, how does all this match up with the poetry in *Make It New*? In his autobiographical account of life as a poet in the 1980s, *The Left Side*,[290] Bai Hua states the editors (himself and Zhou) decided to present a fairly conservative face to readers, opening the journal with lyric poems by Zhang Zao and Ouyang Jianghe, and to later shift into a sort of surrealistic "madness", presumably referring to his own poems. The following poem by Zhang Zao is the first in the journal and, therefore, the face of this supposed conservatism:

**<In the Mirror>** (镜中)[291]

You need only remember things regretted in life
and plum blossoms fall
such as watching her swim to the other bank of the river
such as climbing up a ladder made of pine
while admittedly pretty dangerous things
are no equal to watching her return on horseback
cheeks warm
ashamed, head lowered, answering the emperor
a mirror forever waits on her
let her sit in the place she often sits in your mirror
looking out the window, you need only remember life's regrets
and plum blossoms blanket South Mountain

This poem is possibly Zhang's most anthologized work, and the one which first brought him to the attention of readers and critics alike.[292] It seems Zhang has taken Pound's principles for writing Imagist poetry to heart. There are six of these principles; the first three were published by Pound in *Poetry* (1913) in <A Few Don'ts for an Imagist>, which is in fact a list of both does and don'ts: 1) Direct treatment of the "thing", whether subjective or objective; 2) To use absolutely no word that does not contribute to the presentation; 3) regarding rhythm: to compose in the sequence of the musical phrase, not in that of the metronome. These were further embellished in Pound's anthology, *Des Imagistes* (1915): 4) To use the language of common speech, but always the exact word;

[290] Bai Hua (1996a), Part 3, Chapter 6.
[291] In Tang & Wang ed. (1987) and Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992).
[292] For example, Chang & Lu (2002): 242-243.

5) To create new rhythms, not necessarily free verse; 6) Absolute freedom in the choice of subject.

Zhang economically presents what might be the image of a woman remembered. It is not made clear what the regrets specifically refer to. However, the fact that they are said to exist and are then mirrored in nature by the falling plum blossoms, indicates aging as well as the passage of seasons, and this suggests the regrets are linked to this. The images of the woman between the opening two lines and closing two lines are clear and familiar to readers of classical Chinese poetry – with the possible exception of her swimming – and are confirmed as such with the appearance of the "emperor". In both Chinese and English, the poem seems to meet Pound's criteria, and this is confirmed by similar comments from critic-poet Chen Chao.[293] However, it is these opening and closing lines which Pound would most likely have criticized as unnecessary (in particular the use of the word "regret"), wordy, and over-sentimental, transforming the poem into a representative of "Amygism" – the name Pound gave to the last stage of the Imagist movement, after he had withdrawn and Amy Lowell edited the Imagist anthologies (1915-1917).[294] Yet there are unmistakable musical qualities in Zhang's use of repetition here – harking back to China's poetic tradition – which are original and apt. Overall, the artistic architecture here is quite remarkable for a poet only twenty-three years of age.

The fact is that, as happened with the so-called Romantic poets in the English-language literary tradition, there is much that is 'romanticized' and sentimentalized about Chinese classical poetry in China today. A more distanced stance towards this poetry was easier to achieve for a foreigner who was perhaps unaware of the underlying meanings within the images, such as Pound, in his re-written 'versions' of the same. Take, for example, Pound's <The Jewel Stairs' Grievance>:[295]

> The jeweled steps are already quite white with dew,
> It is so late that the dew soaks my gauze stockings,
> And I let down the crystal curtain
> And watch the moon through the clear autumn.

[293] Chen Chao ed. (2002): 936.
[294] Pratt ed. (1963): 20-23.
[295] Ibid.: 57.

Pound places the emotionally charged noun “grievance” in the title, thus leaving the poem’s imagery superficially clear of emotion. He does, however, provide a note which helps the western reader better understand the ‘hidden’ meanings. An un-annotated poem is <Liu Ch’e>:[296]

> The rustling of the silk is discontinued,
> Dust drifts over the court-yard,
> There is no sound of foot-fall, and the leaves
> Scurry into heaps and lie still,
> And she the rejoicer of the heart is beneath them:
>
> A wet leaf that clings to the threshold.

Whereas Pound ends his poem with a powerful image which derives its emotive strength from the lines that precede it, at the conclusion of <In the Mirror> Zhang returns to the initial image of the plum blossoms falling and sentimentalizes it by locating it in South Mountain (南山) – a well-known poem from the pre-Han dynasty classic *Book of Songs* (*诗经*) and a thereafter traditional site of lovers’ trysts. Zhang’s circular technique brings about a form of closure, but this diminishes the impact of the potentially final image of the woman in the mirror.

Zhang Zao’s melancholy mood – minus the finely crafted imagery – is present in his other two contributions to the journal: <Villanelle: Recalling Years Passing Like Water> (维昂纳尔：追忆逝水年华)[297] and <What Is It Makes People Sad? > (那使人忧伤的是什么？). The villanelle is an old French form of pastoral poetry made up of five tercets and a concluding quatrain, in which the first and third lines of the first tercet alternately recur as a refrain and form a final couplet. Pound had briefly experimented with it for its musical possibilities, but the form’s major English language practitioners were Wilde, Henley, and Auden. Given Bai Hua’s teaching and scholarly interests in English literature, as well as his demonstrated interest in musicality in verse, it seems that in this poem – if not the previous – Zhang has been somewhat influenced by Bai. In *The Left Side*, Bai also recalls that Zhang Zao changed all the modern Chinese characters for ‘you’ (你) to an

[296] Ibid.: 59.
[297] This is the Chinese translation of Proust’s *A la recherché du temps perdu* (*Remembrance of Things Past*).

older, classical form of the word (汝) out of interest in tradition[298] – both Chinese and French, in the case of <Villanelle>. However, this use of archaic language comes across as affected.

A perusal of the poetry titles in *Make It New*'s table of contents (in Chinese in the front and in English in the back) further demonstrates this interest in both Chinese and western poetical traditions: there is Wu Shaoqiu's <Thirteen-Line Poem>, reminiscent of the sonnet, called a fourteen-line poem in Chinese; Chen Yueling's <Pear Buds Blossom> (梨花开了) reminds one of a classical poetical subject, the pear generally blossoming in March as an early harbinger of spring; Peng Yilin's <Elegant Songs> (雅歌) are takes on poems by the same name in *The Book of Songs* (where they are dynastic hymns); the title of Wang Yonggui's <Elegant> (尔雅) is the same as that of China's oldest dictionary said to have been partly written by the Duke of Zhou and Confucius, among others; and the title of one of Bai Hua's poems says it all: <Only the Old Days Bring Us Happiness> (惟有旧日子带给我们幸福). The foreign influence on the poetry in the journal is also evident in the four-line English language extract from Pound's <Canto LIII> and in titles like <Villanelle>, <To Borges> (致博尔赫斯) by Chen Yueling, and Bai's two English language poems: <Name> and <Something Else>.[299]

While the majority of the poems in *Make It New* are personal lyrics, the poetry of Ouyang Jianghe strikes one as incongruous, given that the first of his two poems – <Death of a Young Girl> (少女之死) – is a meditation on death and its appearance in the form of a young girl. This apparent interest in appearance and reality is indicative of the influence of T. S. Eliot, as had also been the case with his long prose poem <Suspended Coffin>. Similarly, as in the following poem, Eliot's efforts to express the ennui and repulsiveness, even horror, of many aspects of the modern world are to some extent mirrored by Ouyang, but in a decidedly Chinese context:

---

[298] Bai Hua (1996a), Part 3, Chapter 6.

[299] Of little more than curiosity-value in English, but an oft-anthologized poem, after Bai Hua rewrote it in Chinese as<或别的东西>.

**<A Night in Your Silhouette>** (背影里的一夜)[300]

A drop of blood makes me remember all kinds of wounds
but not all wounds bleed
otherwise hair and the smell of a sword would not flow over my body
a sudden meeting on an itinerant blade seems so keen
a calm demeanor loses you your shadow, but it is the shadow itself that shifts
a stone has only to be set in a treetop to spill the flesh of fruit
if you do not believe then make the flower buds fall and cover the deep courtyard
regretfully all this is too marvelous for words

You imagine yourself a nun in white
as a narcissus of one night in the slow leak behind you
in an insolvable riddle worries pent up like a swan
as soon as the moonlight dragged over the dirt is thrown off like a shirt
your body swells up into night
inside candles and loneliness shine, a pair of censers too
you strike at the bars in the lines of a poem with the middle of the night
cause vacuous lovers' complaints to fill the little boxes
make one blossom bloom into the dance of all flowers
the more you pick the more there are, in a quiet night everything is a riot of falling flowers

At dawn you have a chest full of heartache, a head cold and white
makes it seem you see stretches of March's white pear blossoms fly up
what falls on your face is a tear, what falls into the wind flute is a soul that cannot be summoned

First off, to the Chinese reader there are several obvious images from classical Chinese literature interspersed throughout the poem: the "itinerant blade" (游刃) seems an allusion to a knight errant, and the sword itself is symbolic of wisdom and penetrating insight in Buddhism and victory over evil in Daoism; the stone in a tree is an ancient practice believed to ward off evil spirits, and the tree itself was held to be the home of local gods; twice there are references to falling flowers, possibly symbolic of women conquered, or "killed"; there are candles and censers, followed by a "lover's complaint" (闺怨), props typical of classical poetry; the narcissus is forced into blossom for the lunar new year as it is thus believed to bring good luck; the pear blossom could be symbolic of an actress, but is also used as medicine prescribed for fever; and, finally "wind chimes"

[300] First anthologized in Tang & Wang ed. (1987).

(or “wind flute”, 风笛, which could be a reference to fellatio) and “a soul that cannot be summoned” (不招之魂). This last allusion is to the practices of ancient shamans as in a poem in *The Songs of the South* [301] entitled <Summoning the Soul> (招魂) in which a poet in the guise of a shaman attempts to call back the soul of a departed king/lover (i.e., someone who values his talents).

While this is an impressive list of symbols and allusions, the poem itself deals with sexual love – as the lover’s complaint and the flowers clearly indicate – from the perspective of a male poet identified in the second stanza as being the you-speaker of the poem. Now the western-Freudian identification of phallic symbols comes into play with regard to the sword/blade, the tree, and the wind flute. The you-speaker’s problem with one woman/flower becomes a problem with all. And the wound/pain the poet writes about is related to frustrated sexual desire for an apparently unattainable, or possibly unwanted, woman who is perhaps there on the bed lying with her back to him (ergo the silhouette, or the view of somebody’s back, in the title).

Overall, Ouyang Jianghe has mixed classical poetical imagery with Freudian elements in a new way to express a modern poetical topic. This is yet another change in writing style for the poet. In *Born-Again Forest* (1982), Ouyang wrote Misty-influenced poetry speaking for a collective “we.” In *Modernists Federation,* he is part of the roots-seeking fad and views the ruins of Chinese culture under the influence of Eliot and St. John Perse in the first part of the prose poem <Suspended Coffin>. In <A Night in Your Silhouette>, Ouyang moves inside the individual to explore complicated emotions and psychology. This degree of change in poetical form and technique over such a brief period is remarkable in China. Yet, a few other accomplished poets went through comparable transformations over a similar period of time (Liao Yiwu and Zhou Lunyou are striking examples within Sichuan). This speaks both to their personal, earnest quest to create poetry of lasting value and significance, and to the atmosphere they enjoyed and the encouragement they received.

[301] A collection of poems said to have been compiled by Liu Xiang, some of the poems are from the state of Chu and may date from the fourth century B.C.E.. Many of the poems – if not all – are attributed to Qu Yuan.

Bai Hua's poetry is also sensitive to his environment, if less prone to stylistic change. He does admit to being influenced by Zhang Zao's passion for Pound and classical poetry (as Ouyang may also have been) in 1984, writing in *The Left Side* that he promptly introduced "history" and "Li Bai" into his poetry as a result.[302] This appears to be in reference to <Spring>, the first of Bai's poems in *Make It New*, in which Li Bai makes a sudden appearance in the fifth stanza – a stanza entirely devoted to Tang poetry – and the presence of "the draw-bridge of antiquity" in the final stanza. None of the other four of Bai's poems in the journal show such direct influence, although <Precipice>, written during the same period and previously published in *Modernists Federation*, features a courtesan and the Tang dynasty poet Li He.

The following poem – the last poem in *Make It New* – Bai Hua has called his personal favorite of all the poems he has ever written[303] for purely biographical reasons that cannot be known to a casual reader. Nevertheless, there are qualities in the Chinese-language version of the poem that recommend its inclusion here:

**<Summer's Still Far Away>** (夏天还很远)[304]

Day after day passes away
something approaches you in the dark
sit for a while, talk a bit
see the leaves fall
see the sprinkling rain
see someone walk along the street, cross it
Summer's still far away

Really fast, vanishing as soon as it's born
on an October night all that's good enters in
too beautiful, entirely unseen
a huge calm, like your clean cloth shoes
by the bed, the past is dim, warm and gentle
like an old box
a faded letter
Summer's still far away

[302] Bai Hua (1996a), Part 3, Chapter 4.
[303] Ibid., Part 5, Chapter 6.
[304] This is also Bai's first officially published poem, in the February 1986 issue of *New Observations* (*新观察*); anthologized in Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992). This poem seems to be one of many inspired to some degree by Shelley's <Ode to the West Wind>: If winter comes, can spring be far behind?

A chance encounter, you probably don't remember
it was a little cold outside
the left hand was tired too
all the while it was secretly moving to the left
remote and thoroughgoing
that single silly thought of you
Summer's still far away

Never again, losing your temper or loving passionately at a touch
gather up the bad old habits
year after year depressed
the small bamboo building, a white shirt
are you in the prime of life?
it's rare to reach a resolution
Summer's still far away

The title of the poem speaks to the distance and coldness with which the you-speaker confronts, and is confronted by, the world. One notable aspect of the poem only partially reflected in the translation – as with most translations of Bai's poetry – is the musical quality of the original Chinese. The title of the poem is still there as the last line of each stanza, acting as a refrain, but in the second stanza Bai introduces partial end-rhyme: lines 3 and 4 end with *–jue* and *–xie*, and lines 7 and 8 with *–jian* and *–yuan*. The third stanza marks the arrival of full end-rhyme: again, lines 3 and 4 end with *–juan* and *–bian* and lines 6 and 7 (in a seven-line stanza) with *–nian* and *–yuan*, resulting in an ABCDEDC scheme in which D is strengthened by proximity and the initial C is a clear echo of the last syllable of each stanza. The echo is strengthened by the implied relationship in the meaning of these syllables: *yuan* 远 means 'distant' and *juan* 倦 means 'weary'. The fourth stanza is more complicated, mixing full and partial end-rhyme, which results in an ABCBCDE/C scheme. The Bs are *–guan* and *–shan*, while the Cs are a repetition of the same syllable, *-nian*, meaning 'year', a partial rhyme with the poem's concluding *–yuan* that becomes even closer if the concluding 'n' is pronounced clearly and the word is stressed, as it should be.

Without going through every musical device Bai uses, another more visibly obvious one is the sight and sound of the character *yi* 一, meaning 'one' in most instances and looking like a short, straight line. It occurs twice in the poem's first line, twice again in

the third, and once more in the sixth line of the first stanza. There are a further three instances in the second stanza (lines 1, 6, 7), three more in the third (lines 2, 4, 6), and only two in the last (lines 3, 6). At the same time, there are several syllables ending with the same eerie, mournful sound of *–i* scattered throughout the poem (two in the first stanza, three in the second, five in the third, and five in the fourth). There are also instances of the *i*-sound appearing in other syllables, such as *–jin*. Finally, there is internal rhyme with the *–bian/–nian/-jian* end-rhymes already identified (two in the first stanza, two in the second, five in the third, and three in the fourth). From the transliteration of the title above, it can be seen that the syllable *–tian* is one of these.[305]

More could be said about the use of initials (such as *h-*, which appears twice in the title) for example; however, it is already sufficiently obvious how much care Bai Hua takes with this poem, and this care is something of a clue as to its personal importance. In Part 1, Chapter 1 of *The Left Side*, after explaining that all the poems he has written with summer in the title are somehow about his mother, Bai states that <Summer's Still Far Away> was the only poem written for his father. Summer is in the title, but not in the poem, except through negative inference, as an indication of its absence. His mother had a quick, fiery temperament and tone about her, which is identified with both 'the summer' and 'the left' in Bai's poetry, while his father was something of the opposite, a gentlemanly, tender-hearted, conservative type, born in October and declared a political 'rightist' in the 1950s. Bai says he has tried to capture some of all aspects of his father's life in the poem – the far-off summer is in the Chongqing of the 1940s (his youth, before meeting Bai's mother). While a reading of the poem without these biographical details is rewarding, an awareness of them leads to a richer reading, bringing in the aspect of a son's emotionally charged subjective understanding and observation of a father.

As indicated by the <Editor's Words>, Ouyang Jianghe's comments on the contemporary poetry scene, Zhang Zao's translation of Carl Jung, and the poetry of these two poets and Bai Hua – as well as the inclusion of Bei Dao's two poems, if not all the

[305] See Jing Wendong (1999) for an e-book that details aspects of the Sichuan dialect of spoken Mandarin and how it is used in avant-garde poetry. This issue is of importance in better understanding the great popularity of Li Yawei's poetry in Sichuan, but Li is not a major subject of Jing's study. However, Li was also very popular on university campuses in Northeast China during the 1980s. Because of the relative popularity outside the province of Sichuan avant-garde poetry in general – most of which is written in Mandarin Chinese – this issue is not dealt with in this study, except to note specific instances of diction used in poetry that is not found in standard Mandarin Chinese dictionaries.

poetry in the journal – *Make It New* seems to have been a conscious effort to set technical standards for the poets of Sichuan (including themselves), whether with regard to the use of tradition, imagery, form, or rhythm/musicality. The choice of a slogan by Ezra Pound as the journal's title indicates these poets believed they, together with Pound, shared a common spirit and pursued a common goal: the renovation of modern poetry. While their intentions may seem laudable to the neutral observer, in the eyes of other Sichuan poets *Make It New* may have appeared as a challenge, as a restatement of the aloofness and sense of superiority and correctness some (such as Yang Li, Wan Xia, and Li Yawei) saw in the poets of *The Born-Again Forest* in 1982. The republication in *Make It New* of poems by Wu Shaoqiu and You Xiaosu would have reinforced such opinions. But was there a reaction?

### ***Experimental Poetry*: A Final Joint Action**

If there was a response on the part of poets such as Wan Xia and Yang Li, it was to ignore *Make It New* and to continue as before, as in *Modernists Federation*, but with some refinements and stressing the experimental stage of China's avant-garde poetry at the time. In September 1985 in Fuling, members of the Young Poets Association produced their second, and final unofficial poetry journal: *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry*.

Fuling is about six hours down the Yangtze river from Chongqing, not far from the borders of Hubei, Hunan, and Guizhou. Li Yawei was from this region and had been dispatched by the Young Poets Association to Fuling in December 1984 to establish a branch there. However, the impetus for the new unofficial journal came primarily from two people: the local poet-entrepreneur Lei Mingchu and Liao Yiwu, newly arrived from Chengdu to become the editor of the local official literary journal.

*The Literary Wind of Ba Country* (*巴国文风*) was an 80-page journal that appeared twice annually in 1985 and 1986, and featured poetry, fiction, prose, folk literature, and literary criticism, contributed by writers primarily from eastern Sichuan (of which *Ba* 巴 is the name of a pre-Qin-unification (221 B.C.E.) kingdom that existed in the area). Not

long before his move to Fuling, Liao was invited to become a member the provincial branch of the official Writers Association, the result of his mentorship under well-known official poets at *Stars* and the award of important literary prizes. Liu Shahe, a mentor of Liao and possibly Sichuan's most famous poet at the time, contributed his calligraphy for the journal title.

Furthermore, these events are part of the explanation why Liao's name does not appear in *Modernists Federation* and in *Experimental Poetry* as an editor/organizer, despite the fact (as previously reported by Yang Li, Wan Xia, and Li Yawei) that he was a key figure in the genesis and production of both unofficial journals. Apparently, Liao was cautious about official reactions to this unofficial activity at the time. However, as an official literary editor he was able to get some of his friends' poetry officially published and paid for:[306] the first issue of *Ba Country* included work by Li Yawei, He Xiaozhu, Yang Shunli, and Wu Jianguo, all of whom also had work in *Experimental Poetry*. Liao did not have sole editorial responsibility for *Ba Country*,[307] but in the section of the journal headed Theories of Literature and Art (文艺理论) Liao was able to have the first installment published of his own lyrical, surrealistic creative notes, <Emmanuelle's Music> (曼纽尔的音乐) and a translation of Freud's <Creators and Daydreams> (创作家与白日梦). The second issue of *Ba Country*, published in December 1985, would see more poetry by He Xiaozhu and Wu Jianguo, as well as the official publication of Zhang Zao's translation of Jung's <On Poets>. The first issue appeared in June, just as poets from other parts of Sichuan were gathering in Fuling to begin to prepare *Experimental Poetry*.

At the top of the first page of *Experimental Poetry*'s table of contents, below the title of the journal itself, is the list of sponsors, followed by that of the editors. The tenuous semi-official nature of the journal was based on the two 'sponsors': the Sichuan Knowledge Developers Association Fuling Branch (essentially a branch of the Young Poets

[306] There was not a lot of money involved by today's standards, possibly as little as 3-10 Yuan for each 20-lines of poetry; however, even by this measure, the publication of Li Yawei's <Endless Road> (穷途), a poem of over 120 lines, would have netted Li at least 20 Yuan – which was not an inconsiderable amount in 1985. It is likely Liao would have worked to have him receive the maximum payment. For more on the subject of literary manuscript payments during this time see Link (1999): 129-138.

[307] The other 'responsible editor' was Peng Linxu, a friend of Liao's. However, their editorial activities would have been under the supervision of the area cultural bureau chief.

Association earlier established by Li Yawei) and the Sichuan Correspondence University Fuling Correspondence Center (四川函授大学涪陵函授中心). The Correspondence University was itself a project of the Knowledge Association and its branch in Fuling was being run by Lei Mingchu. Lei used his position to finance *Experimental Poetry*, and, together with another local poet, Yang Shunli, acted as the journal's editor-in-chief. Again, with a name reminiscent of the May Fourth period in 1920s China, the editing of the journal is stated to have been carried out by the Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry Research Office, and it is clearly noted that the journal is for internal circulation only. The six individuals said to comprise the editorial board were Lei and Yang, He Xiaozhu (another Fuling poet), Li Yawei, Chen Daixu, and Chen Yueling (a native of Chongqing, also on the editorial board of *Make It New*). According to Li Yawei's account,[308] however, Liao Yiwu and Wan Xia, who had been invited to Fuling by Liao, made the most important editorial decisions. Wan's reasons for not having his name appear as an editor are not clear. Possibly his reticence is due to the clash over *Modernists Federation* with Zhou Lunyou earlier in the year. The absence in *Experimental Poetry* of names of establishment figures like Luo Gengye and Fu Tianlin indicates a change in editorial approach, in that there was no apparent attempt to seek official approval.

However, Li Yawei claims he clashed with Liao and Wan about the inclusion of poetry by Bei Dao and Haizi, for example, who Li felt were not 'anti-cultural' enough, not part of the Third Generation. Yet, there were other out-of-province poets in the journal of whom Li apparently was able to approve: Yu Jian, Han Dong, Meng Lang, Yu Yu, Guo Lijia, Shao Chunguang, Xiaojun, and Che Qianzi. Guo Lijia and Shao Chunguang were honorary Macho Men from China's northeast, and their poetry had also appeared in *Modernists Federation*. Yu Jian of Kunming had also appeared in *Modernists Federation*, but here Han Dong and Xiaojun joined him: Han was the editor-in-chief of the Nanjing-based unofficial literary journal *Them*, and both Yu and Xiaojun were important contributors to the journal. Meng Lang and Yu Yu were both natives of Shanghai and contributors to and organizers of *Continent*, *On The Sea*, and *The South* (*南方*), three major unofficial poetry journals that had recently appeared in Shanghai. Che Qianzi, a

[308] Yang Li (2004): 218, 250, 256-257.

native of Suzhou, was also an occasional contributor to these journals. The inclusion of the work of these poets is a clear demonstration of the growing nationwide network of relationships between like-minded avant-garde poets throughout China, all still largely out of view for the vast majority of the nation's poetry-reading public.

Like *Modernists Federation* before it, *Experimental Poetry* was another handsomely designed 80-page journal. It was divided into six sections, with ten of the 39 contributors from out-of-province, and another translation of foreign poetry from Daozi to conclude the journal: Allen Ginsberg's <Howl>. There is, however, no section devoted to Misty poetry, as the first section of poetry in *Modernists Federation* had been. Bei Dao – the sole representative – is now moved to the third section, on the second page of the table of contents, and the titles of the four poems selected indicate the interests of the journals editors: <In the Bronze Mirror of Dawn> (在黎明的铜镜中) and <Echo> (回声) share some of the qualities sought by Wholism, and the titles <The Art of Poetry> (诗艺) and <The Life of an Artist> (艺术家的生活) speak for themselves. The last two in particular are indicative of Bei Dao himself exploring what were for him new poetical areas of interest.

It could be argued that Ginsberg was the journal's response to *Make It New*'s Jung: if a poet is some sort of seer or shaman with a line to the soul of all humankind, then 'we' accept Ginsberg as an exemplar of such a one. However, the first paragraph of comments "in lieu of a preface" (代序) on the front-inside cover read as if they were written by Shi Guanghua, Song Qu, and Song Wei, the leading exponents of Wholism:

> The river of phenomena is a stretch of luminescence, but the calm of eternity is hidden deep beneath the ripples on the water. Our world is like this, and *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry* attempts to reveal just this.

However, their poetry – <The Escape from an Ending> (结束之遁) by Shi and <The Human Stele> (人碑) – is located in the fourth and fifth positions in the journal, after the work of Liao Yiwu, (Ouyang) Jianghe, and Zhou Lunyou, in that order.

Further reading of this lyrical preface, titled <The Reward of Eternity> (永远的酬劳), indicates that there is an interest that seems to go beyond those of tradition-centered

Wholism and moves closer to the ideas put forward by Jung: "… a life, as the time of a process, must sooner or later conclude. Before this happens, the greatest happiness is in doing one's utmost to lay bare one's experience and knowledge of human life, passing through changes and grasping the true essence of creation, expressing the art of the state of life can never be concluded."

After this sweeping statement, the conclusion of the preface – while remaining true to Jung's beliefs regarding poets – veers off toward a position statement that claims a unique place for the poetry in *Experimental Poetry* within China, and adopts the rebellious poetic stance of Ginsberg's <Howl>:

> It's time, friends, although the transcending of narrow nationalism and rationalism has only just begun. When you pull back your footsteps from the roots-seeking in a northern China which spans the infinite, southern landforms suffused by mysterious sorcery will firmly grasp you. Those cliffs like broken arms spasmodically rising, those cities and people on rivers that have returned to simplicity and truth, all are permeated by a rebellious atmosphere smelling of alcohol. The sun leaps above the sharp, deep valleys, flashing light that is tentative, novel and weird; it is a symbol of all half-human-half-gods from antiquity till today, it is a symbol of organic poetry.
>
> Rebellion is a tradition of the South, we cannot cast off this intense quality which borders on strongly held partiality.
>
> We prophesy [for] the great river of Chinese poetry that had its source in the North but will come to fruition in the South, a real master craftsman of true art can come out of the ranks of this generation. The river god Gong Gong 共工 will blow on his iron pipes, standing on the murky waves he will put his panthers out to pasture!

What began meditatively ends in an atmosphere of menace and mystery, which supposedly characterizes the land of Ba and the Yangtze and the rivers flowing through it. Liao has often spoken of the effect Fuling and its environs had on him, his view of the world, and his poetry when he arrived in 1985.[309] While poets such as He Xiaozhu, Yang Shunli, and Lei Mingchu were natives of the area who might have also been capable of waxing lyrical about their homeland, this emotive style of prose is clearly that of Liao Yiwu, a deeply affected newcomer from the great plain on which Chengdu is situated. The master craftsman (or –men) to whom Liao refers is also the title of his poem that leads off the journal. This need for a master craftsman (巨匠) is an echo of Ouyang

[309] In conversation with the author, but also in his lyrical prose essays on his writing: <Emmanuelle's Music>.

Jianghe's call for a great master in *Make It New*, and Part Three of Ouyang's <Suspended Coffin> follows Liao's poem.

In the summer of 1986, this shared interest would find Liao and Ouyang briefly uniting under the group name of New Traditionalism (新传统主义) and submitting a manifesto-like essay (written by Liao) and poetry to <A Grand Exhibition of Modernist Poetry Groups on China's Poetry Scene 1986>.[310] Their call was for a renovation of the Chinese tradition in poetry, for the individual re-creation, or creative use, of tradition, and not a simple attempt to return to philosophical, religious, or aesthetic traditions, which they saw was being done by others. Despite the differences in their individual poetics, it is clear that both Liao and Ouyang shared a desire to lead others onto what they deemed was a better path forward, and that they also both felt they had the ability to do so.

Yet, the poetry in *Experimental Poetry* was not all of such a flavor, and the much longer postscript on the inside-back leaf considers this. There is a statement that there is no single standard of aesthetic appreciation or form of aesthetics, and that each individual poet can find an independent spiritual world and intellectual insignia within the Chinese language. "… Therefore, the altar of poetry is not an altar of sacrifice. Each poet has the possibility of becoming a link in the chain of tradition – if his resistance to pseudo-tradition has enough courage and power! The transformation of poetry is not limited to technique: it is a transformation of aesthetics, a transformation of cultural psychology." This appears to be a response to Bai Hua and Zhang Zao's stress on technique in the <Editor's Words> in *Make It New*, suggesting an emphasis on technique alone is not nearly enough. Which begs the question: which tradition, or traditions, needs renovation? That of New Poetry and its past and present practice? Or all of Chinese poetry? It is clear from the foregoing that some avant-garde poets were no longer interested in roots-seeking within this or that poetical or cultural 'problem' in contemporary China, but wanted to create a new culture and poetry out of the old, one with southern characteristics. What unity there was existed in a varying use of the Chinese language – paradoxically for Sichuan's poets, their written language is the northern variant of spoken Mandarin – and, perhaps, certain cultural-psychological tendencies towards resistance to, and reaction

[310] Xu et. al. ed. (1988): 144-151.

against, northern cultural domination. The concluding paragraph of the postscript is a statement of difference on behalf of all Southern poets:

> The other significance of this experimental collection is that it is an important representation of the creative capabilities of young southern poets. They are all grounded in the following belief:
> The culture of the Chinese nation is the complementarity of the South and the North; and the particular nature of the South is absolutely not the shallow considerations and muted recitations of literati and scholars; because of its towering landforms, complicated characteristics, hidden dragons, and crouching tigers, in its arteries there reverberates a noise far grander than orthodox rational culture.

What remains to be seen is how the poetry in the journal measures up to these claims for southern poetry and poets. First off, there is the problem of the presence of northern poets. There are, in fact, only four, and the inclusion of Guo Lijia and Shao Chunguang may be excused due to their honorary status as Macho Men. The poetry by Bei Dao and Haizi[311] is more problematic: Liao Yiwu was fond of the poetry of both, but their presence also seems to highlight their differences with the poetic techniques and aesthetic sensibilities on display – both appearing more lyrically restrained and technically conservative than the poetry surrounding them.

There will be no attempt to offer a detailed portrait of all the poetry in *Experimental Poetry*. Much has already been said of the various styles practiced by the journal's contributors. The Macho Men are here again in force: aside from Guo Lijia and Shao Chunguang, there is also poetry of Li Yawei, Ma Song, and Er Mao. Yang Li is represented by a new existentialist-influenced work: <Twelve Moments and a Quiet Scream> (十二时刻和一声轻轻的尖叫). Wan Xia's ambitious <King of Owls> (枭王) is an attempt to annotate the mysteries of yin and yang via absurdist imagery and direct sensory perception – an indication of his increasing interest in the ideas of the Wholism group, which he would later work with. Bai Hua and Zhang Zao are also well represented, despite objections the editors may have had against their stress on technique. Liu Tao and Li Yao are back among a group of six female poets, and Lu Fu, Hu Xiaobo, Shenzi, and Wang Fan are representatives of the University Poets Group. Yang Yuanhong and Yang

[311] Haizi is represented here by a brief piece of prose poetry: <The Source and the Bird> (源头与鸟).

Ran are both represented by long poems of the Wholistic tendency, also in the first section of *Experimental Poetry* together with the poetry of Shi Guanghua and Song Qu and Song Wei.

The great influence of Liao Yiwu on the composition of this journal is evident in the order in which the poets and their work appear. A poem of Liao's opens the journal and the first section is dominated by the work of the Wholism trend, but these poems follow the work of Ouyang Jianghe and Zhou Lunyou whose work have more in common with Liao's poem than with the Wholistic poems. Haizi and Yu Jian are the only non-Sichuan poets whose names can be found on the first page of the table of contents. The second section of the journal is – with the notable exception of Yu Jian – composed of local eastern Sichuan poets: Li Yawei, Yang Shunli, He Xiaozhu, Chen Yueling, Lei Mingchu, Wu Jianguo, and Er Mao. Given that Liao had recently moved from the west to the east of the province and that he was an editor of the area's official literary journal, it is not surprising that he and the other (all local) editors should have favored such a layout. All other poets were on the second page of the table of contents and in the second half of the journal. This situation would not have displeased the poets from outside Sichuan, but might have been seen as a slight by the likes of Yang Li, Bai Hua, and Zhang Zao, among others. The fact that Bai Hua has little to say about this journal or *Modernists Federation* in *The Left Side*[312] may be an indication of his unhappiness. Zhong Ming also ignores both journals in *Spectator* (1998a), and his poetry only appears in *Modernists Federation*. All things told, Zhong and Bai did not amount to much as 'spectators' with regard to the events covered in this and the previous two chapters. Perhaps this is a case of saying nothing if one has nothing good to say, or damning others with faint praise.

### *Liao Yiwu, Ouyang Jianghe, and Zhou Lunyou*

The first eight pages of poetry in *Experimental Poetry* are given over to the first part of Liao Yiwu's <The Master Craftsman> (巨匠). Begun in the summer of 1985, the poem eventually ran to five parts and was not completed until 1987. In fact, this poem is the

[312] Bai Hua (1996a), Part 4, Chapter 2 is devoted to Wan Xia's activities and art 1980-1990.

beginning of the second cycle of poems Liao wrote that year, and this – and trilogies – would remain his preferred poetry form until the summer of 1989.

Earlier, during May and June 1985, Liao completed <The Great Cycle> (大循环),[313] a cycle of eight poems, which is closely connected to <Lovers> written the previous year. <Cycle> was an exploration of the life that lies beyond death at the core of all being. On the title page of the mimeograph version of this poem, Liao dedicates it to the Wujiang river, "my place of rebirth." He indicated the inspiration he received from his new environment by infusing natural and cultural images of the land of Ba, of which Fuling had been the capital, throughout this poem and much of his later poetry, including <The Master Craftsman>.

The title page of <The Great Cycle> also features four lines from Dylan Thomas's sonnet, <When All My Five and Country Senses See>:

> My one and noble heart has witnesses
> In all love's countries, that will grope awake;
> And when blind sheep drops on the spying senses,
> The heart is sensual, though five eyes break.

Apparently it is with the heart that Liao now seeks to observe the life of man, for, as Thomas intimates, it is the most acute sense of all: it will still love when the senses warn of the pain and torment that life (and love) may bring.

In <The Great Cycle>, Liao attempts to portray the cycle-like transition that is the life of the individual. The series of incantations and images that Liao presents, manifest a dramatically positive attitude towards inescapable death while, at the same time, revealing the state of physical misery and spiritual ignorance of the contemporary human condition. Such apparently contradictory stances, hallmarks of both Thomas and Whitman, would be evident in all Liao's subsequent poetry. As with Thomas and Whitman, such contradictions (if differing in substance) would reap negative criticism,[314] just as would Liao's emotive use of language and interest in metaphysical issues, which

[313] Three parts of which are anthologized in Tang & Wang ed. (1987). Originally, Liao's 1986 poem <the City of Death> was selected, but it was dropped due to political pressure. [Private communication]. More on this in following chapters.
[314] See Xie & Liang (1993): 145-156.

led critic Tang Xiaodu to identify Liao's lack of "a consciousness of history" as a weak point in his poetry.[315] In the first poem of the cycle, <The Cycle Pillar> (循环柱), Liao introduces the sexual imagery and drive which powers these poems and which will play a similar role in much of his later poetry:

…..
The proud city has fallen low, shades of night move into place, the oceans of the unconscious surge mistily at its island top
-- that tall triumphal column standing at the center of the square damply signals a great achievement at the last with the epoch of empire building as a backdrop, launch the glorious seizure by force
The blood of man bedecks revelry's totem, odes to the age are merely synchronous choral cries
An ordinary human face is cast into a strange bronze, dividing equally with Death the autumnal scenery of the world of man

Congregation of spirits! Unified entity of heaven and hell
My tormented hallucinations are the only hope

…..
Great heaven-piercing devilish pillar, its base is the latent maternal body, the darkness before my birth
…..

After this powerful beginning, <The Great Cycle> gradually falls off. If <The Cycle Pillar> presents the reader with an image of a rigid, forceful penis (alternatively, this could be yet another, far more subversive take on the memorial stele in Tian'anmen Square, as seen in poems by the Misty poet Jianghe and others), then the final two poems of the cycle offer the concluding images and sensations of the sexual act:

…..
The water is underfoot, the flaring old lunatic licks your essence clean away
Take pity on Death!
…..

It is a wearing experience, as life must be when, as Liao puts it, "upper limbs are gods, lower limbs are beasts." And could this "old lunatic" be a reference to Mao? Or just the

[315] Tang (2001): 238; this article was written in March 1985, but in conversation with the author in the late 1980s, Tang and others repeated the same criticism.

aged poet-speaker? The first two lines of the first poem indicate the latter: “A golden season, a ramrod-straight rainbow towers up at the confluence of rivers / as a symbol of my green spring”. In any case, a series of wriggles, roars, and assaults by penis symbols is a continuous thread throughout Liao’s later poetry. Other content, including an even more basic strain – death – is often hung upon, is an adjunct to, or is inherent in this one. Liao divides his poetical self into two antithetical opposites, god and the devil, a pure essence and an equally pure bestiality, within his later poetry.

Over the course of <The Great Cycle>, where this tendency first appears, the poet-speaker attempts to sublimate and conquer pain, solitude, and death as he strives to pass beyond individual, earthbound sensibility, toward the deeper, universal truths of life. In later poems, the poet-speaker will adopt the persona of a prophet of the local ancient culture of the Wulong people, Allahfaweh, to play such a role. In this poem, the prophet’s name appears for the first time in <A Dirge for Allahfaweh> (阿拉法威的丧歌), the sixth poem of the cycle.

What was surprising at the time in 1985 was the almost immediate official publication of this poem in its entirety in the Lanzhou-based *Poetry Selections Monthly* (*诗歌选刊*). The sexual imagery that suffused <The Great Cycle> made it unpublishable in the larger nationally circulated journals at the time. Liao Yiwu’s contacts with avant-garde poets in Lanzhou, as a result of his participation in *The Same Generation* in 1982, seem to have paid off here, just as correspondence with other poets in that unofficial journal led to some of their poetry appearing in both *Modernists Federation* and *Experimental Poetry*. Unfortunately, while *Poetry Selections* was born as a new official journal into the liberalizing politico-cultural climate of 1985, its ‘excessive’ liberalism meant that it was closed during the cultural crackdown that began in January 1987. However, other journals – such as *Guandong Literature*, *The Plains Literature Monthly* (*草原文学月刊*) out of Hohhot in Inner Mongolia, and the literary monthly *Mountain Flower* (*山花*) of Guiyang – the latter two publishing several poems of the brothers Song Qu and Song Wei, and Shi Guanghua in 1985 – were enacting similar liberal editorial policies, and many more would follow their lead in 1986.

The artistic aims of <The Master Craftsman> are much the same as those of <The Great Cycle>. However, here the focus is no longer upon the individual, but on all of mankind

as the poet-speaker sets out to write a history of human existence. Liao attempts to raise the individual's internal contradictions to the level of the nation and of all mankind. Through the life experience of an individual, he attempts to reveal higher sets of contradictions and the even higher balance between them, the tragedy of death and the sublimity of life, and the extremities of yearning and weariness, which are what Liao's poet-speaker apparently believes to be the basic qualities of life in its collective, universal form. The life of humankind, civilization, and nature are of a similar pattern that reaches beyond the death of any one individual (or nation, or culture).

The first part of <The Master Craftsman> consists of six poems: an untitled prefatory poem, followed by <The First Poem of the Master Craftsman: On the Sea> (巨匠的第一首诗：海上), <Food> (食物), <Carnival Season> (狂欢季), <A Folk Song> (歌谣), and <A Look Back> (回顾). An omniscient speaker who introduces the Master Craftsman proclaims the prefatory poem: "When you come to, the daylight begins to come full circle." 'Full circle' is a rendering of a Chinese Buddhist term for death, *yuanji* 圆寂. Arriving as it does in the poem's first line, the reader may be forgiven for suspecting another poem of the Wholism school. However, by the fourth line there is an apparent intrusion of Chinese reality, in the form of a seeming reference to the Cultural Revolution period:

> The century in which you cling to life has been effortlessly wrecked ----- a ray of
> dusky light shows the deep mystery to the future
> the flower garden has disintegrated, the human body has declined to a
> fossil, shells of rocks emit the sound of shattering glass
> as if loudly singing the immortal song of things

This 'flower garden' appears often as a euphemism for China, which is traditionally referred to as 'the Land of Flowers' (花国). The flowers are often representative of the arts in general, and mean as much in one of Mao's old slogans, 'let a hundred flowers blossom' (百花齐放), which is still used by the CCP cultural establishment. It is perhaps for this reason that the poem following Liao's is the third, and concluding, part of Ouyang Jianghe's <The Suspended Coffin: A Pocket-size Flower Garden> (悬棺：袖珍

花园; 1984). That both poets are writing about the 'waste land' they felt contemporary China to be is made clear by Liao:

> Offer a silent tribute to the decline of a civilization! The glistening of gold sand
> is the epitome of sleepless cities, hollow grasses beat out the music of bottles
> disseminating the bouquets of alcohol
>
> You frequent bars and in dreams travel the earth, frequent women and slowly soften
> Auspicious snow of early winter slowly arrives, seasonal banners like goose feathers
> set off amusingly against heavy, dark constructs of sheet steel
> A fairy tale! The hope of humankind! The jubilant spider web is a lucky sign
> can heal the wounds of a king, the injuries of a prostitute who's been through it all
>
> This is the so-called era of art, tradition transforms snakes into sacred objects, theories
> of roots-seeking are in vogue
> Heaven and humankind as one envelops this vast region, a surreal sound summons
> the nomad:
> Come back Come back, liberty without a grave is the utmost nihilism!

This is social commentary on events in the sub-field of contemporary China's avant-garde poetry. Here, unlike Ouyang, Liao's poet-speaker holds out some hope through 'you', who becomes the conduit for all creation through all time – in effect 'you' becomes a poetical version of Jung's Poet, of Nietzsche's Superman:

> The emotions of humankind begin in you and end in you  You this master craftsman of a generation resisting laceration!  Hands and feet rigid like chisels  Along cliffs engraving words  Ten thousand thousand years will bring the turn of your touch to be expunged  Your heartbeat pumps out syrup  The plants of the new world will be sweet  A shell rips through your chest  Write Write[316]  You this living machine that's lost all individuality  Under all restraints  Never having belonged to yourself
>
> Write Write

'You' is possessed in the fashion of Jung's poet and is compelled to write all that is in his soul, beginning with <On the Sea>: "We come up from the sea  but where does the sea come from". This refrain is repeated verbatim five times in the poem. In between the

[316] This and the concluding injunction to "Write Write" were changed to "Speak Speak" when Liao rewrote the poem in 1989. Earlier that year Liao had begun to record dramatic readings of parts of his long poems and apparently made the change for this reason.

people of the sea – fish-people becoming fishers – live on boats on a sea that resembles land and is described as a “yielding square of glass.” Hooligans easily erase the traces of this people’s culture from the glassy, reflective surface, and the people flee their violence:

> The brave have all been drowned
> All that remain are a pathetic few cowards as witnesses to the immortal act of poetic perfection
> Earth! Earth! Earth! We must by any means get ashore
> We must by any means get ashore

However, being ashore proves no better. The ‘we’ for whom the Master Craftsman speaks and writes suffer further travails, primarily self-inflicted, details of which are recorded in a surrealistic lament in the next three poems. Finally, in <A Look Back>:

> Not knowing where our bodies reside, our
>
> fields of vision all mixed together like mirrors, unable to say who casts light on whom.
> Innumerable phantasms unfurl among us
> practicing one after another myth of Kuafu chasing the sun. Icebergs suspended upside down exceptionally voluptuous
> breast milk bursts forth, raising several well-known sources
> Have we arrived here merely to erect an adventurer’s milestone?

Is this ‘we’ all humankind, all Chinese, or just all poets who write roots-seeking poetry, such as Yang Lian, Haizi, and the Wholism poets? All three readings seem possible, but the latter reading is reinforced repeatedly throughout the text by Liao’s Tibetan Buddhist imagery, his uses of Chinese mythology, even having ‘us’ here to do no more than adopt “a willful, purely responsive demeanor of Zhuangzi” – all images and attitudes frequently found in the poetry of roots-seeking.

> People who have lost the way! You make every effort, yet the beliefs that sustain life are eliminated because the road has ended
> You turn your back on your home, yet ultimately sink into incurable homesickness
> …..

And so, in the end, all are left to lament what is lost, although Liao seems to indicate that many are not aware this is what they are doing – stubbornly living and writing poetry for the dead, who died within their now-missed traditions.

In this poetry Liao appears to take to himself the role of a preacher reading out a liturgy over the corpse of Chinese traditional culture, while attempting to reveal, and thereby personally transcend, the irrational, often violent and self-destructive drives and psychology of humankind that have led to the impasse 'we' are now faced with.[317] The critics Chang Li and Lu Shourong comment on the ironic nature of identifying Liao as a roots-seeking poet, for history as it appears in Liao's cycles and trilogies is the record of a succession of sufferings, both spiritual and physical, ultimately leading, or pointing, to a nihilistic conclusion.[318] The outstanding feature of this poetry is an underlying sense of inescapable original sin which undermines all human undertakings, as individuals and, consequently, as nations.

The poem which follows <The Master Craftsman>, Ouyang Jianghe's <A Pocket-size Flower Garden>, reinforces this message. The title itself bespeaks the shallow, handy convenience of an idealized conception of Chinese culture. Like Liao, Ouyang portrays this culture as dead, but, unlike Liao, he gives the appearance of being thoroughly detached and objective through the use of an ironical omniscient speaker who clinically describes the 'reality' of this fantastical garden, a 'garden of desire' – but a necrophilious desire – for 'you' who wish to possess it:

> Each inspiration is the same inspiration.
>
> Inside another death, the flower garden is everything. The dream-omen of butterflies of uncertain origin is all but a withering fall without flowers, a burning with no fire. An eye full of disorder empty of everything, suddenly the garden has no body. An empty coffin absolved of its body is suspended alone in another astrological array.
>
> The smile that confuses the arrangement is laid on Jupiter's head, like lightening, like an incision that carves deep in, so the seasons suddenly reverse their spin. In the eyes that cannot open is the sleeping soul of the first ancestor bird, whenever it wakes it is leveled into the earth's surface, the folds of fish scales appear willy-nilly across the injured sky.
>
> The entire generalized flower garden where no flower can bloom is metaphysical, as

[317] See Ba Tie (1986) for the most detailed treatment yet published of Liao's poetry during 1984-1986.
[318] Chang & Lu (2002): 205.

soon as you wait to be suspended you are hung up forever. The rapidly shifting faces of people are weird, invisible flowers mingle, indistinguishable; willfully pluck a blossom and at the same time you pluck a human head. So, the flower garden is an excessively exaggerated red.

…..

So, an incisive look will reveal humankind to be wholly faceless, appearing as everything but being nothing. Suddenly, it attaches its bodies to those unpenetrated formless forms, those soul-reviving black arts that knead clay into flesh and turn water to blood, today's future is collected among the apparently waxen figures of posterity. Suddenly, what is grasped becomes a hand, what is heard becomes sound, water that does not run is blood or glass, or a pool of silence.

So, the sole mass body will form within individual conceit. Clothes of every color and pattern mix by way of tattooed torsos. Human heads and the heads of beasts mix by way of knife blades that flash as one. Food and hunger mix through a purifying fast. The flower garden and the suspended coffin mingle through transmigration.

So, this inspiration will be the only inspiration: people who bury flowers also bury themselves, placing yourself in a flower garden is to put yourself in a suspended coffin. No boundary exists.

This sole inspiration arrived on the day of birth, and remains only to leave on the day of doom.

Some critics, such as Xiang Weiguo,[319] render a straightforward reading of <The Suspended Coffin> in its entirety, seeing it as a meditation on the life/death cycle and ancient beliefs in the transmigration of souls, the coffin symbolic of physical death, and the flower garden symbolic of the soul or the mind. In other words, harking back to ancient cultural archetypes, to an age when language, body, and the thinking mind were a unity. T.S. Eliot located the occurrence of this dissociation of sensibility in Europe in the seventeenth century. The clash between body and soul was fought out in the poetry of Metaphysical poets, such as Donne, Marvel, and Herbert, their work informed by a set of beliefs that despised the body, its sensual apparatus, and its desires. Liao Yiwu, however, would seem to have a greater interest in this area. Frank Kermode, working on *fin-de-siécle* imagery, writes in *The Romantic Image* (1957) of the western poet's imagined nostalgia for "the body that thought, not deputing that function to a Cartesian mind", and this 'nostalgia' may have been one of the impulses which led Ouyang and Liao to write these poems. If so, then their poetry is no roots-seeking on a national cultural level, but

[319] Xiang (2002): 120.

on a universal human level – a search for the genuine origins and unity of humankind before the onset of politicized 'culture', of history. It seems possible that the real interest of these poets was to encourage readers (and other poets) to walk again, in the words of René Char,[320] in the "great spaces of the self", to discover for oneself the meanings of life and death.

The import of Liao Yiwu's preceding poem is reinforced by Ouyang Jianghe's, and then hammered home once more – in quite a different fashion – by the three poems by Zhou Lunyou that follow. These are <The White Wolf> (白狼), <My New Moon> (我的新月), and <The Valley of Wolves> (狼谷), which is also the name of a poem series written in 1984-1985. Zhou presents monologues of the unconscious mind to express psychological abnormalities resulting from pressure on the Self/Ego from the Super Ego and the Id – as he also had, in another form, in <The Man with the Owl> in *Modernists Federation*. Half of the poems in the series are linguistic analyses of western surrealist and abstract art works, and the other half are poetic experiments with Freudian theory using symbols of the unconscious, as in <The White Wolf> below. Taken together, the series renders up to the reader the psychic form of a split personality in order to describe the internal conflict that Zhou presumably experiences.

The white wolf is dancing the foxtrot Drawn-out howls
on the ridge of the roof I am never able to dodge
its long long tail Waving a riddle as if it's
reminding me of something hinting at something
Not one stalk of grass is growing on the bald
pastureland for the flock of sheep I can't keep my
hair Yet it still stares at me that way Stares
Have you passed this sort of night Shaking the
snowflakes the frostwork or a moonlight-like
white coming in from your earliest consciousness
Think about it Not yesterday Not last year Earlier
and still earlier imagine this sort of a night In a
place you love where you're a child
It's a house Really dark Distantly I see that white wolf
take a bite of me through the ceiling Kept at a
distance by a thick wall it wounds me Each written
character comes to bite me Every single sentence

[320] Char (1992): XV.

comes to bite me and leaves teeth marks behind
Once more you try to remember what you saw that
night Snow-white walls float up into the air
Four chalk-white walls drift up Your cradle
is like a boat Imagine that you are an infant
suckling at your mother's breast What did you
see at the moment you opened your eyes Now
you push open that door You walk in
Lamplight knocks me over The zebra-striped roof
sways An impression A beautiful shape The
white wolf has come up from the sea up onto the
shore The whole world starts to rock becoming
a pliable body Isn't the cradle being pushed by
that pair of hands Mommy isn't by my side
Now please use your own hands and gently peal off the
sea's skin The animal beneath won't bite That
two-headed beast will definitely not bite you
This evening mother has been gobbled up by it
Now please try to push the two heads apart with
your hands Don't say whose face you see
The white wolf fox-trotting on the ridge of the roof is far
off The long tail has broken off in the wind inch
by inch becoming hummingbirds flying up and
down An ancient pagoda is planted at the center
of a lake inundated by blue light Who will garner
those ripe wind-chimes Those sweet tinklings
are about to sprout and leave that swamp are
going to bud and push up out of that bog

Zhou Lunyou's interest in Freudian symbolism comes as no surprise given his earlier poetical inclinations and the interests of his brother, Zhou Lunzuo, who was actively studying similar subjects at the time. As the traditional Chinese symbolic meaning of the wolf (cupidity and rapaciousness) was not far removed from that of the wolf in the west, the choice of subject was appropriate. What is new in China is the sexual imagery (the 'two-headed beast', for example). Again, here is the conflict between body (sexual desire) and mind (formative memory, etc.) within Freud's concept of an inaccessible, shapeless, and timeless cauldron that is the individual unconscious. (Liao's interests seem similar, but are apparently influenced by Jung's reworking of this concept with regard to all humankind through cultural archetypes.)

Zhou's experimentation with poetical form would also have come across as something of a shock to most contemporary Chinese readers. The translated text above incorporates capitalized letters as a (not entirely necessary) guide for the reader of English, but the Chinese language's regular subject-verb-object sentence form plays a somewhat similar role in the original. In addition, the individual stanzas are more blockish, even square, in appearance in the Chinese than in the English – something much easier to do given the nature of Chinese characters. Such experimentation in form is familiar from Surrealist verse of the 1920s and 1930s, in particular the technique of automatism as first practiced and advocated by André Breton and Philippe Soupault in *The Magnetic Fields* (1919). While apparently using Freudian sexual imagery, it can also be argued that, like the Surrealists in his use of dream-like language and sequences, Zhou is attempting to go beyond Freud. For the hope behind the surrealist project was to afford the dream(s) an ontological reality superior to waking consciousness by way of poetry in the form of a spontaneous outburst of imagination. For a Surrealist poet, the world is a matrix of surprising analogies that brings all things and ideas into interrelationship. The recognition of these interrelationships, or *correspondances*, is grasped intuitively by the mind, and every one of these destroys the false oppositions of logic and allows a brief glimpse of the *surréel*.[321]

Zhou's ontological interest would be extended in 1986 as he gathered like-minded poets together to form the Not-Not group and worked to produce a journal by the same name. The surrealist project would prove to be of increasing importance to Liao Yiwu. His poetry, already influenced by the work of Thomas, would be further influenced by Ginsberg's practice, Dali's double images, deliberately delusional imagery, and other materials in the reshaping of the world in search of a unified expression of the continuity between events in the conscious and unconscious worlds. Zhou's interests would move toward the deconstructionist aspects of Surrealism, the repudiation of the adequacy of all bodies of belief, and particularly of systems, and these interests would in turn bring him together with Yang Li and his existentialist poetics in 1986.

[321] See Browder (1967): 74-88, for more on Breton and automatic writing.

## *In Conclusion*

While there is much more that could be said about the texts included in *Experimental Poetry* – for example, on Shi Guanghua's poems on death from the perspective of Wholism, on He Xiaozhu's sequence of poems incorporating traditional imagery and folklore of the Miao-nationality to which he belongs – there is much of a sameness with the Sichuan poetry of *Modernists Federation*. In *Experimental Poetry*, the new nature of the poetry is certainly more immediately obvious, given the exclusion of an initial section of Misty poetry; and there has been a conscious effort to include like-minded poets from other parts of China. As such, the journal emanates a self-confidence and unity of purpose, which seems lacking in the appearance and editing of *Modernists Federation*.

*Experimental Poetry* would also be the last-but-one attempt to bring the various poetry groups and individuals in Sichuan together in one journal – the last would be Liao Yiwu's endeavor to do so in the spring of 1987, after the official crackdown on bourgeois liberalism in the arts that began in January of that year. It was precisely this atmosphere of 'bourgeois liberalism' (in CCP terms) that militated against such large-scale unofficial activity.

Now there were to emerge strongly led, well organized groups and small, cohesive groups. As well as demonstrating an overall recognition of their status, or non-status, as poets vis-à-vis the official poetry scene, the previous chapters also reveal the growing gap between two general groupings in Sichuan: those poets who were familiar with the high modernist fundament of Misty poetry and accepted this western tradition as a path and guide to the future development of the art; and those who reacted against the purportedly authoritative (and thus restrictive) tenets of the first group and in so doing found themselves aligned with similar poets in the west, such as Ginsberg. Some individuals, such as Liao Yiwu, found their inspiration in Whitman and other sources outside, or predating, the canonized modernist tradition, and the woman poet, Zhai Yongming, located a source of inspiration that was gender-specific in Sylvia Plath. Much of this was also influenced by a general impetus for a return to origins, not only among poets, but also among Chinese intellectuals in general, as they attempted to repair damage done to Chinese culture during the Cultural Revolution period. This phenomenon is evidenced by

increasing interest in the pre-Han dynasty mystical *Book of Changes*, Daoism, Buddhism, Freudianism, and the theories of Carl Jung. Hand in hand with this, in the Third Generation of the Sichuan avant-garde there were position-takings and the fight for recognition within the avant-garde itself. The Third Generation was the first grouping of newcomers consciously seeking to differentiate themselves from what they perceived as an attempt to impose orthodoxy on a newly emergent avant-garde, and the Macho Men were the first group of these newcomers to achieve recognition. In turn, *Make It New* was the first journal, if not group, to implement restrictive editorial criteria, and, coming after Macho Men publications and popularity, can be seen as a reaction against a perceived threat to the standards contributors to the journal held dear. In any case, comments and actions by Wan Xia, Yang Li, and Li Yawei, among others, were portentous of future splits and groupings.

In sum, the years 1982-1985 can be viewed as the formative stage of the Second World of Poetry in Sichuan. The next three chapters will deal with how the position-takings and poetry of these individuals and groupings developed within the Second World, and now also on the official poetry scene, in the years 1986-1989.

## CHAPTER 8: MOVING INTO THE PUBLIC EYE: A GRAND EXHIBITION

The events within the Second World of Poetry in Sichuan and the rest of China during 1985 paved the way for avant-garde poetry to achieve a significant breakthrough with regard to official publication in the following year. From early 1986 until the summer of 1989, an ever-increasing number of avant-garde poems appeared in major official journals. There was a break in this 'success' during much of 1987 due to a crackdown on 'bourgeois liberalization' that followed nationwide student protests in December 1986. However, 1988 and 1989 saw even more avant-garde poetry being published in both official journals and – in a new development – officially published, multi-author anthologies.

Sichuan's, and China's, avant-garde poets continued to experiment and produce unofficial journals, only now an increasing number of critics, many of them of the same age as the poets, began to write journal-articles about their poetry. By the summer of 1989, it appeared that the Second World of Poetry had seen off the criticism, indifference, and ignorance that had earlier greeted the work produced within it. While their poetry was not as popular as humanist-oriented Misty poetry had been in the late 1970s and early 1980s, by 1989 it seemed as if there was public acknowledgement and acceptance of the individualization of poets and their poetry within a society and culture which – like avant-garde poets and poetry – had been fragmenting, modernizing, and seeking to adapt to rapidly changing circumstances.

Individual poets who had previously gone largely unnoticed adopted varying public positions and pursued different careers. Their choices were often determined by their previous postures and continuing connections to the Second World of Poetry, as well as their personal circumstances – or, in Bourdieu's term, their habitus. In this chapter, after examining the circumstances of the avant-garde breakthrough into the realm of officially

published poetry, individual studies of three outstanding individuals – Zhai Yongming, Ouyang Jianghe, and Liao Yiwu – will demonstrate some of the difficulties and successes of newly emergent avant-garde poets and poetry in Sichuan, and China, during 1986-1989.

## Public Acceptance of Modernization and Marginalization

Liberalized editorial policies because of the new, more relaxed CCP cultural line inaugurated by Hu Qili and the CCP Secretary General Hu Yaobang during late 1984 and 1985 led to an increase in official publication opportunities for Sichuan's avant-garde poets in 1986. This trend was aided by the recruitment to establishment journals of younger, more adventurous sub-editors, such as Tang Xiaodu and Wang Jiaxin at *Poetry*, Zong Renfa at *Author* (moving there from *Guandong Literature* in late 1985), and Zhu Yanling at *Flower City* (*花城*), a bi-monthly, nationally distributed literary journal out of Guangzhou. Poets sought out these younger, more open-minded editors, and they, in turn, also sought out poets once someone of their acquaintance presented them with a manuscript they admired. As was now the custom, poets would mail or personally deliver manuscripts, private collections, and unofficial journals in which their work was published, to friends and editors, and these poems would then be shared with their friends.[322]

Sichuan poets such as Liao Yiwu, Wan Xia, Zhou Lunyou, Li Yawei, and the brothers Song Qu and Song Wei spread their own and Sichuan's poetry throughout China through their travels and correspondence with other poets and with literary editors. Already in 1985, this activity had resulted in the publication of avant-garde poetry by Song Qu and Song Wei, Shi Guanghua, and Liao Yiwu in official literary journals.

Liao Yiwu, Zhou Lunyou, and Zhai Yongming, for example, were previously well-known due to their 'training' under the tutelage of elder establishment poets at *Stars* in Chengdu and the subsequent publication of their earlier, pre-1984 poetry in official

[322] The author initially became acquainted with China's avant-garde poetry through manuscripts, private collections, and unofficial journals passed on by friends who were former classmates (such as Zhu Yanling), editors (such as Tang Xiaodu), intellectuals (such as Liu Xiaobo), and artists (such as A Xian).

literary journals. Liao and Zhou in particular would subsequently use these contacts and acquaintances to their own advantage, but would also recommend the work of other avant-garde poets whom they admired.

Another key factor was the rapid increase in the number of official literary journals and papers and publishing houses in China during the 1980s. This was not surprising considering that all such periodicals had been closed during the Cultural Revolution period. In October 1979, there were only 50 literary periodicals in all of China, but this number had grown to 110 by April 1980.[323] The number of journals continued to increase until 1987, when there was a cull in numbers during the crackdown on 'bourgeois liberalization'.

Liao Yiwu's *Literary Wind of Ba Country* in Fuling was closed in 1987 after only two years in operation, as were *Poetry Selections* in Lanzhou and *China Literature* in Beijing, to name but three. With much controversy, in mid-1986 the latter journal was notified it would be closed at the end of that year: this indicates that the CCP's more conservative elements took advantage of the political climate in January 1987 to enforce further closures they might have previously only hoped to achieve. The closure of *China* also showed how dangerous it was (and is) to be too avant-garde in Beijing, the center of political power. Altogether, these and other journal closures in early 1987 frightened editorial boards everywhere in the country into more conservative publication policies for a brief period. Given the fact that the poetry of Liao Yiwu and Yi Lei of Tianjin, as well as the avant-garde fiction of the artist-writer Ma Jian – all published in the 1987 no. 1-2 issue of Beijing-based *People's Literature* – was singled out for national criticism by Deng Xiaoping himself,[324] it was clear to all literary editorial boards that avant-garde literature was best avoided for the time being.

The nationwide student demonstrations, which led to the campaign against bourgeois liberalization and the resignation of Hu Yaobang on 16 January 1987, were triggered by demonstrations on December 5 and 9 in Hefei, Anhui province, in protest against the manipulated results of university and municipal elections. These protests quickly spread to universities throughout the country, and did not halt until prominent, inspirational

[323] Link (1999): 179. Many other relevant issues, such as readership, CCP controls and censorship, and systemic reform, are also dealt with in Link.
[324] See the editorial self-criticism published in the March 1987 issue of *People's Literature*.

intellectuals and writers such as Fang Lizhi and Liu Binyan were stripped of their CCP membership in early January.[325] The political campaign would continue until the Thirteenth CCP Congress in October 1987, when the new CCP Secretary General Zhao Ziyang called for unity and stability within the party.

A statistical analysis of the publication of Sichuan avant-garde poets in a limited number of nationally circulated literary periodicals during 1986-1989 indicates that there was a drop-off in publications by these poets during 1987. During the period in question the work of 25 Sichuan avant-garde poets dealt with over the course of this text appeared on 200 instances in 15 nationally distributed literary journals examined by the author.[326] This number breaks down to 70 instances in 1986, 35 in 1987, 56 in 1988, and 39 in 1989. 1987 and 1989 were years severely effected by political turmoil and reactionary cultural policies. The number for 1987 was boosted by seemingly unaffected, continuing publication in noticeably liberal official journals such as *The Plains Literature* of Hohhot and *Guandong Literature* of Liaoyuan. The figure for publication of avant-garde work by Sichuan poets in 1985 was limited to the seven instances (not including work published in *The Literary Wind of Ba Country*) involving the poetry of the brothers Song Qu and Song Wei, Shi Guanghua, and Liao Yiwu, and the dramatic increase in 1986 is phenomenal.

Publication opportunities were likewise increased for avant-garde poets from elsewhere in China. A representative list of 40 such poets[327] shows that they were published on 275

---

[325] Spence (1990): 723-727.

[326] The author had the privilege of unfettered access to the extensive collection of Chinese literary periodicals held in the Asian Studies Library at the University of British Columbia in 1992-1997, during which time these figures were compiled. These journals were *Poetry*, *Stars*, *Author*, *The Plains Literature*, *Flower City*, *Shanghai Literature*, *People's Literature*, *China Author* (*中国作家*) of Beijing (bi-monthly), *October* (十月) of Shanghai (bi-monthly), *Beijing Literature*, *Tibet Literature Monthly* (*西藏文学月刊*) of Lhasa (becoming a bi-monthly in the 1990s), and *Youth Literature Monthly* (*青年文学月刊*; not including 1988) and *China Literature*, both of Beijing. The author also has his own collection of *Guandong Literature*, comprising all of 1987 and 2 relevant issues for 1988 (the journal alternated between 'popular' and 'serious' literature on a monthly basis), and a collection of *The Poetry Press* of Hefei from the no. 78 issue of 12 December 1987 to the no. 94 issue of 6 August 1988 (at this time in a four-page newspaper format published at approximately 10-day intervals).

[327] This list was drawn up by the author and is meant to be roughly representative of the most accomplished avant-garde poets during the period in question: Mo Mo, Yu Yu, Zhang Xiaobo, Wang Yin, Lu Yimin, Che Qianzi, Chen Dongdong, Song Lin, Yu Xiaowei, Mo Fei, Xiaohai, Wang Xiaolong, Han Dong, Zhang Zhen, Meng Lang, Yang Ke, Hai Nan, Yu Jian, Lü De'an, Tang Yaping, Da Xian, Niu Bo, Wei Wei, Xue Di, Xingtian, Luo Yihe, Lao Mu, Xi Chuan, Haizi, Guo Lijia, Li Hong, Ding Dang, Zhu Lingbo, Xiaojun, Lu Lu, Wang Xiaoni, Daozi, Longzi, An Ranzi, and Shao Chunguang.

instances in the same journals during 1986-1989. Together with the number for the Sichuan poets, this yields 475 instances of publication for avant-garde poets and their work.

A comparison of some of the figures for the official journals in question indicates the relative conservativeness or liberalness of editorial boards throughout the period in question. The three poetry journals' figures tell their own story: *Poetry* had 28 instances for Sichuan poets, 61 for others (1986-1989); *Stars* 41 and 22; *The Poetry Press* (for 12 issues 1987-1988, then in a single sheet, four page format) 6 and 23. Aside from 1986, the *Stars* editorial board was evidently not enamored of the new avant-garde trends of Sichuan poets, much less experimental poetry in general. (In 1986 alone, there were 30 instances of publication for Sichuan poets and 20 for out-of-province poets.)

The big 1986 breakthrough for avant-garde poetry was marked by the publication in October of <A Grand Exhibition of Modernist Poetry Groups on China's Poetry Scene 1986> edited by Xu Jingya, which appeared simultaneously in *The Poetry Press* and the *Shenzhen Youth Daily* (these instances of avant-garde poetry publication were not factored into the figures given for the year 1986), and marks *The Poetry Press* as the most liberal of these periodicals.[328] In an apparent response to <A Grand Exhibition>, the November issue of *Stars* was a special issue given over entirely to the poetry – there were no manifestos – of China's poetry groups and societies.[329]

---

[328] In fact, early in 1985, an arguably greater 'exhibit' of contemporary avant-garde poetry had been published semi-officially by the May Fourth Literary Society at Beijing University. The *New Poetry Tide Poetry Collection*, edited by Lao Mu, consisted of two volumes and 814 pages, but due to its university-funded, semi-official status never circulated far beyond Beijing university campuses and the homes of poetry contributors and editors, and their friends. While well over 500 pages were given over to the *Today* poets (the entire first volume), other Misty poets and a few exemplary pre-1949 experimental poets, there were nearly 300 pages for avant-garde work by newcomer poets from all parts of China, including Zhang Zao, Zhai Yongming, Ouyang Jianghe, Bai Hua, Liao Yiwu, Song Qu and Song Wei, and Shi Guanghua. However, being semi-official, the anthology had limited circulation, and, while the new experimental work of 1983-1984 collected within it is of great interest, there were many more recent poetry groupings and poetry available to Xu Jingya in 1986. Lao Mu was also the editor of a simultaneously published companion book to the anthology entitled *Young Poets Talk Poetry* (*青年诗人谈诗*), a collection of writings on poetry (180 pages) by some of the poets whose work is in the anthology. Among these, there are articles by the Sichuan poets Bai Hua, Zhai Yongming, Shi Guanghua, and Song Qu and Song Wei.

[329] At this time, Sun Wenbo, Ouyang Jianghe, and Zhai Yongming belonged to what was called The Present Poetry Society (现在诗社), and, as well as a brief manifesto-like statement, four of their poems were selected: Sun <The End of Love> (爱情的终结); Ouyang <Interlude> (插曲); and Zhai <Terminus> (终点) and <Wait and See> (观望).

Li Yawei's <Su Dongpo and His Friends> was also selected. However, he is not listed as belonging to any group. There is only a notation that the poem was selected from <Chinese Contemporary Experimental

<A Grand Exhibition> proved to be controversial in both official and unofficial poetry circles during the rest of 1986 and, especially, 1987. Divided into three parts, each laid out over two newspaper pages; Xu had difficulty doing justice to any one poetry group, not to mention the exhibition itself. In total, 65 poetry 'groups' were represented by a manifesto and at least one poem (in one case, only a manifesto). To make matters worse, 25 of these groups were in fact individuals. While Sichuan was well represented by 13 'groups', four of them were individuals (such as Hu Dong, Xiao Kaiyu, and Yang Yuanhong) and one was Shang Zhongmin's *University Student Poetry Group*, discussed previously. As a result, nearly 50% of the available space was occupied by manifestos, and led to the editing down of lengthy poems (such as Liao Yiwu's <Lovers> and Li Yawei's <The Chinese Department>). Many avant-garde poets felt the editing and layout of the exhibition belittled their efforts as individuals and as groups.[330] In 1989, Li Yawei and Liao Yiwu, in officially published comments,[331] stated that serious avant-garde poets had already "returned to their desks" by 1986, and that the so-called poetry movements and Isms that sprang up in that year were effectively acts of self-aggrandizement on the part of individuals or groups of poets. During the next 12 months after publication of the exhibition, numerous articles appeared in *The Poetry Press*, *Poetry*, and *Stars* that were either critical of the entire exhibition, individual poems or manifestos, or of all three. Still, the exhibition did get 'names' and poetry out to a larger public in a form that was difficult to ignore. In total, 21 of Sichuan's avant-garde poets had 25 of their poems published there.

---

Poetry>, the unofficial journal published in Fuling in 1985. This was also the case with Zhou Lunyou, whose <Wolf Valley> was selected from the same journal, as was Li Yao's <Elopement> (私奔).

Poetry from the first issue of the Zhou Lunyou-edited *Not-Not* (June 1986) was also selected, but only that of female contributors: Liu Tao's <Music Note 『5』> (音符『5』); Shao Chunguang's <Proof of a Wild Nature> (野性的证明); and Yao Cheng's <An Operation in the Wrong Place> (错位的手术) and <Coffeeshop> (咖啡厅).

Well-known poets of the Third Generation from other parts of China were also selected. <For Yao Fei> (给姚霏) by *Them*'s Yu Jian was taken from his earlier period as a student at Yunnan University, when he was a contributor to *Gingko* (*银杏*). Han Dong, the editor of *Them*, is represented by <This Wind> (这阵风), but the poem is attributed to <Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry>. Another *Them* member, Xiaojun is represented here by <Everyday Life> (日常生活), but the poem is taken from a Sichuan unofficial poetry paper, *China Contemporary Poetry* (*中国当代诗歌*).

[330] Private communication with several poets.

[331] See *Author*, July 1989, p. 67, in <A Four-way Conversation on Avant-garde Poetry> (先锋诗歌四人谈), featuring Liao, Li, Ba Tie, and Gou Mingjun, recorded in March 1989 at Gou's home in Nanchuan.

Furthermore, journals such as *Guandong Literature*, *The Plains*, *Author*, *China Literature* (during 1986 before it was closed), *Shanghai Literature* (in 1988-1989), *People's Literature*, and *China Author* gave surprising amounts of space to avant-garde poetry, even though they were comprehensive literary journals carrying mostly fiction. Other similar journals, such as *Beijing Literature*, *October*, *Tibet Literature* and *Youth Literature*, rarely did so, which identifies them as among the more conservative of literary periodicals in China already in 1986.[332]

A further phenomenon involving official literary journals was the sudden, unexpected appearance of large sections devoted to avant-garde poetry in issues of otherwise fiction-only, or locally oriented, journals. *Chang'an Literature Monthly* (*长安文学月刊*) is a journal normally devoted to fiction only, but the October 1988 issue featured 10 pages of avant-garde poetry by poets such as Tang Yaping, Ouyang Jianghe, Meng Lang, and Xiao Kaiyu, as well as six poems by Allen Ginsberg translated by the husband-and-wife team of Daozi and Zhao Qiong. As residents of Xi'an, the latter two had arranged the publication of this small collection.

A similar instance in March 1988 involved the new, local official periodical *Ba Mountain Literature Monthly* (*巴山文学月刊*) of Daxian, a city to the north of Fuling in eastern Sichuan (possibly a replacement for *The Literary Wind of Ba Country* which was closed in 1987), and was organized by the Beijing-based poet Da Xian, who was invited to play this role by a friend working as a sub-editor at the journal.[333] The journal gave over 25 pages to the resulting collection, which included work by Da Xian himself, Zhai Yongming and He Xiaozhu of Sichuan, Chen Dongdong and Wang Yin of Shanghai, Xi Chuan of Beijing, and Han Dong of Nanjing, among others.

These examples and the author's survey of several literary journals are just a glimpse at the full reality of the situation at the time in China. There were many more poets writing and publishing avant-garde poetry, and there were well over 100 literary journals and papers in which they could have their work published.

---

[332] The figures for all these journals, broken into publication instances for avant-garde poets from Sichuan/the rest of the country (all 1986-1989 unless otherwise noted): *People's Literature* 9/18; *Author* 20/28; *The Plains* 20/29; *Flower City* 3/6; *Shanghai Literature* 13/12; *China Literature* 14/13 (1986 only); *Guandong Literature* 21/27 (8 issues, 1987-1988); *Beijing Literature* 0/2; *October* 0/4; *Tibet Literature* 0/4; *Youth Literature* 2/7; and *China Author* 4/17.

[333] Personal communication.

In addition, during this period, there was an increasing interest on the part of publishing houses to prepare and publish multi-author anthologies that included, or were wholly devoted to, China's new avant-garde poetry. Previously, Tang Xiaodu and Wang Jiaxin's anthology *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry Selection* was mentioned as the first of these. The editors prepared the manuscript during 1986, but changed political circumstances in 1987 led the editorial board of the publishing house to request changes in the manuscript. This resulted in the removal of a number of poems (for instance, Liao Yiwu's <The City of Death> was replaced by selections from <The Great Cycle>[334]). Despite these difficulties, 19,500 copies of the anthology were published in June 1987. Tang experienced even greater difficulties with a further anthology he compiled in 1988-1989.[335] Because of the political climate following the 4 June 1989 massacres, this anthology was not printed until July 1992, with a surprisingly large print run of 30,500 copies. As such, it was one of the first harbingers of a new liberalized cultural policy in China at the time.

<A Grand Poetry Exhibition> was updated and published in book form under the editorship of Xu Jingya, *cum suis*, in September 1988 by Shanghai's Tongji University Publishing House. This volume's print-run of 3,000 was more typical of other avant-garde poetry anthologies at the time, and, in fact, during the 1990s and up to this day. Xu and his fellow editors apparently made some attempt to rectify the shortcomings of the 1986 <Exhibition>, increasing the number of poems for what they deemed important poetry groups in the original collection, and appending a 163-page poetry anthology consisting of the post-Exhibition work of some of the original contributors.[336] However, the decision to place the Misty poets (a member of which Xu is considered to be) at the head of the book – in 1986 they were at the head of Part 3 of the <Exhibition> – would have done little to change the opinions of its critics among avant-garde poets. The members of Sichuan's Not-Not might have been pleased to find themselves promoted from first in Part 2 of the <Exhibition> to number two in the book, following the Misty

[334] Personal communication from Tang.
[335] Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992).
[336] After the disappointment and anger caused by the original 'exhibition', some poets refused further participation. These included Liao Yiwu, Yang Li, Zhou Lunyou, Lan Ma, and Han Dong, among others. The author was witness to refusals to participate in the book at the spring 1988 Grand Canal Poetry Conference in Jiangsu province.

poets, even if the Misty poets were not an active ‘group’ with a manifesto and publications such as theirs.

Another anthology of some note was *The Third Generation Poets Exploratory Poetry Selection* (*第三代诗人探索诗选*), edited by Xi Ping and published in Beijing in December 1989 by the China Literary Federation Publishing House (中国文联出版社) with a print-run of 6,300. At 634-pages in length, this was the largest anthology of avant-garde poetry published during the 1980s. However, it consists of a haphazard selection of poetry of uneven quality from various unattributed, unofficial poetry journals that appeared throughout China during 1985-1987. Over 400 poems by 175 poets can be found here.

A final phenomenon in the literary publishing world worth noting was the appearance during this period of a relatively large number of what are called ‘appreciation dictionaries’ of poetry ranging from the classical to the modern. In such a volume, poems are selected by an editor (or editors), who then writes a brief article about each poem, analyzing its qualities, thus justifying the poem’s selection and aiding the reader’s appreciation of the work. In 1988 at least two such anthologies focused primarily on Misty poetry were published with large print-runs: the first, *Chinese Modern Misty Poetry Appreciation and Analysis* (*中国现代朦胧诗赏析*), was published by Flower City Publishing House (花城出版社)[337] in Guangzhou in April with a print-run of 46,060, and included poetry from the 1920s up to a very few conservative selections of post-1984 poetry; the second is entitled *Misty Poetry Famous Works Appreciation Dictionary* (*朦胧诗名篇鉴赏辞典*) put out by the Shaanxi Teachers’ University Publishing House (陕西师范大学出版社) in Xi’an, had a print run of 20,000, and consisted of a selection of 22 Misty and post-Misty poets.[338] Although single representative avant-garde works of Zhai Yongming[339] and the brothers Song Qu and Song Wei were included, the poem by Liao Yiwu is from his pre-avant-garde phase.[340]

---

[337] Zhang Yaxin & Geng Jianhua ed. (1988).
[338] Qi Feng, Ren Wu, & Jie Er ed. (1988).
[339] <The Black Room> (黑房间), the first poem from the 1986 series <People Live In The World> (人生在世).
[340] The official prize-winning <The Great Basin>.

The best of these 'dictionaries' was edited by Chen Chao and published August 1989 in Shijiazhuang by the Hebei People's Publishing House (河北人民出版社), and had a print run of 15,000. Within the *Chinese Exploratory Poetry Appreciation Dictionary* (*中国探索诗鉴赏辞典*), the last 206 of its 664 pages (in unusually small type-face) were devoted to post-Misty avant-garde poetry, the rest covering the development of China's New Poetry up to that point.[341] The work of 12 of Sichuan's avant-garde poets (34 poems, including the full text of Liao's long <City of Death>) is among that of a total of 41 poets selected by Chen from all parts of the country.[342]

The foregoing events signal the success of China's Second World of Poetry in infiltrating and occupying a significant sector – effectively the avant-garde sub-field – of the official poetry scene before the summer of 1989. This success was in part due to continuous networking by avant-garde poets in their quest to seek out like-minded individuals in the official poetry world.

By all standards, among the most successful of these avant-garde poets, a relatively large number came from Sichuan.[343] The remainder of this chapter will examine the poetry and career trajectories within the avant-garde sub-field of Zhai Yongming, Ouyang Jianghe, and Liao Yiwu during 1986-1989.

---

[341] This book was republished in two volumes with a print-run of 5,000 in 2002 by the same publishing house, with the addition by Chen of a few poets – such as Zhang Zao – and new poetry for some of the formerly selected poets – such as Zhou Lunyou and Bai Hua. The other changes are to the title, now prefaced by the words *Twentieth Century* (*20 世纪*), and the addition at the end of the second volume of a 45-page chapter devoted to the explication of frequently-used terminology related to modern poetry.

[342] In order of appearance, they are Zhai Yongming, Liao Yiwu, Tang Yaping, Yang Li, Li Yawei, He Xiaozhu, Ouyang Jianghe, Bai Hua, Zhou Lunyou, Shang Zhongmin, and Song Qu and Song Wei.

[343] In the aforementioned analysis, instances of official publication in 1986-1989 for some individual Sichuan poets were as follows: Liao Yiwu 20 (1986: 10; 1987: 2; 1988: 2; 1989: 6), Xiao Kaiyu 20 (8/1/9/2; Xiao's case is unusual and will be commented on in Chapter 12), Zhai Yongming 18 (7/4/5/2), Ouyang Jianghe 15 (6/1/5/3), Zhou Lunyou 14 (6/0/5/3), Li Yawei 13 (5/3/2/3), Song Qu and Song Wei 11 (4/4/2/1), Yang Li 11 (1/2/5/3), Shi Guanghua 10 (6/1/3//0), Shang Zhongmin 10 (5/1/4/0), He Xiaozhu 10 (4/3/3/0), Sun Wenbo 6 (2/1/1/2), and Bai Hua 6 (2/2/0/2).

## The Poetry of Zhai Yongming

The poetry of Zhai Yongming was last discussed in Chapter Six when her series of twenty poems called <Woman> was said to herald the rise of women's avant-garde poetry in China. However, while poems from the series appeared in *Modernists Federation* and at least one unofficial journal outside Sichuan in 1985, it was not until 1986 that the poems of <Woman> began to appear in official literary journals. Before this, while Zhai's name might have been familiar to readers of *Sichuan Literature* and *Stars*, there was little in her poetry to suggest readers outside of Sichuan might remember her name. As the critic Tang Xiaodu relates, upon first meeting Zhai in 1983, a friend introduced her to him as "Sichuan's little Shu Ting" (the famous Misty woman poet). [344] Poems from <Woman> were first published in early 1986 in *The Poetry Press*, followed by six in the September issue of *Poetry*, and a further two in the October issue of *China Literature*.[345] In addition, in late 1986, the Lijiang Publishing House of Guilin made *Woman* one of a series of avant-garde poetry collections, including Zhai's book with those of other poets such as Shi Zhi and Duoduo. This was the first officially published poetry collection for most of the poets selected. Moreover, in 1987 poems from this collection still could be found in the May issue of *Shanghai Literature*[346] and the June issue of *Guandong Literature*. With this unprecedented success, there also arose the beginning of a polemic over the nature of women's poetry, a polemic that continues to this day – and Zhai Yongming's name and the poetry of <Woman> is invariably part of it. During the course of 1986-1987 the poetry of women such as Tang Yaping,[347] originally

---

[344] Tang Xiaodu (2001): 215.

[345] The same two poems previously published in *Modernists Federation*.

[346] Interestingly, the editors felt the fact that these four poems were from <Woman> should be disguised, and claimed they were from a series called <From Start to Finish> (始终). Apparently, in early 1987, Zhai's <Woman>, like Liao Yiwu's <The City of Death> and Yi Lei's <An Unmarried Woman's Bedroom>, was felt to be too 'dark', 'negative', and 'lewd', and the title of the series was already too well known to get through the censors (in fact, the editorial board). For more on censorship and the functions of editorial boards see Link (1999).

[347] Tang is mentioned in relation to the first appearance of Third Generation poets in Sichuan in 1982 in chapter four, when she was a student at Sichuan University in Chengdu. Zhai mentions Tang as one of her visitors during her stay in hospital while writing <Woman> in 1984, although Tang did eventually move to Guiyang to begin working in television that year. The influence of the poetry of Sylvia Plath and Zhai is evident in Tang's <The Black Desert> (黑色沙漠), a series of twelve poems written in 1985 dealing with darkness and the night of being a woman in a man's world, although Tang's poetry is more physical than Zhai's. Ten of the series' poems were first published in *The Modern Poetry Paper* (*现代诗歌报*) in March

of Sichuan and a friend of Zhai, and the Tianjin poet Yi Lei[348] would become part of the developing school of women's poetry. However, the details of this polemic are beyond the scope of this study.[349]

There is more to Zhai Yongming than <Woman>, although it is sometimes difficult to see this in what critics say about her poetry before 1992. The result of this concentration on one series of poems has led to a neglect of Zhai's maturation process as a poet during the rest of the 1980s. While some of the same imagery and metaphysical interests of <Woman> remain, Zhai turns to new, more autobiographical, more reality-based subject matter, only now she has the confident, new vision of the poet-creator that she began to work out for herself (and other women poets) over the course of <Woman>'s 20 poems.

Zhou Zan has written that <Woman> being the groundbreaker for women's poetry in China, she is inclined to treat it as Zhai's maiden work of poetry.[350] By doing so, critics gloss over the artistic and psychological difficulties Zhai had to surmount to achieve her breakthrough: moving from Misty poetry in terms of subject matter and technique into the avant-garde with respect to both, and being very much out on her own as a female poet challenging the traditionally male-dominated spheres of Chinese poetry and poetry criticism.

At times biography is important to a full understanding and appreciation of a poet's work:

> …but actually while writing <Woman> (1984), <Peaceful Village> (静安庄; 1985) and <People Live In The World> (人生在世; 1986), for all of three years I lingered long-term in dirty hospital wards; often late at night, after ten o'clock, I'd

---

1986, put out by the cultural department of Jiaojiang in Zhejiang province. The series found a larger readership and attracted controversy when two of the poems and a poetical manifesto were published in Part 3 of <A Grand Poetry Exhibition>.

[348] Yi Lei gained fame and notoriety for the publication, and subsequent criticism, of a sequence of 14 poems entitled <An Unmarried Woman's Bedroom> (独身女人的卧室), published in the 1987 combined 1-2 edition of *People's Literature*.

[349] In English, there is little work on this subject to date. See Tao (1996) and Jeanne Hong Zhang (2002) and (2004). In Chinese, see Chen Xuguang (1995a), Meng Yifei (2000b), Shen Qi (1994b), Zhang Huimin (1995), Zhao Siyun (2002a, b, c, d), Zhou Zan (2003) and (2002d), and any recently published critical survey of Chinese modern poetry, such as Xie & Liang (1993), Chang & Lu (2002), Li Xinyu (2000), and Xiang Weiguo (2002); also see Li Xiaolin's <Zhai Yongming's "Disease" Consciousness> (翟永明的"疾病"意识) in Zhai (1994).

[350] Zhou Zan (2002d): 2.

endure cold winds sitting on a bench writing outside the ward ….[351]

In her many non-fiction essays, Zhai only once mentions such concrete, and seemingly vital, biographical details for this crucial period in her poetical development – in an essay published in the February 1996 issue of *Author*. However, critics continue to ignore, or overlook, these biographical details and instead dwell on the influence of Plath, and metaphysical and generalized women's issues.

It was not Zhai Yongming who was ill, but her mother. Between 1983 and 1987, Zhai spent long periods of time living with her mother in the hospital – the longest being a five month period in 1984 – and visiting her on an almost daily basis when this was not the case. Finally, in 1987, Zhai stayed with her mother during the last few weeks of her life.[352]

The nature of Zhai Yongming's mother's medical problem is not important to the appreciation of Zhai's poetry, but her attachment to her mother, the nature of the environment Zhai lived in, and how she adapted to it is. <Woman> can be seen as a reinvention of herself as a poet in a world apart from that of other Chinese poets, men and women. No longer was she influenced by male-dominated poetics, such as that of the Misty poets. Aside from visits by friends bringing and talking poetry, she was left alone with her emotions and uncomfortable environs, and her poetry reflected these creative and existential difficulties.

After <Woman>, in 1985 Zhai wrote another series of poems, <Peaceful Village>, this time consisting of 12 poems, or twelve months as she titled them. As a 19 year-old in 1974, like millions of others after high-school graduation, Zhai was sent to live and work in the countryside. These poems are rooted in the three years Zhai spent there, a place that she has called one of her spiritual homes.[353] Zhai called Peaceful Village this because there she recognized the existence of the irreversible arrangements of fate. The same is true of being a woman, or, in Zhai's terms, of possessing the "consciousness of black night." Residing in hospital wards, she would also have become much more conscious of,

[351] Zhai (1997): 196-198.
[352] Conversation with Zhai on April 28, 2004, in Aarhus, Denmark.
[353] Zhai (2002c): 8.

and sensitive to, the grimmer realities of life and death. These were the themes of the poetry she wrote at this time.

No longer living in the countryside, indeed long years removed from it, and written after <Woman>, her 'view' of <Peaceful Village> would not be realistic, much less a paean to or a castigation of country life. The first poem sets the tone for what follows:

**<The First Month>** (第一月)[354]

As if it had always existed, as if all was already in order
I arrive, the noise has nothing to do with me
it settles me into a south-facing wing

My first time here I happened upon a pitch-black night
everywhere there were footpaths resembling faces
pale and lonely, the cold wind blew
at a moment like this the fields of corn are stirred up
I arrive here, I hear the hollows from the double-fish star
and the endless trembling of a night full of feelings

Tiny haystacks scattered and solemn
The sole fragile cloud, solitary as a wild beast
approaches on tiptoe, reeking of foul weather

Those who I come across become hearts worth knowing
the long fishing rods slide across the water's surface, oil lamps flicker
the hoarse barking of dogs gives one pause

Yesterday the sound of a great wind appeared to comprehend it all
don't let in the black trees
in every corner murderous thoughts take up their places
enduring the moments spread over your body
now unfettered I can become the moonlight

In their dreams a married couple hears the patter of pre-dawn rain
By the stone mill black donkeys discuss the tomorrow
There, land of mingled dark and light
you know all its years like the palm of your hand

I hear a cock crow
and the windlass of a well

[354] Another translation of this poem and the rest of the poems in the series can be found in Tao Naikan & Tony Prince (1999).

The I-speaker is removed from, even above, all she surveys. The use of terms like 'the first month' and the 'double-fish star' (Pisces) throw the poem into the slow, cyclical rhythms of the traditional lunar calendar, the agricultural calendar, a timeless form of life before industrialization, the idealized life of 'heaven and human as one' (天人合一). And this, in turn, calls for closer attention to the details of human relations with others and with nature, both internal and external.

The critic Tao Naikan has tied the pervasive darkness of this series in to Zhai's intent to represent the village as a spiritual wasteland, which ultimately rejects the I-speaker just as the I-speaker rejects it. [355] A close reading of various elements in the series leads the critics Huang Lin and Jeanne Hong Zhang to see Zhai highlighting the fate of women "under the yoke of history and tradition."[356] The poems are written from a woman's standpoint, but they go beyond it by dealing with the totality of 'village' life as observed and experienced by a young woman just reaching physical maturity. Yet, it could also be argued that this mental and spiritual maturity was achieved in the hospital many years later, and Zhai's memories of village life were now re-envisaged through a new, matured prism of consciousness: her recently discovered 'consciousness of black night'.

The first, sixth, seventh, ninth, and twelfth poems in the series were published in late 1986 in the unofficial Sichuan journal *Han Poetry*; the first, third, seventh and twelfth were first officially published in Tang Xiaodu's and Wang Jiaxin's 1987 anthology of experimental poetry; and the whole series was published for the first time in the April 1988 issue of *People's Literature*. While the series can be approached as a successful effort in women's poetry, it is possibly more profitably read as a poetical return by an urbanite, drawing on highly selective memory, to a unique social experiment set in the countryside of Cultural Revolution China. No matter what else Zhai may have learned and experienced during those three years, the writing of this series of poems – while not making up for all that may have been lost (time, education, etc.) – is real proof of some 'profit' from the experience.

Zhai's 1986 series of eleven poems, <People Live In The World>, has never received as much attention as <Woman> and <Peaceful Village>. However, the following poem,

[355] Tao (1999).
[356] See Huang Lin (1995): 100-101; and Chapter 6 in Jeanne Hong Zhang (2004).

the first in the series, after being first published in Part 3 of <A Grand Exhibition> on 24 October 1986 in the *Shenzhen Youth Daily*, has been much anthologized and analyzed by critics:[357]

**<The Black Room>** (黑房间)

As a rule all crows under heaven are black, and this
intimidates me, they have so many
relatives, their numbers are legion, hard to resist

But we are indispensable, we four sisters
we are the snares in the black room
slim and graceful, walking to and fro
appearing to have winning lottery tickets in our grasp
But I intend to work mischief, my heart is harsh
On the surface I maintain a girl's pleasant disposition
while retracing my daily defeats

We are fair maidens of renown awaiting proposals in our boudoir
smiling resentfully, racking our brains
for ways to make ourselves more attractive
Young and beautiful, like raging flames
Very single-minded snares, baked black
(Which of the wavering countenances of good men with sharply-
ground teeth and ramrod straight gaze, which of the boundary-
crossers and calculating plotters shall be my brothers-in-law?)

At night I feel
crises lying low all around our room
the cats and mice are all awake
we go to sleep, seeking dreams
the license numbers of strange hearts, in the night
we are women ready to fall like ripe melons

A confusion of phoenixes, male and female, so on and so forth
we sisters four, daily-new monthly-changeable
Marriage, still at the core of choosing a mate
The bedroom light dispirits the newly-marrieds
Risk it all on one throw, I say to myself
Home is were you start off

[357] For example: Qi Feng et. al. ed. (1988); Chen Chao ed. (1989); Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992); Cui Weiping ed. (1993).

Tao Naikan has translated the title of this series as <Living in the World>. In so doing, the irony of Zhai Yongming writing these poems while in hospital is lost. Instead, Tao sees these poems merely as a "domestic inspection of women" and "a realistic examination of contemporary urban people," and ultimately claims that in dealing with "reality" (and not "her dream") Zhai "falls into platitude, commonplace idiom and loose discourse."[358] Both Chen Chao and Ren Wu in their analyses of the poem place the stress on the work 'black' in the title and within the poem, and appear to treat it as if it were simply one of the poems of <Woman>.[359] There is truth in this, in the continuity of Zhai Yongming's poetry during this period, but the irony and cynicism they all speak of appears to be much deeper than they realize. The generalized aspect of all women's existence in a male-dominated world cannot be denied, but neither can Zhai's existence at the time within a dirty (black) hospital room possibly shared by three other women, all recovering from, or succumbing to illness. The self-mockery and irony is even more evident in the following poem, the ninth in the series:

**<At This Very Moment>** (此时此刻)

Living in the world, without sons without daughters
becomes a harmful business as days go by
The mirror is loyal but loathsome
Facing me
The perfect moment for a born widow arises

A long face, buck teeth, the attitude of she who knows her place
At this moment, I've taken a bead on a certain matter
What do I want to do? Don't know
but I'll shock everybody

Most of the time I disappoint them
like a glass of milk, but turned clear
The matchmaker often to's and fro's, important looks on her face
At this moment, there's a war in the east
People, biped and erect
are doing what animals won't
Soccer fans are more brutal because of the weather

[358] Tao (1996): 157.
[359] See Chen Chao ed. (1989): 475-477; and Qi Feng et. al. ed. (1988): 222-224.

A large portrait, cold as a commoner
Fall back on your natural talent, suspended in my room
Speechless, an omen for a body of communicable disease
On the way to the hospital, I discover
in the storm, leaves have already forgotten yesterday's foundations
Bright as wine, pearls of water disappear slowly
Things are like this: unchanging and indeterminate

At this very moment, I'm walking among people dressed for the occasion
hands tucked into sleeves I pass, dressed up like a good citizen
exactly the image of a vigilant woodpecker tut-tutting aggressively
One lives in the world and ridicules oneself:
At such an extravagant age, it'd be better to marry

If the possibility of "my room" and bed being located in a hospital is allowed, then this marriage of which the I-speaker speaks, and for which the "matchmaker" works, may be, in fact, death. Here also is a direct reference to the hospital, and the I-speaker's uprooting – in a storm, which may be illness – from what might have been her previous 'normal' or 'common' life, leaving her suspended, apart from it, in a position to comment on it. And Zhai has been doing just that in <Woman>, <Peaceful Village>, and in the series called <People Live In The World>, too.

In 1987, after spending a few weeks in a hospital room with her dying mother and another patient with nervous problems, Zhai Yongming returned home after her mother's death and at one sitting, shut away in her own dark little room, wrote the series of seven poems that make up <Death's Design> (死亡的图案).[360] As Zhai tells it in her 1996 essay <Writing While Facing the Soul> (面向心灵的写作), she then put the poem in a drawer. In many ways this 1996 essay appears to be an attempted corrective with regard to the readings of poetry critics up to that time, who relate all the poems of her hospital-years to Sylvia Plath, issues of women's poetry, and the metaphysics of life and death, to the neglect of the poet's situation at the time of writing. The seventh and final poem in the series (below) is a graphic description of her mother's death and Zhai's emotional response, yet critics fail to see the horror in the details and consider the possibility, or consequences, of Zhai being a witness to it. More common is the attitude of Si Cheng in

[360] Zhai (1996a).

<Death: As Life Itself> (死亡：作为生命本体),[361] where Si draws on the philosophy of Heidegger and uses Zhai's series to demonstrate how death can be turned into an aesthetical confirmation of life. Yet the poetry itself is built from intimate details of life and death, while the analysis of it is restricted to philosophical and metaphysical generalizations. Too often, such criticism seems little more than a demonstration of a critic's grasp of such metaphysics.

As the action of putting the poem in a drawer indicates, at least until 1996, Zhai attempted to keep her personal life private. The poem eventually did come out of the drawer. Five of the poems in the series were first published in the inaugural Spring 1991 issue of the unofficial journal *Modern Han Poetry* (*现代汉诗*), followed by a slightly different selection in the 1992 edition of *Not-Not*[362] -- a re-launch and fifth issue of this unofficial journal after the editor, Zhou Lunyou, had been released in late 1991 following two years served in prison and then labor camp in western Sichuan. This special post-4 June 1989 situation (the first issue of *Modern Han Poetry* went into circulation near the date of the anniversary) seems to have been the key to Zhai's drawer:

**<The Seventh Night>** (第七夜)

Tonight I get a taste of death
discover its fearful knowledge
Sitting in a deserted room
I think of you, you make me shudder

Wild hair, your eyes emit alarming power over me
and look disdainfully on the human world; you gather your cries
Your feet shift on the earth; your flesh won't be forgotten again
In a corner of the room it breaks out of its encirclement
A white hospital gown twists tightly around my breath
Gray mice scatter
their limbs sicken me!
Their long-time custodian couldn't foresee
the misfortune that arose suddenly

A true-living mother has brought snow down upon me

[361] Si Cheng (1994).
[362] Four poems from the series were first officially published in Cui Weiping ed. (1993); the whole series was first published in the now bi-monthly *Tibet Literature* 1994 No. 2; and the whole series appeared again in an officially published anthology of avant-garde poetry edited by Zhou Lunyou ed. (1994d).

She makes me revel in the color of death with her, silent
makes me tell you: not with the tongue
but a lacerated body, a clothes-hanger in the shape of a cross
The eyes drop into invisible misery
You understand what assassination is, you once told me
When I was twelve, I had shed my first blood
shaking all over, lying in your icy embrace
I understood how death would come – summon me then depart

Feet bare, you dig into your flesh with both hands, one after the other
Lips sealed tight but a voice says:
Death is still here, still active
passing through prefabricated stone panels, revealing itself still on the four walls
Endless, exchanging secrets of the apocalypse with me
The night's straw mat and a sudden growth of courage
leaks a ray of light into my heart through a black window
If I were you and you were me, how much time would there be
to let us see the final parting, all that's been abandoned
You deceived me, I've been there
Any signs of people are rare, the air there buried me
and to this day won't allow me to break free of your shadow
All night I think of you, my mother
Because of you I now know: the graves of the dead are in the living!

In the context of the journals in which it first appeared, and given *Not-Not* editor Zhou Lunyou's recent release from labor camp and the poems he wrote there devoted to his circumstances and the 1989 massacres (14 were published in *Not-Not* of which three also appeared in *Modern Han Poetry*), Zhai's poems can be read in a political way, although she may not have realized this at the time. Therefore, there was even more reason to write her 1996 essay, stressing the intensely personal reasons for writing this series and the three preceding ones. In hindsight, Zhai goes on to say in the essay that in writing <Death's Design> she was finally able to transcend the subject of death in her poetry and directly exchange it for "the pursuit of life" (求生). With this change of subject, Zhai states that the influence of Sylvia Plath's poetry, an exaggerated confessional tone, and certain aspects of vocabulary and technique also began to vanish from her poetry after 1987. Zhai's subsequent poetry bears out these claims, but critics have located the change later, in 1992,[363] possibly because they were not aware that <Death's Design> was

[363] For example, see Zhou Zan (2002d) for more on how the image of Zhai Yongming and critical impressions of her poetry have been distorted by her seminal 1984-1986 works. Critics such as Cheng Bo

written in 1987 and not 1992. Published without a date of writing, readers could assume that the series was recently written, as the rest of the poetry in the 1992 journals was. This assumption – placing Zhai's poetry together with Zhou's highly political verse – could lead to the misreading of Zhai's series of poems. Conversely, the apparently serious nature of the new issue of *Not-Not* and that of the poetry contained therein (not only Zhou's) may have triggered Zhai's decision to take <Death's Design> out of the drawer.

The following poem demonstrates Zhai's new approach to poetry as a "pursuit of life":

**<The Red Room>** (红房间)

The days change me, lead me home
I'm not so picky about everything anymore
Sitting in the red room, I lower my head
A hopelessly tangled ball of thread
flows out of mother's hand to my end of the room

You sigh for me, suffer for me
but I saw the true face of this pain long ago
Endure the love that commoners must endure
because my heart's already a bird startled by the mere twang of a bow
When I make my comeback, and sit here
as always, I still sense its rich potential

And it's the red room that causes your delivery pains
and spurs you to go on improving
It caused my birth, it made me
retain old blood ties willingly
beneath my mother's supine body

And in this room
is the sound of my words
Blood flows from my body to my end of the room
Eyes like fish, an odd disposition
A head swollen like a stele's inscription in the mist
absolutely motionless, I emerge from the womb and go

The days change me, make me go home
Sitting in the red room, I see my true likeness

---

(2002) date her interest in what they call 'narrative poetry' to this time, ignoring the post-1987 work of Zhai's that is clearly informed by similar interests.

in your eyes
your nameless suffering is a near-pure poison
endless admiration, clothing overstocked with dust
a spacious body of flourishing fruit, pendulous
its exterior starting up endlessly
there's a heart within, difficult to control
It's me, light of hand and foot
arriving punctually, leaving on time too

The color black has gone and death is no longer the issue, and these have been replaced by red, the color of blood, birth, life, and – in Chinese tradition – happiness. The room has now turned from black to red.[364]

Possibly Zhai chose the familiar theme of a room and a change in color to draw the attention of critics to the change in her poetics. <The Red Room> is a womb (a mother), home to the birth of a child (the I-speaker), and addresses the child's inevitable attraction to the womb-mother-home and the converse need to leave, to seek freedom from the smothering closeness of the womb-mother-home. There is also the clear implication that the I-speaker returns home for marriage (another red room in Chinese tradition), an act that would necessitate such a return. Additionally, it is likely that Zhai wrote this poem not long before, or after, her own marriage.

This poem is emblematic of the start of Zhai Yongming's shift from being a poet sensitive to suffering and death – in a hospital and in life – to being a poet more sensitive to the difficulties and joys of life – even if her Plath-influenced confessional tone remains. Many poems written during this period (1987-1989) were officially published and did not appear in the Second World,[365] but it was not until the mid-1990s that critics began to notice the change in Zhai's poetics. Perhaps this was due to the still prevalent avant-garde artistic interests in death and Plath, but that is a topic beyond the scope of this study.

[364] Also, in 1988, Zhai Yongming had a series of poems published in *The Poetry Press* under the title <The Green Room> (绿房间).

[365] In 1988, upon the recommendation of the *Stars* editor and poet Sun Jingxuan, Zhai was one of the first Second World poets to be hired as a writer for an official literary institute. During 1988-1990, she wrote for the Nishi Literature Federation in Sichuan, and, to some degree, this is reflected in the quality of her work during this period, none of which can be found in officially published anthologies of avant-garde poetry. See bibliography and Zhai's interview in Yang Li (2004): 474.

## The Poetry and Poetry Criticism of Ouyang Jianghe

The name Ouyang Jianghe first began to appear in China's Second World of Poetry and the official realm in 1986. Before this, as previously noted, Ouyang had been known by his given name of Jianghe, the same as that of the better-known *Today* poet from Beijing. There had been, however, one exception: in the two-volume *New Poetry Tide Poetry Collection* published semi-officially by Beijing University's May Fourth Literary Association. Here, in an anthology that included 30 poems by Beijing's Jianghe, possibly at the request of the editor, the name Ouyang Jianghe appears for the first time.[366] This collection was published in early 1985, and yet Ouyang still went by the name of Jianghe in the three unofficial poetry journals produced in Sichuan that year.[367] Presumably, the Sichuanese readers of these journals would have known who he was, but this would have been by no means true of readers outside the province. However, 1986 was the year that Ouyang Jianghe's poetry began to regularly appear in the pages of Beijing's *Poetry*,[368] necessitating the permanent adoption of this pen name.

During the years 1986-1989 Ouyang established himself not only as a first-rate avant-garde poet, but also as a poetry critic of some note. In 1986, the editors of the Chengdu unofficial journal *Han Poetry* felt that Ouyang's 1985 essay <Random Thoughts on Modern Poetry>, originally published in *Day By Day Make It New* out of Chongqing, was worthy of republication. The 1988 edition of the same journal carried another article written in 1987: <Sylvia Plath and the Metaphysics of Death> (普拉斯与死亡玄学). In this article, Ouyang again demonstrates his grasp of not only the poetry of Plath, but his wide interests in foreign poetry in general, by incorporating into his text the comments, or poetry, of Nadezhda Mandelstam, Martin Heidegger, Octavio Paz, and Dylan Thomas.

In <Random Thoughts on Modern Poetry>, Ouyang had voiced concern over the future of Chinese poetry due to what he felt was an undisciplined, unserious approach to writing

---

[366] Ouyang has three poems in Volume 2: <A White Love> (白色之恋), <Curriculum Vitae>, (履历), and <A Night in Your Silhouette>.
[367] *Modernists Federation*, *Day By Day Make It New*, and *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry*.
[368] Two poems in the January issue and four in the July issue, as well as the publication of Part 3 of <The Suspended Coffin> in the October issue of Beijing's *China Literature* and the publication of another poem in Part 1 of <A Grand Exhibition> on October 21 in *The Poetry Press*. Ouyang would also have further poetry and critical essays published in *Poetry* in November 1987, and June and August 1988.

poetry by some avant-garde poets. In June 1988, Ouyang made further contributions to related polemics but now in official forums in the pages of *Poetry* and *The Poetry Press*. <Looking at China's Poetry Scene from Three Points of View> (从三个视点看今日中国诗坛) in the June issue of *Poetry* is in much the same tone as the 1985 article, and is essentially critical of the phenomena brought to the attention of the wider poetry-reading public by <A Grand Exhibition> in 1986. Here, however, he is more to the point, identifying what he calls an amateur approach to writing poetry, lowering the level of poetry to that of diary writing, a home to miscellaneous emotions of no import, and the apparent disappearance of all authoritative models or exemplars: "… as far as any nationality is concerned, having everyone writing poetry or having no poets are similarly lamentable [states]". Ouyang then proceeds to observe a thoroughgoing, generational change in the thoughts and feelings expressed by poets through their poetry, comparing the *Today* poets Shu Ting and Bei Dao to Zhai Yongming and Bai Hua respectively, and throwing in the names of Zhang Zao, Chen Dongdong (of Shanghai), Xi Chuan (of Beijing), Zhong Ming, Lu Yimin (of Shanghai), Wan Xia, Han Dong (of Nanjing), and Yi Lei (of Tianjin) as examples of other poets whose works demonstrate a shift in the poetry of the times. Finally, Ouyang praises the "professional" attitude towards writing poetry exemplified by Yang Lian, his retreat from writing the roots-seeking poetry that won him public favor in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and his conscientious decision to go deeper in search of poetry of greater value, even if there are few other poets who do so. In the end, Ouyang returns to his call for "important individuals and works" to demonstrate what has been destroyed and what rebuilt in the ongoing literary revolution. However, there is no call for great poets or "master craftsmen", such as Pound, Yeats, and Eliot, as this is now a "post-modern" age in which poets must decide if they write poetry to meet the demands and tastes of consumers, or if they take responsibility for poetry itself and learn to bear the resulting loneliness. In essence, Ouyang is asking for the institutionalization of the avant-garde sub-field and both affirming and approving the resultant marginalization of poetry in China's contemporary culture.

In the 6 March issue of *The Poetry Press*, Ouyang's article <More On Colloquial-language Poetry> (也谈口语诗) shared a page with three other articles[369] on the same subject, all written in response to an article by the Sichuan poet-critic Yang Yuanhong that had castigated "Third Generation poets" and their supposed characteristics of "non-sublime" (非崇高), "non-cultural" (非文化), and "non-lyrical" (非抒情) poetry. In brief, Ouyang came out strongly in favor of Yang's critique, naming no Chinese names but those of foreign exemplars of the use of colloquial language in modern poetry, namely Pound, Eliot, Plath, Lowell, and Larkin – all English-language poets.

By taking sides and drawing up a list of poets he approved of, Ouyang was consciously placing himself in the fierce, on-going polemic that he himself had had a role in getting started in 1985. His two articles placed Ouyang Jianghe in the middle of a nationwide public controversy over colloquial-language poetry, with Yang Yuanhong (representing Sichuan's Wholism poets) and Ouyang Jianghe – and, also, *Poetry* – on one side, and the Not-Not poets (and the poets of Nanjing's *Them*) on the other. Furthermore, Ouyang had implicitly likened colloquial-language poetry as practiced by Third Generation poets to the sort of poetry that was written at times during the Great Leap Forward period (1957-1959) when the CCP considered and encouraged all people to be amateur poets. Holding up foreign poets as exemplars and praising a small coterie of like-minded 'serious' poets also won him few friends, but certainly helped to firm the battle lines between now-rival groupings of poets and styles of poetry within the avant-garde. Furthermore, by borrowing from western avant-garde tradition a list of consecrated poets with whom he linked himself and a brief list of 'approved' others, other poets could see this as a position taking, an attempt to take a position superior to their own. At the same time, this apparent attempt to rein in the unruly elements of the avant-garde appears close to a position with which the CCP's literary establishment might concur – if they would accept any sort of avant-garde at all.

---

[369] The other three articles are: <Colloquialization: The Double Error of Contemporary Poetical Exploration> (口语化: 当代诗探索的双重迷雾) by San Lang – the pen name of Wholism member Pan Jiazhu, maintaining a somewhat neutral attitude toward Yang Yuanhong's earlier article – Yang had once been a member of Wholism; <Modern Poetry: The Self-awareness of Language> (现代诗:言语的自觉) by Kang Hua and Wei Guo, against Yang; and <The False Witness of Language – on the Mistakes in the Citation of Evidence in 'Colloquialization: the Decline and Devaluation of Modern Poetry' [by Yang Yuanhong]> (语言的伪证–谈 "口语化：现代诗的沉沦与贬值"的引证错误) by Zhou Lunyou, against Yang.

On May 3-10, 1988, at the Grand Canal national contemporary poetry conference organized by *Poetry* and the Writers' Association in Jiangsu province, Ouyang joined other avant-garde poets and critics together, for the first time, with older establishment literary figures. However, instead of repeating his criticisms, Ouyang wrote and presented an article – <Confrontation and Symmetry: Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry> (对抗与对称：中国当代实验诗歌)[370] – which instead looked to the strengths of experimental poetry and some of its practitioners: such as Liao Yiwu (who also attended the conference), Zhai Yongming, Zhong Ming, Bai Hua, Zhang Zao, Chen Dongdong, Xi Chuan, Niu Bo (of Beijing), Lu Yimin, Wang Yin (of Shanghai), Shi Guanghua, Haizi, Wan Xia, Yang Lian, himself, and – very surprisingly – Yang Li and Zhou Lunyou (also at the conference). These last two poets were specific targets of the articles Ouyang and Yang Yuanhong had published not long before in *The Poetry Press*. Admittedly, in Ouyang's article-presentation Yang Li's name was only mentioned once in passing and Zhou was also referred to only once, and then only with regard to his 1984 poem <The Man with the Owl>.[371] This amounted to something of a temporary peace offering, as the avant-garde poets and critics[372] wished to present a unified, peaceful front to the influential establishment critics and poets,[373] who had few good things to say about avant-garde poetry, as well as to those who were considered open-minded.[374] There were minor arguments outside the official conference venues, but only one within the conference, and that was not an internecine squabble within the avant-garde.[375]

The animosity of others toward Ouyang and his 'approved' poets was recorded in an unofficially circulated discussion printed by the *Not-Not* group in April 1988. Entitled <Third Generation Poetry: A Clarification of Chaos> (第三代诗：对混乱的澄清),[376] the

[370] Wu Sijing ed. (1993): 256-269.
[371] Ibid.: 259.
[372] Aside from Ouyang, Liao Yiwu, and Zhou Lunyou, the other avant-garde poets and critics were Yang Lian, Lao Mu, Li Jie of Shanghai, Ba Tie, Zong Renfa (editor of *Author*), Han Dong, Che Qianzi, Tang Xiaodu, He Xiaozhu, and Gou Mingjun. Zong, Han, He and Zhou can be regarded as representatives of the Third Generation groupings at the conference.
[373] These included Qian Guangpei, Zheng Min, Wu Kaijin, Kong Fu, Chen Zhongyi, Yang Guangzhi, Wang Liaosheng, Zhao Kai, Ye Lu, Zhang Zhimin, Yang Yimin, and Liu Zhanqiu.
[374] These included Zhang Yaxi, Chen Chao, Tang Qi, Cheng Guangwei, Yi Mingzhu, and Sun Jilin.
[375] The author was also present at the conference. The only disturbance was a brief argument between Zheng Min and Liao Yiwu, who reacted very badly to her generalized criticism of avant-garde poetical practice at one (the last, as it turned out) of the symposiums he was asked to attend.
[376] This document is held in the author's personal collection of unofficial publications.

Not-Not poets Shang Zhongmin, Yang Li, Lan Ma, and Zhou Lunyou recorded their discussion in Chengdu on April 28, and in May Zhou carried the resultant eight-page document to the conference in Jiangsu province. On page 3, first Yang, indirectly, and then Shang, directly, took issue with Ouyang's English-language inability and repeated insistence on setting up English-language poets as models of colloquial language poetry in China. Shang went even further in stating that Ouyang, in writing <The Suspended Coffin> (1983-1984), had copied the poetical forms and language of St.-John Perse, a French poet, as translated by the poet Ye Weilian (William Yip). (At this point in the document, Zhou interjects that Yang Lian also had modeled his poetry on the same translation by Ye.)

Fittingly, Ouyang's reference to English-language exemplars of colloquial language poetry in his article in *The Poetry Press* and his comment in <Confrontation and Symmetry> that the image, or idea, of 'home' in his poetry is often transformed into some sort of surrogate,[377] such as language, leads into the following, much anthologized poem of his:

**<Between Chinese and English>** (汉英之间) [378]

I reside in a pile of character parts,
between the casual looks of this and that form.
They stand alone and penetrate, limbs rocking and unsteady,
a monotonous beat like shots from a gun.
After a wave of sound, Chinese characters grow simple.
Some arms, legs, eyes fall away,
but words still move on, stretch out, and see.
That kind of mystery raises a hunger.
Moreover, it left behind many delicious days,
let me and my race eat it, pick over it together.
In the accent of this place, in a local dialect gathered up like a crystal,
in classical and modern Chinese mixed into one speech,
the figure of my mouth is a circular ruin,
teeth sink into an open space
and do not collide with a bone.
With this kind of vista, this kind of flesh, Chinese feasts over the land.
I finished eating my portion of days, then ate the ancients', until

[377] Wu Sijing ed. (1993): 267.
[378] First published in the November 1987 issue of *Poetry*. Anthologized in: Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992); Zhou Lunyou ed. (1994d); and Chen Xuguang ed. (1994b).

one evening, I go to stroll on the English Corner, and see
a crowd of Chinese round a Yank, I surmise they
want to move into English. But English has no territory in China.
It is merely a class, a form of conversation, a TV program,
in university a department, tests and paper.
On the paper I feel the strong likeness of a Chinese to a pencil.
Light strokes and vague outlines, the life of a worn eraser.
Having experienced too much ink, glasses, typewriters
and the weightiness of lead,
relaxed and smooth, English rolls up on a corner in China.
It accustoms us to abbreviations and diplomatic language,
also western food, forks and knives, aspirin.
This type of change does not involve the nose
and skin. Like a daily morning toothbrush
English moves over the teeth, making Chinese white.
Once I ate books  ate the dead, therefore

everyday I brush my teeth. This concerns water, hygiene and contrast.
This produced a feeling for the mouth, a taste for speech,
and the many differences in the language of everyday use.
It also relates to a hand: it stretches into English,
The middle and index fingers spread apart, simulating
a letter, a victory, a kind of
fascist experience of yourself.
A cigarette drops to the ground, extinguished when only half smoked,
like a part of history. History is a war that suffers
from a stutter, earlier it was the Third Reich, it was Hitler.
I do not know if this madman shot English, shot
Shakespeare and Keats.

But I do know in the Oxford dictionary there is the English of the nobility,
also the English of Churchill and Roosevelt armed to the teeth,
its metaphors, its objective reality, its aesthetic destruction,
exploded at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
In Japanese I see piles of Chinese characters become corpses –
but beyond language, China and England-America make a pact.
I read this part of history, and feel very suspicious.
Between history and me I do not know which is more preposterous.

More than one hundred years. Between Chinese and English, what actually happened?
Why do so many Chinese migrate into English,
work hard to become white people of a yellow race, and see the Chinese language
as a divorced wife, see it as a home in a broken mirror? What
actually happened? I live alone secluded in Chinese,
in a dialogue with a great many paper people, daydreaming of English,

> and see even more Chinese climbing up into it,
> changing from a person of pictographic likeness to a phonetic linker of sound.

Cheng Guangwei has noted that in the last stanza, after 'materializing' himself in language, the poet has discovered the tragic nature of human existence, trapped as we are between the material and the spiritual.[379] Thus, Ouyang himself embodies the contradiction, stuck in the Chinese language, unable to speak English (at this time he could read a little), relying on translations, conscious of being colonized, and yet holding up English-language poets as exemplars.

Ba Tie has identified the I-speaker's condition in the poem as post-modernist.[380] Language (or languages), life, and history come together in the poet and the individual unconscious and collective consciousness. And this is brought about by the pure analytical tools of a Cartesian logic familiar from <The Suspended Coffin>, as the reader follows the development of the speaker and language from the complicated, primarily written form of classical Chinese, to the simplified modern Chinese based on the spoken language, to 'a phonetic linker of sound' (拼音[381]的人). And so, the poem is both a construction and a deconstruction of the language(s) of the poem and the poet himself.

It is this last aspect that Ba Tie holds makes the poem post-modernist. What post-modernism is, however, is never adequately explained. Terry Eagleton defines it as a style of culture that is said to reflect the historic shift from old style capitalism to "the ephemeral, decentralized world of technology, consumerism and the culture," and in culture this is seen:

> …in a depthless, decentered, ungrounded, self-reflexive, playful, derivative, eclectic, pluralistic art which blurs the boundaries between 'high' and 'popular' culture, as well as between art and everyday experience.[382]

While some aspects of this definition may be applicable to Ouyang's poem, it is certain that, in 1987, China was still on the road to establishing a 'capitalist' economy and that

---

[379] Cheng Guangwei (2002): 183.
[380] Ba Tie (1989b), also in Chen Xuguang ed. (1994).
[381] *Pinyin* 拼音 being the phonetic writing system taught to children – to master pronunciation – when they first enter school in China, and the way most western languages are written.
[382] Eagleton (1996): vii-viii.

Ouyang had no interest in blurring the boundary between ‘high’ and ‘popular’ poetry. In fact, in Sichuan such blurring was only of interest to Macho Men and some Not-Not poets. To this day, the term ‘postmodernist’ in the context of China only takes on meaning if Chinese facsimiles of contemporary western art are under discussion and this work is compared to western work of a similar nature. Given the political and illusory nature of ‘postmodernism’ and ‘postmodernity’, as expressed by Eagleton in *The Illusions of Postmodernism* (1996) for example, it is not clear what value this term has in a discussion of western poetry, not to mention Chinese. The use of such western terminology is indicative of the thirst of Chinese avant-garde artists and critics to enter onto the world stage and to be seen as up-to-date or authoritative within China – authority now being acquired from western practice, and attention, and not from the favor of the CCP cultural apparatus or Chinese cultural tradition.

The other poem discussed in Ba Tie’s article, also written during the summer of 1987, is usually paired with <Between Chinese and English> in anthologies. Here Ba Tie sees the I-speaker as playing the part of a producer and not a creator, and Ouyang as undertaking an exercise in a form of artistic, or philosophical, thought that is, in effect, a linguistic experiment resulting in the elimination of individual style or character:[383]

**<The Glass Factory>** (玻璃工厂)[384]

**1**

From sight to sight, between is only glass.
From face to face
separation is invisible.
In glass, matter is not transparent.
The whole glass factory is a huge eyeball,
in it labor is the blackest part,
its day flashes at the core of things.
Things adhere to the very first tear,
like a bird in a stretch of pure light sticks to its shadow.
In the way of darkness you take in rays of light, then make them tribute.
In a place where glass is everywhere,
already glass is not itself, but is

[383] In Wu Sijing ed. (1993): 285.
[384] Both poems were first published in the November 1987 issue of *Poetry*. Anthologized in: Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992); Zhou Lunyou ed. (1994d); Chen Xuguang ed. (1994b).

a kind of spirit.
As if everywhere there is air, air is nearly nonexistent.

**2**

In the neighborhood of the factory is a large sea.
Knowledge of water is knowledge of glass.
Solidified, cold, fragile,
these are all the price of translucence.
Transparency is a mysterious visible language of waves,
when I say it I have already separated from it,
separated from the cup, the tea stand, the dresser mirror, all this
concrete matter produced on an assembly line.
But I am also situated in a siege of matter,
life is filled by desires.
Language leaks out, dries up, before light penetrates.
Language is to soar, is
openness facing openness, lightning against lightning.
So much sky is beyond the body of birds in flight,
and the reflection of an isolated island
may be the gentle scratch of light on the sea.
Whatever cuts across glass is lighter than a shadow,
deeper than an incision, harder to exceed than the blade of a knife.
A crack is nowhere to be seen.

**3**

I came, I saw, I spoke.
Language and time all muddy, dirt and sand all descend,
a patch of blindness spreads out from the core.
The same experience also occurs in glass.
The breath of flames, the heart of fire.
So-called glass is water altering attitude within flames,
is two types of spirit coming across each other,
two forms of destruction entering the same eternal life.
Growing into a frosty sub-zero combustion,
like a truism or a feeling,
obvious, clear, refusing to flow.
In fruit, in the depths of the sea, water has never run.

**4**

So this is the glass I see –
still a stone, but no longer solid.
Still a flame, but never again warm.
Still water, but never soft nor passing on.

It is a wound but never bleeds,
it is a sound but never passes through silence.
From loss to loss: this is glass.
Language and time are transparent,
we pay a high price.

**5**

In the same plant I see three kinds of glass:
In material, decorative, and symbolic state.
People tell me the father of glass is a chaos of stone.
In the void of stone, death is not the end,
but a changeable primeval fact.
Stone is smashed, glass is born.
This is real. But there is another truth
leading me into another state: from height to height.
Within that truth glass is merely water, already is
or just becoming hard, has bone, water that cannot be spilled,
and flame is a bone-piercing cold,
moreover the most beautiful is also the most fragile.
All that is sublime in the world, and
the tears of things.

Along with other critics, Ba Tie sees a 'modernist' impulse to this poem, in that Ouyang attempts the creation of purified art out of commodified reality.[385] The postmodernist aspect of the poem is unintentional, an unconscious effect, a demonstration in an imagined universe of the objectified reality of commodity (or poetry) production, which is there for the reader (and the poet) to discover as a byproduct of the reading (and writing) of the poem.

Other critics do not see so much in this poem. Cheng Guangwei considers it a meditation on death.[386] Chen Chao views the poem as a meditation on the need to maintain self-awareness in a modern industrialized society lacking any form of spiritual home.[387] However, it seems that instead of bemoaning the spiritually destructive nature of the world one lives in, the poem demonstrates the importance of freedom of will and self-realization. Glass functions as a symbol of a form of life that is born out of death, the

[385] Wu Sijing ed. (1993): 284.
[386] Cheng Guangwei (2002): 183.
[387] Chen Chao ed. (1989): 592-593.

clash between human life and existence forming the highest form of self-realization, and this realization leaves one's spirit as clear, bright, and sharp as glass.

Alternatively, in another possible reading, the recent horrors of Chinese history and the continued, dehumanizing industrialization and commoditization of a contemporary society in which individual choice is not yet fully respected can be internalized and rationalized to the apparent benefit of the individual.

However the poem is read, Ouyang's masterful command of the language and his own thought processes are used to deconstruct another object. During 1986-1989 Ouyang wrote many such poems (most of them much shorter) about objects, with self-evident titles such as <Handgun> (手枪), <An Apple Tree in Sunlight> (阳光中的苹果树), <A Strawberry> (草莓), <Flower Vase, Moon> (花瓶，月亮), <Box> (箱子), <Stairs> (楼梯), <Typewriter> (打字机) and <A Small Knife> (小刀). By 1989 Ouyang was a well-known, respected, even admired, poet and, as has been demonstrated, something of a conservative controversialist as a critic.

### The Activities and Poetry of Liao Yiwu

Liao Yiwu was another Sichuan avant-garde poet who moved into a position that allowed a national platform for his poetry and views on the subject in 1986. Unlike Ouyang Jianghe, who seemingly aspired to the status of critic and authoritative voice with regard to the fit writing of avant-garde poetry, Liao was more concerned with promoting the virtues of Sichuan's avant-garde poets and the unique styles of that poetry. In this, his central, if backstage, role in the Sichuan Young Poets Association finds a logical extension. Liao's was one of the most prominent names among avant-garde poets in all China during 1986-1989.

Aside from poetry, during the summer of 1986 Liao had three important essays on poetry officially published. The first was written in November 1985 and published in the April 1986 issue of *Stars*.[388] Entitled <Calling into Question "The Nature of Modern Epic

[388] Republished in the June issue of *Criticism Selections Monthly* (*评论选刊*).

Poetry" – with this essay respectfully asking the advice of Teacher Xie Mian> (“现代史诗性”质疑—谨以此文就教谢冕老师), Liao questioned the true value of supposed epic poems such as <The Sun and its Reflected Light> (太阳和它的反光) by Jianghe of *Today* fame, and the critical approval given this work by pro-Misty critics such as Xie Mian. Essentially, Liao's point was that work of this nature was highly imitative, influenced by Elytis, Neruda, Dylan Thomas, Senghor, and other well-known and oft-translated poets of the western poetic tradition. Instead of looking to Chinese mythology (or Tibetan, in the case of Yang Lian and <Norlang>) and rewriting these stories under the influence of the modern western epic tradition, or incorporating lines from classical poets, as Jianghe had done with lines from poems by Tao Qian,[389] Liao advocated an incorporation of the spirit of Chinese mythology, a spirit he saw as one of resistance, rebellion and self-sacrifice in the face of natural or social travail. The legends of ancient Greek mythology, on the other hand, were replete with human feelings, with sympathy for the plight of man, and Liao implied that rewriting Chinese mythology in such a way was a continuation of the Misty poetry project and inappropriate to China's present reality and traditions.

In an article published in the 21 August 1986 edition of *The Poetry Press*,[390] Liao returned to this theme. He highlighted the work of a number of Sichuan's avant-garde poets as harbingers of a move away from imitative westernization of contemporary poetry and toward a return to the ruins of China's traditions and the contemporary fate of the nation. That Liao was now championing the pluralism and originality of Sichuan's avant-garde poetry is made clear by the essay's title: <The Thought Tide of Modernism in Ba and Shu[391]> (巴蜀现代主义思潮).[392] Aside from himself, Liao briefly discusses the work of Ouyang Jianghe, Shi Guanghua, Zhou Lunyou, Li Yawei, Lan Ma, and the critic Ba Tie. Two months prior to the publication of <A Grand Exhibition>, Liao is one of the first to publicly mention the large amount of poetry that was being created and

[389] Also known as Tao Yuanming, famous for poetry on drinking and rural life.
[390] No. 47.
[391] *Ba* is the traditional name of eastern Sichuan and *Shu* that of the west of the province.
[392] Liao wanted this article published under the pen name of Allahfaweh, which was misprinted by the editors as Arafat (阿拉法特), as in the Palestinian leader. Was this a tasteless joke by the editors, casting Liao as the leader of an uprising of Sichuan poetry?

circulated “underground”, “among the people” (民间) in China in recent years, and which was only now beginning to surface. He goes on to state that the period of “passive reception of the western literature and arts thought-tide should be concluded”, and confidently concludes that the poetry of this new generation of post-Misty poets should now strive to influence the west with their own work.

In hindsight, this call seems naïve in the extreme: Sichuan poets were unknown outside of China at the time. However, given the poetical experimentation that had been occurring in Sichuan during the preceding three years, and the yet limited understanding of the state of culture outside China, such braggadocio may be excusable. Being allowed to have such opinions printed in official periodicals must also have encouraged such thoughts. The real problem was Liao’s apparent belief that the cultural establishment had liberalized to such an extent that they would accept the avant-garde arts as equals of the conservative, officially-sanctioned forms of traditional arts and the favored modern arts that served to promote ‘economic modernization and reform’ in the CCP-controlled public realm. The backlash would arrive in January 1987.

Liao’s work appeared in Xu Jingya’s October 1986 <Grand Exhibition> in *The Poetry Press* and the *Shenzhen Youth Daily* under the banner of <New Traditionalism>.[393] However, what appeared in the <Exhibition> as a manifesto was actually a somewhat abridged version of a preface Liao had originally written for a collection of poems and one piece of short fiction by ten Sichuan avant-garde poets, which the editors of *China Literature* had asked him to prepare early in 1986.[394] In the October 1986 issue of the periodical, Liao once again attempted to publicize the success of Sichuan’s Second World of Poetry. Aside from the preface and a poem of his own – <Lovers> — there was a short story by Xiao Kaiyu[395] and poetry by Ouyang Jianghe, Zhai Yongming, Wan Xia, Li Yawei, He Xiaozhu, Shi Guanghua, Zhou Lunyou, and Gou Mingjun.[396] It is apparent that Liao tried to select work that was both impressive in its own right and representative of the individual poet’s quality. Some works were chosen from Sichuan’s unofficial poetry journals: Liao’s own and the two poems from Zhai Yongming’s <Woman> were

[393] *China Literature*, 1986 no. 10: 128.
[394] Personal communication.
[395] <Decline> (沉沦).
[396] Published as a group.

from *Modernists Federation*; Part 3 of Ouyang Jianghe's <Suspended Coffin>, the six selections from Shi Guanghua's poetry series <Escape from an Ending>, and Zhou Lunyou's <White Wolf> and <Wolf Valley> were from *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry*; and Wan Xia's <Red Tiles> was from the December 1984 issue of *Macho Men*. One of the six poems by He Xiaozhu had been recently published in *Not-Not*, but three had been published in the summer of 1985 in the inaugural issue of the Liao's Fuling-based official journal *Literary Wind of Ba Country*, just as the four poems by Gou Mingjun had been published in the winter 1985 issue of that journal, and Li Yawei's <The Cornered Beast> (困兽) had been recently published in the summer 1986 issue.[397]

However, in Xu Jingya's <Grand Exhibition>, this preface was presented as a manifesto, and Liao and Ouyang appeared to be members of a group that did not in fact exist – much as Macho Men had ceased to exist as a group by this time but was still presented as one by Xu. Liao's original concern, however, had been to highlight what he believed was the possible beginning of a new literary tradition within Chinese poetry, drawing upon Sichuan's avant-garde poets as an example. Understandably, Liao was incensed over Xu's editing.

Entitled <The New Tradition> (新的传统), in *China* Liao's preface recorded many of his basic attitudes toward tradition in poetry and the role of the poet in China's new age. Again, as in the earlier essay on epic poetry, Liao rejected outright what he saw as a tendency among former *Today* poets, such as Yang Lian and Jianghe, and other avant-garde poets to return to the discarded cultural traditions of past centuries in search of enlightenment, just as poets of past eras had done:

> The art of today is in essence a re-enactment of this sort of behavior. We

[397] As noted in Chapter 7, in 1985 Liao used the first two issues of this local literary journal to forward the careers of various avant-garde poets resident in eastern Sichuan. In 1986, he continued this practice. The summer 1986 issue opened with a translation of Sylvia Plath's <Silence 21> (沉默二十一), there was also a short story by Zhou Zhongling, two poems by Li Yawei – the other being <The Blind Tiger> (盲虎) – two poems by He Xiaozhu, and a second installment of Liao's creative diary <Emmanuelle's Music>. The final, winter 1986 issue opened with an essay on the art of Plath's *Ariel* poems and an essay by Bai Hua about Dylan Thomas' poetry, followed by five brief pieces of experimental fiction by Haizi; there were also four more poems from Gou Mingjun, a long poem by Er Mao, and four poems by Wu Jianguo. The journal was closed in early 1987.

> [write] annotations on mythology, reach deductions based on *The Book of Changes* pursue the sense of history in contemporary poetry, do our utmost to exaggerate the effects of literature; in appearance concerned about our country and our people, in our bones all yearning to restore ancient ways. Those yearning to enter make general surveys of the realm of poetry and ten thousand voices converge into one; those who retreat take on the airs of immortals and finger valises in peach blossom gardens. Using modernist methods to express a feudal consciousness of reminiscence is one of the obvious characteristics of current so-called 'national' poetry.
> …..
>
> We deny all that the old tradition and the modern 'pigtail brigade' impose on us, we oppose channeling artistic feeling toward any religion or system of ethics, we oppose the castration of poetry. ..... As a creator of art – the poet, no matter if it be present suffering, blaspheming against oneself, tearful howls and taunts when there are no alternatives, or songs in praise of life, issuing challenges to death, affirming an adventurous spirit or the courageous questioning and dissection of the quality of one's own people, his life experience, his contradiction-bound body should be a unique history of art, a special tradition [in his own right]. For at the same time that he exposes himself, he also reveals both the confusion and destiny he holds in common with the age.
> …..

<The New Tradition> was more than a preface to a disparate collection of Sichuan poets who may or may not have shared Liao Yiwu's sentiments (which perhaps explains why *China* chose to publish it apart from the collection). Rather, it reads like Liao's personal observations on the current situation of Chinese poetry and a statement of personal intent and belief – a manifesto perhaps, but a very personal one.

Liao's essay points up the troublesome use of the term *tradition*. It would seem that the tradition which Liao is claiming as his own here has much in common with the spirit of western modernism and avant-garde art. The 'new' tradition is an attitude towards art that consists of a breaking away from established rules, traditions and conventions, fresh ways of looking at man's position and function in the universe, and experiments in form and style. In addition, Liao appears to lay claim to the 1920s May Fourth Movement's attitude of totalistic iconoclasm. Yet, just as with those writers and activists, while borrowing heavily from western sources, he also consciously and unconsciously remains within Chinese tradition. Liao's later poetry features reference and allusion to Chinese history and literature, even to the point of echoing the language and, to some degree, the

form, and topics of classical poets. (An obvious example is <Questioning Heaven> (天问) in Part 5 of <The Master Craftsman>.[398])

Liao's declaration appears to be old news, but in the context of Chinese poetry in 1986, and bearing in mind what Liao was writing was intended for publication in a major establishment literary journal, his words were provocative and offer insight into the attitudes of many avant-garde poets with regard to the perceived 'establishment'.

<The New Tradition> was written shortly after Liao had completed a long poem, <The City of Death> (死城). Liao's pledges of "the destruction of old forces" and "the merciless judgment of oneself" apply more accurately to <The City of Death> than to <Lovers> or any of the other poems published together with it in the pages of *China* in October 1986.

<The City of Death> is one of the longest avant-garde poems to have been officially published in China. The full six parts of the poem have a Chinese character count of 4,250. Most of the poem is written in prose verse, somewhat similar in form to the work of St.-John Perse and Ouyang Jianghe in <The Suspended Coffin>. Only the final, brief section of the poem is rendered in free verse.

This is the opening paragraph of the poem in its officially published version:

> **6891 AD, a giant bull circles the brown [Sichuan] basin. Near death, Allahfaweh, prophet of Ba People Village, points to the ground and says: "This city will hem you in, no matter whether god is dead or alive."**[399]

Liao has reversed the year in which the poem is written, and by doing so creates an appropriate setting for his prophet (Allahfaweh) and himself, the poet, uttering words supposedly relevant in both the present and future. The reference to Nietzsche is ironic, given that the prophet denies the possibility of a superman escaping the nation and culture into which he, or she, is born.

Part 2 of the poem concludes as follows:

---

[398] This long poem is patterned on a poem by the same name in the ancient collection *Songs of the South* , poems supposedly by Qu Yuan and compiled by Liu Xiang. Anthologized in Tang Xiaodu ed. (1993).
[399] Written beneath the title of the poem on the cover page. Bold type was called for by the author in the original manuscript.

….. Winter of 1966. Chang E[400] elopes with an infidel. An angry Hou Yi[401] shoots ten suns blind. The civilization of this people of illusions is committed completely to the flames. Some poet wrote:

"When the wisdom of man attempts to surpass the wisdom of the creator
their day of judgment is at hand
……"

Those lines in the tongue of tadpoles enchant me: god is dead. Who will manipulate the chess pieces hanging in the air? A ferocious echo. I'm devoured by my own voice. Like worn clothing, the flesh and skin pealed off my bones of their own accord. My brain itches. The ants go in and out. Summer sea of 1986. Gloomy world of man. Nietzsche returns from his tour of the Milky Way. A sacrificial Liao Yiwu is just about to immolate himself in front of a mob. Policemen carry him from dreamland to the insane asylum.

The unconscious of the individual and of the nation to which he belongs are both intertwined and in opposition to each other within <The City of Death>: for example, the imprecations of the I-speaker directed at Allahfaweh, the degenerate archetypal father figure; the incestuous feelings of the I-speaker for Nü Wa 女娲, the archetypal mother figure; and the unconscious entangled relationship between the three. This relationship is reflected within the language of the poem by the poet's resistance to and separation from traditional culture (Han Dong's "spirit of the classics" in Chapter 1, and Confucianism and Chinese traditional culture in general) and a similar relationship between the poet's diction and traditional linguistic literary form (both classical forms and post-1949 realism of whatever form).

The "Winter of 1966" line is eliminated from all officially published texts of the poem as it amounts to a clear reference to the Cultural Revolution, then just beginning. The implications of the following lines are clear: Chinese culture descends into chaos as it is smitten with an "infidel", namely Nietzsche, or his Superman in the guise of Mao Zedong, and the millions who were inspired by him to act as they did during the following ten year period. Liao implies that the resultant hysterical schizophrenia continues to this day, and, furthermore, is embodied by himself, or his selves – the poet Liao Yiwu and the cultural prophet Allahfaweh.

---

[400] 嫦娥 The Chinese goddess of the moon.
[401] A legendary figure that shot down nine of ten suns with arrows, thereby saving the world. Hou is also said to be Chang E's suitor.

Of importance to a full appreciation of <The City of Death> are the blood ties, or sexual relationships, between the I-speaker, Nü Wa, and the imaginary cultural prophet, Allahfaweh. Allahfaweh first appeared a year earlier in Liao Yiwu's 1985 poem <The Great Cycle>. There he was a totem symbolic of the primitive powers of nature inscribed upon 'the cycle pillar', which in turn was symbolic of the intertwined nature of man, as beast and god. In <The City of Death>, Allahfaweh continues to act as a cultural icon and a symbol of primitive vitality. He makes his second appearance in part one of <The Master Craftsman> where he emerges as the prophet of the evolutionary pattern of human existence. He is a shaman of the spiritual universe, a cultural prophet of great creative power, an archetype of the collective unconscious as well as the guiding force in the poet's unconscious.

However, in <The City of Death>, Allahfaweh also takes on the roles of father ("daddy of my imaginings") and a con artist (a brothel customer). He drops out of the sky into a hellish world of man and occupies a place in it. Concentrated in his figure are a devilish nature, a source of lies and sexual abuse**,** sorcery, authority, and brutality. The I-speaker, as his "indirect seed" in the dark city of death deep within the subconscious, participates in the entire process of his depravity**.** When the I-speaker is born because of a magical reaction to his presence, the I-speaker is already old and feeble because he is an apparition bearing the original sin of an entire race's culture upon himself. The I-speaker is unable to rid himself of this national blood relationship and can do nothing but write monologues of the soul about the decline and loss of self as a form of atonement for his (nation's) crimes.

These Freudian undertones are strongest at the conclusion of Part 4, where Nü Wa appears as the object of sexual abuse in a scene into which Allahfaweh lures the I-speaker:

> Silently I count the inns I've overnighted in during my life. From one to a hundred. Remote ancestors. Progenitors. Great-grandfathers. Mothers. The made-up opera faces of each dynasty all flash through my mind. At the end I discover Allahfaweh, the prophet of Ba People Village, showing his green hand. Disguised as a customer groping his way into an underground brothel
>
> **YOUR HAND SIGNALS AROUSE MY PASSION SURVIVING TREES OVERGROWN WITH VINES SEARCHING FOR LONG-DESIRED BRAMBLE THICKETS PIERCE CRACKS IN THE**

**EARTH PIERCE DOOR LINTELS PIERCE BED SHEETS PIERCE FORESTS AND GRASSLANDS A CONCEALED UNIVERSE OF AMBER'S ELECTRICAL WAVES FLOW ON FOREVER STIR UP THE BLOOD CYCLE TWO MIGHTY BOWS SHOOT AT EACH OTHER TWO SEMICIRCLES BITE INTO EACH OTHER OUTSIDE TIGHTLY WRAPPED SUMMER UNUSUALLY HOT SPRAY HEAVENLY BODIES SPEED UP IN THEIR TURNING THE WHITE DOG SWALLOWS THE ELEPHANT THE ROOF TILES BREAK STARS INTO PIECES ALL MANKIND FALLS INTO HELL ALL HELL FALLS INTO HEAVEN SMASHING OUT GOD'S BRAINS WHO'S DANCING MODERN DANCES IN THE GREASED PAN ASS GYRATING LIKE ISADORA DUNCAN'S LOUD APPLAUSE YOU'RE DEITY YOU'RE DEMON YOU'RE A TANG-DYNASTY DIEHARD OR COFFEE SHOP WAITRESS ALL LIVING THINGS ARRANGED IN A ROW ABOVE THE EVERLASTING ABYSS UNCROSSED LEGS FORMING AN ENDLESS URINE-SOAKED CORRIDOR OF HISTORY WAITING FOR THE TERRIFYING PILLAR OF FLESH TO BE RAMMED STRAIGHT IN!**

The soil has been tilled my girl your entire body drunkenly limp ovaries and seed in turmoil I say I love you I love you I love you until I suddenly recognize you as my mother until I lift away your ninth layer of skin and discover Nü Wa sobbing hiding within the eardrum-shattering thunder I seize the filthy genealogy and howl wildly I desperately thrash my lower torso like a swarm of bees the curse of eighty-eight generations of forefathers stings me. I shout: "Allahfaweh! You seducing thief!"

The prophet falls back slipping into the inner room. Flashing a green hand

The Oedipal import of these lines seems to constitute a denial of the traditional cultural belief in the mutually nurturing relationship between the yin and yang principles, a belief championed by Sichuan's Wholism poets. Liao is apparently also attacking the worship of the cultural archetype of the mother (Nü Wa) as well as the willful self-deception of roots-seeking poetry.

Liao deliberately uses literary forms and a poetic diction that clash with Chinese traditional conventions, while at the same time incorporating other traditional elements. The poem thereby estranges and alienates those who approach the text with traditional expectations (i.e. sequential time line, realism, controlled emotions, selflessness, rationalism, etc.). One aspect of this, which has only ever appeared in the original manuscript and the poem's initial instance of official publication in *People's*

*Literature*,[402] was Liao's decision not to use numbers, characters or letters to demarcate each of the six parts of the poem, but to use symbols, or pictographs, of his own devising. For example, one of these looks like a man with arms, legs and a circle for a head, another like a wheel consisting of a large circle with a small circle at its core and four straight lines radiating out from the small circle dividing the inner space into four near-quadrants. The symbols are hand-drawn and draw attention to the theoretical origins of Chinese characters as pictographs. Somewhat surprisingly, Liao's attempt to lead readers to think about the nature of Chinese characters by use of these symbols has been almost entirely missed by critics. However, in an article in the June 1987 issue of *Poetry*,[403] the establishment critic Qian Guangpei does comment on the symbols (without mentioning the name of the poem or the poet – a common practice among establishment critics), but does not understand them and sees no useful purpose for them. Possibly as a consequence of near-universal incomprehension, <The City of Death> and the two other long poems that make up the trilogy have always been, and still are, officially published without any form of division markers, leaving the reader facing hundreds of line divided into paragraphs of varying length spread out over 5-10 pages – depending on the size of the type.[404]

<The City of Death> and Liao's later long poems present themselves as a personal commentary on, diagnosis of, and, at times, a prescription for the illnesses of the Chinese soul. But as the poet predicted in his preface to the poem, <Written Before the Gates of The City of Death> (写在死城的门前), his words would not be welcomed:

> ...This [poetry] is obviously a cry far removed from rational and sublime human nature. However, an artist's sincerity is found in that he doesn't take pleasure from this world, and in that he willfully searches out the entire developing story of a people or even all of mankind. He jabs at its fatal weaknesses and at the cost of his life sounds a warning signal. He reveals the roots of the collective sickness, which under the domination of primal, supernatural forces causes people to mutilate and kill each other and themselves.

---

[402] Instances of the poem without the symbols can be found in: Chen Chao ed. (1989); Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992); Wang & Xiao ed. (1993); Chen Xuguang ed. (1994b).
[403] See Qian Guangpei (1987).
[404] For a full translation of <The City of Death> see under 'Liao Yiwu' at: http://www.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/dachs/leiden/poetry/ .

> Manifestations of anxiety, crisis, despair and rebellion ensure this City of Death won't receive a ready welcome, and Liao Yiwu's value lies precisely in this fact. Once a poet achieves universal public acclaim, his artistic life is done for.[405]

Critics have likened this poem to Dante's <Inferno>, all hell without hope of a purgatory or heaven,[406] seen Liao being inspired by Heidegger's ideas on the decline of civilizations,[407] or seen similarities between Liao's poetry and the profane nature of Ginsberg's and Dali's wild, all-encapsulating artistic efforts.[408] Many contemporary critics adopt a neutral attitude and have little to say, or, as is the case with Xiang Weiguo,[409] like the poem but refer the reader to an in-depth analysis of <The City of Death> in an article by Ba Tie.[410]

In 1986, Liao's poem was welcomed by many poets and writers, such as the Hunan author, Han Shaogong, who went so far as to refer to <The City of Death> as "China's <Waste Land>" and who late in 1986 made use of his contacts in Beijing to arrange for the poem's publication in the pages of *People's Literature*, China's most influential establishment literary periodical at the time.[411]

In January 1987, <The City of Death> was published in the combined issue 1-2 of *People's Literature*, but without its preface, thus serving to render an already very complex poem more incomprehensible than it otherwise might have been. This probably was a result of direct references to the Cultural Revolution and the implication that the consequences of it were still wreaking havoc in contemporary China. In any case, all direct references to the Cultural Revolution were removed from the poem (such as mentions of the year 1966, Zhang Chunqiao and Li Weidong – Cultural Revolution leaders).

In February 1987, Liao began to suffer the consequences of <The City of Death>'s publication in *People's Literature*. The anti-bourgeois liberalization campaign which

---

[405] Published on pp. 30-31 in the unofficial journal *The Modern Poetry Groups of Ba and Shu* (*巴蜀现代诗群*), 1987.
[406] Xie & Liang (1993): 151.
[407] Chen Chao ed. (1989): 502.
[408] Chang & Lu (2002): 206.
[409] Xiang Weiguo (2002): 120-121.
[410] *Author*, February 1989.
[411] Based on verbal accounts from Liao, Li Yawei, and Xiao Kaiyu, all of whom were friends with Han and frequent visitors to his and Can Xue's Hunan homes during 1985-1988.

began after the forced resignation of CCP Secretary General Hu Yaobang in January 1987 focused on the contents of *People's Literature* and on Liao's poem and three other literary works in particular. Almost immediately, Liao was ordered to "cease work and make self-criticism" (停职检查), and Sichuan's cultural authorities permanently closed down his small establishment literary journal in Fuling, *The Literary Wind of Ba Country*, not long thereafter. Over the course of the next few months, a public campaign of criticism was waged against <The City of Death> in the official literary media where a number of articles appeared attacking the poem for being overly obscure, depressing, obscene and generally not suited to the social needs of the CCP's 'new China' (similar articles began to appear again in 1990).[412]

Liao, however, took the situation in stride. He refused to cooperate in his "self criticism" and was essentially left to his own devices while still drawing his regular monthly paycheck at the Fuling District Cultural Bureau. In writing <The City of Death>, Liao seems to have been emboldened by his publishing success to follow his own personal muse, perhaps believing that his status was so high that he could now do as he wished. Moreover, late in 1986, Liao had undertaken the task of editing an underground poetry journal under his own name for the first time.

Undaunted by political events at the time, in February 1987, Liao pressed on with the task of collecting what he considered to be the best of Sichuan's as yet officially unpublished avant-garde poetry of the preceding year for *The Modern Poetry Groups of Ba and Shu* (*巴蜀现代诗群*). His decision to incorporate "modern poetry groups" in the title of the journal seems to have been intended as a riposte to Xu Jingya's <Grand Exhibition> of the same, perhaps intending to show Xu how <The Grand Exhibition> should have been presented. In a preface entitled <Return Home> (重返家园), Liao called to China's avant-garde poets and other artists to look into their souls for inspiration and to cease dreaming of entry into the literary establishment. He was openly critical of Xu Jingya's <Grand Exhibition> for appearing as a mere circus act which further encouraged young poets to abandon artistic principles in a mad rush toward the limelight, status, acceptance by the establishment, and fortune. Their false hopes and expectations would be smashed, however, when the "everlasting hand" of authority closed the door to

[412] See, for example, Bai Hang (1987).

poetic orthodoxy upon them (a reference to the events which began to unfold within the literary establishment in February 1987 when the article was written).

In early May, *The Modern Poetry Groups of Ba and Shu* was ready for the printers. However, the authorities had been tipped off, and late in the night after the 1,500-copy print-run was completed, the police descended upon the small Fuling printing house and confiscated all copies of the journal. The next day Liao was questioned, but not arrested. However, he did not hand over the journal's printing templates (as they had been previously hidden in a local friend's home) and was later able to use them to photocopy a limited number of copies (about 100).[413]

At 110 pages, *Modern Poetry Groups* was somewhat larger than previous unofficial journals in Sichuan (with the exception of *Han Poetry*, which will be discussed in the following chapter). Exactly half the pages of *Modern Poetry Groups* were devoted to poetry, while the other half was given over to a collection of prose essays. As the title chosen for the journal suggests, Liao was again trying to champion Sichuan's avant-garde poetry.

He Xiaozhu, Zhou Zhongling, and the critic Ba Tie are listed as 'guest editors', and the covers of the journal feature reproductions of the covers of the four major unofficial journals published in Sichuan during 1985 and 1986 (two on the front, two on the back): *Modernists Federation*, *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry*, *Not-Not*, and *Han Poetry*. All four of these journals had been officially banned shortly after initial publication, and putting them on the cover of *Modern Poetry Groups* was evidence of Liao's disaffection with the literary establishment.

After the preface and table of contents, the first 25 pages of the journal were devoted to poetry. If there is a ranking according to quality of the poetry as Liao may have perceived it, it seems that this was limited to the first five poets (the journal featured the work of 21 Sichuan poets in total): Ouyang Jianghe,[414] Liao Yiwu, Li Yawei,[415] Wan Xia,[416] and Bai

[413] Personal communication with Liao and other individuals involved.
[414] The first part of the incomplete cycle <Utopia> (乌托邦): <Us> (我们). Also a collection of short poems under the name of <Things> (东西): <A Box>, <Stairs>, <Typewriter>, <A Little Knife>.
[415] <Tough Guy> (好汉), <An Ancient Friend> (古代朋友), <Menopause>, <The Sorrows of April> (四月的忧郁), <Age Spares No One> (年龄不饶人).
[416] The series <Agricultural Matters> (农事): <Beans> (豆子), <Agricultural Matters>, <Recent Death> (新丧), <That Woman> (彼女), <Lake-crossing> (渡湖), <A Little Oriental Woman> (东方小女人).

Hua.[417] Otherwise, in no particular order, Liao included the work of others he might have considered important avant-garde poets – such as the brothers Song Qu and Song Wei as well as Shi Guanghua of the Wholism tendency, Yang Li,[418] Zhou Lunyou,[419] and Zhai Yongming;[420] and less well-known poets, and friends, whom he thought deserved attention, such as Gou Mingjun, Chen Xiaofan, He Xiaozhu, Wu Jianguo, Er Mao, Liu Tao, Sun Wenbo,[421] and Yu Tian.[422]

The essays Liao collected for *Modern Poetry Groups* make it clear that he was attempting to clarify the false impressions which Xu Jingya's <Grand Exhibition> had left about the nature and origins of Sichuan's avant-garde poetry and poetry groups. All Sichuan's major groups contributed essays relating their origins and ideas, and Ba Tie wrote an over-arching survey about avant-garde poetry that included individuals which had not belonged to them, such as Liao himself, Bai Hua, Ouyang Jianghe, He Xiaozhu, and Zhai Yongming.[423]

The neatly bound photocopied editions of the journal still made for impressive reading for those with an interest in avant-garde poetry in China. Liao carefully chose whom to

---

[417] <Pain> (痛), <A Warning> (警告), <In the Qing Dynasty> (在清朝).
[418] <The Dance> (舞会).
[419] <Free Squares> (自由方块); a series published less than a month earlier in *Not-Not* #2.
[420] Five more poems from <Woman>: <An Instant> (瞬间), <Night Scene> (夜境), <Nightmare>, <Autumn>, <Anticipation>.
[421] <A Village> (村庄), one of a series of poems in homage to T. S. Eliot; also at this time, together with Bai Hua and other local poets, Sun was preparing to edit a smaller unofficial poetry journal in Chongqing: *The Red Flag* (*红旗*). (This journal will be dealt with in the next chapter.)
[422] Promoted by Liao at the time, and now well known in China, this was Yu's first appearance in a Sichuan unofficial journal: <White Water and Black Mountains> (白水与黑山).
[423] From the Not-Not group there was an essay by Lan Ma outlining the linguistic underpinnings of the group's core philosophy: <The Pre-Cultural Series: Return Language Composition to its Origins No. 1> (前文化系列还原文谱之一). The Wholism group was represented by an article by Shi Guanghua on the group's genesis – <The Origins of Wholism> (整体主义缘起) – and a piece by the brothers Song Qu and Song Wei: <Two Sets of Notes on Modern Poetry> (与现代诗有关的两则笔记). Li Yawei wrote an article explaining the origins and demise of Macho Men: <Macho Men Methods> (莽汉手段), and He Xiaozhu was interviewed about his poetry, opinions on the Sichuan avant-garde, and the gravitation of himself and poets like Li Yawei to the Not-Not group in 1986. This was one of the first such interviews to be published in an unofficial avant-garde journal. Interviews of this type are now a common feature in unofficial journals and related websites and web-journals. The sole contributor from outside the province was Shanghai's Yu Yu who submitted an article on his local avant-garde poetry scene: <As a View on and Criticism of Shanghai Poetry amid China's "Post-Misty Poetry "> (作为中国“后朦胧诗”中的上海诗歌的观望与批判). The centerpiece of this collection of essays was Ba Tie's 23-page article <On "The Modern Poetry Groups of Ba and Shu"> (论“巴蜀现代诗”).

send copies to of *Modern Poetry Groups*, favoring sympathetic critics and editors, such as Zong Renfa, Tang Xiaodu, and Liu Xiaobo.[424]

In the journal, Liao published the preface to <The City of Death> that *People's Literature* had chosen not to publish, a further installment of <Emmanuelle's Music> entitled <On Primitive Emotions> (论原始感情), and the second poem of what he called <The Allahfaweh Trilogy> (阿拉法威三部曲). Liao had completed this second poem, <The City of Yellow> (黄城), during the latter half of 1986 and followed that in early 1987 with <The City of Illusions> (幻城). <The City of Death> had recorded the journey of the individual's unconscious through the ruins of Chinese culture. Standing upon these ruins is <The City of Yellow> (yellow is not just a reference to skin color and earth, but also implies authority and orthodoxy in Chinese tradition), which is an empty, contrived cultural edifice. Following the destruction of these two cities, the entire accumulation of culture down through the centuries becomes a vacant, unreal <City of Illusions>. In <Emmanuelle's Music no. 9: Godliness and Elegies> (曼纽尔的音乐之九：神性与挽歌),[425] Liao says of himself that he "was born onto this earth in order to sing dirges" and these poems are the proof of his words.

<The City of Yellow> was officially published for the first time in that February 1989 issue of *Author*. All three poems of <The Allahfaweh Trilogy> were eventually published together in 1993 in the two-volume *Collected Post-Misty Poems: A Chronicle of Chinese Modern Poetry* (*后朦胧诗全集：中国现代诗编年史*) edited by Wan Xia and Xiaoxiao.[426] However, very little of Liao's post-1987 poetry has been published in the establishment print media.[427]

From February 1987, Liao was in a state of limbo with regard to his post at the Fuling culture bureau – yet still drawing a salary – and was thus able to turn his full attention to poetry and related activities. Due to his earlier success as an award-winning official poet and his friendships with well-known older poets, such as Liu Shahe, Liao was able to live

[424] Personal communications. Reading Liu Xiaobo's copy of the journal in 1987 led the author to contact Liao and travel to Fuling later in the year.
[425] Unpublished manuscript.
[426] Published with a print-run of 4,100 copies in Chengdu by the Sichuan Education Publishing House, these two volumes contain over 2000 pages of poetry by avant-garde poets from all over China.
[427] Liao's self-published books of this poetry are freely available on-line on the DACHS web-site at http://www.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/dachs/leiden/ .

comfortably in Fuling. In early 1988, he set off on an extended trip to various parts of China with Li Yawei and Xiao Kaiyu. Liao returned to Fuling in April 1988 with an even more pessimistic perception of what he considered the two major pressures of the times on the individual and poetry: spiritual exhaustion and rampant consumerism. His immediate response was the poem <Bastards> (杂种), the first of three poems that would make up what Liao was later to title <The Slaughter Trilogy> (屠杀三部曲). Liao now began to tear into poets, poetry (likening the writing of poetry to defecating), and language itself.

In <Idols> (偶象), completed in August 1988 and the second poem of <The Slaughter Trilogy>, Liao continues his assault upon culture, here turning his attention to the idols and icons of poetry and mythology. The cultural significance of poetry and poets is dispatched in the opening and concluding poems of <Idols> (<The Giant Mirror> [巨镜] I & II). Sandwiched between them are a series of four poems equating Mao Zedong with a poet-creator, detailing their wanton acts of creation and destruction.

There was an attempt on the part of both Liao and his admirers to rehabilitate Liao and his poetry 'officially' starting in June 1988, after eighteen months of being banned from official publication. On the front page of the June 21 issue of *The Poetry Press*, it was announced that Liao had won one of ten second-prizes in the inaugural Exploratory Poetry Grand Prize Contest (探索诗大奖赛)[428] for <Why I Weep Bitterly> (我为什么痛哭). The willingness of Liao and other avant-garde poets to participate in such an officially sponsored contest is an indication of how the quest for recognition had begun to move out of the Second World and onto the official poetry scene during 1986-1989. Another short poem of Liao's, <Late Night, Mother or a Chopin Sonata> (深夜，母亲或

[428] Sichuan avant-garde poets did particularly well in the competition. The top, 'special' prize of 1,000 Yuan was won by the previously unheard-of Xiang Yixian, a young poet from Chongqing who had recently begun contributing poetry to the unofficial *The Red Flag*. Yang Li, now a member of Not-Not, was one of the two first-prize winners for <Three Playing Cards Scattered on the Sahara Desert> (撒哈拉沙漠上的三张纸牌) – the other winner was the Anhui poet Gao Yueming. Shang Zhongmin, for <Writing> (写作), and Jimu Langge were among the second-prize-winners. Both these poets were also members of Not-Not, as were two of the third-prize-winners (57 in all): Liu Tao and Zhou Lunyou – for <The Artist and Twelve Sunflowers> (画家与十二朵向日葵). Also, in the fourth category of 'Good Work' prizes are the names of Lan Ma and Yu Tian. Well-known avant-garde poets from other parts of the country to win recognition (out of several thousand participants) included Shen Tianhong (2nd), Huang Beiling (2nd), Xue Di (3rd), and Gu Cheng ('Good Work')! All poems had to be fewer than 100 lines in length.

肖邦奏鸣曲), was published in the July issue of *Stars*. Furthermore, the February 1989 issue of Changchun's *Author* carried the full text of Liao's long poem <The City of Yellow>, and a short poem appeared in *Poetry* the following month,[429] as did a series of eight short prose poems titled <The Long Corridor> (长廊) in the March issue of *Shanghai Literature*. The latter was part of a special twelve-page section devoted to Sichuan avant-garde poets, also including poetry by Li Yawei, Zhai Yongming, Er Mao, Song Qu and Song Wei, Guo Liuhong, Yu Tian, and Zhong Ming.

Another sign of his rehabilitation was the publication of Ba Tie's <A Theoretical Outline of 'The City of Death'> ('死城'论纲) in the same February 1989 issue of *Author* that also featured <The City of Yellow>. Also, at this time, Chen Chao was completing work on his *Chinese Exploratory Poetry Appreciation Dictionary* (published in September 1989) and chose to include the officially published text of <The City of Death>,[430] placing part of Liao's original unpublished preface within his brief explanatory article on the poem.

This resurgence was partially the result of Liao's friendships with editors of official periodicals such as Tang Xiaodu at *Poetry* and Zong Renfa at *Author*, and Liao's publication history at *Stars* and *The Poetry Press*. As previously noted, Tang had, with some difficulty, arranged to have Liao invited to the Grand Canal national poetry conference in Jiangsu in spring 1988. Clearly, the four judges of *The Poetry Press* poetry prize were sympathetic to avant-garde poets out of Sichuan as a whole, and by awarding a prize of any sort to Liao after eighteen months in official literary limbo; they were effectively testing the waters for Liao's rehabilitation. It also helped that the four judges were young avant-garde poets (under the age of 35 at the time) – although Wang Jiaxin of Beijing and Chen Chao of Hebei were also poetry critics.[431]

Despite these efforts of friends and admirers, Liao continued to write poetry that was virtually unpublishable in China and consciously marginalized himself, refusing to make accommodations with the official literary realm into which the Second World of Poetry had been permitted to enter, and in which Liao feared it was being subsumed. A

---

[429] <The Great Basin, My Nanny> (大盆地，我的保姆).
[430] As it had appeared in *People's Literature*, but minus the symbols which divided the poem into its six parts.
[431] The other two judges were Qian Yeyong of Anhui and Wei Zhiyuan of Sichuan.

remarkable four-way literary conversation between Liao, Ba Tie, Li Yawei, and Gou Mingjun on this subject in March 1989[432] was officially published in the July 1989 issue of *Author*. Essentially, Liao and Li criticize the officially tolerated public face of the avant-garde (1986-1989) and its willingness to conform so that they might gather rewards in the form of lucre, privilege, and position. There is also criticism (in common with Not-Not) of imitative practices among these poets, but the only poet criticized by name is Yang Lian, who had left China in 1988. They name, instead, some of the foreign writers who are imitated: Eliot, Elytis, Robbe-Grillet, Borges, and Senghor.[433] Liao reiterates his claim that this is indicative of the current universal lack of beliefs, standards, and values. It is poetry, he claims, that is perfectly suited to reflect this cultural apocalypse, that provides evidence of it, reveals the false basis of the new modern myths, and "… this is sufficient reason for me to live, to 'hold out', in language singing dirges!"[434]

## *In Conclusion*

This chapter has demonstrated the success enjoyed by avant-garde poets and poetry in breaking into the literary establishment media. There is the unqualified success of Zhai Yongming – a poet who simply 'got on with her work' and was welcomed by the establishment – and there are the efforts of Ouyang Jianghe, who was successfully attempting to maneuver himself into a position of some authority with regard to the 'proper' writing of avant-garde poetry. However, as a counter-balance to this movement toward official acceptance – and in the cases of Zhai and Ouyang, also publishing new work in official publications – there is the extreme example of Liao Yiwu, a poet who achieved early establishment success and then turned his back on it in pursuit of an

[432] Recorded at Gou's home in Nanchuan.
[433] An officially unpublished 5-page mimeograph entitled <Taking a Slap at the Contemporary Poetry Scene> (给当代诗坛一耳光) written by Liao Yiwu, Li Yawei, and Xiao Kaiyu in 1988 was much more direct. In the form of a skit apparently set in the Cultural Revolution during a public criticism session, the three poets mocked just about everyone: in order of appearance these were Ouyang Jianghe, Xie Mian, Bei Dao, Sun Shaozhen, Shu Ting, Gu Cheng, Yang Lian, Jianghe, Xu Jingya, <A Grand Exhibition>, Xi Chuan, Zhou Lunyou, Shi Guanghua, Song Wei, Wan Xia, Zhai Yongming, Tang Yaping, Xiaojun, Liu Tao, Lu Yimin, Wang Xiaoni, Shao Chunguang, Bai Hua, Zhong Ming, Sun Wenbo, Zhang Zao, and Liao Xi.
[434] Liao, Gou, Ba & Li (1989): 72.

idealistic, uncompromising position as a socially responsible, if intensely personal and impulsive, artist.

Zhai Yongming concentrated on her craft during 1986-1989, only very occasionally and reluctantly agreeing to write essays along the lines of her 'manifesto', <The Consciousness of Black Night>. One exception was her contribution of a brief article to a collection of similar essays submitted at the behest of *Poetry* by some of China's best known woman poets on the subject of <Woman's Poetry> (女性诗歌) in the June 1989 issue of that periodical.[435] This could have been the start of an officially sponsored and orchestrated polemic on the subject, but it was aborted due to the nationwide demonstrations that culminated in the bloody suppression of the nationwide peaceful protest movement on 4 June 1989.

Ouyang Jianghe after several polemical essays during the years leading up to 1989 chose to focus more on his poetry in mid-1988. This was possibly due to the negative response within the Second World of Poetry to his attacks on certain quarters of the avant-garde. He may also have realized that he was beginning to appear as a hatchet man for the literary establishment with regard to the disorderly avant-garde.

Liao Yiwu, on the other hand, seemed to be fighting for the Second World of Poetry's continued existence, and trying to prove its continuing, greater value to those poets still residing within it. He held up <A Grand Exhibition> as a negative example of the perverting tendencies of the establishment, of the ego-driven rush by individual poets to relative fame and riches. Contradictorily, Liao wrote short poetry and prose poetry, which were often officially published and praised, at the same time as he was writing trilogies of long poems, which were not. Therefore, his cry for authenticity of spirit and creation, and the claim this was only possible in the Second World, would appear to have been compromised. However, events during the summer of 1989 would force the entire avant-garde back to where they had come from for a period of three years.

As noted in this chapter, the Second World of Poetry continued to flourish during 1986-1989, both despite and because of greater official publishing opportunities – publication in quality unofficial journals was seen as a first step towards recognition in the avant-

[435] Pp. 4-23; essays by Yi Lei, Zhai, Li Xiaoyu, Hai Nan, Wang Xiaoni, Xiaojun, Lu Yimin, and Liu Tao, among others.

garde sub-field at the very least. Liao produced his corrective version of <A Grand Exhibition> with regard to the Second World of Poetry in Sichuan in his *The Modern Poetry Groups of Ba and Shu* in 1987. The Wholism group put out *Han Poetry* in 1986 and 1988, the first issue of *Not-Not* appeared in the summer of 1986, *The Red Flag* appeared in Chongqing in 1987, and a women-only poetry journal – *The Woman's Poetry Paper* (*女子诗报*) – appeared in Xichang in 1988. A study of this activity, and the complicated relationship between the Second World of Poetry and the literary establishment will be the subject of the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 9: *HAN POETRY, THE RED FLAG,* and *THE WOMAN'S POETRY PAPER*

Individual poets such as Zhai Yongming, Ouyang Jianghe, and Liao Yiwu attained the confidence, or positions of relative prominence, to feel free of the need to work within groups in Sichuan's Second World of Poetry during 1986-1989. Still, groups of various forms did develop, or continued to exist, in this period. As noted previously, in 1984 the brothers Song Qu and Song Wei and Shi Guanghua founded the Wholism group and espoused a related aesthetic theory. This group grew slowly, however much of the poetry in their journal *Han Poetry* (*汉诗*) was contributed by outside poets who happened to have work compatible with Wholism at the time of editing. Also, the work of such non-aligned poets as Zhai, Ouyang, and Liao appeared in *Han Poetry*. In fact, aside from long essays on Wholistic theory in each journal, *Han Poetry* seemed a continuation of the line of all-province journals, which began in 1985 with *Modernists Federation* and *Chinese Contemporary Exploratory Poetry*.

The contributors to *The Red Flag* (*红旗*) in Chongqing, on the other hand, were a loose collective, or poetry circle, primarily consisting of local like-minded poets with gradually changing membership. They did not publicly espouse elaborate aesthetic theories or claim to be a group, their journal simply being a vehicle to broadcast their poetry. The journal proved to be a successful launching pad for a number of Sichuan poets, including Sun Wenbo, Xiang Yixian, and Zheng Danyi, as well as an outlet for new poetry by well-known Second World poets such as Bai Hua.

There were many other lesser-known poetry groups with unofficial journals and papers in Sichuan during 1986-1989. One such poetry paper, which had a national impact at the time (1988-1990, three issues), and has since revived as a poetry journal and on the Internet, is *The Woman's Poetry Paper* (*女子诗报*), the first all-women avant-garde

poetry forum in China, out of Xichang. Paradoxically, editor Xiao Yin wanted a forum for woman poets in order to dispel what she and other participants considered the condescending and 'protective' treatment of woman poets in China at the time (and traditionally).

Meanwhile, the editors of the major Sichuan journals, *Not-Not* and *Han Poetry*, continued to invite contributions from well-known avant-garde poets in other parts of China. It seemed they were the only unofficial poetry journals in China that had national aspirations, or fully understood that most avant-garde poets throughout the country belonged to a Second World of Poetry separate from the official poetry realm and its journals. The one exception to this rule during 1985-1989 was the second issue of *Continent* out of Shanghai in 1986. Aside from Song Qu and Song Wei, Hu Dong,[436] Zhai Yongming,[437] Liao Yiwu,[438] and Gou Mingjun, the majority of the Sichuanese poets in *Continent* were contributors to the new *Not-Not* journal: Yang Li,[439] He Xiaozhu,[440] Ma Song,[441] Li Yawei,[442] Shao Chunguang, Shang Zhongmin,[443] Er Mao,[444] and Liu Tao.[445]

The Not-Not group and their journal first appeared in summer 1986. Not-Not aspired to the creation of a 'school' complete with poetic theory and accompanying works. This aspiration was similar to that of Wholism, but Not-Not was on a larger scale and enjoyed greater success. Their four journals and two papers were meant for national distribution, and key members of the group were able to draw in several out-of-province members, in addition to well-known poets, as contributors, if not group members. In fact, the group was a continuation of the spirit of The Third Generation, as defined by Yang Li and Li Yawei (and Macho Men), who were found in the <Third Generation Alliance> section of *Modernists Federation* in early 1985. Now other like-minded poets, such as Shang

---

[436] <Story> (故事).
[437] Three poems from <Woman>: <Life> (生命), <A Night Scene>, <Autumn>.
[438] One of the poems from <The Great Cycle>: <Allahfaweh's Funeral Dirge>.
[439] <The Man Watching Water> (看水的男人), <Going to See the Water> (看水去), <China Fish> (中国鱼).
[440] <A Beard in a Dream> (梦中的胡须), <The Other Side> (另一面).
[441] <Summer> (夏天), <Telling Stories> (讲故事), <A Mood> (情绪).
[442] <A Murder in 1985> (85 年谋杀案), <Unconscious Days> (无意识的日子), <A Hermit> (隐士).
[443] <Karl Marx> (卡尔 马 克思).
[444] <Underground Poetry 1; 2; 3> (地下诗).
[445] <It's not Raining Today> (今天不下雨).

Zhongmin of the University Student Poetry group, joined them. Yang Li was arguably the group's star poet, the star theorist was Lan Ma (Wang Shigang), and Zhou Lunyou was the key activist and editor, who also made important poetical and theoretical contributions. Arguably, Zhou, with the help of other group members, made Not-Not the most controversial and best known Second World poetry group and unofficial poetry journal in China during 1986-1989. Given the size and importance of the group and its journals, Not-Not will be dealt with separately in the following chapter.

### *Han Poetry*

From its origins in Muchuan in 1984, the ideas at the core of Wholism as developed by the brothers Song and Shi Guanghua had to wait for over two years to be explicated in their own unofficial poetry journal: *Han Poetry: A Chronicle of the Twentieth Century – 1986* (*汉诗：二十世纪编年史—一九八六*). By 1986, the membership of the 'group' had risen to six, with the additions of Wan Xia, Liu Taiheng, and Zhang Yu, and was to rise to seven with the further addition of Pan Jiazhu before the journal's second and final issue in 1988.

However, the size of the group belied the size of the journal. Originally, in May 1986, the editors (all the group members) had planned a large print run, and 180 pages, for *Han Poetry*. However, as with Liao Yiwu's 1987 *Modern Poetry Groups of Ba and Shu*, the journal was confiscated at the print house in Qiongxia and only 50 photocopied versions were circulated.[446] Finally, a printed version out of Chongqing, with a much smaller print-run and 'only' 120 pages (still the thickest unofficial poetry journal in China prior to 1989) did appear in December 1986 – unsurprisingly, the editors could not raise the necessary funds to print the entire originally planned 180-page issue. In a brief note, they explained these problems and promised themselves, the contributors (most of whom would have also been financial contributors to both versions of the first issue), and the readers that they would make up the loss of 60 pages in a second issue in 1987.

[446] According to an interview with Shi Guanghua in Yang Li (2004): 417.

However, 1987 was a bad year for this sort of activity, to which Liao Yiwu's experiences sufficiently attest. The second issue of *Han Poetry* did not appear until December 1988, and was subtitled *A Chronicle of the Twentieth Century – 1987-1988*. At 132 pages, financial problems would have been as great as the political ones. A third issue was planned for 1990. The manuscripts were collected and all that was lacking were sufficient funds, but Wan Xia and Liu Taiheng were arrested in March 1990 because of their involvement in Liao Yiwu's poetry-video project, and plans for the journal were cancelled.[447]

There are clear indications of a line of continuity between *Han Poetry* and *Modernists Federation* and *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry*. In Chinese, the sponsor, or organizer, of both issues of the journal is listed as the China Situational Literature Research Organization (中国状态文学研究机构), the research groups and offices of the earlier journals now becoming an 'organization'. However, in the English-language table of contents at the back of both issues of *Han Poetry*, there is also a listing for the Sichuan Young Poets Association (printed in English as "The Association of young poets of sichuan, china" [sic]), a now defunct organization; but, as Zhou Lunyou previously noted, a letter of introduction from the Association made it possible to initially find a printing house in Sichuan. The table of contents of the 1986 issue of *Han Poetry* is also reminiscent of the two journals from 1985. It is divided into five parts, and the list of contributors, aside from the brothers Song and Shi Guanghua (who lead off both issues of this journal), consists of Haizi, Liao Yiwu, Liu Taiheng, Zhang Yu, Zhou Lunyou, Daozi, Zhai Yongming,[448] Bai Hua,[449] Ouyang Jianghe, Sun Wenbo,[450] Zhang Zao,[451] Wan Xia, Yang Li, Li Yawei, and Zhao Ye.[452] The only new Sichuan poets here are two of the new members of Wholism: Liu Taiheng and Zhang Yu. Also, aside from parts three and four of Haizi's <But Water, Water> (但是水，水), the only other non-Sichuan contribution is from Daozi – previously the translator of the poetry of Plath and Ginsberg in 1985, but

[447] Ibid.
[448] From the series <Peaceful Village>: <The First Month>, <The Sixth Month> (第六月), <The Seventh Month> (第七月), <The Ninth Month> (第九月), and <The Twelfth Month> (第十二月).
[449] <A Man Who Watches the Air> (望气的人), <Li He> (李后主), <Books> (书), <Dusk> (黄昏).
[450] A selection of <Sonnets> (十四行诗): #1, 2, 6, 8.
[451] An eight poem sequence: <The Drama of Autumn> (秋天的戏剧).
[452] Two sequences of four poems: <River> (河) and <Allan> (阿兰)

now represented by a long poem of the Wholism tendency.[453] Otherwise, the names are familiar, but the space given to their work is overall much greater than had previously been the case. Other well-known Sichuan avant-garde poets absent from *Han Poetry* (such as Lan Ma, Shang Zhongmin, He Xiaozhu, and Liu Tao) were published in the 1986 first issue of *Not-Not*, and Yang Li, Zhou Lunyou, Wan Xia, and Li Yawei had work in both journals, although the work of Liao and Zhou, for example, was written in 1984 and 1985 respectively.

The final section in both issues of *Han Poetry* was a new twist for unofficial poetry journals: entitled <Chinese Poetry Research> (中国诗歌研究) and at 32 pages in length in the 1986 issue, it consisted of three essays by Shi, the brothers Song, and Ouyang Jianghe respectively. Allowing essays on poetry to occupy almost a quarter of the journal was a new phenomenon shared with the *Not-Not* journal. The tenets of Wholism were, finally, publicly available in long essays by its founders. On the other hand, Ouyang's essay was a reprint of his comments on contemporary poetry first published in *Day By Day Make It New* in 1985.

The 1988 issue of *Han Poetry* followed the same pattern – a small number of contributors (19 again) each given a lot of space, and now almost a third of the journal was given over to essays on poetry (40 of 132 pages). The main contributors were the members of the Wholism group, with the addition of Pan Jiazhu who contributed poetry and an essay. Shi Guanghua and the brothers Song did the same, and Yang Li, still an editor of *Not-Not*, again contributed poetry.[454] Ouyang Jianghe also contributed poetry[455] and an essay, as did the free agent Xiao Kaiyu,[456] and there was poetry by Bai Hua,[457] and the new free agent Li Yawei,[458] who had ceased to contribute to *Not-Not* after the

---

[453] <The Poles> (极地), the second part of <The Legend of the Heavenly Wolf Star> (天狼星的传说).
[454] The series <Quotations and Birds> (语录与鸟): <Bird the First> (鸟之一), <Bird the Second> (鸟之二), <Bird the Third> (鸟之三), <Beyond the Bird> (鸟之外), <Behind the Bird> (鸟之后).
[455] <All Day> (一天), <Day By Day Make It New> (日日新), <A Girl Out of School> (放学的女孩), <October> (十月), <The Dance of the Skeleton of Wisdom> (智慧的骷髅之舞).
[456] The first part of <Empire> (帝国): <Songs of Praise> (歌赞); a brief idealistic essay on the calling and purpose of poetry and the ability of poetry to change the individual and the world: <The Simple Stone Path in Front of My House> (我房前的简单石径).
[457] <Pain>, <A Warning>, <In the Qing Dynasty>, <Youth> (青春), <I Sing of Growing Bones> (我歌唱生长的骨头).
[458] The series <Heaven> (天): <Bird> (鸟), <March> (三月), <Shore> (岸), <Feathers> (羽), <Alcohol> (酒), <Song> (歌).

1987 No. 2 issue of that journal (although he was still listed on the editorial board of the 1988-1989 No. 3 and No. 4 issues).

What was new in the second issue of *Han Poetry* was a great increase in poets from outside Sichuan, from two to six. Haizi was still a contributor,[459] but of the five new names, four had not appeared in previous unofficial journals in the province. Nanjing's Han Dong[460] was the familiar name from the prior appearance of his work in *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry* in 1985, while new to Sichuan's Second World were Chen Dongdong,[461] Wang Yin,[462] and Lu Yimin[463] from Shanghai, and Xi Chuan[464] from Beijing.

The inclusion of the work of the last poets indicates that Ouyang Jianghe had a large amount of influence on the editors of *Han Poetry*. Earlier in 1988, Ouyang had written officially published essays in which he had specifically praised the work of these poets and held it up, as well as his own, as models of proper modern Chinese poetry practice. This impression is reinforced by the editors' decision to publish Ouyang's essays on just this subject in both issues of the journal: the aforementioned 1985 essay on the perceived crisis in Chinese modern poetry in the 1986 issue, and <Sylvia Plath and the Metaphysics of Death> in the 1988 issue. It seems odd that the poetry of Ouyang, Zhang Zao (in both issues), and Bai Hua (also both issues) – the three main contributors to, and editors of, *Day By Day Make It New* in 1985 – and Zhai Yongming and Sun Wenbo (both 1986 only) should appear in a journal otherwise dominated by the poetry and poetics of Wholism, or work that was arguably of that tendency. The fact that Ouyang, Bai, Zhai, Sun, and Zhong Ming would also appear as a grouping with the name of <Five Lords of Sichuan>

---

[459] A selection from <The Sun> (太阳): <The Ministry of Sacrifices> (祭祀).
[460] <I Hear Cups> (我听见杯子), <Already Impossible> (已永不可能), <Days Together with Whales> (和鲸鱼们在一起的日子), <Nanny> (保姆), <A Salute to Shoes> (向鞋子敬礼), <Despair> (绝望).
[461] The seven-part <The Scene and Miscellaneous Words> (即景与杂说).
[462] Six poems from the series <Home of the Spirit> (精灵之家): <The Dancer> (舞蹈者), <The Dead> (死者), <The Sleepwalker> (梦游者), <The Gardener> (园丁), <The Binocularist> (窥镜者), <The Patient> (病人).
[463] Seven poems from <1988 Poetry Notes> (一九八八年诗记): <January 7> (一月七日), <February 24> (二月二十四日), <March 14> (三月十四日), <June 23> (六月二十三日), <June 24> (六月二十四日), <July 1> (七月一日), <June 12> (七月十二日).
[464] Six selections from <The Visit> (造访): Parts 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9.

(四川五君) in Xu Jingya's <Grand Exhibition> in October 1986,[465] indicates that *Han Poetry* was also a platform for Ouyang and this circle of poetry friends, both in Sichuan (in 1986) and in the rest of the country (in 1988). However, the subordination of these poets to Wholism poets was made clear by the forewords in both issues of *Han Poetry*, the placement of the poetry of the Song brothers and Shi Guanghua at the front of each issue, and the long essays on Wholism that closed each issue.

The title of the journal itself is somewhat strange: *Han Poetry*. The word *han* is the name of the first great dynasty of unified China (206 B.C.E. – 220 C.E.) and is also taken to refer to the people of the Han race (汉族), although the Han dynasty was, in fact, a multi-ethnic empire similar to Rome's. Wan Xia says that the choice of *han* 汉 for the title was made because the Wholism poets used the Han Chinese language (汉语) to write, and to emphasize the point that they "weren't a western thing."[466] Presumably, the choice was meant to reflect a more Sino-centric orientation on the part of Wholism's poetry as opposed to the western influences evident in much of China's New Poetry, especially since the end of the Cultural Revolution. It was also a return to cultural origins.

Subtitling the journal a *historical chronicle* of the twentieth century is also somewhat confusing. Are not history and poetry separate intellectual endeavors? Opening the cover of the 1986 issue of the journal in search of elucidation, the reader will first see, on the upper-left, a *Taiji* 太极 diagram, said to represent the origin of all created things, with the yin and yang principles as its primary constituents. The Taiji is a pictorial symbol of the essence of virtue and perfection in heaven and earth, men and things. The eight diagrams encircle this symbol, which denotes the evolution of nature and its cyclic changes. In *Han Poetry*, the text beneath the diagram relates how it was developed during the Han dynasty as a representation of the secret learning held within the *Book of Changes*, said to have been written by King Wen (1231 – 1135 B.C.E.), the founder of the Zhou Dynasty (11th

[465] In an explanation of the name, in <A Grand Exhibition> as it appeared in book form in 1988 (Xu Jingya et al. ed.: 374), a letter from Liao Xi in Hongkong argues for the name "seven lords of Sichuan", because of a collection of their poetry and a forward written by Ouyang Jianghe that was to be published there. However, Ouyang has said that it should have remained "five lords" as Sun and Liao were just friends and wrote badly at the time: see Yang Li (2004): 460. Zhai Yongming, for her part, considers the name a joke, as she felt excluded by the word "lord", which she feels has a solely masculine meaning: see Yang Li (2004): 483.

[466] See Yang Li (2004), Chapter 4.

century – 256 B.C.E.), and meant as an explanation of the eight diagrams and their use in divination and geomancy. The text goes on to relate that the Taiji diagram was nearly lost at the end of the Han dynasty, known only to hermits in the kingdom of Shu (western Sichuan); during the Song dynasty (960-1279) interest in *The Book of Changes* grew again and the diagram was only then recovered. This may explain the choice of the name *Han*.

On the opposite page, there is another diagram. It is not apparent what this is until the text below it is read: Halley's Comet, which appeared in the autumn of 1986.

The foreword opens with this sentence: "The most profound contribution of modern Chinese poetry is in its self-aware manifestation of a form of life consciousness."

What follows is one of the most optimistic outlooks on contemporary Chinese poetry ever written. The writers claim they can see Chinese poetry passing beyond realism and surrealism, no longer trapped within the restrictive phenomena of these old Isms, which are limited to reflecting in poetry the loneliness (atomization) and subjective snares of life. They go on to claim that contemporary poetry displays a direct connection between man and existence and the limitless openness of life situations (生命状态). They declare this poetry has healed, or transcended, the fracture and the antagonism between humanity and existence, and regained the sublime optimism of the ancient Chinese (Han) and Greek cultures (presumably referring to the holism of Parmenides in the sixth century B.C.E., and not the atomism of Leucippus and Democritus in the fifth century B.C.E.). This poetry is a confirmation of humanity and nature, a realization of life's harmony, unity, and clarity, and mankind desires this "after experiencing the age of analytical, instrumentalist culture."

This stated optimism indirectly explains the opening Taiji diagram (the reintegration of humanity with nature) and Halley's Comet (the arrival of a new age). A more detailed and explicit explanation is found in Shi Guanghua's essay <Abstract: Wholistic Principles> (提要：整体原则), which attempts to relate how *The Book of Changes* takes on significance in contemporary Chinese literature and life.

Shi's essay is followed by another from the brothers Song, <Poetry Existing as Life> (作为生命存在的诗歌), which states the meaning of the title and the basic premise of Wholism: "With regard to poetry existing as a concrete state of life, we believe in its

completeness. Because it is complete, we believe it then simultaneously transcends the limited spiritual existence of concrete states of life." This wholeness is found in the work of poets who have a consciousness of the wholistic nature of life, of which the writers of Wholism believe there are many. Again, there is the apparent belief that poetry readers, suffused with the spirit of Chinese culture as expressed through *The Book of Changes*, Daoism, etcetera, will not fail to understand and be inspired by the work of China's young poets, and this will lead to the birth of a new and better culture.

Reading this, a western reader might be reminded of the beliefs of western holistic philosophers, such as Spinoza and Hegel, who, like the ancient Greek Parmenides, had visions of the unity of all things. Hegel – widely read in China – believed that nature consists of one timeless, unified, rational and spiritual reality, and that the nation state is a quasi-mystical collective, an invisible and higher reality, from which participating individuals derive their authentic identity, and to which they owe their loyalty and obedience. All modern collectivist political thinkers – including Karl Marx – stress some form of higher collective reality, which nearly always came at the cost of minimizing the importance of difference, the part, and the individual. Given this, it is possible to conceive that the founders of the Wholism poetry group, and the many intellectuals throughout China who made study of *The Book of Changes* a major fad from 1984 on, were still attached to some of the ideals of Mao Zedong's variety of Marxism, and had now latched on to Daoism (if not also Chinese variants of Buddhism, such as *Chan* 禅 – or *Zen* in Japanese) and *The Book of Changes* as a new source of national pride and cultural renewal.

There are also similarities to western New Age philosophies and life-styles, under categories such as "wholistic living" and "wholistic health", often influenced by aspects of Asian culture (such as Zen, yoga, aspects of Chinese medicine), that began to appear in the west in the 1950s and 1960s. The title of the *Han Poetry*'s first poem by Song Qu and Song Wei seems to confirm this: <The Great Saying of Yes> (大曰是). To a western reader this title may be reminiscent of God's eternal "Yes" in reference to the resurrection of Christ as an affirmation of the value of Christ's life and work, as well as Nietzsche's (also popular in China) enigmatic description of the child as an innocence and forgetting, a new beginning, a game of creation, a self-propelled wheel, a first

movement, a sacred Yes. However, of more direct relevance to <The Great Saying of Yes> is the Daoist sage, or Zen master, who says "Yes" with a laugh to anything and everything in the universe, even though at its core it is a faceless *hundun* 混沌 (the chaos before the world was formed, in Chinese mythology). At the same time, there are also forms of negativism and quietism connected to Daoist sages, in particular Laozi and Zhuangzi, who made great use of paradox and were recorded as frequently answering questions from acolytes or lay people in the negative *fei* 非, or 'not'.[467]

However, to an attentive Chinese reader the title of Song Qu and Song Wei's poem would also appear to be a play on words. 'The Great' (大) is in the position of subject, the verb is 'to say' (曰), and 'yes' (是) is, in fact, the verb 'to be', which has the meaning of 'yes', but also extends to mean 'the truth'. In this reading, the title may mean that the sages and classics of the past, such as *The Book of Changes*, or present, speak the truth. Another possible reading is related to the homophone *dayue* 大约, meaning 'probably' or 'approximately', thus rendering a title that could, with humor, be read as 'probably true' in relation to the poem that follows. The five-part prose poem itself is a distinctively Chinese creation based on the language and ideas of *The Book of Changes*, a difficult read for anyone not previously steeped in that text and traditional Chinese cultural beliefs. Essentially, the poem relates the story of the relationships between humanity and the universe, and the great cycle in which humanity plays a part. It is the unwitting nature of this human role, and the existence and truth of this cycle as revealed in *The Book of Changes*, which the Song brothers attempt to disclose through their poem.

Wholism is not a foreign idea in western arts. In an article written as an adjunct to an art exhibition entitled "Wholism" in Eugene, Oregon, in November 1992,[468] Sabrina Siegel argues that the project of Wholism is:

> …the augmentation of the individual's power to live in the world, through the practice of expressing and inciting active affections.

---

[467] In fact, it seems that it is directly to this other side of tradition that the Not-Not group appealed in their choice of name, 非非. It could also be argued that this choice of name was influenced by the Wholism group's optimistic take on Chinese tradition. There is, however, no admission of this by the key members of Not-Not.

[468] http://www.emory.edu/ALTJNL/Articles/Wholism/Intro.html (2/4/2004)

This program is based on the ideas of Spinoza as interpreted by Gilles Deleuze and Max Scheler and stresses an immanent mode of art whereby "… all aspects of a work are processed by the body, gaining fuller significance and meaning through sense in this way… so, a work exists primarily as a lived experience/expression of the viewer (just as its origin was such for the artist)." Here there seems to be a connection to the ideas on life consciousness (生命意识) and situationalism literature (状态文学) expressed by the brothers Song and Shi Guanghua, whereby the individual is held to be capable of embodying, and thus expressing in words, both the life of the individual and of the whole universe, or the nation. The poet's work is to become the conduit of life, the tool that renders life immanent through objective use of language. Thus, with regard to the poetry of the brothers Song, the critic Chen Chao writes "the language makes itself immanent."[469] The complexity of the poem is the complexity of life, but there is a "simple" key to that in the form of ancient Chinese thought, such as the Taiji chart and the Eight Diagrams of *The Book of Changes*.

### *The Poetry of Han*

The first issue of *Han Poetry* features several other long poems of the Wholistic tendency, including Haizi's <But Water, Water>, Liao Yiwu's <Happy Land> (乐土), Liu Taiheng's <Living Things> (生物), Zhang Yu's <Land of Ba> (巴土), and Daozi's <The Poles>. In 1988, the number of such difficult works was reduced to that of the Song brothers' <Down the Southern Way: A Poetical Record of the Idle Life> (下南道：一次闲居的诗记), Wan Xia's <Air • Skin and Water> (空气•皮肤和水), a series of 26 poems dedicated to Pan Jiazhu, who in turn wrote <Book of Prayer> (祈祷书), and Haizi's <Sun> (太阳).

Instead, in 1988, there was a shift towards series, or cycles, of relatively short poems. In this regard, the first issue of *Han Poetry* had only a selection of five poems from Shi Guanghua's <Snow Before the Gate> (门前雪) and six poems of Wan Xia's under the title <Hidden Dreams> (隐梦). By 1988, the number had grown to include two such

[469] Chen Chao ed. (1989): 659.

series by Song Qu and Song Wei to open the journal's poetry, followed by a selection of short poems by Shi Guanghua, Liu Taiheng, and Zhang Yu. At the same time, the Wholism essays by Shi Guanghua and Pan Jiazhu in the last section dealt with theology, ontology, phenomenology, teleology, and aesthetics, most of it specifically western. The Song brothers in their <Book of Teachings> (导书), the first part of <A Possible Transcendence – A Theory of Wholistic Art> (可能的超越—整体主义艺术论), also deal with these same subjects by relating them to *The Book of Changes*, the Taiji, and the Eight Diagrams, and attempting to demonstrate the superior wisdom of traditional Chinese culture.

It is precisely this last element which led critics such as Xu Jingya to praise the writing of Wholism, if only because of their optimism and their belief in Chinese traditions instead of western. Writing in November 1986, Xu himself does not share this optimism, but sees these poets as attempting to re-link with pre-1919 (May Fourth Movement) traditions of ancient China, resurrecting a lost national literary archetype, and feels such efforts worthy of praise and support.[470] However, as with other critics, such as Xiang Weiguo,[471] Xu feels that the long poems, through their length and complexity, militate against the very simplicity and naturalness of the tradition the Wholism poets seek to extol and promulgate. Possibly it was criticism such this that led to a decrease in the number of long poems in the 1988 issue on *Han Poetry*.

The shorter poems lend themselves better to inclusion in anthologies and publication in literary journals, as with the following poem of Shi Guanghua's from the 1986 issue of *Han Poetry*:

**<Hearing Winter>** (听冬)[472]

On water, pale winter plums quietly
listen to the low voice of falling snow. Beyond sparse shadows, a touch of the moon
a stretch of withered reeds whistling up a song
it's a look back by the departed, it's a telling of loneliness
poured out to discordant drums[473]

[470] Xu Jingya (1989): 186-188.
[471] Xiang Weiguo (2002): 118-119.
[472] Anthologized in Chen Chao ed. (1993).

but a deep winter awaiting a return takes water as a boat
takes the breaking of a quiet string as the source of peace

and when water falls, stones appear. I think
with blood to write the remoteness of high mountains, tears drop into old wine[474]
even if it's a dream of departure, an epigraph inscribed on bone
take the sole awakening
as a time to watch clouds rise
a time to watch rain wash bamboo

So, I will come treading on snow
sad days of decline are a promise to my heart
if suddenly we meet, then rap an earthen jug for music
let the returnee be at the gate, the flowers be bright
then start the limitless years
in the depths of waiting build a home and wash the body
and look up at the sky and think, behind each weed
enter into an ancient lingering death ____

The critics Chang Li and Lu Shourong see Shi Guanghua as more of a nature poet than Song Qu and Song Wei.[475] Shi does choose to exploit nature imagery – much of it reminiscent of that found in classical poetry – to express his lyrical longing for a golden age and its traditions. However, Shi's poetry in particular can be seen as an elegy for an absent beauty or tradition – the poet acts as a guardian over its deathbed, and what he writes are poems on this death. Moreover, this exploration of death, somewhat paradoxically, brings an element of the modern into Shi's poetry, given the continuing obsession of avant-garde poetry with the subject.

The short (and long) poems of Song Qu and Song Wei, on the other hand, are more centered on the world of people, as in the first poem of their series of ten poems <Home Words> (家语) in the 1988 issue of *Han Poetry*:

---

[473] "Discordant drums" 乱更 may also be translated as "chaotic change"; 更 may mean the drums that marked time in ancient China, or 'change'.
[474] "Old wine" *qingjiu* 清酒 refers to wine given as a sacrificial offering in ancient China.
[475] Chang & Lu (2002): 207-209.

**<Waiting for Guests>** (候客)[476]

A person who came to see me before crossing the sea
today whips his horse past my gate
in his hand he carries an appointment as official for the South
and turns in at a mountain in back inclining to the west
I am without words to shout at him
I can only tie up clashing blades under the eaves
and hang out a door lamp
then dust with my sleeves, do a little arranging of a room
and quietly wait for him to come back
these are overcast days
I scoop out rainwater collected yesterday
silently sit by the fire, warm wine
or painstakingly decoct Chinese medicine
shortly the sky turns dark, wind strikes the drapes
at this moment a person who intends to see me
should come and raise my home's door curtain
and casually play with me a banal game of words

The critics Chang Li and Lu Shourong see the Song brothers as having moved away from their transmission of ancient cultural traditions via languorous, dreamlike long poems to an attitude more reminiscent of the pure simplicity of life expressed by the poetry of Chinese literati during the Ming and Qing dynasties.[477] They correctly identify the imagery and tone, but fail to see the present-day import of what the Songs write here. Who is the former acquaintance that has gone overseas and now returns as an official, residing in a mountain inclining to the west? It would seem to be a criticism of poets, like Ouyang Jianghe perhaps, who have turned to western traditions as the new poetical authority in China (a mountain can be a symbol of authority and power). The hanging of blades indicates some hostile feelings, but there is still the hope that the prospective visitor will return to his former friendship, or allegiance. While the I-speaker waits for this person to return, he gets on with his life in simple – and therefore, in the context of this poem, ostentatious – Chinese ways, or in the way of the retired literati of antiquity. Poetry as a banal word game is also part of the domestic tradition the Songs and Shi are attempting to revive.

[476] Anthologized in Chen Chao ed. (1993).
[477] Chang & Lu (2002): 206-207.

As a founder of Macho Men, the life of the literati would not have interested Wan Xia. Bai Hua records in *The Left Side*[478] that in 1986 Wan, while studying *The Book of Changes*, still retained a lively interest in the lifestyle of knights errant. His interest in ancient thought seemingly inspired the following poem found in the 1986 issue of *Han Poetry*:

**<A White Horse>** (白马)[479]

The imagined white horse scatters its fragrant hooves with dignity in a wood
her hair lays flat over the tail
its whiteness leads to transparence

I wait for you to return stamping on flowers
as if on a long trek through your palace
the white horse is the hand nearest your lips
you enter the wood
but you're not a horse

It's also not a woman who rolls up the curtains at the lattice window
the bolt of bleeding silk is still fluttering by the water
once you awake from a dream it will die in another
in another dream
white is not a lofty color
a white horse is not a woman with four naked limbs

Turn your back to the atmosphere
only now the clip-clop of hooves fills the thick shade
the imagined fruit beneath a rainbow is sure to have no body
how can the confusion of facades fail to be your horses

In antiquity, white horses were sacrificed to the gods and to seal oaths of allegiance.[480] However, there is a favorite linguistic-philosophical saying that "a white horse is not a horse" (白马非马), which has frequently been rendered as calligraphy down through the centuries. This is a play on the meaning of the word *bai* 白, which, aside from 'white', can also mean 'pure', 'clean', 'blank', 'a wrongly written Chinese character or a mispronounced syllable', leading to a further extended meaning of 'a waste', or 'for

[478] Bai Hua (1996a): Part 4, Chapter 2, 4.
[479] Also in Chen Xuguang ed. (1994b): 105.
[480] See the *汉书；王陵传.*

nothing'. Furthermore, in the minds of readers familiar with both Chinese and western traditions, there may appear to be an association with Plato's thoughts on the "idea" of "horse-ness" being distinct from "white-horse-ness".

Wan's choice of white horse(s) as the subject of a poem indicates he is playing with words, writing about the poetical imagination, and engaging with Chinese cultural traditions. Yet in each stanza Wan deliberately encourages sexual interpretations through use of female imagery and vocabulary, only to later deny these implications (last line of the second stanza, last line of the third stanza), making the reader aware of the promiscuous nature of the imagination when faced with a confusion of empty, or white, facades of words requiring its active input. At the end of the poem, it is these facades themselves that are identified as the white horses on which we all travel through poetry, and, by implication, through life.

According to Bai Hua, Shi Guanghua's primary requirement of the poetry published in *Han Poetry* was that the subject matter found its inspiration in Chinese culture, and not the western literary tradition.[481] Wan Xia's poem certainly met this requirement, although, like the Song brothers and Shi himself, he used westernized poetical forms and free verse. This also helps to explain why so much poetry that did not come under Wholism proper was included in both issues of *Han Poetry*.

This included poetry by Zhou Lunyou in the 1986 issue of *Han Poetry*, by which time Zhou had already helped to organize the Not-Not group. <Man-Sun> (人日) was written in July 1985. However, Zhou continued with his earlier over arching theme of portraying irrational life experience from the individual's point of view, as in <The Man with the Owl> (1984) and the <White Wolf Valley> poems (1984-1985). <Man-Sun>, dealing with man and his imagination as creator, concludes with a conversation between the I-speaker and Zhuangzi, and then the lines: "Zhuangzi is merely thoughts of the butterfly / The butterfly is merely Zhuangzi's wings." These remarks appear to be a satiric comment on the fascination of roots-seeking poetry with Zhuangzi and ancient belief systems similarly devoted to interpretations of reality, by way of oracle bones and *The Book of Changes*, which Zhou also refers to within the poem. "The roots of the tree are rotten, but its leaves are still fresh ..... [My] rootless drifting starts here." The culture at the base of

[481] Bai Hua (1996a): Part 4, Chapter 4.

these beliefs and symbols already being dead, they can offer no more than inspiration for continued irrational flights of the imagination. “Let the content disappear, all that remains of the entire world is sacred abstraction. / Yet I live concretely.” In 1984-1985, it seems that Zhou was still searching for a personal answer to this paradox. In the next chapter, the answer he and his fellow Not-Not group members settled upon will be dealt with in some detail.

Ultimately, even the openly skeptical poetry of Zhou Lunyou could be included in *Han Poetry*, given that many of the issues he dealt with relating to consciousness – when not clearly Freudian – were issues familiar to Chinese intellectuals from ancient Daoist and Chan Buddhist-influenced texts.

### *The Red Flag*

In his brief comments on the poetry of Chongqing-based *The Red Flag* (*红旗*), Bai Hua compares it’s poetry to that of Chengdu, saying that Chongqing is a city of tragedy, of production and hard work, which produces a form of heavy lyric poetry; while Chengdu is a city of comedy and anti-lyricism rooted in commerce and a leisurely lifestyle.[482] Although simplistic, there seems to be some truth in this. Historically, as the provincial capital, Chengdu has been a wealthier, better regarded city than Chongqing, and Chongqing is now a major port on the Yangtze river, and during the twentieth century has been built up into one of the China’s largest industrial and manufacturing centers. Because of its location at the confluence of the Yangtze with other major rivers in a mountainous region, Chongqing was chosen by the Nationalist Party as its capital in 1938, and remained so until the end of the War of Resistance against Japan (1937-1945). This led to frequent bombing raids on the city. It is likely that the sense of Chongqing being a city of tragedy was produced at this time, when many major poets and novelists (such as Ba Jin, Mao Dun, Wen Yiduo, Mu Dan, and Zheng Min), who had moved to Chongqing when the capital was relocated there, wrote lyrical patriotic works and pieces describing the suffering and resilience of the people of the city at the time.

[482] Bai Hua (1996a): Part 4, Chapter 4.

In 1987, a number of local poets came together to create a new journal which would be devoted entirely to lyric poetry: they were Bai Hua, Fu Wei, Xiang Yixian, Pan Jiazhu (then writing under the pen-name of San Lang[483]), and Sun Wenbo. <Introductory Remarks> (导言) at the front of the first issue is the only prose piece in *The Red Flag*'s four issues. It immediately states that contemporary modern Chinese poetry is in a state of crisis, a view previously espoused by Ouyang Jianghe, but also shared by Bai Hua as the foreword to 1985's *Day By Day Make It New* clearly indicates. As with Ouyang, there is an implication that the multiplicity of poetry groups proclaiming various Isms is somehow a danger to poetry. Paradoxically, the writer(s) of the foreword then claim they are not in a position to judge this.

The remainder of the introduction reads like a manifesto similar to that of a poetry group. The belief that poetry must move people is the central tenet – poetry must cut into the streams of life and consciousness; it should not be imitative, but honed from the poet's years, flesh and blood, youth, and strong emotion. In further remarks strongly reminiscent of Bai Hua's foreword in *Make It New*, poetry is said not to be a "method," but an emergence of life's internal regulations, and that technique is the true test of a poet. As in *Make It New*, there is no explication of what is meant by these remarks, yet nor is there any proposed exemplar, such as Ezra Pound was held to be in the earlier Chongqing-based journal.

There is an apparent comment on, or response to, root-seeking poetry and the poetry of Wholism: "modern poetry in the Han language is the painful result of the clash between the predetermined tide of Oriental culture and contemporary life." This implies a rejection of the immersion in past Chinese culture practiced by some poets and a call for balance between the present and the past, and thereby for a more direct contemporary relevance in poetry.

At the conclusion to the foreword a necessary explanation of *The Red Flag*'s title is given. The image of the red flag is synonymous with the CCP's struggle for survival during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s during the civil war with the Nationalist Party, as a symbol of nationalism and resistance during war with Japan, as a symbol of

[483] Pan would begin to publish under his given name in 1988, when he moved to Chengdu and joined the Wholism group.

independence and victory in 1949, but also as a symbol of the strong emotions raised by Mao Zedong among the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution. *The Red Flag* was also, however, the name of a monthly magazine, which was once the CCP's most influential theoretical organ, until its closure by the CCP leadership not long after this unofficial poetry journal came into existence. (It is presumed to have been closed for being a redoubt of Maoists critical of Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms.) It was these conflicting, possibly tragic, strong emotions that inspired the choice of *The Red Flag* as the name of the journal: "Modern Chinese poetry is necessarily the elegant blood-stained demeanor of this generation of our nation's elite. Therefore we are called *The Red Flag*." On the first page of the journal, before the table of contents and the <Introductory Remarks>, the excerpted lines from a song popular among Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution further reinforce this reading:

> The wind and clouds suddenly change, the warlords start up again. Surging toward the world
> all is in turmoil, when a yellow mast appears once more.
>
> The red flag leaps over the Ding River, straight down to Dragon Rock and up to Hangzhou.
> Gathering up stretches of speckled gold, really busy distributing fields and land.

This song is meant as praise for the role of the CCP under Mao's leadership, for subduing the warlords and bringing social justice to the oppressed multitudes, and reflects the revolutionary fervor of the Red Guards. Given the results of the Cultural Revolution, particularly for those educated youths and former Red Guards who were forcibly rusticated during the 1970s, there is a sense of tragic irony, disappointed expectations, and bitter-sweet childhood memories in these lines.

Overall, the introductory comments seem to have been inspired, if not written, by Bai Hua. However, in his comments on *The Red Flag* in *The Left Side*, Bai makes no mention of taking part in the organization of the journal, nor is there mention of his considerable poetical contributions to the first three issues. Possibly Bai did not wish to deflect attention from the other organizers, wanting to maintain the pose (in his book) of an aloof outsider. Moreover, the first two issues, aside from the plain cover, had the same typeface

and page-layout as *Make It New* – a clear indication it had been set and printed by Bai's friend Zhou Zhongling, the co-editor of *Make It New*, at his printing house in the Chongqing suburb of Beipei.

In any case, the first forty-page issue of *The Red Flag* had Bai Hua's contribution of three poems placed sixth in the table of contents.[484] The list of contributors read as follows: Sun Wenbo, Fu Wei, Lin Mang, Guo Yubin, Wang Yonggui, Bai Hua, Xiang Yixian, and San Lang (Pan Jiazhu). Lin Mang, a resident of Beijing, seems the odd one out here, as most critics consider him a Misty poet.[485] Pan Jiazhu was a native of Anhui province, but had been resident in Chongqing since 1983. All the other poets were residents of Chongqing and its many suburbs, with the exception of Sun Wenbo, then living in Chengdu. The appearance of poetry by Wang Yonggui, a name familiar from *Make It New*, further bespeaks the influence of Bai Hua on the journal's editorial direction.

In recent years Sun Wenbo, now a resident of Beijing, has become prominent in the official literary realm as a poet and critic. However, in his many prose essays, he makes only passing reference to *The Red Flag*, merely acknowledging that the journal (without using its name) led to the first official publication of his poetry[486] and a realization that poetry was his vocation in life, and stating that he and Fu Wei had organized the journal (but not necessarily implying that they were alone in doing so).[487] As his poetry,[488] and that of Fu Wei, led off the first issue of *The Red Flag*, it is reasonable to assume that they were key organizers of the journal. The tone of the journal, as advertised in the introduction, is set by Sun's poetry:

---

[484] <Responsibility> (责任), <Conscience> (良心), <Silhouette> (侧影).

[485] For example, see Tang Xiaodu ed. (1993b) and Chen Chao ed. (1989).

[486] In the unpublished essay <How I Became My Self> (我怎么成为了自己), 2001: 7. For example, the poem <Cattails> (蒲草), first published in the fourth issue of *The Red Flag*, was officially published in the December 1989 issue of *Poetry*. Maghiel van Crevel believes this may be a reference to the publication of Sun's poetry from this journal in *Thumb* (*大拇指*), a poetry journal in Hongkong. However, the earliest official publication in China of a poem by Sun the author can find is with Sun as a member of the <Five Lords of Sichuan> group in the third part of Xu Jingya's <Grand Exhibition> in the 24 October 1986 issue of the *Shenzhen Youth Daily*: <The Story of the Girl Lu Mei> (少女陆梅的故事).

[487] In the essay <The Story of Fu Wei> (傅维传) , in the first issue of the Beijing-based unofficial journal *New Poetry* (*新诗*), Jiang Hao ed., March 2002: 75.

[488] Sun's other poems are <Autumn> (秋天) and <Sundown> (黄昏).

**<A Space for Conversation>** (一席之地)

At this moment, in Chongqing
a person sets out
he hears sounds swallowing each other up
he imagines the glories of the Tang
Li He walking on a post road
-------- he suffered an early demise

A turmoil of buildings, brave girls
the Han nation pricks him into poetry
he's already learned safety's in solitude
learned to incessantly bid adieu
when even more ears assault him
his ears hear misery

A surge of years
the road still long
but that vague prized and lone language
today has yet to arrive
he's now declining in age
sun setting road ending, alone rambling in this space for conversation

The journal itself is "a space for conversation", but it is, as promised in the introduction, talk of pain – the pain of loneliness, of loss, of unfulfilled longing, and of incapacity that fills this poem. Sun Wenbo sites the poem in modern Chongqing, but then brings in Li He, a poet of the Tang dynasty. "He" is the poet, Li He, and all poets – although comparing oneself, or other contemporary poets, to Li He seems pretentious and precious. Furthermore, the appearance of Li He and the emotions dealt with in the poem are reminiscent of Bai Hua's 1984 poem <Precipice> (see Chapter 6), and Sun's poem seems a rewriting of Bai's. It is also possible that Sun, in Chengdu, wrote the poem in honor of Bai, with Bai imagined as the poet wandering the streets of Chongqing.

The second issue of *The Red Flag*, now with 42 pages, was again led off by Sun Wenbo's poetry,[489] only now his contribution was followed by Zhao Ye, another poet from Chengdu, previously published in *Modernists Federation* and the 1986 issue of *Han Poetry*. Poetry by Wan Xia also appears in *The Red Flag* for the first time[490] – one of his

[489] <1987> (一九八七), <The Square at Midnight> (午夜的广场), and <Puppets> (傀儡).
[490] <A Girl and a Horse> (女孩和马) and <A Mirror in the Snow> (雪中的镜子).

best-known poems, <A Fragrance of Lü Bu> (吕布之香), would appear in the fourth issue – as would the work of Zheng Danyi (under the pen-name of Sangzi),[491] Bai Hua's friend Zhang Zao,[492] and Peng Yilin, a Chongqing poet familiar from *The Born-Again Forest* and *Make It New*. Now, except for Zhang Zao, in Germany since 1986, and Zheng Danyi, who had returned to Guiyang to work as a teacher in 1986 after starting his career as a poet while a student at university in Chongqing, all the contributors were resident in Sichuan. Sun Wenbo and Fu Wei would be the only poets with work in each of the four issues of *The Red Flag*, with Bai Hua's contributions ending with the third issue in 1988 when he moved to Nanjing to teach.[493] Still, the web of relationships that made the journal possible are clear, stretching from Bai Hua's involvement in unofficial journals since 1982 to recent university days when Fu Wei and Zheng Danyi, working together as poetry activists, met Bai Hua through mutual acquaintances, such as Zhang Zao, then a graduate student in Chongqing.

The stress on tragic lyricism continued in the second issue of *The Red Flag*. A poem by Xiang Yixian, the young poet who would come to national attention a few months later by winning the top special-prize and 1,000 Yuan in *The Poetry Press*'s 1988 Exploratory Poetry Prize Competition, is illustrative of another strand of this tendency (if not Bai Hua's influence) among Chongqing poets at the time:

**<A Reminiscence>** (怀念)

Nightfall just now approaches
everywhere exquisite, matchlessly pure
in a vase the slivers of a garden
by the window falling petal by petal

All time passes through your heart
you dwell inside a tiny delicate forest
remembering the water that has flowed through your fingertips
happiness forever belongs to a future day

A late bell is ringing in a distant place

[491] <Yet Another Spring> (又一个春天), <A Tree in Autumn> (一棵树在秋天) and <The Days> (日子).
[492] <A Housefly> (苍蝇), <The Death of Grandmother on the Mother's Side> (外祖母之死) and <The Sixth Method> (第六种方法).
[493] In the second issue they were <Pain> and <A Victim> (牺牲品).

I linger long sitting on a wooden chair
elegant and handsome, afraid of touching the sensitive spot
the faint wisp of a lute of olden days fills the room

and emits a lemony bouquet
twilight shadows slowly descend
the visage in the vase
long-since indistinct

For a young man not much older than 20 at the time, Xiang's seeming sensitivity and experience of life is remarkable. Or is it the influence of local poets, like Bai Hua and Zhang Zao, and classical poetry? In any case, Xiang's poem is a tastefully observed, evocative avoidance of a pain hinted at by the "sensitive spot" and "happiness forever belongs to a future day."

In 1988, the third issue of *The Red Flag* shrank in size to 30 pages and had only five contributors: Fu Wei, Zheng Danyi, Zhang Zao,[494] Bai Hua, and Sun Wenbo.[495] Yet, while the quantity of poetry may have been reduced, its quality was arguably enhanced.

Zheng Danyi uses his given name for the first time and his contribution increases from two to eight poems.[496] The following is the first of his eight poems and an example of the lyrical style fostered by the journal, as well as Zheng's unique voice:

**<Getting Happiness in the Hands of the Soul>**
(取悦于心灵的手)

I get happiness in the hands of the soul, you should be well-behaved. Should be like a girl, a banana in August
or a cat hidden in a clothes closet napping
you're already at the crux of it, stepping into a flowery boat, you've witnessed
rivers and mountains, wine and the styles of a caste

[494] <Goodbye, Witzburg> (别了，威茨堡), <Song of an Assassin> (刺客之歌), <The King of Chu Dreams of Rain> (楚王梦雨), <A Chinese Summer House> (中国凉亭) and <The Triumphant return of Ping Pong> (凯旋的乒乓球).
[495] <A Winding City> (曲城), <An Organ> (风琴), <Prejudice> (偏见), <The West Wind> (西风) and <1988> (一九八八).
[496] Not including the translated poem, they are <Cups> (杯子), <An Autumnal Song for Yaya> (一首献给亚亚的秋歌), <A Girl's Desire> (一个少女的心愿), <How Many Ears of Souls have Heard> (有多少灵魂的耳朵听到), <Shirts of Summer> (夏天的衣衫), <A Bird that has Come into the World> (来到世上的鸟) and <Growing Up, Forever Growing Up> (成长，永无休止的成长).

In this world which day after day is being
sent to the grave, let us make a pact
let wars, precious swords all keep the innate promise
let rose bushes all dig out their
treasured handkerchiefs. Provided I live for one day

O, living a day is so tough
passing through this interminable daytime
interdependent with a pigmy for survival, a thing in a sack of skin
put them on, the pure white gloves
light it, a secret fire in the furnace

But you should be well-behaved, should be gentler with me
with my faults. Because
we're all characters in the same tragic play
marching on the road to extinction
You are the cup, the human path, the tongue freezing in the wind!

Here is a vision of the martyred poet, martyred by civilization, the world he lives in, finding solace in the cup (alcohol), in common humanity – the lonely voice of the sensitive soul trapped in the physicality of life.

However, the true quality in this issue of *The Red Flag* is found in the five poems by Bai Hua. All have been anthologized, and three frequently so. The latter three are <The Beauty> (美人), <For Mandelstam> (献给曼杰斯塔姆), and the following poem:

**<Jonestown>** (琼斯敦)[497]

The children can start
this night of revolution
night of the next life
night of the People's Temple
The rocking center of the storm
has already tired of those yet to die
and is anxious to carry us off in that direction

The enemy of our hallucinations
makes repeated assaults on us
our commune is like Stalingrad

[497] For example, all three of these poems can be found in Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992): 11-15. The other two poems were <I Sing of Growing Bones> (我歌唱生长的骨头) and <Youth> (青春). "Jonestown" refers to the site of the mass suicide in Guyana of 914 American citizens, members of a religious cult led by Jim Jones, on 18 November 1978.

the sky is full of a Nazi smell

the vortex of hot blood's moment has arrived
emotions are breaking through
fingers are being jabbed in
glue is thrown across all the classes
the patience of vain hopes does battle with reaction

Through spring until fall
sexual anxiety and disappointment spread everywhere
bared teeth gnaw on unapproachable times
the yen for munitions in boys' chests explodes
the taboo on eccentricity rips and bites back our tears
See! The ravenous mob is now incensed

A girl is practicing suicide
due to her madness, her beautiful hair tending to get sharper and sharper
laid so tenderly across her helpless shoulders
it is a sign of her being seventeen
the only sign

And our spirits' symbol of first love
this dazzling white father of ours
happy bullets score direct hits on his temples
his naïve specter gushes still:
faith cures, religious "bushido"
the beautiful body of a coup d'état

The mountain of corpses has already stopped rehearsals
a loud voice in an unheard-of silence swears an oath:
pass through crisis
drill your thoughts
make a sincere sacrifice

Confronted by this white night of the concentrated betrayal of flesh
this last white night of humanity
I know that this is also my night of a painful bumper harvest

In *The Left Side*, in his only comments on the writing of this poem and <The Beauty>,[498] Bai Hua precedes excerpts of these poems by listing the personal anguish of five of his young acquaintances, a mix of university lecturers and students. There are suicides and

[498] Bai Hua (1996a): Part 4, Chapter 7.

unwilling departures to distant parts of China (as dictated by the state[499]). Bai appears to infer that these individuals are caused to suffer by the "Nazi smell" of CCP China.

While the poem is ostensibly about the little-known or understood (in China) mass suicide in Jonestown in 1978, the introduction of Stalingrad and the Nazi smell in the second stanza, and the religious overtones, generalize the poem's topic line sufficiently to allow a Chinese reader, of Bai's age in particular, to make the necessary connections to link what is written to the religious-like hold Mao Zedong had over the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution and the events that occurred at the time, and the price those youths and millions of others were made to pay in its aftermath (rustication, for example).

In general, critics in China avoid any form of in-depth analysis of this poem and its crush of painful imagery, aside from the observation that this was not the norm in Bai's poetry.[500] Bai's own comments above may be a factual account of the original impetus for the writing of the poem, but this does not make the poem any less political and, thus, dangerous. The intensity and density of the imagery must be put down to the strength of Bai's emotions and experience.

The first official publication of <Jonestown>, as well as <The Beauty> (a poem on death) and <For Mandelstam>, throws an even more political light on the poem. Zong Renfa, the *Author* editor, was able to arrange for the publication of these three poems and two others in the September 1989 issue of that journal.[501] The subsequent frequent, uncommented-upon appearance of these three poems in anthologies during the 1990s and beyond, speaks to both the quality of the three poems and their political nature.

The fourth issue of *The Red Flag* may have been prepared in 1988,[502] but was probably published in 1989. Fu Wei had established a close friendship with Chen Dongdong in

---

[499] Until the 1990s, upon graduation university students were assigned employment by state review boards, and, unless one was very well connected within the CCP, such assignments were beyond the control of the individual. This was also the case with university entrance exams, in which students were allowed to indicate personal preferences with regard to schools they wished to attend, but had no control over their eventual allocation.

[500] See Chang & Lu (2002): 239-240. <Jonestown> and <For Mandelstam> are mentioned in passing, with the focus placed on <A Boy of Winter> (冬日的男孩), a relatively innocuous, but well-written poem commemorative of Bai's thirtieth birthday.

[501] Pp. 30-33. The other two poems were <I Sing of Growing Bones>, also in the third issue of *The Red Flag*, and <A Boy of Winter>.

[502] There are no introductory comments in any issues except for the first. The only date in the fourth issue is that given that of 4 July 1988, as the date of completion for Wan Xia's poem.

Shanghai by this time,[503] and the typeface and the page layout very closely resemble that of the first issue of *Tendency* (*倾向*), a joint publication involving a number of overseas Chinese poets with Chen as one of the editors. This issue of *The Red Flag* had dwindled to less than 20 pages. Fu Wei, Sun Wenbo,[504] and Wan Xia are the only contributors from Sichuan. Zhang Zao[505] was no longer the sole overseas poet, now being joined by Yan Li, a former member of Beijing's *Today* group and the *Stars* group of artists was resident in New York since the early 1980s, who was promoted by Chen Dongdong and contributed four poems.[506] There were also two poems from the well known Beijing poet Xue Di,[507] and there was a new addition to the journal in the form of translated western poetry – the translation by Dong Jiping, a poetry contributor to *Make It New*, of a series of six poems by the modern English poet David Gascoigne.

Aside from a few paragraphs on *The Red Flag* in Bai Hua's *The Left Side*, the existence of this journal has gone largely unremarked by critics both within and without Sichuan. Considering that it was the initial proving ground within the Second World of Poetry of Sun Wenbo and Zheng Danyi, poets who would rise to positions of prominence on the official poetry scene during the 1990s, and the first home to some of Bai Hua's best poetry, this is an oversight which required the foregoing rectification.

However, it is more difficult to claim, as Bai Hua does, that Chongqing is a natural home to tragic lyricism. Not all contributors to *The Red Flag* were residents of the city

---

[503] The author met Fu Wei in Shanghai while visiting Chen Dongdong during the summer of 1989 and was given this impression, which is further strengthened by the appearance of the journal. According to notes on page 187 of the inaugural 1993 issue of the US-based Chinese language literary journal *Tendency*, there were three issues of Chen's *Tendency* published in China (1988, 1990, 1991). Huang Beiling, later the editor of the US version, is listed as a co-editor of the first issue, along with Chen, Lao Mu, and the Shanghai poet Zhang Zhen. Chen is listed as the sole editor of the second and third issues. According to a further note on page 190 of the American *Tendency*, Chen's Shanghai *Tendency* was officially banned by the local police in January 1992. While there was no announcement by Huang Beiling that his *Tendency* was a continuation of the Shanghai journal of the same name, Chen Dongdong was one of the main contributors to the first issues of the journal and was later listed as a poetry editor.

[504] <Cattails> (蒲草), <The Scent of a Eucalyptus Tree> (桉树的气味), <Mud> (泥土), <Night, Sleep Carries Me to Another House> (夜晚，睡眠把我带到一所房子) and <Sub-Zero> (零度以下).

[505] <Asher and the Nameless Knight> (爱尔莎和隐名骑士), <Romeo and Juliet> (罗密欧与朱丽叶), <Leda and the Swan> (丽达与天鹅), <The Lord of Mount Liang and Zhu Yingtai> (梁山伯与祝英台) and <Magnolia Tree> (木兰树).

[506] Yan Li also contributed to the first issue of *Tendency*, which is further indicative of Chen's influence on Fu Wei in the editing of this issue of *The Red Flag*. Yan's poems were <Religious Inspiration> (宗教启示), <Peaceful Days> (和平的日子), <The Journey of Life> (人生之旅) and <An Exhortation> (劝).

[507] Selected from his poetry series <Internal Struggle> (内心挣扎): <Toad> (蜍) and <Mayfly> (蜉).

(Sun Wenbo was living in Chengdu – which Bai claimed to be a home to poetry of reason and logic – at the time, and Zhang Zao in Germany) nor were poets such as Pan Jiazhu or Zhang Zao natives of Sichuan, although both did reside in Chongqing for three to four years during the 1980s. Rather, the poetry of the journal seems to be influenced by the poetical concerns of Bai Hua and, to a lesser degree, Zhang Zao.

There are no simple explanations for any of the poetic activity in Sichuan, but there was a large number of people who felt an intense desire to write poetry and a large community of Second World poets in which it, and the poet, could circulate. The poetical influences from within the province, and from the rest of China and beyond, were accessible to all within this community, and there was no reason for any one poet to be influenced for a long period by any one poet or Ism as he or she mastered the craft and found a distinctive voice. This is one of the reasons many group journals were not long-lived in Sichuan. Most importantly, *The Red Flag* effectively provided a forum for poets and poetry not suited, for whatever reason, to journals such as *Han Poetry* and *Not-Not*.

### *The Woman's Poetry Paper* and Xichang

In the winter of 1988, the first post-Mao women-only avant-garde poetry journal in China, *The Woman's Poetry Paper* (*女子诗报*), entered the Second World of Poetry in Xichang. In 1987 and the first half of 1988, an aspiring Xichang poet by the name of Xiaoyin[508] began a self-funded tour of poets she admired, seeking education and advice. She started with local poets such as Zhou Lunyou and Xu Xinghe (a poet operating in the official circuit), before moving on to Chengdu, where she met Wan Xia, Sun Wenbo, Yang Li, Shang Zhongmin, and Xiang Yixian. She also traveled to Mianyang to meet Yu Tian, and even left the province and traveled to Xi'an to visit Zhao Qiong and Daozi. Upon returning to Xichang, Xiaoyin gathered several like-minded friends and began to prepare a poetry paper for publication. Her assistant editor was Zhongyin, and other local

[508] Xiaoyin is the penname currently used by this poet. She has also published under the names Yuan Cun and Xiao Xiaoying.

women poets who participated were Shan Nan,[509] Aman,[510] Hailing, and Jieying.[511] While the paper was only published three times before it was banned (in 1988, 1989, 1990[512]), its list of contributors was impressive and nationwide: the better known among them being Li Qingsong and Tanshi of Jinzhou in Liaoning province,[513] Anqi of Zhangzhou in Fujian province, and Shi Wei of Nanjing.[514] There were also several well-known woman poets from other parts of Sichuan who contributed: Liu Xiaozhou from Xindu,[515] Xiaoxiao from Leshan,[516] Jin Xiaojing (previously better known for her love poetry) of Chengdu, Hongying of Chongqing,[517] and Huazhi of Luzhou.

The fact that so little has been written about this poetry paper, and that so few names of these female poets are known outside of China, tells its own story. It was, in fact, a reaction against the loneliness and suffering exhibited in the poetry of Zhai Yongming, Tang Yaping, and Yi Lei, and their poetry's positive reception by many critics during the mid-1980s[518] that led Xiaoyin to publish *The Woman's Poetry Paper*. As Xiaoyin tells it, the "black windstorm" (黑色风暴),[519] which swept through women's poetry in China in the mid- to late-1980s, was an accusation thrown at a misogynist society, but the accusers were often women who appeared in their poetry as victims of abuse, or as self-abusers.[520] She felt that this position of effectively being a "pet" for men was pandering to the image that male poets and critics wished to see at the time, and felt that the officially published praise (from male critics) this poetry received led many female poets, who were only beginning to write, to compete in imitation of the apparently 'acceptable' form. What

[509] Also published under the name Gao Chongxiu.
[510] Also published under the names Xiao Wencui and Wencui; deceased in a 1992 traffic accident.
[511] Now resident in Kunming.
[512] A fourth issue appeared as a supplement in the Anhui journal *Breeze* (*微风*) in 1994. In 2002, now living in Maoming, in Guangdong province, Xiao Yin reestablished the journal in its printed form and organized a dedicated website and chat room at the web address in the footnote below (moved to different location in 2004).
[513] Now resident in Beijing.
[514] Now resident in the USA.
[515] Now resident in Germany.
[516] Now resident in Beijing.
[517] Now resident in the UK.
[518] See, for example, Li Xiaolin's essay <Zhai Yongming's "Disease" Consciousness> (翟永明的"疾病"意识) in Zhai (1994) and Part 3 Chapter 6 in Xie & Liang (1993) entitled <Admiration of Girls or Love Spreads Warm Feelings to Everybody – Stream of Consciousness and "Black Consciousness"> (姑娘们欣赏或者恋爱对谁都施以脉脉温情—意识流与"黑色意识").
[519] The "black" comes from the poetry of Zhai and Tang directly, and from that of Plath indirectly.
[520] See interview with Axiang at Xiao Yin (2003).

Xiaoyin and other participants in *The Woman's Poetry Paper* aspired to was poetry that was avant-garde, but featured a diluted consciousness of sex.

The manifesto of the paper, which has been adapted for the group's current website,[521] says it all:

> *The Woman's Poetry Paper* refuses male protection, sees the male-chauvinist society as shit.
> *The Woman's Poetry Paper* wants [to create] through writing a central discourse on woman's poetry that goes beyond gender.
> What *The Woman's Poetry Paper*, past and present, is doing is: establishing a comprehensive structure for woman's poetry.

Xiang Weiguo is one male critic who has taken Xiaoyin and *The Woman's Poetry Paper* seriously and written on the paper's poets and poetry in recent years.[522] He points out that the very title of the paper stresses gender and suggests that Xiaoyin may believe that the collective female nature of the enterprise will allow it to act as a "detox" center for woman poets, a place where they will not be judged, or negatively prejudged, as a woman by male poets and editors. This may allow greater freedom for woman poets to write as they like for publication within the context of *The Woman's Poetry Paper*, but it will be some time before gender is stripped from the list of prejudices running rampant through society beyond its confines.

As a poet, Xiaoyin had a history in the Second World of Poetry in Sichuan. In 1982, upon graduating from high school, she and some other female poets put out a single issue of an unofficial journal called *The Trekkers* (*跋涉者*). However, because of work and marriage (of her friends), Xiaoyin did not write poetry again until 1987. In her interview with Axiang on *The Woman's Poetry Paper* website, Xiaoyin states that one day in early 1987 two local poets, Wenjun and Shan Nan, walked into her office and proposed putting out an unofficial journal. This one was called *OOO Poetry Tide* (*OOO 诗潮*) and was mailed out to several well-known poets in Sichuan and beyond. Soon there were letters praising Xiaoyin's poetry from poets such as Wan Xia, Shi Guanghua, Zhou Lunyou, Yang Li, Lan Ma, Liu Tao, and Xiao An (all, except Wan Xia, members of Not-Not), and

[521] See http://asp.6to23.com/nzsb/xuanyan.index.html (12/17/2003).
[522] See Xiang Weiguo (2002): 208-215; and Xiang (1994).

many of the woman poets who would later contribute to *The Woman's Poetry Paper*. These letters of encouragement provided an impetus for Xiaoyin's new project. Xiaoyin says she asked advice of Zhou Lunyou on the layout of the first issue of the paper, and, on Zhou's advice, patterned the layout of the inside, second and third pages on Xu Jingya's 1986 <Grand Exhibition>, calling her version <The Woman's Poetry Scene 1988> (女子诗坛). Wan Xia mailed in a poetic series by Xiaoxiao,[523] and the Beijing poet He Shouwu sent Xiaoyin poetry by woman poets in the north.

The following poem is indicative of Xiaoyin's avant-garde poetics and a sufficient reason for the enthusiastic response to her poetry by members of *Not-Not*:

**<Affairs on the Water>** (水上的事)[524]

A boat passes on a boat
you stand on that end of the island
affairs on the boat
you won't know even if I say
in back of the island is water
in back of the back of the water
still it's water
affairs in the water
I won't know even if it's said
you are you
I am I
you are not an island
I am not a boat
affairs on a boat
you won't know even if I say
in back of the back of the island
still it's water
affairs in the water
I won't know even if it's said

As Xiang Weiguo points out, this poem seems to be dealing with the relative and limited nature of affairs between people and things, and how the effect these two aspects have on each other throws up an unlimited aspect in which nothingness produces things and vice versa in a never-ending cycle. This harks back to Daoist philosophy based on the writings

[523] Xiaoxiao's series was entitled <The Woman Under a Tree and Poetry> (树下的女人和诗歌).
[524] Xiang Weiguo (2002): 209-210.

of Laozi and Zhuangzi. Xiaoyin's stress on "say", drawing attention to verbal production, or the inability thereof, further highlights this aspect, and this is an interest shared with members of the Not-Not group, in particular Zhou Lunyou and Yang Li.

Jin Xiaojing, in the first issue of *The Woman's Poetry Paper*, chose to tackle controversial subjects which related to women, but not exclusively so. The following lines are from <Abortion> (人工流产):[525]

> Not wanting you isn't because I don't love you
> Not wanting you is precisely because I love you too much
> …..
> You are my eternal night
> the sole witness
> to the love it is a life-and-death labor to make real
> …..
> Now, we must go
> to receive
> the parting of blood and flesh and bone

This is not a subject male poets could write about, and a subject male readers (and editors) would find difficult to fully appreciate. Setting aside the moral and political aspects of this subject in contemporary China, Jin focuses on feelings, both emotional and physical, which men may never know, and which are, therefore, the exclusive territory of women. It is expression of this sort of difficult female life experience that was arguably denied publication opportunities in China before the existence of *The Woman's Poetry Paper*.

There was even more of an overlap between *The Woman's Poetry Paper* and *Not-Not* than the possibly formative influences of Xichang natives Zhou Lunyou and Lan Ma on the poetry of Xiaoyin. Hailing, a native of Xichang and a contributor to *The Woman's Poetry Paper*, was also a contributor to the second and fourth issues of *Not-Not*. The latter issue was published at approximately the same time as the first issue of *The Woman's Poetry Paper*. Hailing's contribution to that issue of *Not-Not* consisted of a series of six poems entitled <On a Bridge and an Evening> (晚上与桥上).[526] Xiaoyin's

[525] Xiang Weiguo (1994): 4.
[526] *Not-Not* 1989: 123-124.

interest in publishing avant-garde writing by woman poets led to such overlap and the publication of poems such as this:

**<Imagining Going to View Flowers in the Time of Ice-Cliffs Hundreds of Feet High>**
(想到已是悬崖百丈 冰的时候去看花)

Imagine there are ice-cliffs hundreds of feet high
The heart aches

Extended hands are already laid waste

Short quick steps of small feet moving closer from afar
In a hut unable to come out
In the wind blasted grass sways

When imagined
a hidden orchid is fragrant

I'm not able to withdraw my hands

In the small yard the autumn wind is pressing
Someone is viewing the flower

In ancient times poets all viewed flowers on bright moonlit nights
Don't look at my wasted hands

So the flower is forever blooming in dreams
When the moon's in the center of the sky someone departs
It's exactly two o'clock in the morning then
I think, tonight somebody will not sleep.

This is the fourth poem in Hailing's series, and the only one that seems to deal with women's issues. It is also the only poem of the six in which an I-speaker appears: the first poem centers on "he", a male reader of <The Autobiography of Simone [or Simon]> (西蒙自传), who consequently loses track of time; "she" appears in the second poem, a scene set in cold, dark, and windy autumn as flowers die; in the third "someone", who could be "that (female) person" (伊人), is in the yard on a windy night beneath the leaves of a Chinese parasol tree; in the fifth poem there is "someone" and a "fisher", again in autumn as flowers die; and, finally, there are only "night walkers", who are gone from a

bridge by a blossoming plum tree, leaving the light from an oil lamp on a curtain, and a wind blowing blossoms.

Overwhelmingly there is quietude, decline, darkness, and a sense of timelessness. The fourth poem above stands out not only because of the appearance of an I-speaker, but also because of its apparent setting in an ice age. The “short quick steps of small feet” are a traditional literary reference to a woman with bound feet, and the term “hidden (or imprisoned) orchid” (幽兰) may be a reference to a woman, as could any reference to a flower. With this understanding, the walls of ice and the “hands” of the I-speaker take on greater significance. The suggestion that these hands (the hands of a woman poet?) are ignored by poets of ancient times (the man in the first poem at present?), could mean that the true state of women (or this woman) is ignored, while they (he) prefers to fantasize about some feminine ideal (the flower forever blossoming, or locked away with bound feet). The wall of ice may be the barrier between the I-speaker (Hailing as a woman and poet) and these somebodies (有人), or men (as woman were traditionally not held to be fully-fledged ‘people’ [人], but objects), who appear in this poem and throughout the series.

Hailing, like so many other woman poets, is frequently overlooked in China, and therefore outside the country as well. Xiaoyin and her efforts with *The Woman’s Poetry Paper* have been similarly ignored. She and her first poet-friends, such as Hailing, were lucky enough to live in the hotbed of poetry that was Xichang in the 1980s, and, after encouragement from Not-Not, were able to put out *The Woman’s Poetry Paper*. This paper ultimately allowed Xiaoyin and other woman poets throughout China to learn of each other and to establish links and friendships that flourish to this day (lately, thanks to the internet).

Today it is still the big names of woman’s poetry (Zhai Yongming, Tang Yaping, Yi Lei, etc.) that receive most of the attention, but, as with male poets, there are scores of other poets also worthy of regard and praise. It is difficult to overstate the number of poets practicing their art in China and the volume of poetry involved.

However, the apparent need to create short, manageable lists of poets and poetry of quality by Chinese and foreign critics, has made it too easy to not read widely and

independently beyond work recommended by other critics, activist poets, and editors, official and unofficial. Given the amount of unseen avant-garde poetry that circulated within the Second World of Poetry during the 1980s in particular, the critic's task of reading widely must also include an effort to access unofficially published journals and individual collections. Yet, even here, the good judgment of Second World editors and collectors must be relied upon. All editors and critics have their personal biases, and good readers (and critics) must include among their tasks the necessity of identifying what these are, as well as being aware of their own.

This leads to the issue of canonization and how it is achieved in a complicated poetry scene such as China's. The lack of studies such as this one and the relative inaccessibility of Second World poetry materials from the 1980s in particular, has made it possible for a small number of critics and activist poets to achieve undue influence over the formation of such a canon in the 1990s and 2000s. As a result, following on from officially orchestrated polemics directed against avant-garde poetry in general during the 1980s, the 1990s and more recent years has seen polemics between different groupings of contemporary avant-garde poets and sympathetic critics as they argue over the power to form acceptable canons.

Yet, almost all Chinese critics agree that the Not-Not group and its poetry are worthy of comment. Unknown as the group is outside of China, the question must be: why?

## CHAPTER 10: *NOT-NOT*

It is time now to take a closer look at Not-Not (非非) and the reasons for its success as a group and a journal between 1986 and 1989.

To its credit, Not-Not is one of the only Second World poetry groups in China that actively promoted its favored modes of avant-garde poetry with no apparent gender bias during the 1980s. The relatively high number of female contributors to the journal and group, in its various guises, during the 1980s and since that time, indicates that its avant-garde poetical interests are as attractive to female poets as to male. *The Woman's Poetry Paper* is further and continuing proof of this, but also of the appeal to woman poets of having an (unofficial) avant-garde poetry forum of their own.[527]

Of the three pre-1989 *Not-Not* journals devoted primarily to poetry, the 1987 issue had the highest number of woman poets (eight), while the 1986 inaugural issue had four, and the 1988 issue[528] six. The total number of poetry contributors rose from an initial total of 24 to 39 in 1988, showing that the journal attracted new contributors of both sexes. And only two of the woman poets were contributors to all three issues: Liu Tao and Xiao An.

The question is: why were woman poets more attracted to this poetry group and not others, such as Wholism in Chengdu or *Them* in Nanjing, for example?

With regard to Wholism, woman poets were apparently not attracted to a group that praised, and tried to resuscitate, a traditional culture in which women never had a role to play other than that of "good mother and virtuous wife." Like the Wholism group, *The Red Flag* in Chongqing, and many other unofficial poetry groupings and their journals, *Them* had all the appearances of a boys-only poetry club. In *Them*'s case, among frequent early contributors to the journal the exception to this rule was Xiao Jun, who ceased contributing after leaving China in 1988. While key female members of Not-Not – Liu

---

[527] Another journal with a web magazine and poetry chat-room devoted to woman's poetry is *Wings* (*翼*). The journal was established in 1999, and the website in 2002: http://www.poemlife.net/wings/ . Among the key contributors are Zhai Yongming, Tang Danhong, and Zhou Zan (a translator and scholar, as well as a poet).

[528] The #4 issue was printed at the same time as the #3 issue in October 1988, and was entirely devoted to theory.

Tao, Xiao An, and Yang Ping – were to marry male counterparts within the group,[529] they were fine poets in their own right, and many other woman poets also contributed to the journal without developing romantic relationships with key male contributors.

### Not-Not Theory, Name, and Formation

Part of the answer to the question why a comparatively large number of woman avant-garde poets contributed to *Not-Not* may lie in the <Not-Not-ism Manifesto> (非非主义宣言), which leads off the 1986 first issue of *Not-Not*:

> • 1 •
>
> On the ruins of ancient Rome, those big, lofty stone pillars: they have always been alive, they have always been thinking – this is told us by our entirely wide open intuition – only if we are incapable of entirely benumbing ourselves, we then have no way of not deeply believing: they really are alive, without doubt they have continuously been thinking, always thinking. Up to this day, the sole difficulty has been that we have been unable to find any form of cultural artifice to "prove" whether they ultimately live in the fashion of an "animal," or in that of a "plant." Our present culture has been incapable of embracing them, this wondrous phenomenon of life. We also have no ready way of saying what manner of thought they ultimately follow, and what they ultimately are thinking. So ---
>
> Today we declare:
>
> First, they live in a not-not fashion;
>
> Second, they are not-not life;
>
> Third, they make us feel not-not;
>
> Fourth, they make us become not-not;
>
> Fifth, we are not-not.
>
> Applaud us! --- we believe the sound of today's applause will be permeated by a great concentration of not-not, followed by a dilution within not-not …..
>
> Today with this sign that is "Not-Not," and with the great heap of highly obscure semantics still now waiting to be sorted out behind it, we officially declare: starting with the advancement of "Not-Not," we will vigorously enlarge the cultural field [文化疆域], until there is a profound understanding of the "body of Not-Not life" [非非生命体] and the "body of Not-Not thought" [非非思维体] indicated to us by today's culture. Until we can see in this (en-)cultured world and (en-)cultured crowd a renewal of full "Not-Not vigor" [非非生机], and

[529] All would marry in 1986: Liu Tao with Lan Ma, Xiao An with Yang Li, and Yang Ping with Jimu Langge. Liu Tao and Xiao An parted with their husbands in 1989.

everywhere “Not-Not values” [非非价值] abound.

This first of six sections of the Not-Not manifesto (written by Lan Ma) appears to offer a definition of the meaning of the group’s name. Stone pillars among the ruins of ancient Rome are far removed from Chinese culture, and the ideas of the Wholism group, the other well-known Chengdu-based group at the time. While Wholism claims origins in symbols of ancient Chinese culture, here Not-Not seemingly finds them in symbols of ancient western culture, although the choice of stone pillars is common to many other ancient cultures the world over, and Not-Not, like Wholism, was making universal assertions, bordering on the mystical, if not religious. Claiming that these pillars “live” and “think” in ways that are not understood by current modes of life and thought seems to justify the double use of “not” in the group name. While in modern culture these pillars are held to not live and think, the poets of the Not-Not group – though admitting they do not yet have all the answers – wish first-and-foremost to negate this currently accepted negation on the basis of a mutually-held sense of intuition and a heightened facility of direct perception. In parts 2 and 3 of the manifesto, this reading is further strengthened when Lan repeatedly states: Not-Not “is not ‘is not’” (不是不是的).

However, the ambiguous definition provided in the manifesto and in other writings and statements by the group led to years of confusion among readers and critics alike.[530] Finally, in 1994 Zhou stated the origin of the group’s name was in the early-1986 essay written as a preface for an aborted collection of Third Generation poetry edited by Yang Li and Hu Dong: <The Second Tide of the Contemporary Youth Poetry Movement and a New Challenge> (当代青年诗歌运动的第二浪潮与新的挑战).[531] In it, Zhou

[530] A striking example of a misreading of the <Manifesto> can be found in Spence (1990): 719, one of the few English languages reference to Not-Not to date. Here, Spence claims that the group was a reaction to the current “absurd” political situation. Decontextualized readings such as this were possible and dangerous, and such a reading by Sichuan’s public security forces may have been one of the reasons for the arrest of Zhou Lunyou in August 1989. (Zhou was released from prison camp in September 1991.) See more on this in Chapter 11.

[531] This article was first published in May 1986 in the second issue of the *Tide* (*浪潮*) series put out by the Flower City Press in Guangzhou. See also a slightly different version in Zhou (1999a): 186-193. Zhou also reprinted it in the May 1987 second issue of *Not-Not Criticism* (*非非评论*). Yang states that Not-Not was formed after the article was written, however *Not-Not* is listed as one of the “large poetry collections” published in Sichuan in the published article’s first paragraph. Presumably, Zhou added *Not-Not* to this list after he and others agreed to form a group in March 1986, and before initial publication of the article in Guangzhou in May.

characterized “the third wave” of post-Mao poets as being “not-sublime” (非崇高) and “not-rational” (非理性), and that a combination of the two nots produced the group’s name.[532]

The stress on intuition (returned to in Part 3 of the manifesto), on the mysterious power to perceive what lies behind, beneath, or beyond the artifices of culture and semantics, might be part of the reason this group attracted contributions from a large number of avant-garde poets – and not just women poets. That said, for women poets, here was an opportunity to create a highly personal form of poetry from which the misogynist baggage of contemporary culture (Chinese or otherwise) could be expunged. The creative freedom envisaged in the manifesto was also attractive to male poets who wished to experiment, did not wish to set restrictive codes of poetic practice (as seemed the wont of individuals such as Ouyang Jianghe), and did not seek inspiration in what seemed a failed culture tradition (as Wholism was attempting).

This iconoclasm harks back to that of the May Fourth movement of the 1920s. Apparently, *Not-Not*’s editors chose 4 May as the symbolic date on which Lan Ma’s manifesto was recorded as completed. In fact, the May Fourth movement grew out of the reformist literature- and education-based New Culture movement, which can be dated from 1915 and the founding of the *New Youth* (*新青年*) magazine by Chen Duxiu (the magazine’s editor and one of the founders of the CCP in 1921). The May Fourth movement of 1919 was a direct result of concessions given to foreign powers in China at the post-WWI Versailles conference, which sparked student demonstrations on Tian’anmen Square and imbued the earlier cultural movement with thoroughgoing political and iconoclastic elements, primarily directed against Confucian morality and the traditional social order.[533] The choice of this symbolic date for the founding of the group

---

According to Yang Li, the aborted unofficial poetry collection he and Hu Dong were editing in Chengdu in late 1985 was called *Third Generation Poetry Selection* (*第三代诗选*) (see Yang Li (2004): 585-586), but is remembered by Zhou as being entitled *South China Poetry Book* (*南中国诗卷*): see Zhou (1994b): 109.

[532] Zhou (1994b): 109. Lan claims to remember Zhou first coming up with the group name “Pre-Culturalism” (前文化主义), which Lan rejected as too rational and too direct. It was when Lan asked for a name that would express no meaning (不表意义的) that Zhou suggested ‘not-not.’ See Yang Li (2004): 584-586.

[533] For more details on these events, see Spence (1990): 312-319, Chow Tse-tsung (1960), and Lin Yusheng (1979).

indicated Not-Not was laying claim to an earlier tradition of radical literary activism that attempted to renovate China.

Given the cultural isolation visited on China after 1949, the resulting lack of ability in any language other than Chinese on the part of the vast majority of poets, and the hard experience of political and cultural dictatorship during the Cultural Revolution (and, to a lesser extent, in the aftermath of the Beijing Spring period in 1979-1980), the disillusionment of young poets and intellectuals with Chinese culture in general, and most forms of authority, is understandable. Intuition – here a faith in one's own perception and good poetical judgment – was an agreeable common denominator that allowed a disparate group of poets from all parts of Sichuan and other provinces to contribute to *Not-Not*.

## *The Founding*

As to the founding of the group, both Zhou and Lan Ma agree that Zhou was initially resistant to the idea of creating a poetry group in early 1986, with Zhou then holding a belief that poetry was a purely individual endeavor,[534] perhaps because of his bad experience with the Young Poets Association. Lan had been working on his pre-cultural consciousness ideas since late 1984, and began urging Zhou to help form a poetry group in 1986 after reading an article by Xu Jingya: <China's Poetry Scene should have the Courage to take up the Flags of Groups> (中国诗坛应有打起旗号称派的勇气).[535] The poet Zhu Ying (who would join Not-Not in 1987) also played a role: Zhou remembers Zhu first coming to him with the idea of forming a group in late 1985. [536] Zhu again urged the formation of a group in early 1986, around the same time as Lan. Zhou says he

[534] Yang Li (2004): 584; Zhou (1994b): 107.
[535] The author has not been able to identify this article, but has heard of such an article being published as a lead-in to <The Poetry Exhibition>, edited by Xu and published in October 1986. Lan may also have misremembered the name of the article. See Yang Li (2004): 584.
[536] Zhou (1994b): 106. Before being assigned to work in Xichang in 1985, Zhu had been part of a group called Illusivism (飘渺主义) while a student at the Chongqing Medical Institute

responded to Lan's later urging,[537] while Lan remembers Zhou coming to Lan after being convinced of the need for a group by Zhu Ying.[538]

In light of Zhou's previous involvement together with his brother Zhou Lunzuo in the creation of the Sichuan Young Poets Association in 1984, their lecture tour in 1985, and of Zhou Lunyou's involvement in the Three Musketeer forum in 1983-1984, his claim to have been disinterested is questionable. Presented with an opportunity to form a broad-based poetry group, centered on a journal whose editor-in-chief he would be, on past form, it seems unlikely that Zhou would not have jumped at the opportunity. However, it appears likely that the writing of <The Second Tide> article had a decisive effect on Zhou's thinking about this issue, if not the naming of the group.

Yang Li remembers receiving a letter from Zhou in March 1986 asking him to go to Xichang from Chengdu, where he had just returned from Chongqing with his new girlfriend Xiao An.[539] Upon arrival in Xichang, Yang was informed about the group, asked to contribute poetry and to help Zhou arrange for contributions from other poets in Sichuan and beyond.

It seems remarkable that Zhou would again choose to work with Yang after his experience during 1984-1985, when Yang was one of those who plotted against him in the Sichuan Young Poets Association. Presumably, Yang's invitation to write the preface for the journal he and Hu Dong were editing in 1985-1986 was something of an olive branch.

In 2002, in *Not-Not* #10, Zhou publicly revealed for the first time just how far he was willing to bend to accommodate Yang Li in 1986. In <Zhou Lunyou Discusses Yang Li> (周伦佑谈杨黎), Zhou claims that Yang had taken the original 500 RMB Zhou, Lan and their friends had gathered for the printing of the journal and spent it on food, drink,

---

[537] Ibid.: 107.

[538] Yang Li (2004): 584-585. However, Zhou states that Lan was the driving force behind the creation of the group, while describing himself as merely being a poet who did not really become interested in the group idea until he was writing a theoretical article at Lan's suggestion after they had agreed to form a group. Zhou makes it sound as if he was initially humoring Lan. The apparently decisive article was <Structural Change: A Record of the Revelations of Contemporary Art> (变构：当代艺术启示录), written at the same time as Lan was writing <An Introduction to Pre-Culture> (前文化导言) (originally entitled <Pre-Culture and Not-Not> [前文化与非非]). Both articles are recorded in *Not-Not* as being completed on 2 May.

[539] She had been a student at the Chongqing Number Three Military Medical University, and Yang had met her in the home of her classmate Liu Taiheng, a Wholism poet.

cigarettes, rent for a new apartment, and furnishings. In May-June, Yang similarly used a further 800 RMB collected by Zhou and Lan in 60 RMB installments from poetry contributors to make up for what had been lost.[540] This last act was not discovered until the eve of publication on 3 July when Lan and Zhou had to quickly scrape together money from friends in Chengdu, only raising enough to ransom 250-300 copies of the journal from the printers.[541]

In his recently published *Splendor: The Writing and Life of the Third Generation* (*灿烂：第三代人的写作和生活*), Yang does not directly address these claims of Zhou's. In a section entitled <Making *Not-Not*> (*办非非*), only the last two pages directly discuss events surrounding the establishment of the journal. Yang states that he was more of a speaker and not a doer, and that Zhou and Lan had made a mistake in leaving him alone in Chengdu to oversee the printing of *Not-Not* #1.[542] As a possible explanation of how he spent their money, Yang goes on to say he had an interest in setting up a "poetry religion," and encouraged in this direction by Jing Xiaodong and Shang Zhongmin, he rented and furnished an apartment with an eye to making it something of a temple to poetry.[543] This claim is dubious: ideas surrounding concepts of "poetry religion" in China were not circulating at the time, and would not begin to do so until after the suicide of Haizi in 1989.[544] In *The Left Side*, Bai Hua also relates such a claim, but his brief history of Not-Not in Part 4 Chapter 3 is entirely Yang Li-centered and reads as if Bai merely recorded Yang's version of events. Yang's poetry of the time does not contain noticeable religious elements, or even the mysticism evident in Lan Man's pre-culture theories. All that said, Yang was only 24 in 1986, and it seems odd that the two older poets (Zhou was 34 and Lan 29) would put so much confidence in Yang's relative inexperience and youth.

The only credible explanation for Zhou and Lan's forgiveness of Yang is the value they placed on his poetry and, thus, his participation in Not-Not. This goes back to Zhou

---

[540] See Zhou (2002d): 470. The author had heard of these incidents from other poets in Sichuan during the 1980s, but never from Zhou himself.
[541] Ibid.: 471, where Zhou says they came away with 300 copies, and Zhou (2001a): 11, where Zhou says it was 250.
[542] Yang Li (2004): 102.
[543] Ibid.: 103.
[544] For one of the earliest articles on the subject see Zhu Dake's <The Door of the Prophets – An Outline on Haizi and Luo Yihe> (先知之门—海子与骆一禾论纲), written in 1991 and first published in Sha Guang ed. (1994). Also, see Zhu (1991a) and Zhu (1991b). In English, see Yeh (1996b).

losing Liao Yiwu's friendship in summer 1984 because of his high regard for Yang's poetry. He Xiaozhu claims that Zhou wanted Yang in Not-Not because he was afraid of losing him to *Them*, as Yang had admired the poetry of Yu Jian and Han Dong since being introduced to it by Wan Xia in 1985.[545] He Xiaozhu also states that Zhou asked him to carry 30 copies of *Not-Not* to Yunnan to give to Yu Jian in an attempt to lure him to join Not-Not – however, Yu was not in Kunming when He was there.[546] The articles Zhou has written in response to these by He and Yang have not refuted these claims. In fact, the broad theoretical basis of Not-Not seems to have been designed by Zhou and Lan with the idea of creating an umbrella journal capable of housing all elements of what he and Yang termed the third wave, or Third Generation, of Chinese avant-garde poetry.

Yang has said he only went along with Zhou and Lan because he wanted to have his poetry published, further stating that his best friends were Wan Xia and Hu Dong (who left China in 1986), and that he felt a greater affinity to the poetry of Han Dong and Yu Jian than to that of any of the Not-Not poets.[547] However, Yang had written a *Book of Changes*-inspired sequence, <You Girl> (汝女), in late 1985-early 1986, for the first issue of Wholism's *Han Poetry*. This suggests that he may have been an adherent of the Wholistic tendency in early 1986, and his close links with the editors of *Han Poetry* would have required Zhou and Lan to win Yang around to their group. On the other hand, the Not-Not style of Yang's contribution to the second issue of *Han Poetry*, <Quotations and Birds> (语录与鸟), written in 1988 while helping Lan and Zhou produce issues #3 and #4 of *Not-Not*, suggests that he was only seeking a place for poetry for which there was no room in *Not-Not*. Presumably, at the time, the editors of *Han Poetry* would have seen this as something of a coup.

The extent of Zhou's tolerance of Yang Li, if not also Wan Xia, is further demonstrated by Zhou's account of Yang and Wan's attempted sabotage of the first issue of *Not-Not*.[548] In late May 1986, a day or two before the journal was to be sent to the printers for typesetting, Yang returned to his home with Wan Xia where Zhou was waiting for him with the journal's other assistant poetry editor, Jing Xiaodong (Yang was the other). Wan

[545] Yang (2004): 549.
[546] Ibid.: 556-557.
[547] Ibid.: 531-532.
[548] See Zhou (2001a): 3-5, and Zhou ed. (2002d): 470-471.

claimed he was not really part of Wholism and wanted to join Not-Not. Zhou agreed with this assessment and thought Wan's Part 4 of <The Owl King> (枭王) was a poem worthy of *Not-Not*, but still did not trust Wan. Zhou eventually allowed himself to be convinced otherwise by Wan, Yang, and Jing. However, as the journal was already set and there was not enough room for the entirety of Wan's poem, Jing Wendong[549] took it upon himself to edit it down to the size of the one-and-a-half pages that were available. Wan was furious with the result and believed that Zhou had done it, so he quit Not-Not and set about organizing his revenge.[550] In late June, after printing had already begun, Zhou and Lan discovered that an anti-Not-Not essay and a related written 'discussion' had been added to the front-inside and back-inside covers of the journal. As it turned out, the articles had been organized by Wan Xia, and the changes to the journal were approved at the printing house by Yang Li. Zhou and Lan had to rush back to Chengdu from Xichang to negotiate a reprint of the original issue with the printers, and stayed in the plant for the final 48 hours until this printing was completed.[551] And still they forgave Yang Li.

Yang, however, makes no mention of Wan Xia's participation in any of this, stating that he only added an article by Jing Xiaodong and a few articles of his own on his planned poetry religion.[552] In Yang's book *Splendor*, neither Lan Ma nor Wan Xia refers to these events. Nor have Zhou Lunyou, or any other of Sichuan's poets, who may have been privy to Yang Li's state of mind at this time, referred to Yang's interest in establishing a poetry religion in 1986.

What is also not discussed in these recent public revelations of events is how the production of *Han Poetry* by Wholism during 1986 may have served as a spur to Zhou and Lan to produce their own competing journal and group. However, Yang's contribution to *Han Poetry* of a Wholistic poem indicates that Zhou had to work to swing

---

[549] Jing was named as assistant poetry editor of *Not-Not* # 1 and assistant theory editor of *Not-Not* # 2, journals to which he contributed poetry and a theoretical essay, as well as appearing on the editorial committee lists of the two issues of *Not-Not Critique* (August 1986, May 1987). However, Zhou writes that he left the group of his own accord after publication of an anti-Not-Not article, <Facing Myself> (面向自己), in the April 1988 issue of the official Chengdu poetry journal *Stars*. Zhou states Jing never did his job, and as early as July 1986 Jing had said he was not a member of *Not-Not* at a seminar sponsored by the Sichuan chapter of the official Writers Association. See Zhou (2001a): 3.

[550] Zhou believes that because of this incident Wan left out 3/5's of his poem <Free Squares> (自由方块) when editing *The Complete Collection of Post-Misty Poetry* in 1993. See Zhou (2001a): 5.

[551] To date, no parts of this story have been refuted by Wan Xia.

[552] Yang Li (2004): 103.

Yang over into Not-Not. Yang's participation also suggests that Zhou and Lan were aware Wholism was in the process of producing their own journal at the time.

*Han Poetry* was originally scheduled to be printed in May-June 1986, but was confiscated and a reduced version of the original issue did not appear until January 1987. The mutual hostility between the groups is indicated by Yang Li when he states that between the years 1984 and 1990, the poets of these two groups frequented one particular alley in Chengdu:[553] the Not-Not poets in teahouses and restaurants on the right side of the street, the Wholism poets (including Sun Wenbo) on the left. The only time they ever came together was when visited by independent poets, such as Zhai Yongming, Bai Hua, and Ma Song.[554] Yang ignores his contributions to *Han Poetry* and the fraternization that this implies on his part.

The <Post-Editing Five Way Discussion> (编后五人谈)[555] in *Not-Not* #1 is opened by Yang Li with comments directly relating to Wholism's journal: "The conclusion of the second wave [of Post-Mao poetry] is to be announced by the imminent appearance of *Han Poetry – 1986*, just as the first wave was concluded by Xu Jingya's [essay] <The Risen Band of Poets> (崛起的诗群)."[556]

In further comments attributed to Yang Li in the <Discussion>, the inspiration behind the founding of Not-Not was that of Zhou Lunyou in March 1986, after he had written

---

[553] See Yang (2004), Chapter 4: 3. This street is Ancient Reclining Dragon Bridge Street (古卧龙桥街), located behind the Salt Market (盐市口) in the center of Chengdu.

[554] In April 2004 at the Chinese Poetry Festival in Denmark, Jing Bute (Feng Jun) remembered visiting Yang Li in Chengdu in 1988. The appearance of Shi Guangwei led Yang to call him a traitor, etc., and roundly abuse him. Jing was shocked, but Yang's comments can be traced back to the Three Musketeer Forum in 1983-1984, when he, Shi, Wan Xia, and the Song brothers participated in those forums, as opposed to the those activities organized by the 'modernists', or followers of the *Today* poets – including Ouyang Jianghe, Zhong Ming, and other contributors to the 1982 *Born-Again Forest*, among others. The fact that *Han Poetry*, edited by Shi and the Song brothers, provided a forum for Ouyang, Sun, and others of this group, may help to explain such hostile outbursts.

[555] *Not-Not* #1, pp. 78-79, 24. This consists of brief written comments by Yang Li, Zhou Lunyou, Lan Ma, Jing Xiaodong, and Shang Zhongmin.

[556] An essay first written in 1981, amended in 1982, and officially published in the 1983 No. 1 issue of *Contemporary Thought Tide in Literature and the Arts* (*当代文艺思潮*). In praise of the *Today* poets and their poetry, this article kicked off a polemic over modern poetry and resulted in Xu being forced to make self-criticism in the form of an article published in *The People's Daily* on 5 March 1984: <Always Firmly Remember the Direction of Socialist Literature and Arts> (时刻牢记社会主义的文艺方向). A partial translation of the 1983 essay into English by Ng Mau-sang can be found in *Renditions* #19 & 20 (1983) under the title of <A Volant Tribe of Bards>.

<The Second Tide> essay. Yang effectively summarizes the essay and the reasons for Not-Not's appearance in one brief paragraph:

> … [I]f it can be said that the first tide was a critique of an alienated reality and completed a negation; then the Second Tide as a return to tradition began an affirmation; the third tide is *not* negation and also *not* affirmation. The first tide was based in Beijing, the second was based in Sichuan, the third tide however is nationwide, Chengdu, Shanghai, Nanjing, Hangzhou, …..[557]

Aside from offering yet another possible meaning of Not-Not in the definition of the third tide, the adoption of the three tides trope effectively relegates the Wholism group from the third tide, or avant-garde. After forming the Third Generation Alliance in 1984, together with Zhao Ye, Wan Xia, Li Yawei, *cum suis*, Yang is here adopting Zhou's terminology and following his lead in an act of position-taking, or in an attempt to define the entire sub-field of the avant-garde. However, both Yang and Zhou would revert to using the term Third Generation: later in 1986 Yang wrote <A Train Passing Through Hell – On the Third Generation Poetry Movement 1980-1985> (穿越地狱的列车—第三代人运动 1980-1985),[558] and Zhou wrote <On the Third Generation> (论第三代) in 1988.[559] Yet, also in 1986, Zhou would coin the term the Second World of Poetry when writing about developments in post-Mao avant-garde poetry in <On the Second World of Poetry> (论第二诗界).[560] Here Zhou is casting a wide, non-exclusionary net, catching all the avant-garde, who up until then had been practicing their craft on a primarily unofficial basis. By 1988, however, poets such as Zhai Yongming and Ouyang Jianghe had effectively moved into the literary establishment, publishing many of their new works in official literary journals, thus possibly necessitating a reversion to Third Generation. Whether Third Tide or Third Generation, it is clear that in 1986 Zhou *cum suis* had ambitions to create a nationwide forum for avant-garde poets. In doing so, he, and Not-Not as a group, revealed an urge to act as not just a broadcaster, but also an

---

[557] Italics added.
[558] First published in the July 1989 issue of *Author*.
[559] Presented as a paper in May 1988 at the National Poetry Theory Discussion (Grand Canal) Conference in Jiangsu, and first published in the 1989 No. 1 issue of *Arts Wide Angle* (*艺术广角*). Also see Zhou (1999a): 167-185.
[560] First published in the August 1986 first issue of *Not-Not Criticism*. Also see Zhou (1999a): 154-166.

arbiter of the avant-garde in poetry. Essays published in Not-Not #1 further clarify this position-taking.

Zhou's theoretical essay <Structural Change> is a thinly veiled debunking of Wholism. Zhou begins by pointing out the dualistic structure shared by traditional western and Chinese thought. The dualistic structure of western thought is characterized by such oppositional pairings as chance vs. necessity, mind vs. matter, content vs. form, and Hegel's ideas about doubles, or the logic of double-dealing; while in China examples of a similar thought structure can be found in yin vs. yang, existence vs. nothingness, and action vs. inaction. Zhou's highlighting of these oppositions brings to mind the work of Derrida and his and his followers' critique, or deconstruction, of the hierarchical oppositions that have structured western thought. Not-Not's stated desire to dismantle and re-inscribe oppositions and their related discourses is further indicative of the influence of Derrida.

The differences between western and Chinese thought, Zhou claims, result from differing aesthetic habits and ways of thought. Freudian and Jungian thought is then deployed to demonstrate how cultural traditions are created and structured, before, in the final part of the essay, Zhou turns to issues addressed in Freud's <Negation> and the impulse toward structural change in art. After dealing with symbolism and the development of ideas related to individual consciousness, and how these and other factors led to the rise of modernism, alienation, individualism, and the absurd in western art, Zhou states that this situation has led western intellectuals to turn to Buddhism, Daoism, and other New Age beliefs. One of these beliefs was a methodological concept of wholism, or holism.

Sub-headed <Wholism[561] – A New Dilemma> (整体—新的困惑), without directly referring to Chengdu's Wholism group, Zhou describes the origins of the various forms of western wholism and the conservative stress on stability of such patterns of thought. Zhou then points out that results have shown the stress on stability results in a neglect of the existence of unstable elements, and, in so doing, encourages change leading on to the formation of new structures.

[561] Zhou includes the English word "wholism" in the text; p. 59.

Effectively, Zhou returns to the argument raised by his identification of three waves of post-Mao poetry[562] – the breakthrough of *Today* and modernist poetry in the late-1970s / early-1980s; the emergence of roots-seeking, culturally conservative poetry, which culminates in the poetry of Chengdu's Wholism group; followed by the breakthrough of a third wave, embodied in the poetry of groups such as Not-Not and *Them*. Zhou places a quote from George Santayana beneath the essay's title – "In art heterodoxy is orthodoxy"– as seeming justification for the appearance of Not-Not, and, by implication, the repudiation of Wholism and others who seek a return to outdated orthodoxy.

While Zhou's article sets about proving the inevitability, if not necessity, of Not-Not, Lan wrote his <Introduction to Pre-Culture> as a detailed explanation of Not-Not's raison d'être. The first part of the essay's first section, <Pre-Culture and Culture> (前文化与文化), offers readers an insight into the overall aims of the group:

> "Culture" is merely this sort of "act of humankind" – in order to be a "socialized group" humankind undertakes manipulation "beneficial to humankind" on all objects and events in the universe, and will undertake "humankind's act" of "signification" on all objects and events in the universe.
>
> This act, no matter if carried out on the so-called material universe or the so-called spiritual universe, adopts the same crude approach – arrangement! Sign arrangement!
>
> The result of this ceaseless activity brings about a "world of signs," "a world of linguistic significance."
>
> In this "cultured world," the fundamental danger lies in that: it possesses a violence that forces those who follow to see immediately the true world as "that type contained within semantics," innocently receiving [what is] "imposed upon [them] by semantics."

This sets up what Not-Not theory wants to knock down, effectively laying out a course of linguistic deconstruction, guiding the poet to a place where s/he can act as both conduit to, and seer of, the world that lies beneath the violent semantic acts of humankind. This ties in nicely with the Not-Not manifesto discussed above. It is also apparent that Lan and Zhou had been reading translations of Saussure and, probably, texts on semiotics, if not

[562] Zhou reprints the 1986 <Second Tide and the New Challenge> article in *Not-Not Critiques* # 2, May 1987.

works by Barthes, Lacan, Foucault, among others, as well. In this sense, Not-Not is noteworthy for being the first poetry group in China to address the issues raised by these theorists.

Given the apparent deadline Zhou, Lan, and Yang were working under in May, in an attempt to be in print before, or at the same time, as *Han Poetry*, what was presented as the Not-Not manifesto was, in fact, the final section of Lan's <Introduction to Pre-Culture> essay. As several central concepts of Lan's thesis were not fully explained within his essay, Zhou and Lan proceeded to write <A Small Dictionary of Not-Not-ism> (非非主义小词典) and <Not-Not-ism Poetry Methods> (非非主义诗歌方法) in order to fill this gap.[563]

One of the more interesting definitions in the Dictionary was that for "Return to Pre-Culture Origins" (前文化还原):

> By way of clearing out cultural rubbish, the process and methods whereby existence is restored to the pre-culture state. Including a return of sense perception to origins, a return of consciousness to origins, a return of language to origins. Possible replacement term: not-not (as a verb).

These terms are explained within the first part of <Poetry Methods> entitled <Not-Not-ism and a Return of Creation to Origins> (非非主义与创造还原) – the ultimate goal of Not-Not-ism when applied to poetry. The process of this method is rendered as follows:

> Three escapes – escape knowledge, escape thought, escape meaning;
> Three transcendences – transcend logic, transcend rationality, transcend grammar.

In a second section, devoted to Not-Not-ism's relationship to language, three "not-not treatments" (非非处理) are prescribed: A) Not dualist-value directional-ization; B) Not abstraction; C) Not determination.[564]

---

[563] According to Lan, see Yang (2004): 585-586.

[564] The use of terms such as "three escapes" (三逃避) and "three transcendences" (三超越) are reminiscent of CCP terms used in political campaigns. It should be remembered, however, that such linguistic shorthand was not unique to the CCP, and has a pedigree almost as old as the Chinese language.
A glance at the similar terms listed in the *Sea of Words* (*辞海*) dictionary under any number indicates that the CCP, and Mao Zedong, utilized aspects of the Chinese language which were already well established in religious, political, literary, and historical contexts. There is a deliberate irony in Zhou's use of such

Finally, in relation to criticism, Not-Not-ism maintains that aesthetic judgment is an innate ability, a form of direct perception. Realism and modernism are dismissed; the latter as being "determinant expression," as its topics and meanings are ultimately decipherable, whether through an understanding of symbolism or other commonly applied literary techniques. Essentially, modernist poetry is held to be linguistically goal-oriented, if not necessarily didactic. On the other hand, Not-Not-ism is characterized by "indeterminate description," with indeterminate topics and meanings, based on a basic tenet that in the creation of a polysemic semiotic field through the introduction of indeterminant experience into poetry, "the feeling of language" (语感) becomes more important than the sense of it (语义).

This already is a bare-bones simplification of Not-Not-ism, but what was labeled as extracts of the Not-Not-ism manifesto in Xu Jingya's <Grand Exhibition> in October 1986 was even more so. Approximately 500 characters are haphazardly taken from the journal's <Manifesto> and <Poetry Methods>, with no reference to important aspects such as the roles of direct perception and intuition. The 1988 book version of <A Grand Exhibition> carries an expanded version of a still greatly simplified manifesto.[565] However, the comments of Xu *cum suis* again confirm their editorial recreation of the manifesto, as well as stating that, in their eyes, Not-Not-ism theory is pan-cultural and not, strictly speaking, a theory of poetry. In light of these views and the misrepresentation of the group, it is not surprising that only two contributors (Xiao An[566] and Hai Nan[567]) to *Not-Not* submitted new poetry in 1988 as the book was being edited.

Yet, Lan Ma's theory was indeed pan-cultural (as was Wholism's) and became even more so in 1988 in his <Not-Not-ism Manifesto Number Two> (非非主义第二号宣言) and <Return to Origins of the Language of People and the World: Adjectives and

---

terminology in literary criticism, as any educated Mainland Chinese is bound to link it with similar terms found in CCP propaganda. Uncharitable, or humorless, critics may well read Zhou's use of such terminology as the result of the influence of CCP propaganda, or the Cultural Revolution, thereby ignoring the breadth and depth of Zhou's knowledge of the Chinese language and the subjects on which he writes.

[565] Xu et. al. (1988): 33-35.

[566] Ibid.: 503-504; <A Meeting with Death> (会见死亡) and <The Seaside> (海边).

[567] Ibid.: 505-507; <The Wind Under the Door> (门下的风), <On Your Arm Still Lonely> (在你的手臂仍然孤独), and <Return> (归来).

Cultural Value> (人与世界的语言还原：形容词与文化价值) in *Not-Not* #3, the special theory-only issue. In the same issue, Zhou authored two similarly culture-oriented essays: <Against Values / A Reckoning with Existing Cultural Values> (反价值/对已有文化的价值清算) and <The Contemporary Cultural Movement and The Third Culture> (当代文化运动与第三文化). Following Zhou's and Yang's dismissal of Wholism in *Not-Not* #1, in #3 Shang Zhongmin authored an essay, <Words from the Heart> (内心的言辞),[568] in which he denounced what he perceived as the self-mystifying acts of modernist poets such as Eliot and Pound – and thus, indirectly, their local champions, Ouyang Jianghe, Zhang Zao and other contributors to *Han Poetry* – and the modernist movement's obsession with death. These editorial acts may be seen as a continuation of hostilities, and as position-takings, within the avant-garde dating back to the publication of *The Born-Again Forest* in 1982. As a group, Not-Not was a newcomer to the avant-garde, as such a call for a return to linguistic origins was highly effective in achieving distinction and recognition both inside out of the sub-field. The initial debunking of Wholism (formed as a group in 1984) and, later, 'modernism' were classic avant-garde newcomer tactics in this regard.

To further this end, Not-Not produced the first issue of the newspaper-format *Not-Not Critiques* in August 1986.[569] Along with copies of *Not-Not* # 1, *Not-Not Critiques* was sent to selected poetry critics across the country, and was quick to elicit responses. When the second, and final, issue of *Not-Not Critiques* was published in May 1987, aside from reprinting Zhou's <Second Tide> essay and an essay by a high school student in

[568] The essay is divided into three parts: <Oppose the Modernists> (反对现代派), <Death is Someone Else's Issue> (死亡是别人的事情), and <Learn from Yourself> (向自己学习). The <Oppose> portion of the essay can be found in Wu Sijing (1993): 228-235.

[569] This paper was given over entirely to Not-Not theory, including Zhou's <On the Second World of Poetry>, Yan Zhi's <A New Consciousness Background and Attitude to Language – A Shallow Analysis of the Applicability of the Experiment in Yang Li's Poetry> (新的意识背景和语言态度—浅析杨黎诗歌的可行性实验), and <Not-Not-ism and the Future of China's New Poetry Groups> (非非主义与中国新诗流派的前途) by Liu Tao, Fanfan, and Yang Ping. In addition to these three poetry-centered essays, there was a further installment of Lan Ma's culture-oriented theoretical essays: <A Precursor of the Birth of a New Culture – Culturalism, Anti-Culture, Supra-Culture> (新文化诞生的前兆—伪文化，反文化，超文化), in which the poets of Wholism and *Han Poetry* in general were seen as advocates of "culturalism" and Not-Not of "supra-culture".

Sichuan,[570] all nine other articles were by literary reporters or critics (some were university students or instructors at the time) in China and Hongkong.[571] Names that appear here, such as Chen Chao, Chen Zhongyi, Shen Tianhong, and Gong Gaixiong, would appear again as contributors to future issues of *Not-Not* or become influential, favorable critical voices on the national poetry scene.[572] The 1988 theory-only edition of *Not-Not* seems to have been meant as a greatly expanded version of this newspaper edition.

Not-Not was in several ways ahead of its time. The group's pan-cultural theory, focus on language, and unique poetic techniques have been identified as possessing post-modernist elements by critics such as Ba Tie, Chen Shaohong, and Chen Xuguang, who may be considered neutral commentators, as well as critics with close ties to *Not-Not*, such as Shen Tianhong and Sun Jilin. Most of these critics refer to deconstructive elements present in the theory of Lan Ma and the theory and poetical practice of Zhou

---

[570] Liang Qingtun <Direct Perception – *Not-Not* – The Art of Poetry> (直觉—*非非*—诗艺), the middle school is unidentified, presumably to avoid consequences for the student. *Not-Not*, as a publication, was officially banned in early 1987, as were all other previously published unofficial poetry journals and organizations in Sichuan.

[571] In order of appearance, these articles were: 1) Yao Xinbao, reporter for HK's *文汇报* paper <"Misty Poetry" Faces a Challenge – Chinese Contemporary Literature International Seminar Report # 3> ("朦胧诗"面临挑战—中国当代文学国际讨论会侧记之三), featuring comments about the Third Generation from Shu Ting and Xie Mian; 2) Lin Jiong in *Thumb* (*Da muzhi*) <Not-Not-ism and Post-Modernism – Notes on the "New Poetry Tide" # 2> (非非主义与后现代主义—"新诗潮"笔记之二); 3) Shen Tianhong, an excerpt from his book *Chinese Poetry: After Modernism* (*中国诗歌：现代主义之后*); 4) Zhou Dao in *The Literature Press* (*文学报*) 13 Nov. 1986, <Don't Get Too Used to Playing with the Bird in Our Hand – Shu Ting Talks about the Newborn Generation in Poetry> ("不要玩熟了我们手里的鸟"—舒婷谈诗歌创作中的"新生代"); 5) Chen Zhongyi in *The Poetry Press*, 21 October 1986 <Outlook> (展望) [this article was published together with Xu Jingya's <Grand Poetry Exhibition>.]; 6) Chen Chao, then an instructor at Hebei Teachers University, <*Not-Not*: The Discovery of a Continent of New Art> (*非非*：新艺术大陆的发现) [Presumably this and other articles were solicited by *Not-Not* editors.]; 7) Gong Gaixiong, then an instructor at the Leshan Education Institute in Sichuan, <Not-Not-ism and Creationism Consciousness – Written Upon First Learning of *Not-Not*> (非非主义与造天意识—写在新识*非非*之时); 8) Chen Jingdong, a university student at Zhejiang Normal University, <The Impulse Sign Creation and the Segmental Nature of Development of the Arts – Also Discussing the Significance of Not-Not-ism for Knowledge of the Arts and Its Inadequacies> (符号创造的冲动和艺术发展的层次性—兼谈非非主义在艺术认识上的意义和不足); 9) Situ Min in *Contemporary Poetry* (*当代诗歌*), 1987 issue # 1, <A Brief Explanation of Not-Not-ism> (非非主义简介).

[572] Chen Chao would edit *Chinese Exploratory Poetry Appreciation Dictionary* (1989) and select 18 poems that appeared in *Not-Not* from eight contributors for explication. In the order of their appearance in the book they are: Yang Li, Ding Dang, Li Yawei, He Xiaozhu, Liang Xiaoming, Zhou Lunyou, Shang Zhongmin, and Yu Gang.

Lunyou. Most other critics, however, make no mention of post-modernism and focus on the theories and practice found in Not-Not publications. Furthermore, given the size, longevity, and stated ambitions of Not-Not, all surveys of post-Mao poetry mention the group. Generally, the number of pages devoted to the group is an indication of the critic's attitude towards their work. Some, such as Li Xinyu, dismiss it out of hand, devoting less than two pages to Not-Not. Li Zhen, on the other hand, has 30 pages on the poetry of *Not-Not*'s key contributors. Most authors of such book-form surveys manage something between these two extremes.[573]

Critics such as Cheng Guangwei, have made extremely cutting comments about *Not-Not*, reproducing elements of the analysis rendered by Ouyang Jianghe in his 1993 article <Another Kind of Reading> (另一种阅读).[574] In this article, Ouyang states that the sources of Not-Not-ism can be found in the Red Guard movement, the political model of Mao Zedong's, and the ideas behind the nouveau roman as exemplified by the work and theories of Robbe-Grillet. While there is some truth in the latter charge, the former two seem overly subjective products of amateur psychological analysis and personal animosity. As has been shown, there is a firm basis for hostility between Ouyang and some of the poets involved with Not-Not, dating back to 1982 and the publication of *The Born-Again Forest*. Moreover, it is not surprising that Ouyang should respond negatively to direct attacks on his poetical practice. That Not-Not adopted western avant-garde tactics and theory to use against poets and schools of poetry in dominant or publicly recognized positions, might have come as a surprise in 1986, but by 1993 Ouyang and others could not claim ignorance of the very traditions they played such a large part in importing and adapting to China's poetry scene.

Recently, the critic Cheng Guangwei chose to reproduce and adopt some of Ouyang's comments, in particular the slur about some form of Red Guard psychology. This seems a product of the polemic over "intellectual" and "among the people," or "popular," poetics

---

[573] Liao et al. (1989); Chen Shaohong (1990); Chen Xuguang (1996): 136-152, this article can also be found as a post-script to Zhou Lunyou ed.(1994c): 352-369, and independently in Chen (1994a); Shen Tianhong (1994); Sun Jilin (1989-1998); Li Xunyu (2000): 294-295; Li Zhen (2001): 168-181, 216-230; Xiang Weiguo (2002): 107-114; Chang & Lu (2002): 209-216; Xie & Liang (1993): 291-303; Wang Guangming (1993): 216-220; Wu Kaijin (1991): 225-234; Cheng Guangwei (2003): 302-307. It should be noted that Li Zhen contributed an essay to the theory-only 1988 issue of *Not-Not*: <The Musical Spirit of Poetry> (诗的音乐精神).

[574] Ouyang (1993d).

that obsessed the poetry scene in China in 1998-2000 (Cheng's survey of contemporary Chinese poetry was written at precisely this time, though published in 2003). Both Ouyang and Cheng were proponents of the "intellectual" camp, which can be seen as an incarnation of the "serious, modernist" poetics Ouyang had been championing since 1982, which in its turn had drawn strong negative responses from Third Generation and other experimental poets in Sichuan during the 1980s in particular.[575]

A more charitable, though also harsh, assessment of the poets of Not-Not and Third Generation poets in general, is that of Chen Xuguang, a generally sympathetic critic. He sees similarities between these poets and the Dadaists, the Beat generation, the May 1968 generation in France, and – again – the Red Guard movement. Chen writes that because the younger poets missed having the power and playing the roles of Red Guards and rusticated youths, they make up for it by wreaking havoc within poetry.[576] This ignores the fact that Lan Ma and Zhou Lunyou, as older poets, did not miss out. (So, was Ouyang insinuating that Zhou and Lan had not grown out of this 'phase', whereas he had?)

The concluding paragraph of Zhou Lunyou's <Anti-Values>, essay in *Not-Not* #3 sums up the position of himself and Not-Not-ism in general:

> The value exercises of mankind compare well to a ball game: My father's generation and the father generations of my father's generation all enthusiastically joined in --- getting into the championship match and claiming the prize being the highest objective. They never thought about who fixed the entire set of rules that controlled the competition, or whether the rules were reasonable, and so on. Before myself, there have been some who have refused to join the contest. This wasn't because they had grown tired of the protracted competition, or because they had become suspicious of it, but because they knew full well that they could not come out victorious. They chose to adopt an attitude of refusal in order to save face. As far as I'm concerned, the question is not whether or not to refuse to join in the match, the problem I have discovered is more important by far than the match itself: The value-based behavior of mankind is merely a game, and in this game we are the ones being played with. What actually controls the game are a few terms and a self-manipulating set of rules that comes with them. These terms and their rules throw you, us, them, this flock of stupid things into a game of chance, they make us perform with ourselves as audience. After the wheel had spun a few times, I finally understood: I am in it, but I must not be in it! By way of destroying its sacred rules I will stop this

[575] For more on this, and the role of Cheng Guangwei in particular, see Maghiel van Crevel's forthcoming article <The Intellectual vs. the Popular – A Polemic in Chinese Poetry>.
[576] Chen Xuguang (1996): 138-139.

> great game, and, furthermore, replace it with new rules – This, then, is what I am now doing and want you to join together with me to do. Let's do it together!
>
> The realization of anti-values is, therefore, the creation of new values – only when that is achieved can one say: I have moved one step forward.

Idealistic and naïve in the extreme, certainly political, and, ultimately, unrealizable, but can these ideas be equated with the mindset and actions of a Red Guard? It seems that Not-Not as a group, or tendency, has more in common with Dadaism, surrealism, and other such western art movements of the early twentieth century, as Zhou himself states in his essays, than with the Red Guards. The Red Guards were manipulated by the political powers of the time. These powers took advantage of youth's natural tendency to challenge authority by allowing them to do so until there was a loss of control, upon which the Red Guard movement was ruthlessly crushed.[577] Equating avant-garde position-takings with the real crimes and deaths that came about during the Red Guard movement is clearly excessive and inappropriate.

However, there does seem to be a greater stress on destruction, or deconstruction, than on creation in Not-Not theory. While it may seem necessary to a builder, or maker, that the ground must be cleared before a new, better structure can be built – instead of endlessly adding to the existing structure – when the building blocks are words, and not bricks, the analogy may no longer hold.

A look at the poetry of Not-Not may provide better answers to questions raised about the practicality of the theory.

### The Poetry of *Not-Not*

This section focuses on the work of a necessarily limited number of contributors to *Not-Not* 1986-1988: namely, Zhou Lunyou, Lan Ma, Yang Li, He Xiaozhu, Shang Zhongming, and Xiao An.

[577] For more of Red Guards in English see Spence (1990): 604-610; and Li Zhensheng (2003).

In <The Thirteen-Step Flight of Stairs> (十三级台阶),[578] as in his pre-1986 poetry, Zhou employs irrational experience as he proceeds to map out a thirteen-step evolution of human life up until the point that he has "finished walking the thirteen-step flight of stairs / You are no longer a man of language." Here "you" has reached a state of pure perception free of all the obfuscating cultural baggage that began to accumulate with the willful naming of things on the first step of the stairs. Presumably, this is a demonstration of Not-Not theory in practice. However, as Xu Jingya points out,[579] the poem is altogether too logical to be a demonstration of Not-Not-ism as described in the manifesto.

Zhou Lunyou's next major poem, <Free Squares> (自由方块),[580] published in *Not-Not* #2 (1987), is an attempt to embody and demonstrate in poetical form the value-based linguistic game in which mankind is caught, and, in so doing, to show the reader the ridiculous nature of current linguistic practice. Zhou adopts a satiric stance to expose the discord between the individual and culture in general. The contradictions he himself must have experienced are prominent throughout the poem: man is at ease with himself, but unable to act for himself; he is impulsive but unable to act freely; he is alone but unable to keep his silence, and so on. A satiric poet is necessarily a rebel, but because the poem's internal monologue is presented as an aside, it takes on an instructive, revelatory form. The pose of the satirist is that of having complete comprehension; the poet attempts to transcend the absurd nature of the world he lives in. Zhou's intention is to overcome this absurdity by way of word games.

For example, part one of <Free Squares> is an expression of extreme skepticism in the believability of poses in and of themselves:

> The pose should be paid attention to. As a traditional beauty pays attention to the look of her face. For example, she does not bare her teeth when laughing. For instance, not being allowed to cast sidelong glances. Pierre Cardin chooses you as a model..... Sit

[578] Written in early April 1986 and first published in *Not-Not* #1. Officially published in October 1986 in Part 2 of Xu Jingya's <A Grand Exhibition>.
[579] Xu Jingya (1989): 185.
[580] Anthologized in Chen Chao ed. (1989); Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992); and Zhou Lunyou ed. (1994c) (in its entirety).

> by the south wall. Sit facing the wall. All these are ways in which the wise ones would sit. You're not a sage. You don't think the supreme lord is about to come down among us. You can sit more casually .....

"Pose" (姿势) is perhaps better translated as 'position'. The term appears to refer to the role an individual chooses or is assigned within culture. The pose determines the individual's relationship with culture and other individuals, but bears little relation, in Zhou's conception of the situation, to the basic nature and instincts of the individual. This is somewhat similar to Bourdieu's ideas about positions and position-takings. It is possible that there were already translations of Bourdieu in China, and the breadth of Zhou's knowledge of western literary and sociological theory in 1986 is clear from his writings – something no literary critic could claim at the time. In any case, while other poets, such as Ouyang Jianghe, were writing about the technique and topics of foreign avant-garde poetry, Zhou was the only one to write about the actual functioning of the avant-garde system, and did so in a way that suggests an understanding of it not dissimilar to that of Bourdieu.

Part one of <Free Squares>, entitled <Motive I: Position Plan> (动机一：姿势设计), seeks to expose the inhuman nature of culture. Alienated man (uncertain, unsettled, with little self-control) does not know if his pose should be based on instinct or agreement with cultural conventions. The tragedy is that this person in search of a pose is not learning from the experience of life's tragedy, but as quickly as possible searches out a pose in which to reside and there to accustom himself to his alienated reality. This act exposes the degree to which he has already been twisted by that reality. Throughout this first part, Zhou makes constant direct and indirect allusion to the figures and 'poses' of classical Chinese poetry, in addition to Buddhism and other ancient philosophies and practices. It is apparent that to some degree his satire is directed against certain trends among China's poets, which he repeatedly touches upon in critical essays written before and after the writing of <Free Squares>.

Just as deliberately, <Motive I> is written in a style designed to impress upon the reader the often unconscious, reflexive nature of pose picking, or 'position design.' Zhou achieves this affect by stringing together allusions to Chinese classical poetry, philosophy, and religion in a way that approaches interior monologue, somewhat similar to stream of

consciousness technique. Here the poet's paradoxical relationship with traditional culture is demonstrated: using it for 'inspiration' while denying it as a living tradition.

In <Motive V: The Salt of Refusal> (动机五：拒绝之盐), Zhou writes of the individual's feelings of anxiety and atrophy. Here "you" is a sacrificial offering to traditional culture. The anxiety of "you" is the result of the simultaneous expiration of both the life of the individual and traditional culture (a thinly veiled reference to the ascension of the CCP to power in 1949), and is not the product of a post-industrial society (as it may be in modern western poetry).

> When necessary learn how to shake your head or wave your hand
> If both your head and your hand are not free
> You must learn silence

All paths are closed to the individual by a list of over twenty refusals. The refusals of "you" are not those of an Ah Q-like character (self-aggrandizing), but are rooted in feelings of self-abasement, of being abandoned or discarded, and the lack of any spiritual goal whatsoever. Traditional culture has taught "you" only two things: the blind following of others (blind faith), and a lack of emotion, as mindless in the midst of all this "you" feels nothing:

> Refusing is an art
> The attacking army is at the walls
> You're still enjoying your siesta
> Shuffle the chessmen idly
> At the Pavilion of Uninterrupted Leisure listen to the water and the fish

On the surface, the appearance of composed correctness is an expression of self-abasement and abandonment. "We" (which can be alternatively read as all Chinese people, the generation who grew up during the Cultural Revolution, or the poets who have emerged from that generation) are left at the side of the road by the rest of the world. The poet is in misery; he scorns his soul, his spirit, his Self, and yet cries out for them at the same time.

In <Motive VI: West of Tahiti> (动机六：塔希提以西), the concluding section of <Free Squares>, Zhou returns to one of his pet subjects, that of abstract painters and their

paintings: this time it is Paul Gauguin, who also protested against the "disease" of civilization and set out for Tahiti in 1891, there doing some of his best work and writing the autobiographical novel, *Noa Noa*. Here and in the second half of this section Zhou deals with Daoist philosophy and the illusory, arbitrary nature of attributing meaning to cultural artifacts. Ultimately:

> **-- You didn't come from anywhere.** **(Where did we come from?**
> -- You aren't anything. (Who are we?
> -- You aren't going anywhere. (Where are we going?
>
> **I eat therefore I am.**
> **And that's all there is to it.**
>
> **(You meditate on a step of the stair. Make a circuit of the dome. There's no door in or out. You sit down and don't ever want to get up again)**

In Zhou's next major poem, <Portrait of the Head> (头像),[581] written in 1987 and published in 1988's *Not-Not* #4, he continues to mock the earnest nature of the various mien of humanity. A drawing of a human head complete with facial features at the top of the manuscript slowly loses those features so that by the fifth and final section of the poem nothing of the head remains at all: Man has lost himself among the illusory symbols of culture. Finally, the poet declares:

> **GREAT VIRTUE.** Real people don't expose their faces. Like an antelope hanging its horns in a tree while it sleeps. No trace to be found.....
> **GREAT VIRTUE.** Personality is a mask. For people to look at. Whether lofty or refined is determined by the plot of the play. A hero without a head. Without scruples .....

In this section of the poem, Zhou, or the I-speaker, addresses a plural "you." It becomes apparent that he is addressing his remarks to China's modern day literati and intellectuals in general: "The world isn't a problem. Problems are a form of addiction. Fabricate a balloon out of nothing and then explode it." Zhou appears to be referring to man's love of abstracting an unreal thing out of something real, creating problems where none had previously existed. "[You] have caused this world to lose its face," it has been made to

[581] Anthologized in Chen Xuguang ed. (1994b); Zhou ed. (1994c).

become something else, just as man's innate nature has been buried beneath the abstractions of culture.

In the end Zhou appears to make an appeal for simplicity in Chinese poetry, in line with Not-Not's call for a restoration of the senses, consciousness and language to their original state, when he concludes this poem thus: "More plum blossoms and less of that / Vacancy." The blossoms are after all real, while our heads are filled with the fabrications of culture, the fictions of our own minds.

Zhou's discarding of the lyrical language of poetry is also part of his rebellion against so-called poses, even though, therefore, he has no choice but to choose another type of non-lyrical ironic pose. To the satirist, reality is revealed in an absurd form, and this then is the reason Zhou uses a bored speaking voice to express the design (affected, artificial creation) of poses in <Free Squares>, or the concealment and elimination of the portrait of the head.

Commentators point out the paradoxical nature of these two long poems of Zhou's, noting that cultural instruments (poetry and language) are used to deconstruct themselves. Li Zhen states that <Free Squares> is a non-culture text provided by a poet whose head, and writing, is full of little else but culture, and that this paradox is missed by critics who favor Not-Not-ism. However, as observed by Chen Xuguang, there is an element self-deconstruction in the poetry of Zhou Lunyou in particular, and Not-Not poets in general,[582] in addition to a general spirit of gamesmanship and a strong sense, or need, of difference. In the cases of Zhou and Yang Li in particular, Not-Not seems a logical extension of previous aesthetics practiced in earlier poetry, in Zhou's case <The Man with the Owl> and the <Wolf Valley> poems, and in Yang's <The Stranger>.

### *Lan Ma*

More than other poets in the group, Lan Ma attempts to put his Not-Not poetical theory into practice. (Zhou does too, but his theories are pan-cultural, focused on deconstruction of semantics, cultural values, and icons, and he goes about his task both within his poetry and theory.) On reading the poetry in *Not-Not* #1, Xu Jingya felt Lan

[582] See Chang & Lu (2002): 210-211; Chen Xuguang (1996): 140; Li Zhen (2001): 168.

Ma's poems had come closest to achieving their aim of manifesting pre-cultural consciousness.[583]

Lan's stress on the sense or feeling of, or for, language is reflected in the following poem from *Not-Not* #1:

**<Tone Color>** (音色)

In a deep cave that substantial animal
has already begun its getaway
the curvy surface of blue iron rails rolls glass dumb-bells
and racing forward in pursuit is me instead
I'm like series of movements released beyond my body

tightly trussed by my own skin in thick grass briefly declare to stand alone
then disappear
the big tool I repair sleep with is now on a slope with a wild deer
simultaneously braving rain
pretending to be a plant

she says part the shadows of the trees
the owl and the mountain lion will be the same pure white
and that timely snowfall is turning a corner I can retreat into a grass hut
in the swaying of the rain flurry outside
the glass reflects fish
gives me a deep sense of my own color when it's time to enter dreams
still part here part not

In these early poems, Lan apparently tries to use what he calls uncultured language: words that carry no excess of cultural baggage. Unlike his later poems, these poems can, and perhaps should, be read aloud to produce the effects Lan seeks. Having said this, there appears to be a great deal of potentially symbolic language in the text. However, there is no identifiable sense to his use of imagery such as "pure white" owls and mountain lion, for instance. The references to sleep and dreams in the last stanza indicate that this poem has more in common with the surrealistic and Freudian imagery of Zhou Lunyou's <Wolf Valley> poems.

Lan, in his essays, speaks of *yuyun* 语晕, or language giddiness, instead of the term *yugan* 语感, or language feeling / sensation, championed by Yang Li among others.[584]

[583] Xu Jingya (1989): 185.

The term, like Lan Ma's pre-culture theory in general, carries mystical overtones. On the other hand, Yang's choice of terminology 'sounds' more logical, more rational. In this instance, whatever language giddiness is produced seems to come from the swirl of movement and imagery within the poem. Xu Jingya and Lan Ma both apparently feel that this irrational approach to poetry and language was best suited to the purpose of Not-Not at the time. Other critics are not so understanding. As they search for meaning within the strings of tantalizing images, they were left with feelings of frustration[585] – not the feelings Lan is hoping to produce.

In 1987's *Not-Not* #2, Lan chooses to approach his language concerns from another angle. What follows is the first of the poem's nine stanzas:

**<6 8** ( 六八
**48>** 四十八)

to stand
and
not
to stand or sit or not sit at all
is only open a book to read or not to read is not important
all the whole text is only word word er er er er[586]
the [you] may also skim "a hazy road to world's ends" way of saying things
same following the phonology sonorously chant it then stalk off didi gugu
er er er er

As if in reaction to the responses of frustrated readers of his 1986 poems, Lan adopts a form that forces the reader to follow the poet's intent in their reading. Imagery is consciously denied, or ridiculed – the phrase "a hazy road to world's ends" (茫茫天涯路) being a case in point. The use of apparent onomatopoeic clusters, such as "er er" and "didi gugu," seems to be mockery of those who insist on trying to make the words

---

[584] It is possible that this term was first coined by Yu Jian in September 1986 in Taiyuan as part of a statement about his view of poetry written for the annual officially sponsored Youth Poetry Conference. (Zhai Yongming was also invited.) As previously noted, Yang Li was a big fan of Yu's poetry, and it is possible that he chose Yu's terminology over Lan's for this reason. See Yu Jian (1986) and (1988a) for versions of Yu's original comments. It seems that Lan Ma's term predates Yu's, so it is also possible that Lan influenced Yu in this matter.

[585] See, for example, Xie & Liang (1993): 302-303.

[586] *Er* 尔 as a written character has the original meaning of 'luxuriant,' but also: 'near'; 'shallow'; 'you' (singular and plural); 'that'; 'this'; 'so'.

come to life on the page, and in their minds, through the traditional art of recitation. As cultural constructs, the characters themselves are now under question. In fact, the sounds produced when reading the characters aloud make the reader sound maniacal. There is humor here, but is it poetry? Now, it seems, Lan is not only working against imagery but also sound, as noted by Li Zhen.[587] In fact, a reading of Lan Ma's theories on pre-culture would indicate that his distrust, even hatred, of cultured language, might logically call into question all sounds and meanings produced by Chinese characters.

The paradox inherent in such an approach to language, and poetry, led Lan to take a further, logical step in 1988:

**<The Field of Life>** (世的界)

indicate boat
indicate sail
indicate bird
indicate gull
and woodland
and graveyard
and combine
already acting as matter
but emitting light
flashing light
then acting as a shudder
there's east
there's west
must know sea has an east
boat has a west
read downwards
it is
afternoon
sleep-like
dreamy-like
sultry-like
below is
a concept

it's both light
and silk thread
both glimmering

[587] Li Zhen (2001): 177-178.

and fluttering
yet the result
is a great sea
blossoming with white flowers
and sail
boats
pigeons
seagulls
etcetera
small labels

This partial translation is of the opening to Lan's only poetical contribution to *Not-Not* #4. However, it receives pride of place, opening the issue and occupying the first 12 pages of text. Essentially, the poem is a constructive deconstruction of the Chinese language. While Zhou Lunyou in his major poems deconstructs cultural values and language, Lan focuses on the plastic nature of meaning and the arbitrary nature of signification. In English translation, only an intimation of Lan's technique is revealed. A case in point being the character *ge* 鴿, translated as "bird" in the first stanza, which means pigeon in written Chinese, but does not become a "pigeon" in spoken Chinese until rendered as *gezi* 鴿子 in the second paragraph. Farther on in the poem, following on from the logical development of linguistic concepts within the poem, Lan creates new combinations of characters, or new words, which find meaning within the context of the poem. Effectively, Lan deconstructs and creates at the same time. However, the ultimate message is still that linguistic signification is arbitrary, as is the value attached to signs – an idea which Zhou and Lan must have picked up from reading translations of Saussure and semiotics.

Given Not-Not-ism's stated belief that there is life in all things and that only intuition combined with direct perception, screened free of culture, can render it to us, it seems that both Lan Ma and Zhou Lunyou, by way of their poetry and essays written during 1986-1988, demonstrate the paradoxical nature of language, and by extension poetry and themselves as poets. By 1988, both these writers had effectively negated their own poetry. The same cannot be said for the rest of the Not-Not poets, none of whom can be said to have shared the same thoroughgoing skepticism toward language and culture as exhibited by Lan and Zhou.

The critics Xie Zesheng and Liang Changzhou find *Not-Not* to be the poetry group most representative of the heterogeneous group of avant-garde poets often referred to as the Third Generation.[588] The fact that Zhou Lunyou wrote several articles defining what this tendency consisted of during 1986-1988, culminating in <On Third Generation Poetry> in 1988, indicates that he was well aware of the general similarities in avant-garde poetic tendencies nationwide. In that essay, he defines the universal tendencies of Third Generation poets as being not-sublime (非崇高), not-cultural (非文化), and not-rhetorical (非修辞).[589] Given the general nature of this terminology, it comes as no surprise that Not-Not, as a journal if not as a group, attracted contributions and membership from a wide array of poets throughout Sichuan and the rest of China.

## *Yang Li*

Yang Li is a case in point. As noted previously, Yang claims that in 1985 he felt an affinity with the poetry by Han Dong and Yu Jian of the *Them* group in Nanjing, and the critic Li Zhen observes a similarity in the poetics of work produced by the three during 1984-1985.[590] The following poem was written by Yang in 1985 and is the first poem in the text of *Not-Not* #1:

### **<Street Scenes>** (街景)[591]

This street is far from the city center
when night falls
the street is unusually quiet

At the moment it's winter
snow is drifting down

This street is long
French parasols neatly grow

[588] Xie & Liang (1993): 292.
[589] It should be noted that many critics, when referring to these general shared tendencies, substitute the word 'anti-' [反] for 'not-' [非], as in anti-culture.
[590] Li Zhen (2001): 171-172. Li also refers to the work of *Them*-contributor Ding Dang as sharing the same tendencies – Ding contributed five poems to *Not-Not* #1.
[591] Anthologized in Chen Chao ed. (1989); Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992); Chen Xuguang ed. (1994b); Zhou Lunyou ed. (1994d).

on both sides of the street
(in summer
parasol leaves cover
the whole street)

At the moment it's winter
the parasol leaves
long ago fell

The intersection is a pretty big empty space
aside from the two garbage cans
there is nothing

Snow
has been falling a long while
a thin layer has formed
on roofs  on both sides of the street

Both sides are all squat flat-roofed houses
at this time
the doors and windows of these houses
are all tightly shut

It's still not too late now
the night's just about to fall

These are only the first eight of the poem's 44 stanzas. The critic Chen Chao characterizes this poem as "coldly objective" (冷客观),[592] his adoption of this term apparently based on Yang's dedication of this poem to Robbe-Grillet. Changing perspectives, recurring images, impersonally depicted physical objects, and random events of everyday life, all of which are aspects clearly present in Yang's poems in Not-Not #1, as well as his earlier poems <The Stranger> and <Noon>, characterize Robbe-Grillet's novels. These techniques have been identified by critics such as Li Zhensheng[593] as part of Not-Not's group objective of "returning to origins," in this case direct observation of things as they are, or in their 'original true' (本真) states. Wu Kaijin, for example, sees the literary experimentation of Not-Not and the nouveau

[592] Chen Chao ed. (1989): 535. [In Chen's anthology the poem is entitled <Cold Scenes> (冷风景), which is in fact the name given by Zhou Lunyou as the editor to Yang's group of three poems in *Not-Not* # 1, pp. 3-8.]
[593] Li Zhensheng (1995).

roman as sharing the same goal of returning humanity and nature to their original state of pre-cultural existence.[594] As noted by Yang himself, his poetry demonstrates an affinity with that of the *Them* group in Nanjing, in particular his use of colloquial speech and his apparent anti-mystical (反神化) approach to poetry.

However, one of Not-Not's goals, as stated in the manifesto, is to transcend semantics, and, in this regard, they also claimed the somewhat mystical belief that sound is at the core of the universe, all things in it, and even predates all creation. In *Not-Not* #3, Yang Li authored the essay <The Discovery of Sound> (声音的发现) in which he dates his discovery of this universal sound to the spring of 1984. This concern with sound and its transference into poetry is seemingly absent in <Street Scenes>. The cold description of things and actions distracts the reader from discovering the sound, or sounds, which may accompany it or rise up over the flat surface of things and events. The following poem, written in 1986, and published in *Not-Not* #2, attempts to attain a similar goal, but from a different angle:

**<A High Place>** (高处)[595]

A
or B
anyway very light
very weak
also very short
but very important
A, or B
passes by an ear
off toward a distant place
and from the distant place
toward a forest
then from the forest
toward the sky above
A
or B
please close your eyes
see here
see a cat
a volcano

[594] Wu Kaijin (1991): 230.
[595] Anthologized in Zhou (1994c).

a road
or night
or a stranger
as if
B
or A
I finally hear
only a sort of sound
I finally feel
just them
I finally see
myself
standing in front of a door
a hat in hand
behind is
the whole of sundown
B, or A

This is a translation of approximately one quarter of the poem. As noted by Cheng Guangwei, <A High Place> is an attempt by Yang to transcend semantics, one of Not-Not's stated goals, as Yang attempts to render pure sound in an abstract state. Li Zhen, points out that this sound Yang attempts to convey can be nothing other than the sound of language, no matter how hard Yang tries to extract the sound, or sensation of language, by divorcing the signifiers from the signified in his poetry. However, trying to achieve direct perception of sound (and movement) by way of the cultural artifacts that are the written language and poetry, remained an obsession with Yang Li – *Not-Not* #4 contains four long poems attempting a similar experiment: <Sound> (声音), <Big Rain> (大雨), <Aa>, and <Movement> (动作). Some readers, such as Wu Kaijin, are satisfied, even enthralled, by the sound, or sounds, Yang leads them to in these poems.[596] However, even the fans of this poetry recognize the paradox *Not-Not* found itself in: the inability to escape language, semantics, and the rationality behind these structures, while using language to do so. Once the experimental phase ends, the poet is left with a new language, new semantics, and a rational basis on which it all stands, all of which is ripe for a new round of deconstruction in its turn. It must be said that this paradox is not

[596] Cheng Guangwei (2003): 306; Li Zhen (2001): 174-176; Wu Kaijin (1991): 232.

a situation unique to avant-garde poetry in China, but one of the basic features of such poetry the world over.

### *He Xiaozhu*

After entering Not-Not as the poet of the nouveau roman, Yang Li eventually developed poetry in line with the group's deconstructive ethos. Another poet to experience such a transformation was He Xiaozhu.

Between 1984-1986, He had the habit of mailing his poetry to Zhou Lunyou. While some of it was published in regional literary journals such as *The Literary Wind of Ba Country* in 1985-1986, most remained unpublished, and He unnoticed nationally, until Zhou selected a group of ten poems for publication in *Not-Not* #1. The poems, presented as a poetry series under the title <City of Ghosts> (鬼城), featured surrealistic meditations steeped in the animistic mysticism of the Ba region and the Miao people, of which He was a member.

#### **<Chicken Feathers>** (鸡毛)[597]

You think of chicken feathers
when looking at a snowy mountain
a soft thing

Then on the back of a feather the snowy mountain
day by day grows thin
a very feathery illusion

Always

From door cracks
there are seemingly soft fingers extending towards you
thirteen severed digits dripping chicken blood
was that page of divinations
written in this way

You think

[597] Anthologized with other poems from this series in Chen Chao ed. (1989), Tang Xiaodu ed. (1992), and Zhou Lunyou ed. (1994c), among others.

never again can you stick a chicken feather in your collar
with a pregnant expression your wife
looks up at the strange landscape on your face

The sense of irrational mysticism in this and the other poems in the series, led Zhou to place He's poetry in second position in *Not-Not* #1, after Yang Li and before himself. Lan Ma's poetry completed this first section of the journal, which carried the title <Not-Not Demeanor> (非非风度).

The following year in *Not-Not* #2, He Xiaozhu's poetry was in a section of the same name, but now the poetry of Zhou, Yang, and Lan was placed in an untitled section that opened the journal, presumably implying that this was now true *Not-Not* poetry. He's contribution consisted of one long poem, <The City of Dimazhuo'ou> (第马着欧的城), which retained the mystical elements of his earlier, shorter poetry, but also tried to combine these with a message about the futility of cultural expression.

By *Not-Not* #4, however, He had graduated to full Not-Not status when his poem series, entitled <Poem Series> (组诗), regained second position in the issue after Lan Ma's contribution. This poem is dedicated to Lan Ma and is a product of the influence of his pre-culture theory.

In fact, He's series of poems is made up of two series: the first consists of six poems entitled <First Series: Humankind Initially Used the Left Hand for Writing> (第一组诗：人类最初用左手写文字). This section features poems about sand, wind, trees, birds, clouds, fish, and seasons, and portray language as it may have existed in a pre-cultural setting. <Second Series: Language is a Knot Tied by Humankind with the Left and the Right Hand> (第二组诗：语言是人类用左手和右手打上的结) is in direct contrast with <First Series> as it demonstrates the difficulties for perception created by an excess of culture, or accumulated semantic development. This series consists of three poems entitled <This is the Sun> (这是太阳) and four poems with the title of <I Open My Mouth Wide> (我张大嘴巴), the last of which consists of three numbered poems.

**<I Open My Mouth Wide # 4>**
2

So many times, I open my mouth at midnight, following
the edge of language, trapping those unknown insects
but once language is formed, then like a limitless universe
there is no core, also no edge. Like a net,
no matter sun moon stars,
or my mouth, all are cornered beasts in the net,
the most carefree dreamscape and imagination, are merely
spiders on a web, wearily crawling here and there playing with
one after another stiff word.
I aspire to locate a nameless little flower, put it in my mouth
let its green stem sterilize the poison in my mouth. I aspire
to transcend all norms and laws, open my mouth wide, let the wind
freely pass through my tender heart, let every cell of my skin
get close to the sound of that wind. But the winds
are clearly not pure and refreshing, they've long been
breathed thousands of times by the lungs of humankind, and carry a heavy
odor of nicotine and printing ink

The last poem has the poet closing his mouth (but continuing to write), forgetting how to use the right hand to write (the left side of his brain), and listening to another language – that of the trees, birds, and fish previously seen in <First Series>. Here is an obvious contradiction: a call for silence faced by the desire to write poetry. Li Zhen states that, broadly speaking, all poetry is like a noise, or clamor, located between silence and saying.[598] However, Li is one of the very few critics who consider He Xiaozhu worth mentioning beyond placing his name in a list of Not-Not members at the time. This may be because of the obvious influence of the three more prominent members of Not-Not on He's later poetry. In fact, until recent years, very few anthologies selected any of his poems other than those found in <The City of Ghosts> series.[599]

[598] Li Zhen (2001): 222.
[599] Another *Not-Not* poet, who has reemerged together with Yang Li and He Xiaozhu in recent years, is Jimu Langge, who contributed poetry to all issues of the journal during this period. He and Jimu were the only two non-Han poets active in the Second World in Sichuan during 1986-1989.

*Shang Zhongmin*

Shang Zhongmin is another 'outsider' whom Zhou Lunyou brought into Not-Not in 1986. Shang was one of the chief poetry activists in Chongqing's universities in 1984-1985, when he and Yan Xiaodong established the University Student Poetry group. After moving to Chengdu following graduation, Shang joined Not-Not at Zhou Lunyou's invitation, even though he was still actively editing the *University Student Poetry Paper*. Shang authored a manifesto for his 'group' stating they wrote colloquial poetry that was anti-sublime, eliminated imagery, and "callous" (冷酷).[600] Clearly, his group shared some of the concerns of Not-Not, but also Nanjing's *Them*, praising Han Dong and Yu Jian as exemplars in his paper. Recently, Yang Li has stated that Shang's membership in Not-Not and the influence of Not-Not theory destroyed Shang as a poet, becalming him.[601] A look at Shang's poetry argues otherwise.

**<Famous Bridge General Deng Xiaoping>** (桥牌名将邓小平)

Zhongnan Hai[602] Club, getting late
Deng Xiaoping one hand holding cards
one hand strikes the table
Deng Xiaoping smokes continuously
this giant
hums and haws a good while, calls for a card
then smiles
Hongkongers are just now getting on planes
Hongkongers shake heads, sigh, and say
one country two systems…. 1997
Deng Xiaoping keeps a poker face
one hand holding cards
one hand strikes the table
this giant
calls for a card. Then smiles
then lays his cards down

[600] See Xu et. al. ed. (1988): 185-186. Here the date of the first issue of the poetry paper is given by Shang as June 1986, but as June 1985 in <A Grand Exhibition>.
[601] Yang Li (2004): 532.
[602] 中南海; The location of the living quarters of many of the CCP's top leaders, next to the Forbidden City in Beijing.

This poem from *Not-Not* #1 is of a clearly political nature and is not anthologized in China.[603] If Yang is referring to Shang's production of topical poems like this, then Shang was indeed becalmed in future years. However, the following poem from the same issue of *Not-Not* suggests otherwise:

**<At Middle-age>** (人到中年)[604]

I'm no longer sentimental
there's nothing
can make me sentimental
I'm often by myself
facing walls
an entire afternoon at one sitting
people knock at the door
I pay no attention
I only need say
I'm not here
friends will go quietly
friends are used to my mood

This poem may be satirical in tone and reminiscent of poems by Li Yawei, but it is not clearly a portrait of someone else, as Li's tend to be. Nor is there a tone of self-mockery. Rather, this poem can be taken as a realistic self-portrayal of a poet who lacks interest in the sublime and even the pre-culture ideals that lay at the heart of Not-Not-ism.

In *Not-Not* # 2, Shang appears to try to conform by writing three long poems, but all deal with the difficulty and futility of poetry and life; and in *Not-Not* #4 he largely reverts to his preferred short poem form, but on the same subjects, as below:

**<Poets>** (诗人)

We leave behind a few words, but we pay such a large price
We have nothing, are poorly nourished, look haggard
All this is our own fault
On this infertile earth we disperse standoffish seeds

[603] Yet, it was published twice in official literary journals in 1986, a sign of just how liberal the atmosphere was that year. See Shang (1986d) and (1986h).
[604] This is also the title of the 1980 award-winning novella of Shen Rong's, which described the difficult situation of intellectuals after the Cultural Revolution. The sentimental nature of the novella and the interest it roused in the situation of the middle-aged in China may have been inspiration for this poem.

Oblivious to all, believing too much in ourselves
Everyday cultivating eccentric moods
Divorced from the masses, despising friends, deceiving women of good families
We have yet to receive deserved punishment
But that's only because our time has yet to come

Given what was to happen to several poets in Sichuan and other parts of China in 1989, this poem has a sadly prophetic quality.

Shang himself admits that his primary interest in joining Not-Not was to be with friends, and agrees with Yang Li's assessment that the group was essentially an interest group in that all parties benefited from participation.[605] Yang and Shang benefited by gaining a platform for publication of their poetry and essays, and Zhou and Lan benefited from the membership of the then well known Shang and Yang in their group.

### *Xiao An*

As previously noted, a unusually large number of woman poets were published in *Not-Not*, particularly in issues #2 and #4. After the contributions of Liu Tao, Li Yao, Xiao An, and Shao Chunguang in issue #1, the number of woman poets grew rapidly to at least eight in issue #2. As Li and Shao were no longer contributors, there was work from six new poets, including the now well-known poet from Yunnan, Hai Nan. Apparently, Hai Nan has not yet publicly spoken of this early involvement with *Not-Not*,[606] but it is not difficult to imagine the encouragement she must have received in seeing portions of her first long experimental works in print.[607]

Another woman poet who had her first poems published in *Not-Not* and in recent years has become well known in China is Xiao An. Below is one of her earlier works from issue #1:

---

[605] Yang Li (2004): 511-512.
[606] Hai Nan is one of the principle subjects of Jeanne Hong Zhang (2004).
[607] In *Not-Not* #2 there are two poetry sequences: <On the Globe> (球上), consisting of seven poems; and <A Carpet of Flowers in the West> (西部花毯), made up of five poems.
In *Not-Not* #4 there is a collection of eight poems from the ten-poem sequence <The World of the Second Sex> (第二性世界).

**<A Feeling>** (感觉)[608]

Standing outside the door
a late visitor wearing black
softly whistles

Now it's sundown
the time I always go out

You stand outside the door
whistling
I have no way of opening the door
that pot of flowers also will not blossom

The sky goes dark
and the whistle finally goes
but outside my window
a troop of pure white girls walks by

Whoever the whistler may be, s/he is an oppressive presence that stifles the growth of the poet. The influence of Plath – then something of a fad among women poets in China[609] – also seems apparent in this aspect of this poem, although Xiao An's diction is more colloquial and straightforward.

The title of the following poem from *Not-Not* #2 has been taken as the title of Xiao An's first officially published collection of poetry in 2002:

**<A Woman Who Plants Tobacco>** (种烟叶的女人) [610]

Between the bed and window
you've planted much tobacco
(grown from concrete)
that type of tobacco
is soft and tender

You go out early
smoking this tobacco

---

[608] Other poems in this issue were <Ancestral Home> (祖宅), <Meeting Death> (会见死亡), <The Seaside> (海边), and <Untitled> (无题).
[609] Ibid.
[610] Xiao An (2002b), anthologized in Zhou Lunyou ed. (1994c). Other poems in this issue are <Looking for a Man who Smokes> (寻找吸烟的男人), <Settled> (安) [both these poems also in Zhou ed. (1994c)], <That Side> (那边), and <The Room> (房间).

when I make food
I smell it too
then
it indicates you're coming home
my hands move quicker

Sometimes
I secretly have a couple of puffs
(I'm too tired)
walking a couple of times round the little plantation
each time a comfort and a habit

Besides planting tobacco
I have many other things to do
I know at what time
to open the window
to air the place out

Imagining you in some place
smoking with other women
and talking about my workshop
I feel very happy

Privately I plan
when the year turns to find a new place
always planting this type of tobacco
is too boring

Of course
in front of you
I'm still very proper

Again, this seems to be a poem about the man in her life at the time.[611] This picture of a woman apparently planning to leave her partner is still quite risqué in China.

Xiao An may have benefited from her relationship with Yang Li when initially published in *Not-Not*, but this was clearly not the case with other avant-garde women poets – such as Hai Nan – who had their work published there in subsequent issues.[612]

[611] Xiao An's marriage with Yang Li ended in 1989.
[612] Liu Tao's, Hailing's, and Chen Xiaofan's credentials as avant-garde poets have been examined in previous chapters. Liu Tao has eight poems in *Not-Not* #1, two sequences in #2, and one sequence a five other poems in #4 – a number of these poems are anthologized in Zhou Lunyou ed. (1994c). Li Yao only contributed to #1, Chen Xiaofan to #2, and Yang Ping to #2 and #4.

As with the Shang Zhongmin, Zhou's successful recruitment of members of Hangzhou's Extremism (极端主义) group, Liang Xiaoming and Yu Gang, as well as Shanghai's *On the Sea*'s Meng Lang and Yu Yu, and Ning Ke from the Hangzhou Horizon Experimental Group (地平线实验小组) served to increase the status of *Not-Not* within the avant-garde sub-field, as well as potentially expanding its influence beyond Sichuan. Additionally, Li Yawei and Shao Chunguang were well known in Sichuan and China's northeast as members of Macho Men. By 1988 and the publication of *Not-Not* #3 and #4, none would be contributing except for Liang and Yu, but there would be the additions of young aspiring poets from Sichuan and other provinces, such as Nan Ye from Hunan, Ye Zhou from Xi'an.[613] In 1988, *Not-Not* #4 offered publication opportunities and encouragement to several younger female and male poets, many of whom are active and well known today, such as (Yang) Wenkang, Liu Xiang, Wei Se, and Hu Tu.

Li Yawei would drop out of the group after *Not-Not* #2 in 1987, but not before attempting poetry clearly influenced by Not-Not theory: <Island> (岛) and <Land> (陆地).[614] The work Li had published in *Not-Not* #1 and #2 were still very much in the crude Macho Men's fun- and life-loving vein, in particular <Me and You> (我和你),[615] <The Road of Liquor> (酒之路), and <Fight to the Death> (决斗), all published in the latter issue. Much like Yang Li, Li Yawei was happy to see his poetry published in almost any publication. This led to his also very Macho Men poem <Charge through the Country: 1986> (闯荡江湖：一九八六)[616] being published in the otherwise sedate first issue of *Han Poetry*. While both publications may have looked to gain prestige from his contributions, Li's poetry was more suited to the anti-traditional poetic stance of the poetry in *Not-Not*.

---

[613] *Not-Not* #2 also features work by Shen Tianhong from Anhui, Zhu Lingbo from the Northeast, and Jing Bute of Shanghai, who also contributed to #4.
[614] Both written in 1987 and published in the April 1988 issue of *Guandong Literature*.
[615] Anthologized in Chen Chao ed. (1989).
[616] Anthologized in Zhou Lunyou ed. (1994).

## Conclusion

This first incarnation of *Not-Not* was to run its term immediately after publication of issues #3 and #4 in September 1988.[617] The reasons for the breakup of the trio at the group's center – Zhou Lunyou, Lan Ma, and Yang Li – vary with the teller of the tale, but were essentially personal, exacerbated by living together at close quarters for 2-3 months in a student dormitory in Yichang, Hubei province, while producing the last two issues (having been banned in Sichuan since 1987, they had to find a printer outside the province).[618] There will be more to be said about Not-Not in Chapter 12 – Yang Li and Lan Ma would publish two issues of a poetry-only version of the journal in 1990-1991, and Zhou would re-establish his own renovated version of *Not-Not* in 1992.

As the large amount of critical commentary focused on the poetry and theories of the first stage of Not-Not indicates, while the group, or journal, may have moved on in recent years, the impact it had in 1986-1989 was considerable. The only other group active during that period to receive similar attention has been Nanjing's *Them*, and both *Not-Not* and *Them* should be regarded as the most influential unofficial poetry journals since Beijing's *Today* (1978-1980).

Not-Not is unique among these three due to the large amount of space given over to experimental poetics and cultural-linguistic analysis within its publications. Li Zhen claims pre-culture theories of Lan Ma helped turn avant-garde poetry's focus to language. Chen Xiaoming states that the group's mixture of ideas gleaned from existentialism, psychological analysis, phenomenology, and the French 'absurd' helped Chinese intellectuals to break free of ideological orthodoxy and its attendant linguistic and conceptual prisons. At the time in the late-1980s, Xu Jingya felt that the theories of Not-

[617] This is the date given by Zhou Lunyou. See Zhou (1999a): 431.
[618] See Zhou Lunyou (2001a): 8; and Yang Li (2004): 579-580. Also, see Bai Hua (1996a): Part 4, Chapter 3, for an interesting, if Yang Li-centered, account of the group's history and dissolution. Zhou claims that Lan, with Yang's assistance, was turning the group into some sort of personal religion, incorporating elements of *qigong* 气功. This seems to have been Lan's inclination all along, given the mystical elements in his pan-cultural theories.

Not were as important to Chinese poetry as had been Misty poetry's poetical rediscovery of the self in the 1970s.[619]

While acknowledging these aspects of Not-Not's influence and success as a Second World journal and group in the late-1980s, critics such as Wang Guangming claim that the group's theory was never successfully translated into poetry and that their idealistic, if poorly framed, pursuits served to marginalize them and their poetry.[620] However, as has been demonstrated, as a group Not-Not aspired to be a home for avant-garde poets from all parts of China who shared certain general inclinations often ascribed to Third Generation poets as a whole.

Whether Zhou Lunyou, Lan Ma, and Yang Li ever achieved in their poetry what they claimed to aspire to in their theory is questionable, and this has served to justifiably weaken the strength of their poetry in the eyes of critics. However, what Not-Not demonstrably did do was to stimulate poetical experimentation in areas that had hitherto been neglected (primarily, language), and in so doing provide an impetus for change. Furthermore, the journal gave women avant-garde poets a relatively equal opportunity to publish – an exemplary practice that is still rarely seen in the Second World of Poetry. If Not-Not's poetical theories and methods had the effect of further marginalizing avant-garde poetry in China, such blame could also be apportioned to most practitioners of New Poetry, avant-garde and otherwise, during the same period. For, by the late 1980s, China was finally beginning to enter the age of modern media and consumerism. Before that was to happen, however, the poetry scene and all other segments of society in China were in for a big shock, reducing any controversy stirred up by Not-Not to near insignificance.

[619] Li Zhen (2001): 163; Chen Xiaoming (2001): 187-188; Xu Jingya (1989): 158.
[620] Wang Guangming (1993): 216-220.

## CHAPTER 11: AFTER JUNE FOURTH 1989: IN THE SHADOW OF DEATH[621]

There was little poetry written by China's avant-garde poets related directly to the massacres of students and other civilians in Beijing and Chengdu on June 3, 4, and 5 in 1989. In all China, the only well-known immediate and direct response was by Liao Yiwu. It ultimately led to his arrest and that of several other poets in March 1990. Otherwise, there was relative silence in Sichuan and the rest of the country at the time.

The silence of most avant-garde poets should not be held against them. In fact, it can be seen as proof of their serious artistic interests and the apolitical nature that had been nurtured by these poets partially as a reaction against the much more engaged poetry of their immediate predecessors, the Misty poets in general and the *Today* poets in particular. A perusal of canonical western anthologies of modern poetry, such as *The Norton Anthology of Modern Poetry*, also reveals a paucity of politically engaged poetry, with the exceptions of a few poems by Yeats, Sandburg, MacDiarmid, Hughes, and Wright, among others. Nor was there a 'real' war that could produce poets such as Sassoon and Owen. Rather, given the political and economic history of China since the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864),[622] there was perhaps inspiration to be found in poets from outside Western Europe and North America, such as Senghor, Neruda, and Elytis. Liao Yiwu counted these three poets among his favorites, and the forms and techniques of Liao's long poetry had reflected their various influences since at least 1986.

By 1989, Liao was famously unique in his poetical pursuits. Most other avant-garde poets pursued high modernism or other twentieth-century poetical fashions all but exclusively imported from 'the west'. In prison, however, Liao would adapt a new, brief

[621] The sections of this chapter that deal with the poetry of Liao Yiwu, Zhou Lunyou, and Bai Hua are based on a paper – <Chinese Poets and June Fourth 1989 – A Human Response> -- delivered at the University of California, Davis, on 28 June 1995 at the invitation of Prof. Michelle Yeh.
[622] See Spence (1990).

form, perhaps more appropriate to his straightened circumstances. (Liao was released from prison camp in early 1994, and has not written poetry since.)

Zhou Lunyou, on the other hand, was arrested in August 1989 for the crime of "inciting counter-revolution" and administratively sentenced to three years of "education through labor." While his crimes were never spelt out, it was clear that his insistence on continuing to produce *Not-Not* after it had been declared an illegal publication in 1987 was at the root of his troubles. It could be said that Not-Not's pan-cultural theories were indirect challenges to the CCP, but Lan Ma was not arrested. As far as the Ministry of National Security is concerned, they would have been most interested in Zhou as the journal's editor-in-chief, the national scope of the journal, and Zhou's long list of contributors and admirers throughout China. In prison and, later, in labor camp, Zhou would feel moved to address his situation poetically, and that of the victims of massacres, too. Zhou also adapted a new style of poetry, and upon his release from prison camp would return to Not-Not as an advocate of his adjusted ideas.

On 26 March 1989, there was a death that in the years since China's avant-garde poets have elevated to such a level, it overshadows all other deaths, and has been rendered as the most influential poetical event of 1989: this was the suicide of Haizi, the Beijing-based poet who had found favor in Sichuan since 1985.[623] The 'response' to this event in the Second World of Poetry was such that it is worthwhile looking at poetry written by Bai Hua in 1989 commemorating Haizi's death.

There were new unofficial poetry projects planned and rolled out in late 1989. Zhong Ming, together with friends such as Xiang Yixian and Zhao Ye, was able to produce a first issue of *Image Puzzle* (*象罔*) before the year was out. Not long after the appearance of Zhong's journal, Xiao Kaiyu, Sun Wenbo, and Ouyang Jianghe brought out the first issue of *The Nineties* (*九十年代*). *Image Puzzle* was a modest journal of 20-pages or so, but *The Nineties* was a larger scale annual of over 100 pages. In January 1990, Xiao *cum suis* also produced a smaller-scale periodical, *Against* (*反对*), seemingly patterned on *Image Puzzle*. All these journals featured work by poets from other parts of the country as well as Sichuan.

---

[623] Haizi has been discussed in previous chapters with regard to his contributions to the 1985 *Modernists Federation* and *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry*, and *Han Poetry* in 1986 and 1988.

The first issues of these journals are indicative of the poetry written in the second half of 1989 and – as with the journals themselves – of changes within the Second World of Poetry in Sichuan and China. This work demonstrates the muted response by China's avant-garde poets to the summer's political events, and, in effect, a dedication, or re-dedication, to art for art's sake during the latter half of 1989.

### Liao Yiwu and <Slaughter>

As noted, however, there was one notable exception, one poet who responded immediately to the massacre in Beijing and addressed the full horror of the event. For writing <Slaughter> (屠杀),[624] for circulating a dramatic reading of the poem in audiocassette form, and for producing a video version of another poem, <Requiem> (安魂), in early 1990, Liao Yiwu, together with six collaborators[625] in the latter deed, was arrested on 25-26 March 1990 – one year to the day of Haizi's suicide. Following the release of the others in February 1992, Liao was charged and sentenced retroactively to four years in a labor reform camp near Chongqing.[626]

The impetus to write <Slaughter> was rooted in an emotional experience during a first visit by Liao to Nanjing after the Grand Canal Poetry Conference in May 1988.[627] While touring the old and new sights of the city, Liao was struck by what he perceived as the simultaneous physical and spiritual 'slaughter' of Chinese civilization. Earlier in 1988, Liao had completed the long poem <Idol>, the second part of a planned trilogy tentatively known by the name of the first poem, <Bastard>. While the first two parts

[624] See Day (1991), (1992a), and (1992b) for English translations. For the Chinese original see Liao's e-book *The City of Death*, as well as a dramatic CD reading of the poem by Liao, at: www.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/dachs/leiden/ . The first two parts of <Slaughter> are not included in Liao's e-book. Also, the name of the poem is altered to < The Great Slaughter> (大屠杀) in Liao's book *Living Testimonies* (2004) and its earlier e-book version *Catastrophe* (*天劫*). For the Chinese original of <Requiem>, mentioned below in the text, see Liao (1995a) and Liao's e-book *The City of Death* at the web-address above.

[625] Wan Xia, Li Yawei, Liu Taiheng, Ba Tie, Gou Mingjun, and Zeng Lei.

[626] The most accurate and detailed account of these events can be found in Chapter One in Liao (2004), also available online in *Catastrophe* at: www.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/dachs/leiden/ .

[627] May 3-10 in Huaiyin and Yangzhou in Jiangsu province and organized by *Poetry* and local branches of the Writers Association, this meeting of over 70 poets and critics was officially entitled the National Contemporary New Poetry Discussion Conference (全国当代新诗研讨会). For more details, see Tang Xiaodu (1988).

primarily dealt with literary and linguistic issues in a metaphysical, surrealistic manner, <Slaughter> would adopt a similar form in dealing with the aforementioned massacre.

However, before that was to occur, in the autumn Liao enrolled in a 'writers class' (作家班) at Wuhan University.[628] In March 1989, he was expelled from the program on trumped up charges of hooliganism, and, after a brief visit to Beijing with Li Yawei, Liao returned to Fuling in April. Liao finally began writing <Slaughter> in May.

Since 1986's <The City of Death> Liao had been singing dirges for Chinese civilization. During the first two parts of <Slaughter>, he cries as much for himself as for others over his inability to leap with his imagination and creative ability beyond the travails of Chinese social and spiritual circumstances:

> Cry! Cry! Cry! Cry! Cry!
> The only person this century to squander his tears
> The only person this century to soar beyond mankind
> to obstruct the tide of history
> The only person this century with the courage to
> Crycrycrycrycrycrycrycrycrycrycry!
> The only person this century to profane against his own mother, hate his own blood, curse his own species, mutilate his own friends, shit, soul. Man of the fields. Crycrycry! Shattered myth, a wild beast that should be sliced into a million pieces, in the end your own tears will drown you!
> …..
> All you can do is reminisce and think, and in reminiscing and thinking waste away
> You have no choice but to live as a parasite on a people, a home, a fatherland, a mother, a workplace, a way of thinking, a train ticket, and one fate
> No room for choice, like a novel of realism
> Time, place, characters, motives, desires, and each sentence, all meticulously plotted
> Don't dream -- ! Don't dream -- ! Don't dream -- !
> These damned nights, even my insomnia is planned by a director

Fatalism, self-doubt, and despair seem to lead the speaker to question his own motives and his significance as a poet:

---

[628] In the mid-1980s, many universities began offering special one-year courses to writers who had not received a university degree. Many now-successful writers had missed whatever opportunity they had had to attend university at the end of the Cultural Revolution, and this method allowed both the writers and universities to profit. Universities believed having well-known writers in residence, and as graduates, would confer prestige upon the institution.

> Are you Xiangyu?[629] Are you Qu Yuan? Are you a hero who after a thousand and one twists and turns descends upon the world of humankind?
> Too bad nobody knows you. The fasting, petitioning students don't know you. The capital under martial law and the soldiers don't know you. The woman who spent last night with you doesn't know you.
> The door of the home you just stepped out of moves far away to avoid you – you don't even know you.

This is reminiscent of the tormented, alienated character of "I" in <The Allahfaweh Trilogy>. However, at the same time, it is also possible to read this as Liao's response to the suicide of Haizi, a poet he admired and identified with. Part two of <Slaughter>'s four parts concludes with the I-speaker (or "the real you") observing the results of China's contemporary cultural disaster:

> The real you is refused entry to a hotel because of your accent, stares eagerly at 'Tailang', 'Gangcun', 'Songjing'[630] embracing your sisters as they climb the steps and enter a room, loosen clothes and undo belts, cherry blossoms and ancient rhythms induce dreams, and your sisters call out softly "Thank you for your attentions" after being seduced and raped by foreign currency, jewelry, furniture, and top-quality woolen fabrics
>
> Now three hundred thousand bitter souls in the War of Resistance Against Japan Museum[631] shout in alarm 'the devils have entered the city', in our hallucination three hundred thousand bars revolve, run wild, shatter, like horse hooves sweeping past amidst gun smoke

In <The Allahfaweh Trilogy> and elsewhere, Liao had made the point that one's race/people/nation was one's fate. "The real you" is to be found there and must share in China's contemporary depravity and degradation. On the night of June 3 and the morning of June 4, Liao's sentiments were confirmed and further deepened by the massacre in Beijing he heard reported on short-wave radio.[632] These events – the killing of unarmed

---

[629] The general of the Chu army that was annihilated by Liu Bang, who went on the found the Han Empire (206 B.C.E.- 220 C. E.) following the dissolution of the Qin Empire (221 – 207 B.C.E.).
[630] Japanese surnames as pronounced in Mandarin.
[631] This museum is located in Nanjing, where it is claimed Japanese soldiers killed 300,000 people over a seven-week period from 13 December 1937 when the city was first occupied by the invaders.
[632] The author was present and translated from English for Liao the live broadcast from Beijing on the BBC World Service – the Chinese service was blocked. The BBC had continuous live broadcasts from a number of radio-equipped jeeps stationed at strategic points around Beijing.

Chinese civilians by the People's Liberation Army – shaped the conclusion to <Slaughter>. Part Three of the poem opens with[633]:

> Another sort of slaughter takes place at Utopia's core
> The prime minister catches cold, the people must cough; martial law is declared again and again
> The toothless old machinery of the state rolls toward those who have the courage to resist the sickness
> Unarmed thugs fall by the thousands! Ironclad professional killers swim in a sea of blood, set fires beneath tightly shuttered windows, wipe their regulation army boots with the skirts of dead maidens. They are incapable of trembling
> These heartless robots are incapable of trembling!
> Their electronic brains have only one program: an official document full of holes
>
> In the name of the Fatherland slaughter the constitution! Replace the constitution, slaughter righteousness! In the name of mothers, slaughter children, sodomize fathers! In the name of urbanites blow up cities! **OPEN FIRE! FIRE!**…

<Slaughter> captures the horror and intensity of the massacre through the exaggerated, surrealistic techniques that have been a trademark of Liao's poetry since 1986:

> ... Smash open a skull! Fry the skin on his head to a crisp! Make the brain gush out. The soul gush out. Splash on the overpass. Gatehouse. Railings. Splash on the road! Splash towards the sky where they become stars! Escaped stars! Stars with two human legs! Sky and earth have reversed positions. Mankind wears bright shining hats. Bright shining metal helmets. A troop of soldiers comes charging out of the moon. **OPEN FIRE! ALL BARRELS! BLAST AWAY! IT FEELS SO GOOD!** Mankind and stars fall. Flee together. Can't make one out from the other. Chase them up to the clouds! Chase into the cracks of the earth and into their flesh and waste them! Blow another hole in the soul! Blow another hole in the stars! Souls dressed in red shirts! souls with white belts! Souls wearing running shoes doing gymnastics to radio! Where can you run to? We will dig you out of the flesh. Scoop you out of the air and water. **OPEN FIRE! BLAST AWAY! IT FEELS GOOD! SO GOOD! ...**

Liao goes on to stress the hopelessness of the situation, a topic he had been writing about in his various elegies for Chinese civilization during the previous three years:

---

[633] The original audio-cassette reading of the poem and the version published in Liao's e-book *The City of Death* opens with a dedication of <Slaughter> to the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, the 70th anniversary of the May Fourth Movement, and "those who have died in the politically motivated massacre of 3 June" (六三惨案的死难者).

> ... Freedom feels so good! Snuffing out freedom feels so good! Power will be triumphant for ever. Will be passed down from generation to generation for ever. Freedom will also come back from the dead. It will come back to life in generation after generation. Like that dim light just before the dawn. No. There's no light. At Utopia's core there can never be light. Our hearts are pitch black. Black and scalding. Like a corpse incinerator. ...
>
> ... All the time forward, there must be a place to rest. There must be a place where sounds of gunfire and explosions cannot be heard. We so wish to hide within a stalk of grass. A leaf. Uncle. Auntie. Grandpa. Granny. Daddy. Mummy. How much farther till we're home? We have no home. Everyone knows. Chinese people have no home. Home is a comforting desire. Let us die in this desire **OPEN FIRE, BLAST AWAY, FIRE!** Let us die in freedom. Righteousness. Equality. Universal love. Peace. In these vague desires. Stand on the horizon. Attract more of the living to death! ...

Liao makes it clear that these hopes are not new – and neither is the slaughter. Throughout the twentieth century, the empty promises of these slogans and catchwords have been attracting countless thousands of Chinese to their deaths. Then, far off on the horizon, their images are erected by Liao as martyrs to lure the gullible on to certain death. Tears are all that are left to Liao and the reader.

In the fourth and final section of <Slaughter>, Liao utilizes imagery from <The Songs of the South>, traditionally held to be the work of Qu Yuan, and in particular that of one poem, <The Summoning of the Soul> (招魂), in which one soul, said to be that of a king, is urged to return to its old home. In the original, the singers/shamanesses describe the horrors that await the soul in any direction it might travel. They also describe the comparative comfort of the soul's former residence. However, in Liao's poem, the butchers are everywhere, there is no escape, no hope. Even the sun – a traditional emblem of power, of the Son of Heaven, and, more recently, of Mao Zedong – offers no comfort and is in league with the butchers. Faced with this reality the only course of action is terrified paralysis and tears:

> The butchers come from the east of the city, from the west of the city, from the north and south of the city
> Metal helmets glint in the light. They're singing…..
> The sun rises in the east, the sun rises in the west, the sun rises in the north and south
> Putrid, sweltering summer, people and ghosts sing…..

Don't go to the east, don't go to the west, don't go to the north and south

We stand in the midst of brilliance but all people are blind
We stand on a great road but nobody is able to walk
We stand in the midst of a cacophony but all are mute
We stand in the midst of the heat and thirst but all refuse to drink

People with no understanding of the times, people in the midst of calamity, people who plot to shoot down the sun
You can only cry, you're still crying, crycrycrycrycrycrycrycry! **CRYCRY! CRY!**

…

In this historically unprecedented slaughter only the spawn of dogs can survive.[634]

The relative silence of avant-garde poets, the necessity of compromise that basic survival forces on Chinese poets and intellectuals, the need to find the "golden mean" in the face of physical and spiritual horror, seemingly ensures the continuation of the pervasive slaughter that Liao, in this and previous poems, describes as afflicting Chinese civilization on a near continuous basis over the centuries.

Possibly it was this silence which drove Liao to write <Requiem> in January 1990. Previously, Liao had come under investigation by the national and local security bureaus when a copy of <Slaughter> and Liao's recorded reading of it were discovered in October in Shanghai. His name was not on the manuscript or audiocassette, but Liao's individual style of poetry was easily recognizable. Liao was ordered not to leave Fuling until the investigation was complete, and he began making plans to flee the country. In his recent book *Living Testimonies* (*证词*; 2004), he relates how his fears and frustrations found him listening to Mozart's <Requiem> and, while doing so, writing a poem that later took the same name – a poem, which like Mozart's music, strove to soothe the souls of the poet/composer and the departed.

Liao's <Requiem> was as much a companion piece for <Slaughter> as it was for all his long poems written since 1985. Familiar names appear: Xiang Yu, Qu Yuan, Jing Ke,

[634] The ending of this poem carries echoes of a poem written by the poet Huang Xiang of Guiyang, who in April 1976 wrote <No You Have Not Died> (不 你没有死去) in commemoration of deaths incurred on Tian'anmen Square on April 5 when the Gang of Four had memorialists of the recently dead Zhou Enlai forcibly cleared from the square. Huang's poem is, however, somewhat more upbeat than Liao's. In a show of strength and defiance, Huang has his protagonist(s) "… Rather die than give in" to the "wild beasts". See Andrew Emerson (2004): 113-116.

Ruan Ji, Xi Shi, *The Book of Songs*, the people of the lands of Ba, Zhao, and Chu, and Han – the name of the uniting empire now synonymous with Chinese people and culture. Liao seeks within the poem, and himself, to guide all the ghosts of Chinese history to their resting place:

> Listen, the summons is coming so near, so far. Far. Someone asks: How do you write the characters of the Han? And then there's the sound of a billion heads hitting the ground. The dusk drifts down like snow. Sleep, sleep, the summons is so distant, so distant. Rest, children. Aren't you tired of play? Throw aside this toy-like orb and rest. Rest, rest, rest…..

This brief twelfth and final stanza of the poem also marks the conclusion of this form and subject of poetry for Liao. Given this, and Liao's situation in Fuling, what led him to organize the production of a video in part based on a dramatic reading of this poem in March?

In *Living Testimonies*, Liao implies that inspiration came by way of a visit from the Nanchuan poet Gou Mingjun, recently released from a two-month stretch in prison for harboring the fugitive Chengdu student-protest organizer, Pan Jiazhu, a member of the Wholism group. Liao relates that, towards the end of February, a letter was sent by Wholism poet Liu Taiheng in Chongqing in the name of the "Mountain City Film Center" to Liao's work unit in Fuling inviting him to take part in the making of a movie. Without clear permission to do so, Liao left for Chongqing, where he was met by Liu, Li Yawei, Ba Tie and Zeng Lei, the video's cameraman and a PLA officer resident at the No. 3 Military University in the Chongqing suburb of Shapingba. Two days later, the poets ran into Wan Xia who, in Liao's account, arrogated the role of director.

Liao, however, does not go into details about the film, and neither do Wan Xia and Li Yawei in their interviews in Yang Li's book *Splendor*. Various reports indicate that the film was a collage of scenes featuring newsreel footage of notorious world leaders, such as Stalin and Hitler, Mao Zedong reviewing Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution, TV news footage of demonstrations in China during May-June 1989, and new footage shot on the streets of Chongqing using amateur actors.[635] The soundtrack is said to have

[635] These include Li Ming (1995) and conversations the author has had with various individuals with insider knowledge of the events.

consisted of dramatic readings of <Requiem> and a part of <Slaughter> by Liao Yiwu, and readings of avant-garde poetry by other poets, presumably Li Yawei, Liu Taiheng, and Wan Xia.[636]

On 25-26 March 1990, immediately after the video was completed, the police detained Liao Yiwu, Liu Taiheng, and Zeng Lei in Chongqing, and Li Yawei, Wan Xia, Gou Mingjun, and Ba Tie in other parts of the province – all but Liao would be released from custody nearly two years later, in February 1992. Zhou Zhongling, Shi Guanghua, Song Wei, Liang Le, and Xiao Kaiyu, among others,[637] were detained and questioned for varying periods.

The last poetry Liao would write was a series of shorter poems composed during his four years in prisons and labor camps.[638] Since his release in February 1994, he has devoted his time to writing prose, editing, and recording interviews in the manner of Studs Terkel with what Liao terms the "underclass" (底层) of contemporary Chinese society, an activity seemingly inspired by Vaclav Havel and Charter 77 in pre-1989 Czechoslovakia.[639]

---

[636] Liao does confirm that the closing credits were a dedication to 39 contemporary avant-garde poets:
**Zhou Zhongling, Gou Mingjun, Shi Guanghua, Song Qu, Song Wei, Hu Dong, Ma Song, Bai Hua, Ouyang Jianghe, Zhai Yongming, Lan Ma, Yang Li,** Haizi, Xi Chuan, Luo Yihe, Chen Dongdong, Meng Lang, Yu Yu, (Huang) Beiling, Lü De'an, Yu Jian, Han Dong, Ding Dang, Xiao Jun, Wang Yin, **Liu Tao, Jimu Langge,** Hei Dachun, **Er Mao, Liang Le,** Xue Di, Song Lin, Zhang Xiaobo, Ma Gaoming, Wang Jiaxin, Lu Yimin, Daozi, **Zhao Ye**, Guo Lijia. (Sichuan poets in bold type.)
This list cannot be read as a serious nomenclature of the best avant-garde poets in China, if only because the first name on the list is that Zhou Zhongling, a fiction writer, and the second that of Gou Mingjun, a minor local poet. These two were close friends of Liao, and their names may have been his only contributions to the list. The rest of the list reads like a collection of names put forward by Liu Taiheng, Li Yawei, Wan Xia, and the critic Ba Tie. It is of interest to note the names of well-known Sichuan poets left off: Zhou Lunyou, He Xiaozhu, Shang Zhongmin, Sun Wenbo, and Xiao Kaiyu. As has been noted, there was personal animosity among Sichuan's avant-garde poets, and their exclusion here seems to be the result of that.

[637] Such as Yu Tian, Xiaoxiao, Zhong Shan, Bai Yunfeng, Zhu Ying, Liu Xia, Wu Bin, Liu Yuan, Zou Jin, Wei Haitian, Li Ao, Kuang Hongbo, Sun Jiangyue, and Liao's wife Axia. The author of this study was eventually expelled from China for his involvement (the distribution of <Slaughter> and financial assistance given to Liao) in late October 1991.

[638] This has been published in an unofficial booklet *Love Songs of the Gulag 1990-1994* (*古拉格情歌*) and in e-book form on the DACHS website under the title of *Ancestral Land of Criminals* (*犯人的祖国*), with an introduction by Liu Xiaobo.

[639] Liao edited two issues (1997 & 1998) of the unofficial journal *Intellectual* (*知识分子*) in which translations of essays by Havel feature prominently. Havel's writings are still banned in China. In addition, Liao has had three books, including one on the *Today* poets, banned not long after official publication in China. *Living Testimonies* was published in New York by a Chinese-language press in early 2004. Liao's

Liao is, in some respects, a casualty of his era. The power of his imagination and diction, and his unusual sensitivity, allowed his star to rise quickly in the early 1980s. These qualities are the same ones which must have drawn him to the poetry of Blake, Neruda, and Dylan Thomas, with whom, on the surface, he appears to have much in common.

Liao's refusal to cooperate with and conform to the CCP literary establishment both in and out of prison (while incarcerated he twice attempted suicide) led him to become a political dissident, as his various activities and his name on a number of human rights petitions in recent years attest. His case is extreme. The experiences of another well-known Sichuan poet, who also served time in China's gulags, indicates another possible response to the fall-out in the realm of the arts in the aftermath of 4 June 1989.

### Zhou Lunyou's Prison Poetry

Zhou had been the editor-in-chief of the unofficial poetry journal *Not-Not* and oversaw the publication of four issues before 1989 – the two 1988 issues being published in Hubei following an official ban on the journal in Sichuan in 1987.[640] While not overtly political, the journal published several theoretical articles of a dadaesque-cum-deconstructive nature that amounted to assaults on conventional linguistic usage per se, and hence were threatening to a regime that attached as much importance to politically correct usage, as does the CCP. Not-Not could be seen to subvert the Party's attempts to establish a 'spiritual civilization' along its preferred lines.

Zhou did not participate in student demonstrations that occurred in Xichang in May 1989, but later in the month did travel to Beijing and Chengdu on what he called "study tours" of the situation in those two cities.[641] Upon returning to Xichang in early June,

---

interviews with members of China's underclass are published on Chinese-language websites based in the US on a monthly basis.

[640] Zhou told the author about being visited in spring 1989 by police officers who asked for copies of the journal.

[641] Personal communication upon meeting Zhou on Tian'anmen Square in late May and in Xichang in late July, when Zhou said he was being watched by security forces.

Zhou discovered that his wife Zhou Yaqin had been arrested on June 5 for protesting against the bloody suppression of peaceful protests in Beijing and Chengdu.[642]

Although Zhou did not involve himself in any political activities during April, May, and June 1989, given his situation, it came as no surprise to himself when the authorities detained him on August 18 in Xichang, a few days after his wife's release from custody. Zhou was never officially arrested or charged, and, after seven months in a local prison, he was administratively sentenced to three years in a labor-reform camp on the slopes of Mount Emei in western Sichuan, having been deemed guilty of the then ubiquitous charge of "counterrevolutionary incitement." In September 1991, Zhou was released for 'good behavior' eleven months early.

During Zhou's imprisonment, he wrote a series of poems that can be best appreciated as personally necessary responses to his plight, as tools for survival. One of these poems, written on 12 April 1990, while Zhou was still imprisoned in Xichang, appears to be a commemoration of the events of the previous year.[643]

**<Watching a Candle Being Lit>** (看一支蜡烛点燃)[644]

Nothing is crueler than this
To watch a candle ignite, and then die out
…

This candle is symbolic of hope and life, as a light in the darkness. It can also be read more specifically as symbolizing the protest movement.

…

---

[642] On June 5, Yaqin had gone to market with the two characters 哀悼(mourning) written on a t-shirt she was wearing. She was arrested that night and held without charge for two months.

[643] The former CCP Secretary General, Hu Yaobang, who had been forced to resign as a result of student demonstrations in January 1987, died on 15 April 1989 and this touched off the first student demonstrations in Beijing, eventually leading to the massacres in June.

[644] This poem and the two that follow were first published in the "resumed publication" (复刊) number of *Not-Not*, which appeared in summer 1992. Zhou's collection goes under the name of <Knife-Blade Twenty Poems> (刀锋二十首), and includes 14 poems written during his incarceration. In 1993, Zhou was awarded the "Rougang Poetry Prize" and 3,000 RMB for this series of poems. Established in 1992 by the Fujian poet-entrepreneur Rou Gang in 1992, sums of 2,000 to 5,160 RMB were awarded on an annual basis (except 1999) until 2000. Winners include An Qi (1995), Pang Pei (1997), and Yang Jian (2000). See Rou Gang (2001).

I didn't see how the candle was lit
Only remember one sentence, one gesture
The candle flame leaps from this eye to that
More hands are lifted up in the candlelight
At the light's core is the blood and fat of youth
Beams of light in all directions
The entire sky is filled by the face of a dove
…

The symbolism is obvious. Hope spreads until it is everywhere and in all people. But then there is:

…
A thin sound of thunder treading over yellow skin
I never saw how the candle flame died
Only felt the graceful breaking of those arms
The exquisite fracturing of more arms
Wax tears cover the stairs
Death creates the coldest landscapes out of summer
After a brilliant twinkle the candle has become ash
Objects shot through by candlelight staunchly darken
…

So those at the "light's core," those who had reached out for hope, have their arms broken off – in effect, they die for their hopes. Thus, finally, "... In darkness, I can only, silently, send up this smoke," not hope, just a poem, just a memory of the dead.

Later, in October 1990, now an inmate at the prison camp, in <A Situation Composed of Stones> (石头构图的境况), Zhou describes his situation there, but at the same time also may be describing his plight in the larger prison that China has become for himself and many others at that time:

This is a situation I have never before entered deeply into
It takes violent hold of you. Atop a colossal stone
Rocks containing iron pile up coldly
And form into columns and wall
…

The “colossal stone” might be Mount E, or it might be China. “Rocks containing iron” appear to refer to those who act as camp guards and the prison itself. Later it becomes clear that the stones are also personifications of his fellow inmates (in either prison):

…
This isn’t some kind of game of the imagination
At the cost of your life you are on the scene
For all of three years, you must accept these stones
Become one component in this arrangement
Only through murder can you experience that intensity
Forcing itself in on all sides
Compelling you to become small, smaller
Until you skip into a stone and become a form of a thing

Break open a stone and there’s still a stone
From wall to wall. From the soul out to the eyes

You have to love these stones, stone people
And stony things, love and be intimate with them
Nod a greeting, sometimes the bumps will leave your head bleeding
Heavier stones on top, occupy commanding positions
You can’t look up at them  but can sense them at all times
Always so indubitable and brutal
They can smash your body to pieces at any time
…

“Heavier stones”? Not merely the guards or camp wardens, but perhaps also those stones that are the CCP and its leadership in Beijing.

In a situation such as this, how does a poet survive?

…
To penetrate a tiger and not be eaten by it
To penetrate a stone and not become a stone
To pass through burning brambles and still be your old self
Requires perseverance. You must hold fast to yourself
…

It is through writing poetry like this that Zhou is able to persevere. And, by extension, perhaps it is because they do not continue to write poetry that many other poets in far

more comfortable situations were not. Zhou commemorates his pain, his struggle; he dwells in it, writes of it, and, thus, does not become a stone:

The iron stones continue to pile up around you
In the arrangement of stones you light a candle
Illuminating each of your wounds more brightly

The poem itself proves that the poet is not yet stone. The poem is hope, is life.

Critics in China, such as Yuan Yong, address the pressure of the stones and time in the poem, drawing parallels with the myth of Sisyphus. The poem is seen as a demonstration of Zhou's ability to 'transcend values', the characteristic of the genius, or cultural hero, in Zhou's essay <Anti-Values> (1987). Understandably, when treating these poems, Chinese critics gloss over the details, stressing the importance of "background" but not addressing it themselves, or making brief reference to Zhou's term of penal hard labor, leaving it to the reader to supply the necessary details or to read between the lines.[645]

In a poem written in February 1991, Zhou recognizes the double-edged nature of perseverance, the possibility of it being transformed into tolerance and forbearance of the intolerable and unbearable. And this, given the humiliation and suffering inflicted on one in, for instance, a labor camp, may lead to insensitivity – in other words, you may ... "skip into a stone and become a form of a thing" as in <A Situation …>:

**<The Image of the Tolerant>** (忍者意象)

Eat Eastern philosophy and attain the Dao of Laozi and the Yellow Emperor
The chrysanthemum[646] of antiquity enters into your bone marrow
Subdue the hard with the soft  endure all humiliations
But don't believe they humiliate  accept his every blow
But don't feel their weight  let him laugh
Exist outside your body as a butterfly
You feel the holiness of this wrong  decisions are in the hands of others
You can only give in  the words are in other people's mouths
Speechlessly you listen attentively  allow the attacks to expand
They touch on the soul again  a face hangs
Peacefully  your thoughts turn to the unfathomable

[645] See Chen Chao ed. (2002): 1138; Yuan Yong (2001).
[646] The chrysanthemum is a symbol of perseverance, of the maintenance of personal purity while all about you wallow in iniquity and corruption.

The image of the tolerant is a tortoise
It draws its head back into its belly  allows people to trample it  underfoot
You find pleasure in this  ponder the suffering of mankind
One hundred times yield  a hundred times admit your guilt
One hundred times crawl under the crotch of others
Swallow your last tooth into your stomach
Water is hurt by the stone  water surrounds the stone
The beauty of forbearance issues forth brilliance from the inner depths
At crucial moments think of Han Xin[647]
And your conscience is set at ease  the word tolerate is a knife in the heart
The heart drips blood  and still you talk and joke gleefully

Oh, the mighty Tolerant!

The stunned silence that fell over China in the wake of the massacre can be better understood in light of this series of poems.[648] Zhou enunciates some of the reasons: The weaker succumb to the weight of the stones, adapting to the conditions of life in the society they must live in, and many of the stronger fall victim to traditional avenues of escape (Daoism, Buddhism, and so on). Moreover, Zhou returns to his attack on values commonly held in China, a restatement of the thesis he first explicated in <Anti-Values>. Ultimately, these poems are also indicative of a shift in Zhou's poetical focus, away from a deconstruction – or, in Zhou's terms, 'structural change' – of poetry's own traditions, toward external reality, with poetry as a possible medium through which structural changes in consciousness may come about. There will be more to be said on this and the return of *Not-Not* under Zhou's editorship in the following chapter.

[647] Han Xin was a general under Liu Bang, the founding emperor of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E. - 220 C.E.). In his youth, Han was often humiliated and tormented by others: e.g., he was forced to crawl beneath the crotch of others. In other words, accept humiliation today and believe that you will get your own back tomorrow.

[648] Other poems written by Zhou while still in prison are: <The Great Bird of the Imagination> (想象大鸟; 17/12/1989), <The Meaning of a Fruit-Pit> (果核的含义; 10/5/1990), <Transformation of Syntax Completed on the Knife's Edge> (在刀锋上完成的句法转换; 6/1/1991), <The Everlasting Wound> (永远的伤口; 8/9/1990), <The Subject's Loss> (主题的损失; 15/1/1991), <The High-Stepping Crane and Midget Horse of the Painter> (画家的高蹈之鹤与矮种马 12/11/1990), <Chairman Mao Says> (毛主席说; 20/9/1990), <From the Concrete to the Abstract Bird> (从具体到抽象的鸟; 1/12/1989), <In a Mood to Detest Iron> (厌铁的心情; 19/10/1990), <A Sword's Inscription> (剑器铭; 7/1/1990), and <Third Generation Poets> (第三代诗人; 28/2/1991).

## Haizi: A New Martyr for the Avant-Garde

With few notable exceptions, avant-garde poets in China were stunned or frightened into silence after the events of 3-4 June 1989. Later, once they had recovered their wits, many poets found other areas into which to channel their energies. Arguably, it is this phenomenon that Bai Hua addresses in the following poem:

**<In Memory of Zhu Xiang>** (纪念朱湘)[649]

I noticed your form at a glance
a figure raving in the autumn wind
but so serene in a book

A solitary seemingly unintelligent drinker
a martyr of fathomless sensitivity
before dying he drinks another large cup
bows his body down and enters into that long, inevitable sleep

I know, since you were a child you've practiced the martyr's bearing
your green spring had its fill of roving through gossip
but your songs can only belong to heaven

Ach, why did this exemplar only come to light at death
and then leave us busy memorializing
busy talking, corresponding
busy with all that, up until 1989

Apart from the final line, what possible relation does this poem bear to the massacres?

First, one must know who Zhu Xiang is. Some will know him to be a poet who wrote good verse during the 1920s and 1930s.[650] A smaller number of people will know that he committed suicide in 1933 at the age of 30. And an even smaller number will know that he did so by jumping into a river.

Knowing all this, the poem takes on some very odd undertones.

---

[649] First published in the unofficial journal *Modern Han Poetry* (*现代汉诗*), 1991 Summer issue: 40.
[650] Ironically, the similarities between Zhu and Bai are striking: both are lyricists, university instructors, and accomplished English speakers and translators.

First, there is no evidence to suggest Zhu Xiang is remembered as a figure "raving (谵狂) in the autumn wind."[651] This is an image commonly attributed in modern China to Qu Yuan,[652] said to have lived in the third and fourth centuries B.C.E., who tradition holds to be China's first known, or named, poet.[653] According to this tradition, consumed by frustration and sorrow because of the foolish ways of his king and the corrupt state of the kingdom (Chu), Qu is said to have drowned himself in a river. However, there is no record of Zhu Xiang taking such a degree of interest in politics, just as there is no evidence that he killed himself for political reasons.

Line two of the third stanza would also seem to indicate Qu Yuan. In Qu's classic poem <Encountering Sorrow> (离骚), the poet records a complaint about "roving through gossip" in the court – gossip which ultimately resulted in loss of the king's favor and his suicide. It is also possible that Bai Hua is again referring to Qu's claim to have been raised to proper moral conduct and a position at court, when he writes of "the martyr's bearing." Qu Yuan has, in fact, become an "exemplar" for Chinese poets since the 1920s.

Given all this, what can be made of the second stanza? Bai writes an idealized portrait of death far removed from suicides and rivers. What poet would not like to die in such a relaxed fashion after a couple of large cups of wine? "But your songs can only belong to heaven": The poet is dead and the poetry he has left behind would seem to have little to say to those who remain on earth. This brings to mind the mythology related to the death of Li Bai, another wanderer denied an expected post as an official, who is said to have drowned while drunk, reaching for the reflection of the moon on water. Li is also said to have been an immortal temporarily exiled on earth.

Now the irony of the final stanza is readily apparent. Is this really an "exemplar" worthy of the name? And were poets truly "memorializing", "talking, corresponding" about Zhu Xiang "up until 1989"?

---

[651] See Luo & Liu & Luo (1985) for reminiscences by acquaintances. Also, see Haft ed. (1989): 276-284; and McDougall & Louie (1997): 64-67. This is also a familiar romantic image, attributed to Shelley, but appropriated from Shakespearean figures such as King Lear and Hamlet. Zhu was a loner and a wanderer, and some of his poems are apparently influenced by the work of Qu Yuan, Wen Yiduo, and Guo Moruo (see note below).

[652] See Schneider (1980): 112-114, etc., on how Wen Yiduo and Guo Moruo made Qu Yuan fit a self-image of poet-hero / genius-messiah in New Culture romanticism during the 1920s.

[653] Early collections of poetry, such as *The Book of Songs*, do not list the names of authors.

There is no evidence to suggest Zhu Xiang's suicide has been an issue of poetical or other debate since the 1930s (he was the only major poet of his generation to commit suicide). There is even less likelihood that poets of Bai Hua's generation (in their 30s and 40s in 1989) would concern themselves with him, and there is no record of Bai Hua having ever written in verse or prose about Zhu. So, whose suicide is Bai Hua really talking about? Qu Yuan's certainly, and possibly Li Bai's death, but there is another suicide to which the final stanza may also be referring – that of Haizi, who, at twenty-five years of age, threw himself under a train on 26 March 1989.

However, the poem's last line indicates that poets were "busy with all that, up until 1989". If "all that" means discussions about Zhu Xiang or suicidal poets, this is not true – or it is true, but only for Qu Yuan, Sylvia Plath (since her work appeared in Chinese translation in 1985), and perhaps Li Bai – as Bai Hua well knows. In fact, the large-scale "memorializing" of Haizi did not really start until *after* the massacre, and continued into 1990 and 1991, although Haizi's friend and fellow Beijing poet Xi Chuan did write essays about his friend in April and May 1989.[654] However, Bai Hua's poem was written in February 1991.[655]

Given that all the talk of suicidal poets is said to end in 1989, the poem can be read as a cry of 'Enough already!' from Bai Hua. Like Zhu Xiang, in Haizi we have another poet who ends his life before the age of 30 for reasons that no one is quite certain of. While they were both fanatically devoted to poetry and disappointed by life, if not also the lack of fame they may have felt their poetry deserved, can Bai truly consider them to be exemplars? There seems to be irony, perhaps unintentional, in suggesting a suicidal poet is any sort of exemplar, or "model" or "good example" as is the meaning of the Chinese word (榜样) used by Bai.

---

[654] For an account of these matters see Maghiel van Crevel's <Thanatography and the Poetic Voice: Ways of Reading Haizi> (2004).

[655] This is the date given on the poem's first publication in *Modern Han Poetry*. However, in Bai's later collection (1999), the date of composition is given as November 1989, at approximately the same time as Bai wrote <Wheat: In Memory of Haizi> (麦子：纪念海子). It is possible that Bai – out of fear of trouble with the authorities – deliberately postdated the poem in 1991. Still, as the date on the original publication was given as February 1991, this reading of the poem would have been valid at the time, and remains so today. It is also possible that the date was changed to 1989 from 1991 for the 1999 collection (published in Taiwan – a nearly identical collection was published in China in 2002, without the date of composition).

That irony takes on even heavier undertones when it is remembered that, in 1989, there was a massacre of hundreds, if not thousands, and countless others suffer continuing anguish. Since that time many of China's avant-garde poets devote their energies to eulogizing what by comparison may seem a pointless suicide, apparently ignoring the murders of uncounted numbers of idealistic youths and innocent bystanders.

Memorializing Haizi up until the massacres in 1989 would have been a human response, a relevant response. Afterwards it appears to become something else entirely: escapism, self-indulgence, and a self-willed further marginalization of avant-garde poetry in its continuing attempt to remain aloof from politics in China.

There is, however, another possible reading of this poem, given by Michelle Yeh in her 1996 essay <The "Cult of Poetry" in China>.[656] Yeh holds that "… the poem attempts to … find precedents for Haizi in Zhu Xiang and, through him, Qu Yuan, Li Bo [Bai] and others." The poem is here seen as an attempt by Bai Hua to place Haizi amidst a "'genealogy' of poets as heroic martyrs in the discourse of the 'cult of poetry.'" In her reading of the poem, Yeh sees no irony and takes the date 1989 as no more than an evocation of Haizi's suicide.

Such a reading, however, ignores the fact that almost all readers in China would immediately link "1989" with the massacres in Beijing and elsewhere. And Bai, by writing that China's poets were "busy with all that, up until 1989" – "all that" meaning the memorializing, talking, and corresponding about suicidal poets – seems to be disavowing "all that".

Whatever Bai's intentions, a reading that does mobilize the memory of June Fourth appears plausible. In *The Left Side*,[657] Bai makes no comment on this poem, relating how he had never met Haizi and they had only corresponded once, but how much he admired him as a poet. It is unclear whether this admiration came about after or before reading the many memorializing essays written in 1989 and since – Bai wrote his memoir in 1993-1994. Bai says that more than once he tried to write an essay in memoriam of Haizi, but abandoned each attempt, as "… death is a real thing, it makes speech difficult. I chose to face the dead with silence…". When Bai did write a poem in Haizi's memory in

[656] Yeh (1996b): 64-66. There are differing Chinese language versions of this article in Yeh (1997), (1998a), and (1999), the last of which was published in China.
[657] Bai Hua (1996a): Part 5, Chapter 2.

December 1989, <Wheat: In Memory of Haizi>,[658] despite its title, like <In Memory of Zhu Xiang>, this is not just a poem written for Haizi:

Wheat, I face you
I let hang a painful pair of hands
Wheat, a badge on the left of my chest
I ask you to stop your crazy growing!

Wheat! Wheat! Wheat!
The North will bleed because of this
See, from Anhui right into my hands
Right into the heart of the ancestral land
A grain of spirit is being swiftly transmitted

Who gave the order to fast
Wheat! Wheat! Wheat!
A tear strikes the top of a head of hunger
You lead the fasting into the 168th hour

Wheat, our wheat
Ah, wheat, the earth's wheat!
In a vast sky stars shine
The South sobs in its flesh

Please declare it! Wheat, the next step, the next step!
The next step is sacrifice
The next step is not a banquet

This is a remarkable poem. The last stanza amounts to a call for revolution, and not a poetical one. Wheat, the title of the poem, as Bai points out in *The Left Side*, is a favorite image of Haizi, and the reference to Anhui is referring to the fervent spirit of Haizi, a native of that province, and his poetry. However, the third stanza appears to refer to the poet Luo Yihe, a Beijing native, and a good friend of Haizi, who died on 31 May because of medical complications caused by fasting on Tian'anmen Square (at the time Luo was a student at the Lu Xun Literature Academy).[659]

The revolutionary tone of the poem is reinforced by Bai's use of a quotation from Mao beneath the poem's title:

[658] First published in the inaugural issue of *The Nineties* (1989) under the title of <Wheat>.
[659] As told the author in August 1989 by Tang Xiaodu and other reliable sources.

Because there is sacrifice, there are loftier aspirations
the courage to make the sun and the moon change into a new day

Furthermore, the final line of the poem is a rewriting of Mao's well-known dictum: "Revolution is not [the same as] inviting guests to a meal."[660] Bai may have been inspired to write this poem by the deaths of Haizi and Luo Yihe, but the poem seems to be more a memorial to the spirit of wheat, or North China, and all the victims of the massacre in Beijing. Bai also seems to contrast these fierce, driven northerners, now stars in the sky, to the laidback, cultured, rice-eating South, which can do no more than silently sob within its fleshy existence. In this poem, Bai is not only praising the northern fighting spirit, but, in the final stanza, seems to be calling for further similar actions.

As Bai Hua stated, the first response to the massacre by the majority of China's avant-garde poets was a silence resulting from amazement and horror. The uncharitable might consider this cowardice, however it should be remembered that the consequences of public speech at that time would have been as real and as terrifying as the massacre itself; Liao Yiwu is a case in point. In addition, China's avant-garde poets had been struggling to divorce poetry from politics since the end of the Cultural Revolution, and in doing so had effectively divorced themselves from China's social realities. The so-called Misty poets were the last poets to attempt to speak for their generation (high school graduates who were sent to live in the countryside during the Cultural Revolution), if not for all the people of China. With the importation of the great "I am" and every conceivable poetical 'Ism' from the west during the 1980s, by 1989 few poets felt any close link to 'the people' or even to others of their generation. As a result, it comes as no surprise that few elegies for the massacred were forthcoming (however, some were written 'for the drawer'[661]), and that, instead, interested readers were treated to poems and essays on the suicides or deaths of poets known personally by the authors. Presumably, there was art to be found in these 'poetic' deaths, while there was only politics in the deaths of the massacred. Thus, on the surface poetry does become little more than the correspondence

[660] A received version of this is "Revolution is not a dinner party."
[661] A further example of this phenomenon are two surrealistic lyrics written in 1989 by Zheng Danyi and published for the first time in Spring-Summer 1992 issue (#5) of *Modern Han Poetry*: <One Summer, One Summer> (在一个夏天，在一个夏天); and <Funeral Song> (挽歌).

and chatter between poets that Bai Hua refers to in the last stanza of his poem on Zhu Xiang / Haizi – a form of self-willed marginalization. It is necessary to note, however, that poems on 'personal' suicides are often thinly veiled references to 'public deaths' (June Fourth), and that these tactics are forced upon the authors by political repression.

## New Journals and a New Poetry

### *Image Puzzle*

In Sichuan during the latter half of 1989, three new unofficial journals were prepared for publication: *Image Puzzle* (*象罔*), *Against* (*反对*), and *The Nineties* (*九十年代*). More will be said about these publications and their poetry in the next chapter; here, however, the first issues of these journals will be examined for indications of how the poets who edited and contributed to them reacted to the events of early June in Beijing, Chengdu, and Chongqing.

About *Image Puzzle*, Zhong Ming, its editor, has even less to say than about 1982's *Born-Again Forest*. In his only substantive comments on the journal,[662] Zhong states that in planning the journal with Zhao Ye in Chengdu, they set themselves the goal of "countering the corruption of the poetry scene." Zhong and Zhao, as one of the founders of the original group of self-styled Third Generation poets in 1982, saw the need to pull poets and poetry up out of an excessive concern with life's trivialities.

This goal seems vague, but Bai Hua, whose two short poems opened the first issue of the journal,[663] was immediately struck by the beauty and simplicity of the journal's layout.[664] The journal is in a simple black-and-white photocopied format with small photographs and drawings scattered throughout the text. The title page of the first issue features an English text from Hamlet:

Hamlet: How is it with you, lady?

[662] Zhong (2002): 23-24.
[663] <The Drinker> (饮酒人) and <A Walk in the Country in Spring> (踏青).
[664] Bai Hua (1996a): Part 4, Chapter 5.

*Xiang Wang* (*象罔*)

Invisible Men[665]
Queen: Alas, How is't with
you, that you do bend
your eye on
vacancy,

(A drawing of a naked, longhaired woman in motion with a robe billowing above her)

whereon do you look?[666]

The English translation of *Xiang Wang* *象罔*, given here as *Invisible Men*, is related to a story from *Zhuangzi* (*庄子*), which is reprinted on the inside page before the table of contents: the legendary Yellow Emperor loses a magical black pearl on a trip to the Kunlun Mountains and asks his most intelligent and able courtiers to find it for him. All are unable to do so. Finally, he asks "the vacuous Image Puzzle" (虚无的象罔) and is surprised when he does find it.

The implication is that the black pearl is symbolic of poetry and the humble Image Puzzle, or Invisible Man, is the only one capable of recovering it. If this is so, these Invisible Men (Zhong Ming, Zhao Ye, and Xiang Yixian, who Bai says came up with the name) are far from humble. The other contributors to the first issue were the Sichuan poet Liu Su, Shanghai's Chen Dongdong, and Zhang Zao, still resident in Germany. Half the twenty pages of the journal are given over to poetry, the other half to translations of prose by Kafka and Borges and an informal essay (随笔) by Zhong Ming – one of a series of nine he wrote during 1989 on Chinese mythological creatures.

---

[665] Presumably, this is Zhong's favored translation of *象罔*. In fact, English was only used three other times on the journal's title page. Issue #2 (the Pound issue) was also entitled *Invisible Men*, but *#9* was *A Study of Chinese Poetry* and #11 *A Study for Chinese Poetry and Empire / Southern Poetry Review*, a title echoing *The Southern Poetry Chronicle* (*南方诗志*), founded in 1992 and edited by Chen Dongdong in Shanghai. Two other issues had German titles – *Der Unsehbare* – and the remainder had the Latin titles: *Persona Invisible* and *Homo Invisus*.

[666] In Zhong Ming (1998): 903, a copy of another version of the title page in German is shown. The layout is the same, but the German text reads: Singe, singe, nur und lob / und ruhme sie / *Der Unsehbare* / sag mir mit wem du gaest [sic] und / ich werde dir sagen / erlaubt ist was gefallt [sic]. There were also Latin texts for the Latin-titled issues referred to in the previous footnote.

This approach to the production of a journal seems a continuation of the line of journals that started in 1982 with *The Born-Again Forest* (a collection largely made up of disciples of Misty poetry), followed by *Day By Day Make It New* (1985), the non-Wholism half of contributors to *Han Poetry* (1986-1988), and *The Red Flag* (1987-1989). The second issue of *Image Puzzle*, which Bai Hua remembers as being entirely devoted to translations of poetry and prose by Ezra Pound (in particular an essay on the murderous quality of capitalism), confirms such a supposition. In *The Left Side*, Bai states his belief that this issue, and the journal as a whole, raised issues of "poetical morality" and a "spirit of devotion" to poetry which were necessary injections of strength into the then quiet avant-garde poetry scene. Bai remembers this "spirit of Pound" drawing admiring letters from Xi Chuan in Beijing and Chen Dongdong in Shanghai. This spirit was linked with Zhong's overall interest in aestheticism, and a rejection of poetry that did not meet his standards – effectively most of the Not-Not poets, who were now without a journal, the Macho Men poets, and individuals such as Liao Yiwu. Seemingly, the readership of *Image Puzzle* was restricted to those poets felt by Zhong Ming to be responsible aesthetes.

An example of this aestheticism is a poem by Xiang Yixian from *Image Puzzle*'s first issue:

**<The Hand of God>** (上帝的手)

Now please close your eyes
I'm saying – let the darkness swallow you
No matter what, this is our own concern
A matter that really cannot be told

No! Not only these: wind or a herd of horses
I'm indicating another kind, you already feel
another type of light, absolute and empty
passing through you in a bewitching form

Stones  politics and even death
A shattered illusory hand
The soundless restless hand of an explosion
O! Now it appears on the crown of a head

Lonely eagles restrict lean lungs

Their fall, sharper than poisoned arrows
more splendid, the shadowy drawn bows
more shadowy are the shooters

But it, only it, the immortal summons
and refusal, is still seen on the crown
this pose of unparalleled hollowness
becomes our dream of the future

Who can describe that lengthy broad face
And who can touch that flying flame
See! It slowly sways
slowly rises  hides away

Please listen closely
Can you hear? Wind or a herd of horses
running  mating
startling soundly sleeping infants

O! The sobbing tender night
After the dark flower garden fades away
I know, who took it away
I know who took ours away

Coming after Bai Hua's two poems on traditional poetical subjects – drinking and spring (both written in March 1989) – and Xiang's on the death of a famous courtesan (貂蝉), this poem is somewhat disquieting. The subject matter is still that of death, and the imagery and symbolism (darkness, wind, horses, eagles, a flower garden) is typical, but the introduction of "politics", "explosions", "poisoned arrows" and "shooters" strike sharp discordant notes. In the last stanza, the "dark flower garden" (dimly seen hopes, ideals, beauty) is taken away by someone, but is it really god? In 1989, Chinese readers would instead be tempted to read into this the CCP and PLA. Furthermore, the proper translation of the *Shangdi* 上帝 in the title is Emperor of Heaven, or "the emperor above", and this could easily be understood as Deng Xiaoping or Li Peng, or, more generally, the top leaders who ordered the massacre.

The dark overtones and pregnant ambiguity are also present in the following poems by Zhao Ye and Liu Su. These poems make it seem that Bai Hua's spring 1989 poems were carefully selected by the journal's editors as representative, or symbolic, of the carefree

normality of poetry, if not life, before 3 June. And Zhong's editorial intent in 1989, at least, does not seem so purely aesthetical after all.

### *The Nineties and Against*

Not two months after Zhong Ming mailed out the first issue of *Image Puzzle* in October 1989, the first issue of *The Nineties*, also out of Chengdu, joined it. A more substantial journal (nearly 120 printed pages), *The Nineties* eschewed the aesthetic appearance of *Image Puzzle*, having a plain yellow cover with the Chinese characters of the title and the year (1989) on the cover page, a brief comment by the editors on the inside page, and the table of contents, followed by nothing but poetry.

Of the three poets most intimately involved in the production of the journal and its sister publication *Against*, only Sun Wenbo has commented on it in any detail.[667] The other two were Xiao Kaiyu and Ouyang Jianghe. Sun claims he was only responsible for printing the journal and Xiao did all the real editorial work (contacting poets, soliciting poetry). Ouyang is not mentioned. However, in *The Left Side* Bai Hua states that the three poets together put out the journal.[668] Certainly, Ouyang Jianghe's poetry features just as prominently in *The Nineties* and *Against* as Sun's and Xiao's. At the time, Ouyang was the better known of the three poets, provincially and nationally, but what influence he had on editorial policies can only be guessed at.

Sun's relative reticence and Ouyang's silence with regard to involvement in these journals, and those previous (*The Red Flag* in Sun's case, and *Han Poetry* in Ouyang's), is somewhat mysterious – and the same could be said about Xiao Kaiyu's and Zhong Ming's silence with regard to the 1989 journals. In recent years, these poets – with the aforementioned singular exception of Sun – have shown little interest in claiming the cultural capital that having produced unofficial avant-garde poetry journals would grant them. Why this should be so is a question subject to speculation, and may be bound up in the poetical polemic that broke out in 1998 between the self-styled "intellectual" and

---

[667] Sun Wenbo (1999a).

[668] See Bai Hua (1996a): Part 4, Chapter 4. The author spoke separately with both Ouyang and Zhong Ming on several occasions in late June and early July 1989 in Chengdu. Both spoke cryptically about poetry projects they were planning. Zhong Ming in his memoirs, *Spectator* (1999), also speaks vaguely of a disagreement with Ouyang at this time – they had previously been close friends.

"popular" poets. Sun, Xiao, and Ouyang were in the Intellectual camp, while many former Not-Not and *Them* poets, often described as members of the Third Generation, were "popular".

In fact, the idea of the "intellectual" in poetry first appeared in essays published in the first (1988) issue of *Tendency*, then based in Beijing and edited by Lao Mu, Huang Beiling, and Chen Dongdong, and contributed to by Ouyang Jianghe and Xi Chuan. In an interview with Yang Li in 2001, Ouyang accepts that he coined the term "Intellectual Writing" in 1993, but that Xi Chuan first brought up the idea in conversation with Ouyang and Chen Dongdong in 1987 at a Youth Poetry Conference organized by *Poetry*.[669] However, Ouyang attempts to disassociate himself from the term (and the late-1990s polemic) by stating that he never went to university, while he considered Xi Chuan and Chen to be "university" poets – apparently in reference to their perceived status in 1987. As previously noted, in 1988 Ouyang wrote articles extolling the poetical virtues of Chen and Xi Chuan, among others, many of whom became prominent contributors to *Han Poetry* in 1988 and now to *The Nineties* and *Against*.

Sun claims Xiao gave *The Nineties* and *Against* their names. He states that upon printing *The Nineties* in December 1989, they felt that the selection of poetry in that journal was not as complete or as up-to-date as it should be, so they decided to produce a smaller, photocopied journal that would appear at regular, briefer intervals, as *The Nineties* was to be an annual publication. In doing so, *Against* seems to have been patterned on Zhong Ming's *Image Puzzle*, also photocopied and produced at 1-2 month intervals (during 1990). Likewise, a lack of money limited circulation numbers – Sun claims only 100 copies for each issue of *The Nineties* and financial assistance from contributors and readers. In addition, like Zhong Ming, Sun claims that the purpose of the journals was to reinvigorate the silent avant-garde poetry scene. As in the early 1980s and 1987, from June 1989, editorial boards at official journals and publishing houses were not welcoming the avant-garde into print.

---

[669] See Yang Li (2004): 444, and van Crevel (1999) for the 1998-2000 polemic. In written form, the term "intellectual spirit" first appears with regard to the drive and responsibility of poets in the editors' (Xi Chuan and Chen Dongdong) forward to the inaugural issue of the unofficial journal *Tendency* (Beijing, 1988: 2).

Sun also claims that he and Xiao were very selective with regard to the poetry chosen for inclusion in their journals. A glance at the table of contents of the first issues of their two journals and that of the 1988 issue of *Han Poetry* indicates how selective. In fact, there were only three new contributors, and only in *The Nineties*: the previously unknown Harbin poet Zhang Shuguang; the recently deceased Luo Yihe; and the American-Chinese poet Ha Jin, who is famous as an English-language novelist in the U.S.A.. Otherwise, the list of contributors to *The Nineties* and *Against* is indistinguishable from *Han Poetry*'s: Xi Chuan (in *The Nineties*), Sun Wenbo (both), Ouyang Jianghe (both), Bai Hua (*The Nineties*), Chen Dongdong (*The Nineties*), Wan Xia (*The Nineties*), Haizi (both), Xiao Kaiyu (both), and Shi Guanghua (*Against*).[670]

Both *The Nineties* and *Against* had brief editorial comments – written by Xiao Kaiyu, according to Sun Wenbo – on the first inside page before the table of contents. The <Editors' Explanation> (编辑说明) in *The Nineties* sets out the journal's "poetical principles" of "nobility (高尚), beauty, and song (歌唱)", with the caveat that "… opposition to traditional elegance (文雅) is still necessary." The 'principles' seem a rebuke of Not-Not, and a continuation of hostilities between the Not-Not poets and the poets of *Han Poetry* in Chengdu, while the opposition to traditional elegance seems directed against *Image Puzzle*.

All this is restated, if in other words, in the <Preface> (前言) for *Against*. This opens by claiming for the journal the desire "to maintain Valéry's pursuit of the unattainable ideal of pure poetry." There follows an explication of the meaning of the journal's title by listing what it is against: all that is old-fashioned, pedantry, sentimentality, flabbiness, and "a reluctance to part with oneself." The purpose of opposing such elements in poetry is "creatively to bring new content and rhythms into poetry." Finally: "Now, probably nothing can be as important, as urgent as expanding fields of vision, [and] nurturing a positive, healthy concept of aesthetics…".

Although brief, broad, and vague, these comments make *The Nineties* and *Against* more exclusive and combative than *Image Puzzle*.

[670] There were also translations of poetry by Rilke and Milosz in *The Nineties*.

Another difference between the new Sichuan journals can be found with regard to their editorial treatment of the deaths of Haizi and Luo Yihe. Although Zhong Ming did write an essay in memory of Haizi in 1989,[671] he did not publish it in *Image Puzzle*, or any poetry by Haizi and Luo Yihe, or poetry written to commemorate them. On the other hand, the first issue of *The Nineties* carried three poems by Luo Yihe,[672] a commemorative poem written for Luo by Xiao Kaiyu,[673] eight poems by Haizi[674] and Bai Hua's <Wheat>. Furthermore, the first issue of *Against* carried two more poems by Haizi[675] and a commemorative poem for him by Ouyang Jianghe,[676] and the third issue of the journal opened with two more of Haizi's poems.[677]

The contents of *The Nineties* and *Against* are of the variety Ouyang Jianghe approved of and had advocated in his earlier essays on the subject. Aside from the translated poetry of Rilke and Milosz, the names of Croce, Dante, Milton, Bunin, and Mozart appear in the titles of poems in *The Nineties*. Excluding the poems by and for Haizi in *Against*, of note are a poem dedicated to Pasternak by Shi Guanghua and three other poems dedicated and meant as encouragement to friends (the Sichuan artist He Duoling, Xiao Kaiyu, and Xi Chuan) by Ouyang Jianghe. However, the poem that would have most drawn the reader's attention, given the journal's title, would have been Xiao Kaiyu's:

**<Mao Zedong>** (毛泽东)

A reduction in color and all unnecessary over-elaboration on the model
makes the great figure of correct content
partial to silvery gray — the color of clouds — and indigo
— the color of seas — the pure qualities of
vast things. He likes this kind of country.

---

[671] <Intermediary Zone> (中间地带), published in *Today* in 1990 #1, the inaugural issue of the overseas edition of the unofficial journal that produced 9 issues in 1978-1980.
[672] <Great Distance> (修远), <Thoughts for Beauty> (为美而想), and <A Black Puma> (黑豹).
[673] <骆一禾>.
[674] <Wheatfields> (麦地), <In Mozart's "Requiem" it Says> (莫扎特在"安魂曲"中说), <September> (九月), <Swan> (天鹅), <A Han Farce> (汉俳), <A Hawthorn> (山楂树), <Diary> (日记), and <A Poem Dedicated to the Night> (黑夜的献诗).
[675] <Prairies of Gold> (黄金草原) and <Autumn> (秋天).
[676] <The Final Sprint> (冲刺).
[677] <Why are Flowers Red Like This> (花儿为什么这样红) and <A Poem Dedicated to the Last Night and the First Day> (最后一夜和第一日的献诗).

Like a badge the sun appears on the brow,
appears in a sea of people.
Above the reflection is an atmosphere amid innumerable steel smelters
building a bright, diaphanous square flooded with limitations by the limitless
around the purplish gold, but actually earthen city walls and moat.

The papers cheer the triumph of ideals
Tidewaters rowdily swell up
From billions of hearts a hurricane blows promoting the scope of depression on the faces of flags
These waves of red sails lead seawater to rise,
ascend, and in the sea there're only wrecks and the sea bottom.

He lies in a swimming pool full of ancient texts
in a refitted room, gazing at the air
spitting out complex phrases,
indecipherable profundities contained in the burs of stiff sounds of speech
the warrior's language comes from the battlefield of the spirit, who can understand?

This poem could be taken as a companion piece to the earlier <Empire>,[678] a poem showing the influence of Liao Yiwu's poetry and Ouyang Jianghe's <Suspended Coffin>, where Xiao describes a nation shrouded in darkness, death, and decay. Here its emperor, and creator, is described. Xiao illustrates the whimsical nature of Mao (the colors of his suits, and thus all suits), the founding of the PRC (the sun/Mao appearing on the Tian'anmen Gate), the Great Leap Forward (steel smelters), the Cultural Revolution (the hurricane and red sails), the disasters that follow, and ultimately reveals the source of it all as a capricious wordsmith – somewhat similar to a poet.

By 1989, a new, a-political Mao cult had sprung up in China, in Guangdong province in particular where taxi drivers and others would mount pictures of him in prominent locations, believing they brought luck and wealth.[679] Xiao's poem may or may not be meant as a corrective for the revisionist nostalgia surrounding Mao that was beginning to appear in Chinese culture at the time. However, there is no doubt Xiao was utilizing popular images of Mao (declaring the establishment of PRC in 1949, reviewing Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution, 'at home' in the Forbidden City) and these were

[678] First published in the 1988 issue of *Han Poetry*.
[679] For more on this subject see Jeremie Barmé (1999): 320-324, and Barmé ed. (1995a).

all centered on, or near, Tian'anmen Square.[680] Furthermore, all Chinese are aware of the huge portrait of Mao at the top of the square over the entrance to the Forbidden City as a symbol of the continuing power and legitimacy of the CCP. Mao, and his legacy, had overseen the events on Tian'anmen in April, May, and June 1989 in more ways than one.

This poem by Xiao Kaiyu is exceptional. More common, as noted of poetry in the journals dealt with above, were meditations on death and other subjects that lent themselves to forms of philosophical lyricism, examinations of the minutiae of everyday life, and allegorical readings. The difficulties of Zhou Lunyou, Liao Yiwu, and other Sichuan poets in the nine months that followed the massacres could only have meant further encouragement of reticence and self-censorship, if not silence.

It seems fitting to conclude this chapter with a text that addresses this situation. In 1990, Ouyang Jianghe wrote the following poem on the nature of the square – Tian'anmen, the central square in Chengdu, or any other city in China – and its harsh presence and ominous significance in the imaginations of poets, intellectuals, and all other people in China at the time. Strikingly, Ouyang utilizes imagery similar to that of the imprisoned Zhou Lunyou in <A Situation Composed of Stones>, in stanzas 3-5 of this poem written in Chengdu two weeks before Zhou's:

**<Crossing the Square at Nightfall>**[681]
(傍晚穿过广场; Sept. 18, 1990)

I do not know were a square of past ages
begins, or where it ends.
Some people take an hour to cross the square,
some a lifetime—
In the morning it's children, in the evening people in the dusk of life.
I don't know how much farther you must walk in the twilight before you can stop your steps?

In the twilight how long must you survey
before you can close your eyes? When a fast-moving auto
opens its blinding lights
in the rearview mirror I saw the flash of the faces
of those who once crossed the square on a bright morning.
In the evening in buses they leave.

[680] The official residence of top party leaders is in a section of the Forbidden City just off the Square.
[681] First published in the 1992 issue (#5) of the re-formed *Not-Not*.

A place that no one leaves is not a square,
nor is a place where no one falls.
The departed come home again, but the fallen are forever fallen.
A thing called stone
quickly piles up, towers up,
unlike the growth of bones needing a hundred years' time.
Also not so soft as a bone.
Every square has a head built of stone

making the empty-handed people feel the measure
of life. To look up and think with a huge head of stone,
not a simple matter for anyone.
The weight of stone
lightens responsibility, love and sacrifice on people's shoulders.

Perhaps people will cross the square on a bright morning,
open arms and tenderly embrace in winds from every side.
But when the night falls, hands grow heavy,
the only body emitting light is the stone in the head.
The only keen sword that stabs at the head quietly drops to the ground.

Darkness and cold are rising.
Surrounding the square tall structures put on the latest fashion of china and glass.
All grows small. The world of stones
lightly floats up in the world reflected in the glass,
like an oppressive notion scrawled in children's workbooks
that can be ripped out and kneaded into a ball at will.

Cars speed past, pouring the speed
of running water into a huge system of concrete with muscles and bones of iron,
in the shape of the horns bestowed on silence.
The square of past ages vanishes from the rearview mirror.

Disappears forever –
a square covered by acne in its green spring, in its first love.
A square that has never appeared in the accounts and notices of death.
A square that bares its chest, rolls up its sleeves, tightens its belt
that wears patches and energetically scrubs with both hands.

A square that through young blood runs outside its body,
that licks with its tongue, strikes stone with its brow, and covers itself with flags.

A square of daydreams that has vanished, no more exists,
stops in the morning as if there has been a night of heavy snow.
A pure and mysterious thaw

shimmers in turn in eyes and conscience,
a part grows into a thing called tears,
a part grows hard inside a thing called stone.

The world of stone collapses.
A world of soft tissue climbs up to the high spot.
The entire process like spring water leaving minerals through a draw pipe
going distilled into an airtight, beautifully packaged space
Riding an express elevator I rise in the umbrella stem of a rainy day.

When I return to the ground, I look up and see a circular restaurant
opened like an umbrella revolving in the city's sky.
This is a cap grown out of wizardry,
its size does not agree
with the head of the giant piled up out of stone

The arms that once supported the square are let down.
Today the giant relies on the support of a short sword.
Will it stab something? For example, a fragile revolution
once stirred up on paper, posted to walls?

There has never been a power
that could glue together two different worlds for long.
In the end a repeatedly posted head will be ripped away.
A repeatedly whitewashed wall
has a half occupied by a girl of mixed blood baring her thighs.
The other half is enticing ads for the installation of prosthetics and the regeneration of hair.

A pram quietly parks on the evening square,
silent, not related to this world soon to go mad.
I guess the distance between the pram and the setting sun
to be farther than a hundred years.
This is an almost limitless yardstick, sufficient to measure
the length of the confined era that passed over the square

The universal fear of house arrest
brought people off their perches to gather in the square
changed the lonely moments of a lifetime into a fervent holiday.
And in the depths of their dwellings, in the silent eye-catching ceremony of love and death,
a square of shadows empty without a sign of life is treasured,
like a tightly sealed room for penitence it is only a secret of the heart.

Must one pass through the darkness of the heart before crossing the square?
Now in the dark the two blackest worlds combine as one,

the hard stone head is split open,
in the dark, keen swords flash.

If I could use the mysterious black night chopped in half
to explain a bright morning trampled to the ground by both feet –
if I could follow the flight of stairs swept by the dawn light
and climb up onto the shoulders of the giant standing high on the summit of
nothingness,
not to rise, but to fall –
if the epigraph engraved in gold is not to be a eulogy,
but to be rubbed out, forgotten, trampled –

Just as a trampled square must fall on the head of the trampler,
those people who crossed the square on that bright morning,
sooner or later their black leather shoes will fall on sharp swords,
as heavily as the lid of a coffin must fall on the coffin.
As long as it is not me lying inside, and also not
the people walking on the blade of the sword.

I never thought so many people could cross the square
on that bright morning, dodging loneliness and immortality.
They are the survivors of an era of black confinement.
I never imagined they would leave or fall in the evening.

A place where nobody falls is not a square.
A place where nobody stands also is not.
Was I standing? How much longer must I stand?
All in all those who fell and me are the same,
we were never immortal.

Critics such as Tang Xiaodu and Yixing have hailed this poem as a rewriting, and repossession, of the 'square' as a place of open public discourse, a place of continuing resistance to tyranny within and without the mind.[682] Ouyang's affected, initial neutrality and careful, convoluted writing style ultimately resolves itself into a form of adamant spiritual resistance, and identification with those who are, or were, capable of physical resistance. In the end, all must cross the square if they are to survive the "era of black confinement" into which, initially, others have cast them, but from which, now, they must struggle to free themselves.

[682] Yixing (2000); Tang (2001): 107-108.

The following chapter will document the struggle for this spiritual freedom within the Second World of Poetry by Sichuan's avant-garde poets before a new, relatively liberal era would dawn in 1993.

## CHAPTER 12: A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

After June 1989 and until 1993, avant-garde poetry appeared to be all but unpublishable by official literary journals and print houses in China. During this period, avant-garde poets produced self-published journals at a rate above that of the late 1980s. The efforts of poets such as Zhong Ming, Xiao Kaiyu, Sun Wenbo, and Ouyang Jianghe, recorded in the previous chapter, were mirrored in Sichuan and the rest of the country during the early 1990s.

Thrown back into a period of repression after one of relatively free and public exploration and experimentation, China's avant-garde poets began to consolidate the experiences of the years since the first public appearance of *Today* in December 1978. Given the nationwide network of relationships that many Sichuan poets now possessed, large group activities, such as the Young Poets Association, were no longer necessary. Instead, individual travel, correspondence, and the attendant circulation of unofficial journals and individual poetry collections played a much larger role than before. Many new unofficial journals featured sizable contributions from poets resident in distant locales; a practice first realized in the ever-growing list of out-of-province contributors to *Not-Not* (1986-1988), which was adopted by the second issue of *Han Poetry* (1988), and, in late 1989, by *Image Puzzle*, *The Nineties*, and *Against*.

After the arrest in 1989-1990 of influential activist poets such as Zhou Lunyou, Liao Yiwu, Li Yawei, and Wan Xia, there was space for other poets to come to the fore, and for new trends and position-takings in the sub-field of avant-garde poetry in Sichuan.

## The Public Disappearance of the Avant-Garde

China's avant-garde poets gained unprecedented access to official literary publications during 1986, 1988, and the first half of 1989. Adjusted figures for instances of publication in nationally circulated literary periodicals for the two similar periods of time (42 months) speak for themselves:[683]

**Table I**

| | 1986-1989/06 | 1989/07-1992 |
|---|---|---|
| Sichuan poets only | = 173 | = 53[684] |
| Non-Sichuan poets | = 225 | = 75[685] |
| Total all poets[686] | = 398 | = 128 |

The earlier period includes 12 months when official journals were reluctant to publish avant-garde poetry during the political and cultural crackdown that began in January 1987. However, even during that year the total number of publication instances for Sichuan poets was over half that of the *entire* later period. The explanation, as indicated in the previous chapter, lies in the arrest and subsequent blacklisting of poets such as Zhou Lunyou, Liao Yiwu, Wan Xia, and Liu Taiheng, and in the intimidation thereby of other poets and editors. The arrests of these individuals and the questioning and investigation of other poets are indicative of the harsher political and cultural environment in Sichuan during 1989-1992, and on into 1993.[687]

---

[683] Following the deduction from 1986-June 1989 figures of instances of publication in locally circulated journals, such as *Guandong Literature*, and those periodicals for which figures are not available in the later period, such as *The Poetry Paper*.

Journals consulted: *Shanghai Literature*, *Author*, *Flower City*, *People's Literature*, *Beijing Literature*, *China Author*, *Poetry*, *Stars*, *Sichuan Literature*, *Plains Literature*, *Feitian Literature*, *Tibet Literature*, *East Sea Literature* (*东海文学*), *Shoots Literature* (*萌芽文学*).

[684] Breakdown for individual poets (1989/1990/1991/1992): Liao Yiwu 1/1/0/0 = 2, earlier period = 20; Xiao Kaiyu 2/1/1/1 = 5, e.p. = 20; Zhai Yongming 0/0/1/0 = 1, e.p. = 18; Ouyang Jianghe 1/0/1/0 = 2, e.p. = 15; Zhou Lunyou 0/0/0/0, e.p. = 14; Li Yawei 2/1/0/0 = 3, e.p. = 13; Song Qu, Song Wei 0/0/0/1 = 1, e.p. = 11; Yang Li 2/1/0/0 = 3, e.p. = 11; Shi Guanghua 0/0/1/0 = 1, e.p. = 10; Shang Zhongmin 0/1/2/0 = 3, e.p. = 10; He Xiaozhu 0/1/1/3 = 5, e.p. = 10; Sun Wenbo 1/0/1/0 = 2, e.p. = 6; Bai Hua 1/1/1/1 = 4, e.p. = 6.

[685] This figure includes 8 instances of publication by the recently deceased Haizi and Luo Yihe.

[686] The poets included here are the same as those in Chapter 8, approximately 60 in total.

[687] This is indicated by the notable increase in the number of instances of publication for non-Sichuan avant-garde poets to 46 in 1993 (after 75 in total during the previous 3.5 years). In fact, during 1993, instances of Sichuan poets' publication decreased, as they garnered only 11 instances of publication, a decrease on the average of just over 15 per annum during the previous 3.5 years.

Elsewhere in the official publishing world matters were little different. In January 1990, in Tianjin, the Nankai University Publishing House gave a print run of 10,000 to *After Misty Poetry – A Selection of Chinese Avant-garde Poetry* (*朦胧诗后 – 中国先锋诗选*), edited by Li Lizhong, Zhang Lei, and Zhang Xu. In July 1992, after almost two years' delay Tang Xiaodu's *The Happy Dance of Corduroy: A Selection of the Best of Post-Misty Poetry* (*灯心绒幸福的舞蹈 – 后朦胧诗选萃*) was published by the Beijing Normal University Publishing House with a surprisingly large print run of 30,500 copies. However, both anthologies consist of poetry written before 1989. Newer poetry was included in *A Selection of the Work of Chinese Avant-garde Poets* (*中国先锋诗人作品选*), published in 1992 by the Huaxia Culture Publishing House (华夏文化出版社) and edited by the Anhui poets Axiang and Dong Fanghao, but a small print run and limited circulation left it little noticed. Smaller print runs of 3,000-8,000 would become the norm for avant-garde poetry.

It can be argued that, initially, there were political pressures on print houses and official literary journals to limit access and print runs, but by 1993 economics was becoming the decisive factor in limiting print runs and publication opportunities for avant-garde poets. Deng Xiaoping's trip to the South in February 1992 spurred further economic reforms in China, and these resulted in inflation and management reforms in state-owned companies, such as publishing houses and literary journals. With costs rising and publishing houses now ordered to wean themselves off state subsidies, the days of large print runs and nationwide circulation of potential loss leaders, such as avant-garde poetry, were over. As had been the case with unofficial poetry journals since *Today*, in many cases poets would have to subsidize official publication themselves. The following table bears witness to these changes:

**Table II**

**Publication of Avant-garde Poetry Anthologies 1987-1999**

| Editor/s | Publishers | Date | Pages | Print Run | Cost |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Yan, Gao, Liang & Gu | Spring Wind Arts | 1987 | 386 | 135,501 | 2.35 RMB |
| 2) Tang & Wang | " " " | 1987 | 226 | 19,500 | 2.00 RMB |
| 3) Xi Ping | China Literature Fed. | 1988 | 634 | 6,300 | 5.35 RMB |
| 4) Xu, Meng, Cao & Lü | Tongji U. | 1988 | 566 | 3,000 | 5.20 RMB |
| 5) Li, Zhang & Zhang | Nankai U. | 1990 | 220 | 10,000 | 2.65 RMB |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6) Niu Han & Cai Qijiao | Anhui Lit. & Arts | 1991 | 270 | 3,301 | 3.70 RMB |
| 7) Zhou Jun & Zhang Wei | Nanjing | 1991 | 364 | 3,000 | 5.90 RMB |
| 8) Huang Zumin | Shanxi | 1992 | 340 | 4,000 | 6.50 RMB |
| 9) Tang Xiaodu | Beijing Normal U, | 1992 | 300 | 30,500 | 6.25 RMB |
| 10) Chen Chao | " " | 1993 | 324 | 6,000 | 8.90 RMB |
| 11) Wan Xia & Xiaoxiao | Sichuan Education | 1993 | 2,010 | 4,100 | 58.00 RMB |
| 12) Editors | Shanghai Lit. & Arts | 1993 | 320 | 1,500 | 6.10 RMB |
| 13) Chen Xuguang | Beijing U. | 1994 | 310 | n.a. | 7.50 RMB |
| 14) Zhou Lunyou | Dunhuang Arts | " | 330 | 5,500 | 12.80 RMB |
| 15) " " | " | " | 370 | " | 13.60 RMB |
| 16) Sha Guang | Chengdu Tech. U. | " | 480 | 3,000 | 8.80 RMB |
| 17) Tang Xiaodu | Beijing Normal U. | 1999 | 350 | 8,000 | 20.00 RMB |
| 18) Sun, Zang & Xiao[688] | People's Literature | " | 410 | 4,000 | 25.00 RMB |
| 19) " " " | " " | 2000 | 410 | " | 25.00 RMB |
| 20) " " " | " " | 2002 | 410 | " | 26.00 RMB |

Table II shows a general increase in prices and decrease in print runs. Whereas in 1987-1988, the consumer paid approximately 1 RMB per 100 pages in a book, by 1994, the cost had more than doubled to over 2 RMB, and by 2000 it had more than doubled again to over 5 RMB. This reflects a reduction in subsidies to state-run businesses (but less of a reduction for university presses) and a depreciation of the RMB in purchasing power. However, while the per capita increase in average annual disposable income has grown at a similar rate,[689] the increasing costs of services that used to be free or offered at nominal prices (health and education in particular) has had the affect of making all but the most popular books and literary journals unaffordable luxury items for most Chinese citizens. This reflects a change in both political and economic policy, as the CCP moves further onto a capitalist profit-oriented path that requires intellectuals and the growing middle class to pay more for education and culture, thereby shrinking access for the less affluent and less well-connected to these fields. In Sichuan – one of the poorer provinces in China but home to 10% of the population – this effect is further magnified. Other aspects include the rapid growth of income inequality in town and country, as China has moved from remarkable egalitarian income levels in the mid-1980s toward an income distribution model similar to that of India, Brazil, and Mexico, for example. This applies

[688] This is Sun Wenbo, Xiao Kaiyu, and the Beijing poet Zang Di.

[689] Urban Chinese Disposable Income per capita grew from 1002.2 RMB in 1987 to 6280 RMB in 2000; for Rural Chinese from 462.6 RMB in 1987 to 2253.4 RMB in 2000. See Tables 2-6, 2-7, and 2-9 in CSLS (2003) for the data relevant to this paragraph.

to cities and regions, as well as individuals. Thus, in Sichuan today it is increasingly unlikely that the small towns, which were first homes to poets such as the Song brothers, Li Yawei and Ma Song, will nurture many more such poets in the future.

In discussions about the marginalization of avant-garde poetry, this economic argument is often overlooked. While it may be true that the difficulty of some avant-garde poetry may limit its accessibility, the increase in the cost of books, journals, and education, has also had a considerable role to play. At this time, there is no reliable, accurate method of quantifying the effect of these trends, but it seems safe to assume that, for economic reasons alone, it has become increasingly difficult for avant-garde poets to sustain and increase their readership over the past 15 years.

An argument can be made that literature in general, and poetry in particular, is only ever read by a small percentage of the public, and that no longer having money to buy non-popular books is, therefore, irrelevant. However, the impoverished background of many of the poets dealt with in this text, and the continuing relative poverty of China's intelligentsia – especially outside of the major coastal cities – would seem to negate this argument.

Three of the books listed in the table are indicative of resultant new trends and difficulties in avant-garde poetry publications. Number 8 in the table is the two volume *Collected Post-Misty Poems: A Chronicle of Chinese Modern Poetry*, edited by Wan Xia and Xiaoxiao. This publication was entirely private, paid for and partly subsidized by Wan Xia, who had successfully turned his hand to the lucrative private publishing business after his release from prison in early 1992. The subtitle of the collection is an apparently deliberate echo of that of *Han Poetry*, and a perusal of the contents reinforces such an impression. Of the first 36 poets in volume one, only one is of Not-Not (He Xiaozhu); there are, however, six other *Not-Not* contributors among the 36 poets selected for volume two (Yang Li, Lan Ma, Jimu Langge, Zhou Lunyou, and Liang Xiaoming. On average, fewer poems by Not-Not poets are selected and no mention of the group is made in the brief biographies at the start of each poet's collection, except in reference to Lan Ma's theoretical contributions and the appearance of the group's name in the title of one of Yang Li's poems. Finally, Not-Not poets Shang Zhongmin, Liu Tao, and Xiao An do not appear at all. While this might be understandable to some, the selection by Wan Xia

and Xiaoxiao (Wan's girlfriend at the time) of poets such as Aqu Qiangba, Jidi Majia, Hai Lei, Pan Jiazhu, Sun Jianjun, Li Zhengguang, and Xiaoxiao herself suggests that these omissions were deliberate. For example, Aqu and Jidi are generally considered Misty poets, and the other poets are neither as well known nor, arguably, as talented as Shang, Liu, and Xiao An. Furthermore, Jidi's and Sun's positions on the editorial board of *Stars* bespeak the defensive nature of their selection to an anthology due to be officially published in Chengdu.

The following year, in 1994, Zhou Lunyou took his revenge when he was invited to Lanzhou to edit a series of five books with the title of *Contemporary Currents: A Collection of Post-Modernist Classics* (*当代潮流：后现代主义经典丛书*) of which two dealt exclusively with poetry (numbers 10 and 11 in Table II). *The Third Flower of Language in the Midst of Profanity – Post Modernist Poetry* (*亵渎中的第三朵语言花 – 后现代主义诗歌*) unsurprisingly features none of the Wholism poets so prominent in Wan and Xiaoxiao's anthology, and is effectively homage to the Third Generation – with the exceptions of Zhai Yongming, Ouyang Jianghe, Bai Hua, Zhong Ming, Wang Yin, Lu Yimin, and Lin Xue (out of 39 poets), who are not considered part of the Third Generation by Yang Li and Li Yawei, for example. The title of the second poetry volume, however, speaks for itself: *Opening the Door of Flesh – Not-Not-ism: From Theory to Works* (*打开肉体之门 – 非非主义：从理论到作品*). If it seems surprising that a state publishing house could invite a recent inmate of China's gulags to work as an editor, this illusion was shattered a couple of months after publication in 1995, when the public security departments of both Gansu and Sichuan provinces banned distribution of the books. A second series of books was only allowed to be distributed after the editor's name had been changed from Zhou Lunyou to Zhou Lunzuo, and Zhou's name as author of the prefaces was changed to various other names.

Despite financial and political difficulties, it is clear that by 1993-1994 Sichuan's, and China's, avant-garde poetry had found new paths to official, legal, publication, through either financial subsidies from wealthy individuals such as Wan Xia or sympathetic editors at relatively obscure state-owned publishing houses. However, these were still exceptional cases. The Second World of Poetry had by no means ceased to exist.

## Unofficial Poetry Journals – 1990-1992

*Image Puzzle, The Nineties, and Against*

The previous chapter concluded with the story of the genesis of new unofficial journals in Sichuan: *Image Puzzle*, *The Nineties*, and its sister publication, *Against*. These journals and their poets were not the only ones in the province to feel the need to begin planning new journals – although they may have been among the most ambitious, given the nationwide influence they sought to exert through their prefaces, lists of contributors, and selective mailing lists. During the three years after 1989, several large-scale poetry journals were produced or revived, and an even larger number of smaller-scale projects appeared. At the same time, the appearance of other ambitious journals in other parts of China, and increasing communication between like-minded poets across provincial boundaries, meant that Sichuan's avant-garde poetry and poets were in no danger of going unseen and unread by colleagues outside the province.

Between October 1989 and February 1992, Zhong Ming and Zhao Ye edited 12 issues of *Image Puzzle* in Chengdu. Not all were devoted to poetry, as two issues featured the photography of Xiao Quan (#3, #9), and one (#7) was given over to the Zhong's casual essays on Chinese culture. In fact, only the first, sixth, and eighth issues contained poetry by multiple authors, while all others were given over to individual poets: Ezra Pound (#2); Bai Hua (#4); Lu Yimin (#5); Zhong Ming (#10); Zhao Ye (#11); and Wang Yin (#12). Still photocopied and narrowly circulated, the size of the journal ranged between 12-90 pages, with seven issues containing 28-35 pages. In autumn 1992, Zhong Ming became a major contributor to Chen Dongdong's new large-scale Shanghai quarterly *Southern Poetry Chronicle* (*南方诗志*), where he was joined by other Sichuan poets such as Sun Wenbo and Tang Danhong, as well as Wang Yin of Shanghai and Xi Chuan of Beijing, among others.

Xi Chuan and Wang Yin had also been contributors to Chen Dongdong's previous journal, *Tendency* (*倾向*: 1988-1991, 3 issues[690]), as had been Ouyang Jianghe. All four made major contributions to *Against* and *The Nineties* out of Chengdu.

While the aesthetic inclinations of *Image Puzzle* remained constant throughout its run, those of *The Nineties* and *Against* were transformed over time – an issue that will be dealt with later. *The Nineties* continued to be produced as an annual through to 1993. No longer, however, did the journal (and *Against*) seem an extension of *Han Poetry*, as poets such as Shi Guanghua and Wan Xia no longer appeared and several new contributors did, including Zhong Ming as well as the Hangzhou poet Yu Gang and the Shanghai poet Meng Lang (both former contributors to *Not-Not*), all in the final issue. Whatever earlier disagreement, or competition, there may have been with Zhong had been smoothed over by 1992, as also indicated by Zhong's and Sun Wenbo's contributions to Chen Dongdong's *Southern Poetry Chronicle*.

Issues of *Against* appeared at monthly intervals through the first eleven months of 1990, photocopied and varying in size from 11-34 pages. There were only three further issues – one per year, the last in July 1993 – and two of these were devoted to translations of foreign poetry (such as that of Pound and Ashberry). Of the eleven 1990 issues, six were collections of poetry by individual poets: Xiao Kaiyu (#4), Ouyang Jianghe (#5), Zhang Shuguang (#6), Sun Wenbo (#7), Chen Dongdong (#8), and Xi Chuan (#9).

It seems that by 1991 the editors of *Against* and *Image Puzzle*, having produced twenty issues between them, had nearly exhausted the poetry at hand, or their finances. At the same time, the initial stated goals of these two journals, and *The Nineties*, had been to stimulate avant-garde poetry in China, or at least certain trends among the avant-garde. By 1991, it would have been clear to the editors that such an effort was no longer required, as the Second World of Poetry was issuing a flood of journals and poetry throughout the country.

One other reason for this may have been the resurrection of *Today* outside China, in Oslo early in 1990. Zhang Zao – the former co-editor of *Day By Day Make It New* (1985) and friend of Bai Hua, Ouyang Jianghe, and Zhong Ming – was listed as a member of

[690] Much of the 1990 second issue was given over to the poetry of Haizi and Luo Yihe, and memorial essays by various contributors.

*Today*'s editorial board in the first four issues, as one of two poetry editors in the #3-4 1991 issue, and the sole poetry editor in the #2 and #4 1992 issues.[691] With respect to the friends of Zhang Zao, and some of their friends, *Today* effectively became a further outlet for their poetry and essays. By being published in the new *Today* these poets acquired cultural capital associated with the title and its earlier history in Beijing, and exposure and attention among readers of the journal outside China and among sinologists, who at the time had no access to unofficial poetry journals inside China.

This situation highlights the influence of what Xu Jingya *cum suis* named the "Five Lords" poetry group in the 1986 <Grand Exhibition>, which then consisted of Ouyang, Bai, Zhai, Zhong, and Sun Wenbo – although, poetically, Zhang Zao always seemed more of a member than Sun. Through Zhang's residence in Germany (since 1986) and his work with *Today*, this group's poetry, and the contributors to unofficial journals they were involved with – primarily poets championed by Ouyang since 1988 – achieved publication opportunities outside of China that were not available to other avant-garde poets.[692] This is not to say that the quality of the work by these poets was not deserving, but there was much more happening on the poetry scene in Sichuan and the rest of China, which was unknown to, or ignored by, the editorial staff of *Today* during 1990-1992.

The bulk of the new *Today*'s contributors resided overseas: Bei Dao was editor-in-chief, and Yang Lian, Gu Cheng, and Duoduo – all now living overseas – were other famous names from the original journal who were the central focus of the journal's poetry throughout the early 1990s. Former Sichuan poets Hu Dong and Hong Ying, now-London residents, also featured regularly in *Today* during 1990-1992 and beyond. All

---

[691] The inaugural issue features two prose essays by Zhong Ming, one of which was devoted to the suicide of Haizi – <Intermediary Zone> (中间地带). Another essay by Zhong Ming and four of Bai Hua's poems appear in the #2 1991 issue, followed by two more of Bai's poems in the #3-4 issue. Two poems by Zhai Yongming appear in the #1 1992 issue, as does a poem by Ouyang and two poems and an essay by Bai. Zhong has a long poem and the first part of an essay published in 1992 #2, and there is a brief essay from Chen Zihong, a contributor to *Image Puzzle*, in the same issue. In #3, Zhong's essay is completed and four more poems by Ouyang appear. Finally, in #4, Zhong has another long poem published, as does Ouyang, and Zhai has two more poems. Otherwise, the only other Sichuan poets to have work published in *Today* during this period were Li Yawei, Zhou Lunyou, and Wan Xia in the 1992 #1 issue, in recognition of their time spent in prison after June Fourth (this is noted in the cases of Zhou and Wan, but not Li). Other central contributors to the three Chengdu unofficial journals and *Tendency* were also published during the first three years of the new *Today* (8 issues), including Chen Dongdong (1991 #1, #3-4; 1992 #1, #4), Wang Yin (1992 #1) and Lu Yimin (1992 #4) of Shanghai, and Xi Chuan (1992 #1) of Beijing.

[692] Meng Lang and Han Dong were two prominent exceptions, frequently published in early issues of *Today*.

that said, the younger overseas poet Zhang Zao was able to ensure that the new *Today* broadened its poetry selection policies, even if such selections were apparently restricted to the unofficial journals to which he had ready access.[693]

### *Chongqing Journals*

Meanwhile, in early 1990 in Chongqing, Fu Wei and Zhong Shan produced *Writers' Workshop* (*写作间*), a journal aesthetically akin to *Image Puzzle* in Chengdu. Previously, Fu had been a co-editor of *The Red Flag* (1987-1989), and the continuity of *Writers' Workshop* with the earlier journal was maintained through a continued stress on lyricism and a common list of contributors, which included Zheng Danyi, Chen Dongdong, Wang Jiaxin, Wang Yin, and Yan Li. This list is also similar to that of *Image Puzzle* (with the exceptions of Zheng and Wang). In fact, the aesthetical inclination towards 'pure' poetry, surrealism, and lyricism is nearly identical. Xiang Yixian and Bai Hua, former contributors to *The Red Flag*, were now contributing to *Image Puzzle*, as was Fu himself (under the pen name Qi Wei[694]). However, Zhong Shan and Wen Shu were two talented, younger Chongqing poets who first gained attention through publication of their work in *Writers' Workshop*. The journal itself was 50 pages in size and elegantly printed, with English and Chinese titles separated by a drawing of western classical statuary on the title page, similar to that of *Image Puzzle*. Translations of work by foreign poets such as Octavio Paz and Hölderlin placed at the end of the journal further reinforce the impression that *Writers' Workshop* was a continuation of *The Red Flag* and a reflection of the first issue of Chengdu's *Image Puzzle*. The second, and last, issue of the journal was published early in 1991.

---

[693] Many of the same poets featured in another large-scale Chinese language literary journal *Tendency*, launched in Cambridge, Mass., in 1993 by Huang Beiling, previously a Beijing resident and one of the editors of the first issue of the unofficial journal of the same name when it was edited in Beijing in 1988. Wang Yin, Chen Dongdong, Meng Lang, Xiao Kaiyu, and Zhong Ming were contributors to the first issue. While in the two 1994 issues, work by Chen Dongdong, Meng Lang, Zhong Ming, Sun Wenbo, Bai Hua, and Wan Xia were included, as well as that of Zhou Lunyou, Zhou Zhongling, and Liao Yiwu.

[694] Strangely, in both journals, the name Qi Wei appears in the table of contents, but 'Fu Wei' appears with the texts of the poems inside the journals. It is possible that Fu felt a need to disguise his name in the table of contents because of political difficulties arising from his role in the distribution of Liao Yiwu's <Slaughter> in Shanghai. The author gave Fu copies of Liao's text and the voice-cassette reading to distribute in Shanghai in July 1989. In September 1989, the Public Security Bureau discovered the poem, and several poets in Shanghai were subsequently brought in for questioning.

In addition, in Chongqing later in 1991 there appeared another new unofficial journal edited and funded by the poet Pei Gui: *The Chongqing Youth Poetry Annual: 1990* (*重庆青年诗歌年鉴: 1990*). The work of 49 local avant-garde poets was collected here. Fu Wei and Zhong Shan, the co-editors of *Writers' Workshop*, had work selected for inclusion, as well as many new names, such as Li Yuansheng, Liang Ping, Meng Chenghao, and Hong Ying, who all would become better known in later years. Again, the cover of the journal bore some similarity to *Writers' Workshop* and *Image Puzzle*, bearing both Chinese and English text and a drawing – although the artwork here is not western classical. However, this journal, which was intended as an annual publication, was not reproduced after 1991. Yet, it can be seen as a first local attempt at achieving recognition by newcomer poets, who were being denied access to unofficial journals controlled by a relatively small clique of 'established' (within the context of the sub-field) avant-garde poets.

### *A New and a Renewed Not-Not, and Others*

Zhou Lunyou revived his version of *Not-Not* in 1992, after his release from the gulag. However, Lan Ma, Yang Li, and others of the Not-Not group, which had effectively disbanded in late 1988, had produced their own follow-on journal in 1990 and 1991: *The Not-Not Poetry Manuscript Collection* (*非非诗歌稿件集*). The title is indicative of the difference between this journal and the *Not-Not* of Zhou and Lan. This time there were no theoretical essays and no sections with titles indicating the poetry's degree of Not-Not-ness. The editors were listed as Lan, Yang, Shang Zhongmin, He Xiaozhu, and Li Xiaobin – the latter being the only new addition. The list of contributors, and the poetry, was also indicative of continuity with the former *Not-Not*, as there was little difference with the previous editorial policy of promoting newcomers and non-Sichuan contributors. The obvious difference was Zhou's absence; otherwise it was almost as if the events of 1989 had not occurred. While the size of the journal remained constant (at 140 pages) with the later issues of the earlier *Not-Not*, the print run was much smaller, on a par with *The Nineties*, *Against*, and *Image Puzzle* (about 100 copies). Although a lack of funding was common among unofficial journals, it was unusual for Not-Not, as Zhou had always

been relatively successful in finding money. After 1991, some of these poets – such as Chen Xiaofan and Yang Wenkang – would return to Zhou's *Not-Not*, others would cease to write altogether (Lan Ma,[695] Shang Zhongmin, and Yang Ping), and Yang Li, He Xiaozhu, and Jimu Langge would devote themselves to business activities, writing little poetry until returning to the fray in the late 1990s.

A somewhat similar fate would befall the Wholism group after the abandonment of the third issue of *Han Poetry* in 1990. This was primarily due to the political fallout from June Fourth (Pan Jiazhu was arrested for having been a protest organizer in Chengdu) and the incarceration and questioning of various members because of the Liao Yiwu-inspired poetry-based video in March (in which Wan Xia and Liu Taiheng had been directly involved).[696]

Meanwhile, in Zhou's hometown of Xichang in 1991, local poets and former contributors to *Not-Not* Xie Chongming, Zhou Fengming, and Yu Qiang produced *Twenty-First Century: Chinese Modern Poets* (*21 世纪：中国现代诗人*), a journal that sought to carry on Zhou's work in championing the poetry of the Third Generation. Among its contributors were former Not-Not poets from Sichuan and other parts of the country, including Zhu Ying, Du Qiao, Guo Yi, Liang Xiaoming, and Nan Ye. Others included Yang Ran, Yi Sha,[697] Axiang, and Yang Chunguang, the last two being newcomer poets from outside Sichuan who would become well known in China later in the 1990s. However, after publication of the journal's second issue in 1992, it was forced to close[698] – a common euphemism for the journal being officially banned, under the threat of arrest or the loss of employment.

In October 1992, a similar fate befell *Poetry Research* (*诗研究*), edited by the poet-critic and future Not-Not member Yuan Yong in the county town of Langzhong.

---

[695] Lan effectively renounced poetry and denounced the avant-garde in <Moving Toward Being Lost – A Critical Examination of the Avant-Garde Poetry Movement> (走向迷失—先锋诗歌运动的反省) written in 1990, although he was still writing poetry until 1992 at least. See Wu Sijing ed. (1993): 302-307.

[696] See "Chapter Four: Poets, Tradition, and Particularity" in Flower (1997) for an interesting account of these poets – in particular Pan Jiazhu, Shi Guanghua, and Song Wei – and their activities in 1992-1993, as Wan Xia was preparing his 1993 officially published anthology. Unsurprisingly, the writer, as a sociologist, has almost no knowledge of the local poetry scene, and is fed information – much of it self-serving – by the Wholism group about the state of the avant-garde and their position in it.

[697] Two of Yi's better known poems were first published here: <Stammering> (结结巴巴) and <Starve the Poets> (饿死诗人). Yi is a native of Chengdu (b. 1966), but moved to Xi'an with his parents in 1983.

[698] See Axiang (2000).

Contributors to this journal included the *Not-Not* poet Yang Wenkang, Yi Sha, and the Beijing poet Ma Yongbo. However, after publication of the journal's inaugural issue, Yuan had his wages stopped, and the journal ended.[699]

Also during this time, many other smaller journals and poetry papers appeared throughout the province, such as (Zhou) Faxing's *Mount Daliang Poetry* (*大凉山诗歌*). Having been inspired by Zhou Lunyou in 1984 to become poets, between October 1987 and September 1989 Faxing and Ouyang Yong had edited *Warm Springs Poetry* (*温泉诗刊*). After it was forced to close in 1989, together with another local poet, Faxing began editing *Mount Daliang Poetry* in June 1990, only to be forced to close again in September 1992 because of political pressure in China following the dissolution of the USSR at the time.[700]

The fate of Zhou Lunyou, *Twenty-First Century*, *Poetry Research*, and Faxing's two journals seems to indicate a provincial policy to crackdown on such Second World activities outside Chengdu and Chongqing. There is a possibility that the crackdown was aimed at rowdy Third Generation and newcomer publications, but this does not explain why Yang Li *cum suis* and their new version of *Not-Not* in Chengdu were left untouched. There is room for conjecture that poets resident in Chengdu and, to a lesser extent, Chongqing had more useful friends in CCP establishment places than any other Sichuan poets could ever have, and this worked for them as an insurance policy that was denied to others.

With this in mind, the revival of Zhou Lunyou's *Not-Not* in 1992, less than a year after his release from labor camp, was remarkable. While the original *Not-Not* was of a comparatively high production quality, this new edition – ostensibly published in Beijing – was even higher in terms of quality of paper and print.

The list of editors on the last page is indicative of how different this *Not-Not* was from its previous incarnation. At the top of the page under the sobriquet of "honorary advisors" are the names of four well-known liberal figures from the literary establishment: Li Zehou, Liu Zaifu, Xie Mian, and Sun Shaozhen. Furthermore, beneath this, as "honorary

---

[699] Yuan went into business for himself and in 1994 put out one issue of *Poetry Creation and Research* (*诗歌创作与研究*), and one of *Subway* (*地铁*) in 1995. Eventually, in 1998, he united with the editors of the Hubei journal *The Blade's Edge* (*锋刃*) to produce *Poetry Mirror* (*诗镜*). See Axiang (2000).

[700] See (Zhou ) (Zhou) Faxing (2003a).

editors-in-chief," are the names of Tang Xiaodu and the *Today* poet Mang Ke. Evidently, Zhou felt that claiming the journal was sourced out of Beijing and supported by eminent establishment literary figures would offer him some protection from Sichuan's hard-line cultural authorities. (As will be shown, there was good reason to honor Tang and Mang Ke as the founding forces behind *Modern Han Poetry* in 1991.)

While the 28 names on the editorial committee included those of nine contributors to the old *Not-Not*,[701] there were also names that come as a shock – Xi Chuan, Ouyang Jianghe, and Yang Yuanhong chief among them. Below these lists are still others: Zhou is listed as editor-in-chief, and Liang Xiaoming and Ye Zhou as his assistants; this is followed by the then virtually unknown newcomer Hu Tu listed as "executive editor" and four other young poets[702] as the "executive editorial committee."[703] Hu Tu is also a Xichang poet and a contributor to the former *Not-Not*, which leads to suspicions that there was not much work on this journal done in Beijing after all. But was the confusion of names a deliberate smokescreen aimed at the CCP cultural authorities alone?

A look at the table of contents shows Zhou's name in first position with the essay <Red Writing> (红色写作), followed by the poetry of six former *Not-Not* contributors. So, all is normal, very Not-Not, until the appearance of Yang Yuanhong and Ouyang Jianghe, followed later by Zhai Yongming, Mang Ke, Yang Lian, Tang Xiaodu, Xi Chuan, and Wang Jiaxin, among others. This *Not-Not* was clearly not the old *Not-Not*, an issue that seemingly had much to do with Zhou's experiences in prison and the gulag, and the poetry he wrote there. In particular, the absence of Yang Li as an editor of the new *Not-Not* and of his insistent championing of the Third Generation was another factor in this editorial shift, as one of Zhou's poems written while in prison camp attests – the cuttingly satiric <Third Generation Poets> (第三代诗人; 28/2/1991).

In fact, a large portion of the poetry in the new *Not-Not* was a selection of work produced in all parts of China and previously published in other unofficial journals during Zhou's incarceration or since his release. For example, there is work by Yi Sha,

---

[701] Aside from Shang Zhongmin and Zhou Lunyou, there are Liang Xiaoming, Ye Zhou, Yu Gang, Hai Nan, Li Yawei, Nan Ye, and Liu Xiang.
[702] Wen Qun, Qiu Zhenglun, Du Qiao, and Yu Tian.
[703] In the 1993 edition of *Not-Not* almost all would remain unchanged except this last entry, which was replaced by the title "responsible editorial committee" over the single name of Yang Chunguang.

Du Qiao, Liang Xiaoming, and Nan Ye from Xichang's *Twenty First Century: Chinese Modern Poets,* as well as pieces by Ouyang Jianghe, Yu Jian, Yang Lian, Zhai Yongming, Tang Yaping, and Zhou Lunyou himself that had first been published in *Modern Han Poetry*. In the new *Not-Not*'s <Post-Editing Notes>, *Modern Han Poetry*, a quarterly unofficial journal that first appeared early in 1991, is praised as being the greatest advance in Chinese poetry in recent years. At the same time, it seems as if *Not-Not* was seeking to achieve much the same task as *Modern Han Poetry*, but on an annual, not a quarterly basis. The 1993 #6-7 combined issue of *Not-Not* featured virtually the same editorial board and selection policy for poetry, only now half the journal was given over to theoretical essays by critics not formerly associated with *Not-Not*, such as Xie Mian, Xu Jingya, Tang Xiaodu, Yang Yuanhong, and Geng Zhanchun.[704] However, *Not-Not* still retained space for the promotion of relative newcomer poets.[705]

### *Modern Han Poetry*

The difference between *Not-Not* and *Modern Han Poetry* was the latter's much wider remit and frequency of publication. Initiated by Tang Xiaodu and Mang Ke in 1991, the journal attempted to create a national focus and outlet for publication and theoretical discussion for China's avant-garde poets during the ongoing period of cultural repression. Together with Bei Dao, Mang Ke had been a driving force behind *Today* in the 1970s and had used the remaining money raised for that journal in establishing *Modern Han Poetry*.[706] (There is a possibility that Mang was stimulated in this direction by the

[704] The size of the journal had expanded to 196 pages and there was acknowledgement of it having been published in Hongkong by the Tianma Publishing House (天马图书公司) on the inside front cover. The sale price was listed at HK$50, but there was a disclaimer stating the journal was not for sale in China and was only meant to be gifted to readers there. There had been no such information in the 1992 #5 issue, although the identical quality of paper and printing indicates it came from the same publishing house.

In any case, *Not-Not* #8 would not reappear until 2000. Now in an expanded (over 400 pages) annual form, it is still published in Hongkong, but by the New Age Publishing House (新时代出版社). After an initial print run of 1,000 copies in 2000, this has expanded to 1,500 since and the sale price rose from HK$65 in 2000 and 2001, to HK$75 in 2002. There are apparently no restrictions on the journal's sale in China; the prime difficulty for Zhou and his colleagues would be in gaining access to the state distribution channels.

[705] In #5, the last 35 pages of the journal are given over to the work of 8 poets; in #6-7, 22 pages for 7 poets, but with Hu Tu, Wen Qun, Yu Tian, and Yi Sha now having graduated from this group to the front portion of texts (effectively 22 more pages).

[706] From unpublished notes from interviews undertaken by Maghiel van Crevel in July and August 1991.

appearance of the new *Today* in 1990.) Tang, a native of Yangzhou, was one of the most respected, most knowledgeable, and best-connected poetry critics in the country since taking up a post as an editor at *Poetry* in 1982. His job meant that Tang had the then rare ability to travel the country meeting young poets, as well as having privately printed individual collections, manuscripts, and unofficial journals delivered to him in Beijing by post or by the poets themselves.[707] According to Mang Ke, in 1991 the first two issues of *Modern Han Poetry* had print runs of 300 at a cost of 1,000 RMB. Given the political situation at the time, only two people knew where the printing took place in Beijing. Further money, when needed, was provided by a number of poets then residing overseas, including Zhang Zao and Hong Ying, as well as poets in China, such as Ouyang Jianghe and Tang Danhong.[708]

The summer 1991 (#2) issue listed the journal's five operating principles: 1) *Modern Han Poetry* is a purely literary journal solely seeking to promote and develop "modern Han poetry" (hence the journal's name);[709] 2) it strives to unearth and collect outstanding works of all styles; 3) produce four quarterly issues (however, from 1992 until it ceased to exist in 1994, only two issues were produced each year, for a total of 10); 4) the editorial committee consists of modern poets; 5) a committee of these editors would select one outstanding poet each year (there were to be only two selected: Meng Lang and Xi Chuan).

Financial difficulties meant the journal was only produced twice a year from 1992 and that the quality of paper and printing was poor in comparison to *Not-Not*. The journal was published clandestinely in different parts of China over the course of its 10 issues, making use of home computers and whatever print technology was affordable. While its size varied from 100 to 170 pages, *Modern Han Poetry* provided a valuable outlet, forum, and resource for avant-garde poets in China during 1991-1993 in particular. In 1994, after the relative liberalization and opening up of official publication opportunities, the need for such a journal decreased, and this, in addition to financial pressures, led to *Modern Han Poetry*'s closure.

---

[707] See Tang Xiaodu (2003a) and (2003b).
[708] This information was provided in *Modern Han Poetry* in issues #6 through #10.
[709] Maghiel van Crevel's discussions with Mang Ke led him to believe that this 'Han' is in reference to the language and not nationality. Also, see van Crevel (1996): 93.

The list of names on the first editorial committee list indicates poets' widespread interest in *Modern Han Poetry*. The list was primarily for show, and until a reorganization of the journal's editorial practices in 1992, editorial control and oversight remained in Beijing. Mang Ke felt this last aspect was necessary since he and Tang would pay the price for any missteps others might commit.[710] Of the 39 names on the first list of committee members, six were from Sichuan: Zhong Ming, Bai Hua, Ouyang Jianghe, Lan Ma, Shang Zhongmin, and Xiao Kaiyu. For each issue after the first in spring 1991, the "acting editorial committee" (执行编委) consisted of three poets and the editorial work was done in different cities (Beijing, Shanghai, Shenzhen, and Hangzhou).[711]

The Autumn-Winter 1992 (#6) edition of *Modern Han Poetry* carried news of an annual meeting held in Hangzhou on 2-3 December (Xiao Kaiyu was the only Sichuan poet to attend). This note stated that there had been complaints about the uneven quality of the poetry selected for previous issues and a perceived weakness in critical essays. To deal with these issues, three editorial groups of three-to-five poets each were established: one in the "north" based in Beijing, one in the "south" based in Shanghai and Shenzhen, and one in the "west" which consisted of Ouyang Jianghe, Xiao Kaiyu, and Zhou Lunyou. The sixth issue had 40 pages of critical writing where there had previously been none in the first three 1991 issues, 25 in the fourth, and none again in the first issue in 1992.

As is clear from the above, Sichuan poets, and Xiao Kaiyu in particular, played a prominent role in *Modern Han Poetry*. A survey of the journal's contents further indicates the continuing quality and influence of Sichuan's avant-garde poets, as their contributions averaged over five per issue over the life of the journal.[712]

---

[710] From unpublished notes from interviews undertaken by Maghiel van Crevel in July and August 1991.
[711] By 1992, the number on the editorial committee had fallen to 37; Lan Ma was no longer involved, but the number of Sichuan poets in the editorial committee rose to seven with the additions of Zhou Lunyou and Zhai Yongming, the latter having recently returned from a lengthy sojourn in the USA.
[712] Issue #1: 45 contributors / 9 from Sichuan; #2: 37 / 8; #3: 41 / 3; #4: 38 / 4; #5: 22 / 1; #6: 28 / 5; #7: 28 / 4; #8: 38 / 6; #9: 29 / 7; #10: 36 / 7.

Total contributions from selected Sichuan poets: Sun Wenbo x 8; Xiao Kaiyu x 6; Zhai Yongming x 4; Ouyang Jianghe x 4; Hong Ying x 4; Zhou Lunyou x 3; Bai Hua x 3; Li Yawei x 3; Zheng Danyi x 3; Zhong Ming x 2; Fu Wei x 2; Chen Zihong x 2; Tang Yaping x 2; Liao Yiwu x 1; Yang Li x 1; Shang Zhongmin x 1; Liu Tao x 1; Chen Xiaofan x 1; Yu Tian x 1; Xiaoxiao x 1; Zhao Ye x 1, Dong Jiping x 1.

*Moving Out of Sichuan*

During the worst period for official publication of avant-garde poetry in China during 1989-1993 many other unofficial poetry journals were produced throughout the country.[713] Some were larger, more influential, and longer-lived than others, but few were forced to close by the authorities, as several were in Sichuan. It is doubtful that the exact numbers of unofficial poetry journals published in China at this time will ever be known.

Sichuan's poets could be found contributing to a much larger number of these non-Sichuan journals than at any time in the 1980s. In Hangzhou, the work of Zhong Ming, Zhai Yongming, Xiao Kaiyu, Zhou Lunyou, and Wan Xia could be found in *The Tropic of Cancer* (*北回归线*), a journal edited by Geng Zhanchun and Liang Xiaoming since 1988.[714] Zhong Shan, Ma Song, Zheng Danyi, and Tang Yaping all contributed to the first issue of *The Big Turmoil* (*大骚动*) in early 1992, a journal based in Guiyang and edited by Wang Qiang.[715] In 1990, the Nanjing poet Xian Meng produced *Think No Evil: The 1989 Modern Poetry Movement* (*思无邪：89 年现代诗歌运动*), for which he selected the recent poetry of Yang Li, Xiang Yixian, Zhong Ming, Fu Wei (Qi Wei here), and Ran Yunfei, as well as a translation by Bai Hua of an essay on Yeats by T. S. Eliot. Zhai Yongming contributed to *The Front* (*阵地*), a Henan journal founded in 1991 and edited by the poet Senzi. In addition, Zhong Ming, Sun Wenbo, Tang Danhong, and others, contributed to Chen Dongdong's Shanghai-based *Southern Poetry Chronicle*, founded in 1992.

With the cultural liberalization that began to take hold again in China in 1993, some of Sichuan's poets chose to move out the province (if not out of poetry) as well. Part of the reason for this must be put down to the lack of such liberalization in Sichuan. During the mid-1980s, Tang Yaping, Zheng Danyi, Hu Dong (to England), and Zhang Zao (to Germany) had left the province for employment or personal reasons. In 1993, poets such

[713] A survey of the few publicly available sources and materials collected by the author shows there were at least 34 unofficial poetry publications that appeared outside of Sichuan during this period (there were at least 9 in the province). The editors of the Cambridge, Mass. Chinese language journal *倾向* (*Tendency*) published such information in each issue of their journal. Also, see Axiang (2000) and (2002a), (Zhou) Faxing (2003a), and 'limit poem' (2004) for more exhaustive Mainland Chinese sources.
[714] A total of five issues to date, including 1992 and 1993, and now also a website and web-journal.
[715] In 1993, Wang relocated himself and the journal to Beijing.

as Xiao Kaiyu left for Shanghai and later for Germany; Ouyang Jianghe left for the US in the same year and later settled in Beijing; Sun Wenbo also moved to Beijing; Li Yawei began to split his time between Sichuan and Beijing working in the publishing business; while Wan Xia, Yang Li, He Xiaozhu, and Xiaoxiao all eventually moved to Beijing to do the same. Sichuan is not the center of China's economy or culture, and given the closed-off, conservative nature of the province, both economically and politically, it is understandable that some poets would seize advantages available to them in other parts of China and abroad. The ties with poets in other parts of China developed in the late 1980s and early 1990s through official and, primarily, unofficial publication, correspondence, and an increasing amount of travel, made it easier to make the transition out of Sichuan. What remains is to examine changes in the poetics of those individual poets whose reputations were maintained (such as Zhai, Ouyang, Bai, and Zhou) or enhanced (such as Xiao and Sun) by their work during 1989-1992.

**The Poetry of 1990-1992**

During the three years in question, like other avant-garde poets in China, those in Sichuan were denied the frisson of competition for public honors that might accrue through prestigious official publication and public polemics of the type that occurred during the 1986-1989 period. Many poets were thrown in upon themselves with only occasional contact and correspondence with others in the avant-garde during the post-June Fourth period of political and cultural repression; the readership of even the more admired, or otherwise successful, poet was restricted to that afforded by the new unofficial journals with print runs of only 100-300.

In Sichuan, polemics, as such, were restricted to the <Editors' Explanations> that opened each issue of *The Nineties* (1989-1992), and the *Not-Not*-like, pro-Third Generation essays published in *Twenty-First Century*, etc. The latter had nothing to add to what had been seen in the 1980s, but *The Nineties* continued to promote a reform-minded editorial agenda in its annual <Explanations> of the import and reasons for the journal's selection of poetry.

Sun Wenbo has listed poets whose work appeared in *The Nineties* who are today publicly acknowledged as outstanding practitioners, as proof of the quality and importance of the journal.[716] This list, however, is somewhat deceptive. While Sun, Xiao Kaiyu, Ouyang Jianghe, Zhang Shuguang, Chen Dongdong, and Xi Chuan contributed work to each of the four issues, and Zhu Yongliang and Wang Jiaxin to all but the first, the work of Meng Lang and Zhong Ming can only be found in the final 1993 issue, along with that of Zhai Yongming, who was not listed by Sun. Moreover, there is continuing debate about the merits of the work by poets such as Zhang and Zhu in particular, if not also that of Sun, Xiao, and Wang. This ties into the polemic between the "intellectual" and "popular" poets that surfaced in the late 1990s.[717] Sun's article, written in 1999, was part of this argument, effectively presenting *The Nineties* and *Against* as the nursery greenhouse of the Intellectual poets after June 1989. Furthermore, Sun also speaks of the encouragement from readers the editors of *The Nineties* received from the outset. However, given the select nature of the journal's readership, it would have been surprising if this had been otherwise.

A brief summary of the <Explanations>, which Sun claims were written by Xiao, is instructive. The principles laid out in the first issue, summarized in Chapter 11, were added to and explicated in greater detail in the following three issues. Narration (叙述, which can also be translated as 'recounting' or 'relating') is first mentioned in the 1990 issue of *The Nineties*. This style was most prominent in the poetry of the Harbin poet Zhang Shuguang, and became an increasingly important feature in the work of Sun, Xiao, and Ouyang Jianghe,[718] thus explaining the prominence given to Zhang's work in *The Nineties* and *Against*. In 1990, there is little more than a warning to readers (other poets) that "narration" should not become mere "description" (描述). Instead, poems are meant to "appear" or "emerge" (呈现), leading to two new underlying principles for the poetry advocated and collected in *The Nineties*: 1) the use of materials from reality; and 2) an open poetical form. An interest in the "poetry of middle age" (中年写作) is also noted,

[716] Sun Wenbo (1999a).
[717] For more on this polemic see Maghiel van Crevel (2004b).
[718] Perhaps unsurprisingly, given Zhai Yongming's friendship with Ouyang, "narration" also became a noticeable feature in the poetry of Zhai in 1993. In particular, see <Lily and Joan> (莉莉和琼), labeled as a "narrative poem" in the table of contents of the Spring-Summer 1994 (#9) issue of *Modern Han Poetry*: 10-14.

although this seems more of an issue for Ouyang, Zhang, and Sun – all born in 1956 – than for Xiao (b. 1960), Chen Dongdong (b. 1961), or Xi Chuan (b. 1963).

In the 1991 issue of *The Nineties*, the editors claim the poetry in that issue is centered on "enjoyment" (享受) of life at the time of writing, but that this is also enjoyment of misfortune and pain, a form of pleasure in indifference, silence, and death which hints at fear and expectation. Presumably, this is acknowledgement of the bleak cultural climate at the time in China. There is also a stated emphasis on the "work nature" (工作性) of the selected poetry, and an accompanying expectation of the production of great poetry following entry into middle age and clear-headed elderliness after the angry age of youth of the 1980s. The poets of *The Nineties*, under the banners of "individual writing" (个人写作) and Intellectual Poetry, would further elaborate on these issues during the rest of the 1990s. The fact that they were influencing each other by way of limited-circulation unofficial journals, especially during 1989-1993 when there were few official publication opportunities, is little remarked upon, or only indirectly so, as in Sun Wenbo's case.[719]

Finally, in the 1992 issue, the editors comment on a poetry going "from experience to experience" and an "appropriate experimentalism" in poetry. In the face of rapid change in society, there is a perceived need to reestablish "trancelike (or absent-minded) linguistic contexts" (恍惚的语境). Poets are encouraged to seek the protection of old forms, even old lyrical expression, to attain "stability of sentence forms" (句式的稳定) in poetry. Presumably, this was the reason for selecting poetry by Zhai Yongming and Zhong Ming for this final issue of *The Nineties*, as Zhai was still a fan of irrationality and surrealism in poetry at this time (1992) – although not as "confessional" as her poetry of the 1980s – and Zhong had an interest in developing old forms and lyrical expression. Presumably, the editors deemed this appropriate experimentalism.

A look at a poem by Sun Wenbo from this 1992 issue offers insights into some of what the foregoing <Explanations> attempted to convey:

---

[719] Some of *The Nineties* poets are among the most published in official literary journals during 1989-1993, in particular Xi Chuan and Chen Dongdong, who both had 10 instances of official publications including three times in 1993. Arguably, this relative success bespeaks both the quality of their poetry and a higher degree of acceptability within the official literary establishment. Others: Xiao Kaiyu 6 (1 in 1993); Wang Jiaxin 4; Sun Wenbo 3 (1); Ouyang Jianghe 3 (1).

## **<Satisfaction>** (满足)[720]

### **1**

He's satisfied in this: from one country to another country.
Strange faces, novel scenery. He says:
"I'm like a guest on earth, I'm forever
like an onlooker, witnessing the life of humankind."

"I've never gone deep into the interior of life. When
someone wants to open their heart to me, I leave;
when pain wants to harass me, I evade pain.
I even don't hate the ugly things I've seen."

Traveling this way, drifting this way, from one continent
to another continent. He walks an even longer road
than the Hubble telescope's, there is no city where no
traces remain of him, but he's not a part of any city.

### **2**

It was fear of love made him leave his own country,
bury himself in difficult philosophies. One noun
affects a bundle of adjectives, walking on an avenue in Pittsburgh,
until gathered beneath the point of an old-fashioned fountain pen.

He uses them as weapons to cope with the world,
specially as Caesar used his armies. Haughty beauty,
arrogant wealth all destroyed by him. He
even knocked open the narrow door of eternity, walked in as if on a stroll.

Afterwards he effortlessly discards his body,
like a child throws away a leftover fruit pit. But
what sort of pit is it? Look around,
how many centuries have passed, and still people search for it!

While not a narrative poem per se, there is a strong narrative element in this poem, as there is in much of Sun's poetry during this period.[721] The three-quatrain form and regular line length are balanced against the abrupt move into metaphysics in the final two stanzas of the second poem. The placement of the writer/traveler in Pittsburgh may be

[720] This poem was originally published in *The Nineties* (1992) as the two-part poem translated here, dated October 1992. However, in Sun (2001b) this version appears as the first two parts of a five-part poem dated as written in February 1992. Given the discrepancy in the dates, it seems Sun may not have been happy with the full version of the poem in 1992.
[721] For more on this see Maghiel van Crevel (2004a).

meant to serve as a block to readers who might try to identify the "he" in the poem.[722] Given what was said in the <Explanations>, this poem seems also to be an example of "enjoyment" of indifference as well as a portrait of an intellectual in middle age. There is no sense of irony, as found in Third Generation poets or Zhou Lunyou. The <Explanations> indicate that the intellectual/writer here described was an exemplar of detachment. Also of note is the appearance of the exile, or self-exile, theme that would become prominent among Intellectual poets as the 1990s progressed,[723] a theme that is closely connected to the increasing marginalization of avant-garde poetry.[724]

In one of his few pieces of published prose during 1989-1992, <Reading Poetry> (读诗), in which he praises the work of Xiao Kaiyu, Ouyang Jianghe, Xi Chuan, Chen Dongdong, Zhang Shuguang, and Zhu Yongliang,[725] Sun notes the appearance of narration as an important element in Xiao's poetry in <National Holiday 1989> (一九八九国庆节). Sun also raises the issue of Intellectual Poetry, remembering the articles written by Ouyang Jianghe, Xi Chuan, and others during the 1980s.[726] He connects that polemic with the emphasis Xiao placed in the summer of 1989 on the work of the poet turning thirty taking on more of the characteristics of work (Ouyang turned 30 in 1986):

> Indeed, only when we see poetry writing as more professionalized work will it be possible for writing to take on a clear directional nature, thus casting off impromptu writing and writing as from inspiration.

---

[722] However, Ouyang Jianghe left China for a prolonged stay overseas at this time.

[723] In Sun Wenbo (2001b), the other three parts of the poem explicitly describe the protagonist as an exile who works anonymously as an insurance agent after fleeing revolution in his country, and who had turned from writing poetry to fiction after harsh criticism. Killed in a car accident, his American colleagues discover he is a famous writer, but he did not collect books and lived as an itinerant. The poem ends with: "traveler is the status of man."

[724] For more on this subject see Michelle Yeh (1998a) and (1999).

[725] In *Against* #11, November 1990.

[726] Ouyang Jianghe addresses all these issues and others in his 1993 article <Post-'89 Poetry Writing in China – Native Land Qualities, Middle Age Characteristics, and the Status of the Intellectual> (89 后国内诗歌写作 – 本土气质，中年特征与知识分子身份). See Ouyang (1993b). As with similar essays during the 1980s, he champions his friends and favored poets: Xi Chuan, Chen Dongdong, Xiao Kaiyu, Sun Wenbo (understandably these two were new additions to the previous lists), Zhai Yongming, Zhong Ming, Haizi, Luo Yihe, and Bai Hua, although Zhang Shuguang, Meng Lang, Wan Xia, and Zang Di also get favorable, if brief, mention.

This remark seems to also discard much of the lyrical poetry of the classical tradition. In a further echo of Ouyang's writing and *Day by Day Make It New* in 1985, Sun also emphasizes the importance of technique by citing Ezra Pound: "Technique is a true test of a man."[727]

Before 1989, Sun was more of a student of poetry, modeling his earlier work on the poetry of Eliot and the Symbolists (1984-1986), and the lyricism of Bai Hua and the Romantics (1987-1988). Like Xiao Kaiyu, the work Sun published in *The Nineties* and *Against* shows a maturity and confidence previously lacking. Xiao's poetry of the 1989-1992 period also sees the introduction of elements of realism and narrativity, but simultaneously retains that of irrationality, if eschewing the romantic and epic strains of his earlier poetry. Elements of realism are hidden in texts, usually in the form of found objects and situations that the reader is required to place in an understandable context.

**<Ahh, Mist>** (呵雾)[728]

A mountain top? A house? A person?
please don't breathe out again
please don't put today to sleep
please don't open your mouth
please don't believe in the buoyancy of air

and let down a first well-meaning desire
let down a hand held out
a dazzling face
an intoxicating waist
a morning light held close too long
a silently burning scruple

My damp body has already reached noon
my luke-warm heart is already in middle years
I watch the mist scatter into a feeble sunlight
I pass through a thicket of statues
open a book from which almost all type-face has fled
encourage a very small dream

[727] See Sun Wenbo (2001b).
[728] First published in *The Nineties* (1991). This translation published in Day (2002).

This seems more of a poem written in the vein of Bai Hua's lyricism, with its elements of surrealism and symbolism, than of the new emphases Sun and Xiao himself had written of. Xiao's narrative skills were on show in longer poems such as <The Commune> (公社)[729] and <A Romance Poem> (传奇诗).[730]

On the other hand, Bai (b. 1956) was mellowing with age, as he moved on to broader, more philosophical topics in his poetry:

**<Life>** (生活)[731]

Life, you're so broad, like a road
carrying the smell of political power rushing on to a place far-off

The far-off place, where the people of all nationalities sing
about a blue sky and an open square on the top of big lips and high-pitched voices

The square, where endless and dejected farmers are reared
over the four seasons, ferocious beasts and starvation loiter

Everything is far off, nothing is of any importance
life itself, death itself, enthusiasm of itself

Like a little orphaned son sitting alone on the earth
like an undernourished cloud, like oh …

Like life, just stripping bamboo, destroying rice, killing pigs
like living, only in your sleep, squaring accounts in your sleep

This is not a pretty picture of life, but it effectively captures Bai's sense of life in post-June Fourth China. It is a new, more economical form for his poetry that better captures the brutal, dark intensity of the time. Comparing this to Ouyang Jianghe's <Crossing the Square at Nightfall>, Bai's continuing emotional inspiration is set off against Ouyang's ambiguous, philosophical stance as an observer, or as an explicator of the thought processes of a seemingly neutral 'intellectual'.

A few months later, almost mockingly, the middle-aged Bai writes as if he were an old man.

---

[729] First published in *The Nineties* (1989).
[730] First published in *Modern Han Poetry*, Spring-Summer issue (#7) 1993.
[731] First published in *Modern Han Poetry*, Summer issue (#2) 1990.

**<An Old Poet>** (老诗人; 1991)

Spring, March, the good feelings of fields and gardens
In another ten days, he'll be fifty

He says there's still a line of poetry torturing him
No, it's a word's nagging at him

His hair is wild, like the fatherland
Again his corpulence agitates the tabletop

Literature, slack and undisciplined literature
The fatherland, he sees it as an after-hours patria

But he says:
because it's vulgar, literature should be restrained
for this reason the fatherland ought to export it

Perhaps, Bai felt old by comparison to younger, self-pronounced middle-aged poets such as Xiao Kaiyu. Alternatively, this could be read as an ironic comment on the statements of his same-aged colleague Ouyang Jianghe and Ouyang's near-continuous urging (since 1985 at least) of Sichuan's, and China's, avant-garde poets to clean up their poetry and master the technique of western modernists such as Pound, Eliot, and Stevens.[732]

In Part 4, Chapter 4 of *The Left Side* (completed in February 1994), Bai devotes one section (#4) to *The Nineties* and *Against*. Bai quotes Xiao as characterizing the poetry of these journals as being that "of the restrained, reduced speed and breadth of middle age", adding that this was in opposition to the lyrical quality of poetry, as these poets sought to expand their vocabulary into the non-poetical – into common life (a direction that has much in common with the poetry of Macho Men and *Them*). Bai makes no direct comment on this – a credo that would seem to denigrate the poetry of Bai himself – aside from stating that the spirit or status of the intellectual was at the core of their work. Bai sees them as using the theories of Barthes and Foucault to dissipate the myth of lyrical power and replacing it with another – the myth of "opposition" of "middle age." He also

[732] Although Bai took part in this together with Zhang Zao in editing *Day By Day Make It New* in 1985, he never repeated the exercise.

sees the realism of which these poets speak as being tinged with theories of post-modernism by Derrida, Lacan, and others.

The rest, and bulk, of the section is given over to a letter written to Bai by Sun Wenbo in explanation of the writing and "reality" of *The Nineties* and *Against* poets. Writing in 1993, Sun says that in 1989 he saw that Chinese poetry was mired in a style similar to that of the world in the 1960s, mentioning the poetry of Larkin and O'Hara as specific examples. Everything was still rooted in symbolism and surrealism. Therefore, Sun and Xiao decided it was time for something both more practical and more philosophical, for what could be called poetry of "experientialism" (经验主义), which resulted in a semi-narrative style of writing. As examples of such poetry by Sun, Bai lists <A Stroll> (散步),[733] <Return to the Countryside> (还乡),[734] <Journey on a Map> (地图上的旅行), and <Pictures in the News> (新闻图片),[735] all lengthy poems published in Sun's journals or *Modern Han Poetry*.

Other poets also began experimenting with narrative techniques after June Fourth, such as Ouyang Jianghe. In 1991, Ouyang wrote <The Café> (咖啡馆),[736] in which he combines brief observations and snatches of conversation in creating a long poem of metaphysical speculation on life and reality. Then, in 1992, Zhai Yongming, who had just returned from a 2-year stay in the US, wrote <Café Song> (咖啡馆之歌), in what comes across as a lighter, more casual rewriting of Ouyang's poem, as she combines popular music (the Beatles), conversation, and observation/narration in her poem.[737] In fact, as Zhai herself points out, she had begun experimenting with what she terms "dramatic techniques" two years previously with the following poem: [738]

[733] This and <A Trip on a Map> first published in *Against* #7, 1990, and *The Nineties (1990)*.
[734] First published in *The Nineties (1990)*.
[735] First published in *Modern Han Poetry*, Spring-Summer 1993 (#7).
[736] First published in *Against # 13* (September 1991).
[737] See Chapter 3.3 in Jeanne Hong Zhang (2004) for more on this change in Zhai's poetics and that of other woman poets, such as Chongqing's Hong Ying.
[738] See Zhai Yongming (1996a).

**<I Spur the Horse, Flourish the Whip>** (我策马扬鞭)[739]

I spur the horse, flourish the whip  in the strong, black night
an ornamented saddle  beneath me
four surging white hooves

treading a narrow winding path  a riotous profusion of falling petals[740]
What century am I moving in?
What form of life is doing battle?
A spacious residence  I once dreamt
a true door opened wide
inside, a sword and halberd laid out  a suit of armor
searching  searching for a dead general

I spur the horse, flourish the whip  on a convulsing, frozen plain
the cowhide reins  let the day and the night go
I want to sweep over its length and breadth

pass through gaunt forests
thunder and lightning nearby
children wail in the distance
What mighty, forged axe
is brandished before me?
Where does the blood that stains the green uniforms red come from?
Expectations, expectations of a resounding bugle call
a life of martial exploits  their officers and men arrive
the combined leadership of black has come

I spur the horse, flourish the whip  in heart-rending moonlight
locked shapes locked bones  mine sit sternly in the saddle
an unchanging, naturally feverish disposition

I've raced past white tents  shadows of tree after tree
under lanterns emaciated men play chess
a door curtain flies up  his commanders enter:
The enemy! The enemy's in the area
Tonight is a night of many years ago
Which of the dying is young and full of spirit?

---

[739] Written in August 1989, this was the last poem Zhai wrote before traveling with her husband to New York for a long sojourn [Zhong Ming (1999): 155]. It was first published in *Image Puzzle* #8, March 1991 and also in Zhong (1999): 156-158. In Zhai (1996a), published in *Stars*, the date of composition is given as "autumn 1990", but this is either a misprint or a deliberate alteration on the part of the poet or the editors. In *Today* [see Zhai (1992b)] the final two stanzas of the poem are missing – either an oversight or deliberate omission in an attempt to protect Zhai because of the political nature of the poem.

[740] A line from Tao Yuanming's poem <The Peach Blossom Spring> (桃花源), China's version of "the land that time forgot," a farming community unchanged and uncontaminated by outside turmoil over a period of 500 years. The peach trees mark the entrance to the community.

The black shadows of giant birds  those of helmets too
make me quake in fear
coming toward me are the black shades of souls
Wait  wait for the result of the match
if a game doesn't end  my delusion becomes real

One book  a book of a past age
records these lines of poetry
On the quiet river surface
See  Here come their long-legged flies!

As Zhai tells it in the 1996 essay <"Café Song" and After> ("咖啡馆"以及以后), this was the first time she "…used a suggestive dramatic structure to allude to some impressions, a conflict, a period of time." She does not mention any influences; although her long-standing friendships with both Ouyang and Sun Wenbo make it highly unlikely she had not read their recent work. In his analysis of this poem, another friend, Zhong Ming speaks of "the pressure of the times" forcing Zhai to move away from her previous confessional, Plath-influenced poetry style. Written as this poem was in August 1989, it is clear to what conflict and pressure Zhai and Zhong were referring. The officially published comments of Zhai and Zhong are also good examples of how China's critics and poets are forced to self-censor and hint at truths, while trusting knowledgeable readers to understand their subtexts.

The poem itself seems to hark back to <The Song of Mulan> (木兰诗), a long narrative poem from the fourth or fifth century C.E., in which a young girl secretly takes her father's place when he is drafted by the military to fight a barbarian invasion. The darkness and fear in the world is reminiscent of that time, some of Zhai's earlier autobiographical poetry, and of the atmosphere into which China sank after June Fourth. Finally, as Zhong notes, Zhai ironically rewrites a line from Yeats' 1939 poem <Long-Legged Fly>: *Like a long-legged fly upon the stream*. In fact, the poem may be an ironical rewriting of the entire first stanza of Yeats' poem, with Zhai taking on the dramatic persona of Mulan, fierce, yet futile:

That civilization may not sink,
Its great battle lost,
Quiet the dog, tether the pony

To the distant post;
Our master Caesar is in the tent
Where the maps are spread,
His eyes fixed upon nothing,
A hand under his head.
*Like a long-legged fly upon the stream*
*His mind moves upon silence.*

Where Yeats apparently shows the actions of men of genius to be silent, slow, and commonplace, like a fly's movements upon a stream, Zhai has made them out to be sinister, as her generals/old men play with the lives of others in a chaotic world, and the flies are a menace to be fled from. In this poem, civilization is portrayed as sinking, if not already sunk. By 1992, however, poems such as <Café Song> are restrained attempts at objectivity and distancing in comparison to <I Spur the Horse>, as its first three stanzas indicate:

Melancholy, nostalgic café
On Fifth Avenue
Beneath a streetlight around the corner
A small iron gate

I sit, leaning against the window
Slowly sipping the bald owner's black coffee
"How many people pass by
Going to work, returning home, and unnoticed by anyone"

We are talking about a lackluster love
"Yesterday, I wish
I could return to yesterday"
A nostalgic song floats in the air[741]

Several of Zhai's poems of this period are written as if she were still outside China, New York being her favorite site. The cares and emotions are now everyday, commonplace, as was the original import of Yeats' poem before Zhai rewrote it. Placing her poetry in another part of the world was perhaps a mechanism that allowed Zhai to write again after two years of near-silence.

[741] This is Jeanne Hong Zhang's translation from Chapter 3.3 in Zhang (2004).

*Li Yawei*

Since 1986, in addition to poems previously noted, Li Yawei had written numerous lyric poems on traditional themes, such as drinking, love, and an idealized countryside life (Tao Yuanming was one of his cultural heroes). In September 1989, Li wrote <We> (我们),[742] a nostalgic, even elegiac, ballad in remembrance of his friends, the Macho Men poets, and other avant-garde poets of his acquaintance, and how life had changed for them all:

Our camels change shape, when it comes down to it
Our line is fake now, we are still strugglers
We cross deserts and streams to learn culture
We are reflected on to the coast by a mirage
Plain features, easily forgotten or caressed
We are drowned by feelings, let loose from the contradictions today
Happiness, concerned over the final goal, joins up with us
Brings up the rear in a horse drawn carriage

We are the flowers of our youth, bunched together
Learning from and confusing each other
Extending along the vines, often led
To become part of the masses and experienced men
Fading away in the desert, and refracted out by the sea
Three years ago, cheeky and engaged to be married
We came by boat, inquired into life and death, explored philosophies
A force that could have split bamboo
We mastered the essentials, crossed snow-capped mountains and the Ganges
Into another person's home

We come up from the sea, we must find housing
We come from the desert, we must have food and clothing
We come from two sides, enter realms and seek the forbidden, knock at doors asking guidance
Having crossed over winter and ice, we enter the very fiber of the skin
Holding weapons of despair, the sighing organs
Comprehend, have a deep understanding of the gist of it
We come from the antipodes of labor and harvest
We come from the two sides of flower and fruit
Through study on our own, we become the people
Our camels are reflected onto an island

[742] First published in *Modern Han Poetry* Summer 1991 (#2).

Our vessels are projected into books
And become phenomena, vague and indistinct
Mutually replaceable, mutually imagined
Moving straight onward, creating logic
We assess the explorations and develop in another direction
Trickling across creeks, swamps, ascending onto The Great Way
We have fixed plans and miss the point by miles

We come to the city from the antipodes of food and clothing
We come onto the street from the two sides of good and bad
Alone, lean, we meet and want to drink
We hate the lateness of our meeting, by marriage brought together
By technology driven apart
These three years, we learned from the past, fell in love
Died off in new places, and beg in the old
Three years later, we go into the West, at the forefront of knowledge
Clogging the streets, definitions change
Thinking it through, our numbers increase, we can't be depleted

We come from the antipodes of one and two, carrying poetry and knives
We meet, and love reduces our number by one
We pass through a city of pagodas, are miraged out to sea
Never to return
Again we come from the antipodes of one and two
Diligent in our studies, coughing up blood in our youth
Industrious, self-improving, with talent to spare
Forever inquiring after learning and childbirth, striking the ovum onto stone

We come to the village from the antipodes of seed and fruit
Exchange experiences, approve of each other
We come to the market town from the antipodes of buying and selling
We disappear in the exchange, become pearls
Become her floral handkerchief, and she striding out in front of her husband
The first-loved and remembered by her
An unending stream of traffic, restraint, we judge others by their appearances

We come up from the surface
We suffer a sudden interweave on the antipodes of longitude and latitude
We throw ourselves into weaving, form patterns, raise our heads and attain love
Wearing flowered clothing we throw ourselves into revolutions, and meet up with The Leader
We wander round, cross borders, and earn ourselves another
Though we might only be walking on the street
It's also a product of dreams, nothing is real or unreal
Anyway you look at it, all are characters of the imagination
Walking outside, yet sticking precisely to contours of thought

In the last lines of <We>, the speaker seems to find an inner peace of sorts, an accommodation he can live with, and an understanding of the world and his place in it. He details humanity's inability to transcend systems of thought, culture, and civilization, all creations of the human imagination.

And yet "Our camels change shape, our line is fake now / When it comes down to it, we are still strugglers." Maybe this is why Li joined Liao Yiwu *cum suis* in creating the videotape that led to their arrests in March 1990. Appropriately, after Li's release from two-years of incarceration in February 1992, he did not seem at all intimidated. At the same time as he and Wan Xia went into the lucrative popular book publishing business, Li continued to write poetry, if not on the near-continuous basis he did so prior to his arrest in 1990. Below is an excerpt from his first unofficially published work:

**<The Red Flag of Nostalgia>** (怀旧的红旗; 1992-1993)[743]
A sequence of 18 poems.

**#1**

This stretch of dry land is the navy's last giant fin
Masts, flags and unshakable principles are planted on top
The telescope sees the problems brought by leaders and philosophy in the distance
It falls in on itself, examines the reasons why hardship and new-born things arrive
My virtue and heart illness are also spied out by a peach blossom eye on Mars

This stretch of land is an eye that gazes and is gazed upon
It stands up high, sees far, is seen by farther-off alpine yarrow too
Like a ship returning from a distant voyage, the eyes among sailors and crowds discover each other
All that cannot be clearly seen is death, words written before the revolution

Because the compasses have all been collectively given to whales, as if presenting the nation to the navy
I'm not speaking of an island nation, at war firing Coke, clothing and contraceptives at nomadic nationalities
I'm saying that what returns from radar emanations at base areas is resentment and memory

[743] First published in *Modern Han Poetry* Autumn-Winter 1993 (#8). As an indication of continuing political pressures, the series is published under the title <Flag Language> (旗语) in the officially published Wan & Xiaoxiao ed. (1993) and <The Red Years> (红色岁月) in *Author*; Li (1996b). Four poems from the series appear under its original name for the first time in an official publication in Tang Xiaodu ed. (1999).

I’m not speaking of a piece of history, because that piece has errors

Because the compasses were carried to Europe by whales that charged up beaches, supplied to an inland nation to manufacture clocks
Because a big fish was the first to present its gills to a passing warship
Because history is only time, coup d’états, and making money
I’m saying the colonizers need space and philosophy, need technology and news of lovers
So what I speak of is the wireless, a carrier wave, and a satellite
What comes back when it fires on a base is Buddhist gatha and Confucian mysticism
Raised up to philosophy, it’s enough to occupy the heads of a generation

In its totality, Li writes an autobiographical poem in a flowing, long-lined lyrical form that seems almost elegiac, a remembrance of childhood, old politics, and his old self, and what has made himself, and China, what they are.

*Zhou Lunyou*

While Li appears to have reached an accommodation, even understanding with life in China, Zhou Lunyou moves in the opposite direction. When he revived *Not-Not* in 1992, the old theories of Not-Not-ism were not entirely abandoned, but a new Not-Not-ism, as in “not-leisurely” (非闲适), had taken priority over all others. To this end, he composed a lengthy manifesto-like document that would serve to rededicate *Not-Not* to its new circumstances: <Red Writing – The 1992 Arts Charter or the Principles of Not-Leisurely Poetry> (红色写作—1992 艺术宪章或非闲适诗歌原则). The first paragraph of <Red Writing>, beneath a heading that read “White Writing and Leisure” (白色写作与闲适), makes Zhou Lunyou’s meaning clear:

> Chinese poetry has just undergone a period of White Writing. In unprecedented numbers and over a wide range of subjects, the feeble-minded have written many words that have been forgotten as soon as they were read: cowardly, pallid literary works of an indifferent nature, lacking in creativity, and of pretentious superficial refinement. Defeated and scattered in all directions from the center of being. A dispersal without a core. Drifting, rootless words crowding and jostling against each other. In the guises of idle talk, hermits, hippies, ruffians ..... endlessly trivial, insipid and empty. Deliberately avoiding the masters and their works, in fear or without the courage to pursue profundity and power. Passing white turnips off as ivory tusks to

> avoid real and fabricated dangers. To the weak rhythms of elevator music, a generation of poets has formed into meandering rows and uses a limited vocabulary to repeatedly and collectively imitate one another and themselves. Persistent repetitiveness and inadequacy have made triviality and mediocrity the universal characteristics of an entire period of poetry.....

Zhou Lunyou may be referring to the post-June Fourth period, but he deliberately fails to be specific, for this "period of White Writing" could be said to have begun in the mid-1980s, a possible reference to the so-called Third Generation and others of the westernizing avant-garde. Zhou points out an undertone of "leisureliness" which runs through much of the poetry of this period and finds it rooted in a near-universal aspiration to, or actual enjoyment of, the life of relative comfort and ease enjoyed by Confucian scholar-officials of old. Zhou sees China's poets traveling the middle road, the path of least resistance, avoiding all confrontation, and interested only in self-preservation. They think no evil, and exhibit mild temperaments and elegant mediocrity in much of their work.

Zhou goes on to lament the absolute absence of a critical consciousness and skepticism among China's poets. That which may once have existed in China's underground poetry is stripped away once this poetry is co-opted into the establishment literary mainstream – something that Zhou (and Liao Yiwu) had noted before June Fourth and presciently feared would occur with renewed liberalization. New styles and techniques are readily accepted in the establishment on condition that new, critical content is left behind in the unofficial journals and the privately printed collections of poets during their foolish, headstrong youth. At this point, it seems clear that <Red Writing> is, in part, a rebuttal and a new position-taking with reference to the ideas of Xiao Kaiyu, Sun Wenbo, Ouyang Jianghe, and Zhong Ming found in the forewords of *The Nineties*, *Against*, and *Image Puzzle*, if not also the version of *Not-Not* produced by Yang Li, Lan Ma *cum suis* in 1990-1991.

Possibly, during his 25 months in prison, Zhou recognized that he himself was guilty of the sins he had accused others of earlier, if to a lesser degree. Not-Not-ism, while critical of poetic convention, linguistic order, and traditional value systems, was still an obscure, roundabout subversive maneuver, understood by few and thus easily dismissed as irrelevant. The events of June 1989, his subsequent personal experiences, and, ultimately,

the overthrow of totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe and the former USSR, seem to convince Zhou that literature has a direct political role to play in Chinese society – though not the traditional Chinese role in support of good government. In addition, he thinks poets have social responsibilities, and that irrelevance is the inevitable reward for those who do not face up to them. Furthermore, Zhou believes art for art's sake, when devoid of any relationship to the artist's society, is little more than self-centered, nihilistic expressionism. He claims that Red Writing is a literature of freedom that will allow the human spirit to become pure and whole again. It is a literature that will help to put an end to division and antagonism in Chinese society.

Notably, Liao Yiwu would reach similar conclusions about avant-garde poetry upon his release from prison camp in 1994. However, Liao chose to abandon poetry entirely, considering the art as practiced in China was compromised beyond redemption. Presumably, he felt that he had already said, or written, as much as was necessary and useful in his two 1986-1989 trilogies and the five-part <The Master Craftsman>.

On the last page of <Red Writing>, Zhou seems to issue a challenge to the CCP cultural apparatus. The "red" in Red Writing does not stand for communism and its victory, but for fresh blood, for the reinvigoration of all forms of writing, not just poetry, and ultimately for freedom – freedom of the spirit, of the imagination, of expression. The writings of Solzhenitsyn and Havel are still banned in China, and Kundera was banned at the time in 1992. Only the non-political works of Brodsky, Milosz and Osip Mandelstam, and so on, were available to the Chinese readers with an interest in such literature, and were lauded – without any sense of irony – by the editors of and contributors to *The Nineties*, *Against*, *Image Puzzle*, and *Writer's Workshop*. Yet word of mouth and untranslated foreign texts allowed knowledge of what was banned to reach those who had an interest and who also wondered why it is that China has yet to produce even one writer or poet of equal courage, strength of character and moral purpose. While Zhou may exaggerate the influence of literature in the fall of foreign communist regimes, as he conceived them, the aims of Red Writing go beyond literature and writers alone, they reach out to readers and Chinese society in general. In this sense, the impact of literature is certainly greater than that of any one author:

..... Actually, my intention is very simple: To invigorate the pure fountainhead of your innermost being – a consciousness of the blood ties between the individual and the fate of all mankind; the vigorous enthusiasm created by true freedom; the satisfying actualization of a full and complete life!

A new century will soon be rung in. We stand on this side and look towards it. A great battle is taking place within us. The entire significance of Red Writing is to join in and fight it out to the end – to penetrate into all that is sacred or blasphemous in the arts, and to mount the final assault upon all the forbidden regions and ramparts of language. One day seventy-three years ago, Lenin's guard said to his woman: "We'll have bread, we'll have food, we'll have everything." Today, seventy-three years later, after having become sculpted historical reliefs, the Vladimir Ilyich's have been reduced to rubble. Now I will tell you, aside from food, other things that have not been realized, will be.

- There will be art
- There will be freedom
- There will be everything

What but man's freedom does art hope to symbolize? All things are temporary, only this eternal undertaking will not change. Red Writing believes this, and, furthermore, reaffirms: Art that is rooted in life is immortal. Having experienced calamity, young Chinese poets are testifying with their golden voices that during mankind's final efforts to free itself, the people of China will not give themselves up for lost!

*Not-Not* #5 was printed and went into circulation in the autumn of 1992. Also at that time, in response to Deng Xiaoping's call to "counter leftism", a number of literary conferences were organized in Beijing to attack continued leftist influence in the arts establishment. The first of these was a poetic theory conference that took place in Beijing on August 20-21. Zhou Lunyou was invited to attend and was able to present his yet unpublished Red Writing manifesto. At the time, it received an enthusiastic response.[744] Subsequent events, or rather the lack of them, indicated that these conferences were just for show and primarily an effort by the CCP to placate disgruntled intellectuals. In hindsight, it now appears Deng and his supporters used the anti-leftist tide to quell critics within the party in preparation for the CCP's Fourteenth Congress, which was convened in November 1992. Shortly after the Congress was completed the second half of the slogan which Deng supposedly mouthed in January-February 1992 was given added emphasis: In its entirety the slogan now read "Counter leftism, guard against rightism" (反左，防右). In this, there are shades of 1978-1979 when Deng used public opinion to

[744] According to correspondence with Tang Xiaodu who was one of the principle organizers of the conference.

remove Maoists and other "radicals" who opposed his policies of economic reform at that time. Criticism of leftism (by doctrinaire Marxists, Stalinists, Maoists and anyone else opposed to Deng's policies) in 1992, however, was strictly limited to the CCP and certain intellectual and arts circles – doubtless with an eye to the events of 1989, and for fear that a broader campaign might lead to calls for a redress of June Fourth. Zhou reacted to this apparent manipulation by writing a poem that laid out in detail the deceptions practiced by the CCP since its foundation, a poem more explicitly political than any he had ever written and possibly meant as a warning to those avant-garde poets who appeared to be reaching an accommodation with cultural establishment:

**<TALKING ABOUT REVOLUTION>** (谈谈革命)
-- In imitation of a particular ideological discourse (April 14, 1993)[745]

Revolution is not a dinner party..... – Mao Zedong

Chairman Mao said only the half of it about revolution
I'll supply the remaining half
First I want to say: This topic of revolution is very big
Very broad, we can't get a grasp of it
We can only see a color (which makes us remember
That the blood of revolutionary martyrs did not flow in vain)
Red is the representative color of revolution. Hence the red flag
Is red, the red scarf is red, the revolutionary
soldier's heart is red, the red sun is red
…..
Also the "two hands of revolution"[746]: Conspiracy becomes an overt act
Treachery becomes virtue, it triumphs over honesty and intelligence
Anything can be said in the name of revolution
And it becomes irrefutable truth, not open to doubt
…..
….. These are all
Basic principles of revolution, inviolable
Born into New China, nurtured beneath the red flag
You and I grew up drinking the milk of revolution
Of course we know what revolution is. Revolution is
instantly effective when using the class struggle, when the three mountains[747]
Are toppled, we stamp another foot down on them

[745] First published in *Not-Not* #6-7, 1993.
[746] The "two hands" refer to peaceful methods and violent methods, or covert and overt methods of carrying out revolution.
[747] The three "mountains" were imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism.

A million feet, teach them that they will never stand again
Revolution is a political campaign, incite masses to struggle against masses
Fight yourself: Ruthlessly struggle against fleeting thoughts of the word “private”
Revolution is revolt to its greatest degree (combat imperialism combat revisionism
Combat leftism combat rightism combat liberalization combat peaceful evolution)
Only revolution cannot be opposed (counter revolution carries a death penalty)
This way of saying it is still too abstract, let me explain
More concretely: Revolution is to examine ancestry back three generations
There is theory of class status, but not theory of the unique importance of class origins[748]
…..
Revolution is overt plotting, is to lure the snakes out of their nests
Especially to attack snakes with eyeglasses (the more knowledgeable
The more reactionary) Revolution is the East Wind prevailing over the West Wind
Its “asking for instructions in the morning”, “reporting back in the evening”, the fandango of loyalty[749]
Mao’s quotations sung. It’s Attention Long Live Chairman Mao To the right Dress
Down with Liu Shaoqi[750] Look to the front Forever loyal to Chairman Mao
To the left Turn Forever
…..
Chairman Mao waves and I advance
Revolution is a vast world that tempers red hearts
It’s to recall past suffering
…..
To adore New China even more. It’s Lei Feng
Wang Jie, Yang Zirong, Ouyang Hai, Guo Jianguang[751]
Just before dying the hero raises his arm in salute and shouts:
“Long Live Chairman Mao! The diary is under the pillow.....”
Revolution is Xi’er not becoming Huang Shiren’s concubine[752]
The ignominiousness of Wang Debiao as a traitor.[753] Li Yuhe
Before departing drinking a bowl of wine to his mother, Thank you Ma![754]

---

[748] The theory of class status referred to one’s profession or economic status before joining the revolutionary ranks (as all had to after 1949). The latter theory of class origins was an offshoot of the previous theory but implied that those of non-revolutionary background were not welcome in the revolutionary ranks. Mao rejected this theory.

[749] Stylized dances performed while singing quotations from Mao’s writing that were set to music during the Cultural Revolution.

[750] Liu was the president of China and second in power for much of the time during 1949-1966. During the Cultural Revolution, he was criticized by Mao, after which he was arrested. Liu died in prison in 1969.

[751] Lei Feng and the others are the names of model soldiers and workers held up by the Party as exemplars for other Chinese citizens (the spirit of self-sacrifice for the Party, communism and others is particularly stressed). Lei’s diary was supposedly found upon his death and in it were recorded his good deeds, deeds that had never come to light before his death.

[752] From the revolutionary opera *The White-Haired Girl* (*白毛女*). Huang was the evil landlord who coveted Xi’er, the heroine.

[753] From the revolutionary opera *Shajiabang* (*沙家浜*).

Heroes always fall beneath the same pine tree
Accompanied by The Internationale, there's no pain
The final victory must surely be ours
Revolution is not to allow monsters and demons to act and speak carelessly
Much less allow them to fart! Class warfare must be stressed day in day out
Month in month out year in year out (with regard to farting
Only later did we hear that it is beneficial to mind and body)
Now the wording is different: one center two points[755]
Class struggle must still be stressed. Revolution is to
Emancipate thought, seek truth from facts,[756] not to wrong good people
Initially it gave you hats to wear,[757] now it gives you redress
All is correct, all is revolutionary necessity
Correcting one's own mistakes is the equivalent of making no mistakes
Revolution is "dichotomy",[758] and the "seventy-thirty ratio"[759]
Results are of paramount importance. Don't get cocky
(Being more correct than chairman Mao is in itself an error)
Revolution is the reimportation and sale of exports, defective goods
Sold to Chinese, don't worship foreign things
With foreigners you can transcend ideology
Not with nationals. Or in other words
Peacefully coexist with imperialism, with the people
Under no circumstances be soft-hearted! This is called distinguishing between domestic and foreign
Government policy and tactics are the life of the Party, now
There's no need to recite them, but they must continue to be carried out
The East Wind did not prevail over the West Wind, but
Certainly will never be overwhelmed by the West Wind. Future prospects
Are bright, the road is torturous
Revolution is like feeling for rocks with your feet while wading across a river,[760] suddenly left
Suddenly right, it's difficult to avoid paying some tuition
It's all a matter of dressing warmly and eating one's fill. A comparatively well-off

---

[754] From the revolutionary opera *The Red Lantern* (*红灯*). In the 1970s until 1976, the above three operas were the most famous of the five operas and two ballets allowed to be performed on stage during 1969-1971 – another 12 items were added in 1972.
[755] Economic development in China as the central task; one point being to uphold the four basic principles (socialism, people's democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the CCP, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought); the other point being to persevere with Deng Xiaoping's "reform" and "opening" policies. These were introduced into the constitution at the 13th congress of the CCP in 1987.
[756] A famous phrase of Mao's.
[757] From 1949 until 1976, people were made to wear hats on which were written their crimes against the people during mass criticism rallies and demonstrations.
[758] Mao's idea that there were two sides to everything (the right side and the wrong side, the positive and the negative side): everything, or everyone, is on one side or the other.
[759] A shorthand method used when assessing individuals: i.e., one's record or past is seen to consist of 70 percent achievements and 30 percent mistakes.
[760] A traditional folk saying used by Deng Xiaoping to describe how political and economic reform in China would proceed after his return to power in 1978.

level of living. Double it and double that again
Now we need to lengthen our strides a bit
Revolution is to get things moving, for a second time
Distribute land to the farmers (no change for fifty years)
It's all the people going into business. A stockholding system. A market economy
Revolution is changing from agricultural to non-agricultural producer, the "54321 Office"
(Five stresses four beauties three ardors two civilizations brought together as one)[761]
Possessing Chinese characteristics. Casual pissing and shitting is not allowed
But of a billion people nine hundred million gamble. Saunas at public expense
Blind wandering of the unemployed. Syphilis. Sexual diseases spread widely
Is revolution surnamed "socialist" or "capitalist", it's hard to say
Don't argue anymore. Together all the people of the land look to money
Ultimately revolution is an issue about cats
I approve of this way of saying it: white cat black cat
If it catches mice, it's a good cat.[762] Finally, I want to say
Revolution is buying a cat over an open sack
Revolution is catching the mice

Zhou seems to reduce the role of all China's ordinary citizens to that of mice, and the cat is a mere instrument firmly controlled by the party leadership. The mice, which may be deemed cats when useful, appear to be the ongoing victims of a socio-political experiment conducted by the CCP leadership.

For this reason, Zhou apparently chose to opt out of the system altogether, much like Liao Yiwu had already done. Zhou's decision was possibly made easier by a renewed ban on the publication and distribution of *Not-Not* later in 1993 and his difficulties in 1994-1995, as well as the choices made by many contributors to *Not-Not* #5 and #6-7 to opt back into the official cultural scene when there was a modicum of cultural liberalization in 1993-1994. In fact, <Talking About Revolution> was his last published poem (in *Not-Not* #6-7) until 2001.[763] In 2000, Zhou re-established *Not-Not* on his own terms as a publication devoted to the work of poets "writing outside the system" (体制外写作), as it was termed in *Not-Not* #11 (2003). During the intervening years, one can only imagine

[761] These are a series of slogans, in use since the Cultural Revolution, with the aim of creating the kind of citizens the Party requires. They stress absolute adoration of the CCP, socialism, and the nation, as well as moral standards that all people are to strive for.
[762] A dictum uttered by Deng Xiaoping. Officially it is understood to mean that it is of no importance what methods (whether socialist or capitalist) are used to improve China's economy, all that matters is that the end result is achieved.
[763] See Zhou Lunyou (2001f).

his disappointment as poets and critics, who had so enthusiastically supported his <Red Writing> manifesto in 1992-1993, were once again (as before June Fourth) gradually co-opted into the official cultural system in their quests for cultural capital, official recognition, and the concomitant invitations to foreign poetry conclaves.

## EPILOGUE

I hope readers have been able to reach this point without having felt they have been buried under a seeming avalanche of the names of poets and journals. Given the size of the task I have undertaken, this study is also a guide to further research in any number of areas, and with this in mind, I have attempted to illuminate resources necessary to further study.

It is my hope that the regular repetition of names has made the reading of the text easier for ‘newcomers’ to this field. I feel an early familiarity with such names will allow the reader to make judgments on linkages, relationships, and the relative importance of poets, poetry, and journals, which I have not always felt it necessary to stress.

With this in mind, Chapter 12 was most difficult to write due to the necessity of covering a period of three years in one chapter after having covered the previous three-year period in four. Part of the reason for this is that many of the materials from the later period are readily available and relatively well known. Scholars such as Maghiel van Crevel have begun work in this area. My wish is to illuminate the foundations, built during the 1980s, from which the poetry avant-garde developed during the 1990s and into the new millennium.

There was a strong autodidactic element in the make-up of most of the poets who entered the avant-garde during the 1980s – a characteristic shared with the Misty poets – and this bespoke their dedication to the art. The only advantage that might have been enjoyed by university student poets, who styled themselves the Third Generation in 1982, was possible access to more literary resources in university libraries. Otherwise all benefited equally from the cultural and political liberalization of the late 1970s and early 1980s, which allowed the establishment of poetry societies in high schools, universities, and even factories.

A national obsession among intellectuals with cultural renewal and modernization in the wake of the Cultural Revolution spurred experimentation and competition within the poetry avant-garde. In turn, public criticism and restrictions imposed by the CCP's cultural establishment led to the development of a Second World of Poetry, which was the true home of the avant-garde, although public recognition in official publications (as well as publication fees) was still prized and necessary. As this thesis has shown, networking and various linkages tie the Second World and First World of poetry together, and it is therefore possible for poets to move from one to the other without feeling they have 'compromised' anything.

Poets such as Liao Yiwu and, to a lesser extent, Zhou Lunyou, who turned away from establishment success, were rare exceptions who took the idea of sacrifice for one's art to extremes. Other poets achieved compromises without being seen (by others and themselves) to do so, stepping back from earlier, more radical poetical forms (Zhai Yongming) or working to develop aesthetic solutions through avant-garde polemic that effectively would make establishment tolerance easier to obtain (Ouyang Jianghe *cum suis*). Perhaps unsurprisingly, many of these accommodations – whether conscious or not – occurred in the wake of June Fourth 1989. That what was later termed Intellectual poetry developed in such a manner among poets who wished to belong to the avant-garde and to also relieve themselves of political pressures brought to bear by the CCP is shown through the position-takings adopted by contributors to *The Nineties* and *Against* later in 1989.

The initial stimulus to the growth of a Second World and the avant-garde in Sichuan, and elsewhere, was the founding of *Today* in Beijing in 1978, the poetry therein, and the concomitant double rejection of CCP-sponsored poetry and the aesthetics embodied by their censorious editorial committees. At first, like-minded aspiring poets, most born in the 1950s, drew on the new aesthetic models, and in 1982 this resulted in the appearance of *The Born-Again Forest* in Chengdu. At the same time, groups of younger university student poets, most born in the 1960s, registered their differences with the Misty-influenced avant-garde at an informal conference in Chongqing. The distinctive term Third Generation, and an eponymous journal, was the result of this, and in 1984 the Macho Men grouping further embodied these differences in a highly influential manner.

The appearance of these newcomer poets – a relative term, as almost all could be considered newcomers at this point – helped to create an avant-garde that can be recognized as such in the west. While poets born in the 1950s initially reacted against CCP-dictated aesthetic guidelines, the younger poets were primarily reacting against a consecration of aspects of Misty poetry within the emergent avant-garde. With this act, the nascent avant-garde and the Second World began to turn its back on a wider poetry public, which enjoyed Misty poetry, and began a cycle of poetical experimentation and renovation that, by 1989, fed upon itself, with poets primarily producing poetry for other poets, most motivated to a lesser or greater extent by the slogan of 'art for art's sake'. If this was not yet the case before 1989, the renewed political repression of 1989-1992 denied avant-garde poets the public forums they had enjoyed in 1986-1989, and further pushed them in this direction. During 1989-1992, China's avant-garde poets were effectively isolated within cliques and reliant on unofficial publications of their own as they worked to consolidate their positions or developed new position-takings out of sight of a larger reading public.[764] Ironically, it is continued cultural repression in China that keeps the unofficial poetry scene alive.

Politics had a large role to play in this development, as they had in France during Baudelaire's time. Then, too, poets reacted against a moralizing, censorious cultural establishment. Baudelaire's *Les fleurs du mal* was banned and became a public scandal that served to stimulate the growth of what is now known as the avant-garde, as competing salons and privately published journals appeared. Considering how much of Baudelaire's poetry was being read in China at this time, it would be surprising if poets were not also reading about the social environment in which he wrote his poetry and the avant-garde poetry sub-field that resulted. I do not mean to imply that Sichuan's poets (and Zhou Lunyou in particular) copied what they read about. However, it seems clear that poets were able to select and adapt various strategies that seemed applicable to China's unique situation. *Today* was a more pertinent model with regard to the production of an effective unofficial journal, but the sub-field that was developing – partially in response to *Today* and Misty poetry – required new strategies, especially as China's cultural scene appeared to be on the verge of liberalization.

[764] See Maghiel van Crevel (1997) and (2003a).

In late 1984 in Sichuan, conflicts with the cultural establishment and unpublishability led avant-garde poets to attempt to establish the Sichuan Young Poets Association. The adoption of the epithet ‘young’, like Third Generation, is highly telling. However, established local Misty poets, such as Luo Gengye and Fu Tianlin, were recruited into the Association, as were contributions from Bei Dao and others to its 1985 journals. At the time, most poets were superficially united because of state-sponsored cultural repression of all avant-garde poetry. However, establishment liberalization during 1985 meant that in 1986 Misty poets were no longer welcome in Second World journals in the province. Rivalries and aesthetical disputes within the avant-garde led to the creation of groups and journals, centered around Wholism and Not-Not in particular.

In many ways, *Not-Not* was the archetypal avant-garde journal, as described by Bourdieu. Its theory and poetry marked it out as the anti-institutional institution *extraordinaire*. The Wholism group was founded almost two years earlier in 1984, and its poetry and theories seduced many local avant-garde poets, if only briefly. That Not-Not should be founded and the group’s first journal appears at the same time as Wholism’s *Han Poetry* was being planned appears to have been no coincidence. With poets such as Yang Li and Shang Zhongmin joining Zhou Lunyou and Lan Ma in relegating poetry of the Wholistic tendency to a second wave of avant-garde poetry (after Misty poetry) and announcing themselves as representing the third, there was no ambiguity. Essays and poetry written by Zhou indicated that he was well versed in the history of the western avant-garde. In fact, Zhou specifically advocated the permanent cultural revolution (if in not so many words) that is the avant-garde, as described by Bourdieu.

It is clear that by 1986 most Chinese avant-garde poets were familiar with the western avant-garde tradition, and readily adapted selected aspects to their poetical practice and activities – Wholism can be seen as fighting a lonely battle against this trend, and such a tendency is also evident in the appearance of ‘new classicism’ (新古典主义). This had begun with the apparent influence of Symbolism and high Modernism on Misty poetry, and gathered pace during the early 1980s with the reappearance of translations of Whitman and myriad other foreign poets, and first translations of poets such as Ginsberg and Plath.

For example, most if not all avant-garde poets have read Baudelaire. Described by Bourdieu as the founder of the avant-garde, Baudelaire's reliance on self-confidence and individual inspiration resulted in the belief that each 'creator' of an original artifact was authorized to embed his or her own *nomos* in the work. This implied the subservience, if not rejection, of universal laws and formal rules to the creator's own perception, which as an original itself was without antecedent. Furthermore, Baudelaire's idea of *correspondance* created a mysticism of sensation and – in opposition to then prevalent naturalism, socialism, and positivism – pushed the avant-garde poetry to become a spiritualist art that cultivated a sense of mystery. The later introduction of ideas from Freud and Jung served to entrench these tendencies further, as demonstrated in the work of Liao Yiwu and the Not-Not theory of Lan Ma, for example.

Poetry was not all that poets were reading at this time. Like other intellectuals, in the wake of the Cultural Revolution, poets born in the 1950s had an initial overriding interest in renovation of China's culture in its entirety. This lead to the reading of all manner of philosophy and theory – Freud and Jung being of specific interest to poets – and this overarching interest apparently inspired the creation of the pan-cultural theories that were the foundations of both Wholism and Not-Not. Zhou Lunyou and Lan Ma make this clear when they chose 4 May as the symbolic founding date of their group. Just as the New Culture Movement – the longer-lived precursor to and contemporary of the anti-western, political May Fourth Movement, but often conflated with it – sought to modernize and strengthen China through heavy borrowing from western practice, Not-Not was trying to do the same with regard to China's post-Mao culture.

However, this seemingly was the aim of Zhou and Lan alone. Instead, the journal's success, if not the group's, can be put down to its recruitment of fellow-traveler poets from various parts of China and offering a platform to younger newcomer poets born in the 1960s. In doing so, Not-Not was able to promote and extend an interest in the use of language and the production of aesthetic value in poetry, which had been hitherto neglected. Such recruitment and promotional activities impressed critics and poets alike.

The reaction against the pan-cultural theories of Not-Not and Wholism within the avant-garde is indicative of the developing autonomy of the avant-garde sub-field. Such theories were too broad and too political, and thus dangerous. The insular indifference to

outside events that characterizes the western avant-garde was attractive to poets who wished to avoid the dangers inherent in implicit political activities and position-takings that held significance beyond the sub-field, in society at large.

One of the first calls for a greater stress on technique and purely aesthical interests can be found in *Day By Day Make It New* (1985), and this was renewed in *Han Poetry* and officially published essays by Ouyang Jianghe (thus described by some as the Ezra Pound of the Sichuan avant-garde) and others in later years. After the bloody repression of peaceful protests on June Fourth, *Against* and *The Nineties* openly advocated the indifference and professionalism that was championed by Baudelaire, who was reacting against the flabby Romanticism and socially responsible literature of his time. However, in China, such a position-taking also appears to be a conservative act taken against innovators and rowdy activists (many of whom were imprisoned in 1989-1991), and thus, also, can be seen as a form of accommodation with the CCP's cultural establishment. In addition, this can be linked with the idea of 'pure' production – as advocated by Eliot and Valéry – that called for purely internal readings of poetry.

In a sense, during 1989-1993, journals such as *Against* and *The Nineties* can be seen as sites of consolidation for the previous, public prominence of poets such as Ouyang Jianghe, Xi Chuan, and Chen Dongdong, while others, such as Sun Wenbo and Xiao Kaiyu, were able to establish themselves as major poets during the 1990s as a result of their association with these journals and poets. However, while more or less the entire avant-garde was thrown back into the Second World during times of political and cultural repression, unofficial publications continued as the avenue to recognition for almost all newcomers – whether that led to publication in a major unofficial journal such as *Not-Not* or in a liberal official journal.

The poetry avant-garde's ambiguous relationship with official publications is also of note. As the number of young editors who graduated from universities in the 1980s increased, publication opportunities likewise grew for the avant-garde. This was particularly the case from 1986 until June Fourth 1989, after which advocates of avant-garde poetry were silenced for a lengthy period of time. Journals such as *Guandong Literature* in distant Liaoyuan in China's Northeast effectively became 'official' Second World publications, and, when politically possible, avant-garde poetry was favored at

larger, nationally circulated journals such as *The Poetry Press* and *Author*. The smaller regional journals can be seen as barometers of the Second World, in the sense that even newcomers are publishable once they are featured in an unofficial journal that strikes the eye of young, liberal editors.

After June Fourth, the avant-garde sub-field experienced the arrival of newcomer poets and newcomer journals throughout China. This is as much a result of the political repression of the early 1990s as it is of the struggle for recognition by younger poets and innovators, and their exclusion from journals such as *The Nineties*. The Second World continues to exist as the necessary home to newcomers who wish to enter the avant-garde, but who also wish to have a platform from which to challenge the status quo that exists there and achieve recognition within the sub-field.

Among poets, there is a better understanding of the avant-garde 'game' today than there was in the 1980s. For instance, the targets of such newcomers are only now beginning to be canonized in textbooks and classrooms in China, such as Chang & Lu ed. (2002). Otherwise, newcomers react against the poetical practice of frequently published (officially and unofficially) and critically approved (within the avant-garde) poets. Poets invited overseas are also potential subjects of suspicion and challenge, especially as the attention and favor they receive is unlikely to be lavished on Second World poets residing beyond China's coastal areas.[765] Sichuan's poets have shown how moving to coastal regions and establishing friendships with the increasing number of overseas poets can help to overcome such anonymity. An argument that only the finest poetry is so recognized runs aground on the operating principles of the avant-garde – a sub-field of culture that produces its own aesthetic due to new position-takings and continuous internal polemics that are the result. However, given that the western avant-garde tradition has been adopted and adapted to the requirements of China's avant-garde, it is difficult to see how poets can achieve the levels of consecration accorded to western poets such as Baudelaire and Eliot within China. On the other hand, China's Second World tradition is unique and deserves to be recorded, as I have attempted to do here.

The avant-garde and the Second World fostered the growth of women's poetry in China, from Zhai Yongming's <Woman> to *The Woman's Poetry Paper*, and on to a number of

[765] See van Crevel (1996): 97.

woman-only unofficial journals that have appeared in print and on the Internet in recent years. Zhai's early woman-centered experimental verse (1984) encouraged further experimentation by younger woman poets, such as Hai Nan and Tang Danhong, several of whom were first published in Second World journals, such as *Not-Not*. And these events emboldened more radical feminist poetry, such as that found in *The Woman's Poetry Paper* (1989).

The poets and poetry in *Modernists Federation* in early 1985 were a harbinger of what was to come later in the 1980s. Only the names of some Shanghai poets and Han Dong are lacking, but they would all appear in other Sichuan journals before 1989.

In the late 1990s, new groupings of poets that Maghiel van Crevel terms practitioners of poetical 'bad behavior' are reviving practices previously seen in the work and activities of the Macho Men, Not-Not, and Liao Yiwu, for example.[766] This apparent reproduction of disused position-takings is common to Bourdieu's model of behavior by individuals and groups in the avant-garde sub-field, but also highlights a lack of awareness among contemporary and newcomer poets of the pre-June Fourth development of the avant-garde sub-field.

In recent months, I have had conversations with two Chinese poets that focused my mind on this issue. One was born in the 1950s and the other in the 1960s, and both had participated in the Second World, but are no longer practicing poets. Both stated that there was little remarkable about the poetry of the 1980s. In doing so, they discounted or 'forgot' the historical context and the difficulties poets of the time had in establishing an autonomous avant-garde sustained by a Second World of Poetry in the face of continuous attempts by the CCP to restrain, if not eliminate, free speech, public or otherwise.

I hope that this study will help to prevent such forgetfulness in China and allow a fuller appreciation by outside observers and enthusiasts of avant-garde poetry and the Chinese literary field. China's poets live in a constrained society and often write similarly constrained forms of poetry. It is only in the Second World of poetry that China's poets have an opportunity to give full and free voice to their song. Offering a window onto this scene for readers on the outside has been my foremost wish.

[766] See van Crevel (2004b).

**Glossary of Chinese Names**
(Names of Sichuan poets and natives in bold type.)

**Aman (Xiao Wencui, Wencui) 阿曼（肖文萃，文萃）(d. 1992, Xichang)**
Aqu Qiangba (in Tibetan Amquk Qhumban, also Zhou Guoqiang) 阿曲强巴（周国强）
(b. 1959, Beijing)
**Axia 阿霞**
Axian 阿仙(b. 1960, Beijing)
Axiang 阿翔(b. 1970, Anhui)
Ai Qing 艾青(1910-1996, Zhejiang)
An Qi (Huang Jiangpin) 安琪（黄江嫔）(b. 1969, Fujian)
An Ranzi 安然子
**Ba Jin 巴金(b. 1904, Chengdu)**
**Ba Tie 巴铁(b. 1958, Fuling)**
**Bai Hang 白航**
**Bai Hua 柏桦 (b. 1956, Chongqing)**
Bai Hua 白桦(b. 1930, Henan)
**Bai Kangning 白康宁**
**Bai Yunfeng 白云峰**
Bei Dao 北岛 (b. 1949, Beijing)
**Beiwang (He Jimin) 北望（何继民）**
Bian Zhilin 卞之琳(b. 1910-2000, Jiangsu)
Bing Xin 冰心 (b. 1900-1999, Fujian)
Can Xue 残雪 (b. 1953, Hunan)
**Cao Baohua 曹葆华(b. 1906-1978, Leshan)**
Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹(1715-1764)
Che Qianzi 车前子(b. 1963, Jiangsu)
Chen Chao 陈超(b. 1958, Shanxi)
**Chen Daixu 陈代续**
**Chen Dong 陈东**
Chen Dongdong 陈东东(b. 1961, Shanghai)
Chen Duxiu 陈独秀 (b.1879-1942)
**Chen Jinke 陈瑾珂**
Chen Jingdong 陈静东
**Chen Jingrong 陈敬荣(b. 1917-1989, Leshan)**
**Chen Lirong 陈礼荣**
**Chen Mo 陈墨(b. 1945, Chengdu)**

**Chen Xi 陈犀**
**Chen Xiaofan 陈小蘩(b. Chengdu)**
Chen Xuguang 陈旭光(b. 1962, Beijing)
**Chen Yaping 陈亚平(b. 1957, Chengdu)**
Chen Yuanling 陈袁伶(b. Guizhou)
**Chen Yueling 陈乐陵(b. 1957, Chongqing)**
Chen Zhongyi 陈仲义(b. 1948, Xiamen)
**Chen Zihong 陈子弘**
Cheng Guangwei 程光炜 (b. 1956, Jiangxi)
**Cheng Ning 程宁**
Ci Xi 慈溪(1835-1908)
Confucius 孔子 (6th Century B.C.E., Shandong)
Da Ta 大踏 (b. 1955, Beijing)
Da Jie 大解 (b. 1957, Hebei)
Da Xian 大仙 (b. 1959, Beijing)
Dai Wangshu 戴望舒(b. 1905-1950, Hangzhou)
Daozi 岛子(b. 1957, Shandong)
**Deng Ken 邓垦(b. Chengdu)**
Deng Lijun 邓丽君 (1953-1995, Taiwan)
**Deng Xiang 邓翔(b. 1963, Yingshan County)**
**Deng Xiaoping 邓小平(1904-1997, Guang'an)**
Ding Dang 丁当(b. 1962)
Dong Fanghao
**Dong Jiping 董继平(b. 1962, Chongqing)**
Du Fu 杜甫(712-770)
**Du Jiusen 杜九森(b. Chengdu)**
**Du Qiao 杜乔(b. Xichang)**
Duoduo 多多(b. 1951, Beijing)
**Er Mao 二毛(b. 1962)**
**Fanfan 凡凡**
**Fang Jing 方敬(b. 1913, Chongqing)**
Fang Lizhi 方励之 (b. 1936, Zhejiang)
**Fei Ke 菲可(b. 1964, Chongqing)**
Feng Xincheng 封新成 (b. Lanzhou)
Feng Zhi 冯至(1905-1993, Hebei)
**Fu Tianlin 傅天林 (b. 1946, Zizhong)**
**Fu Wei (Qi Wei) 傅（付）维（漆维）(b. Chongqing)**
Gao Yueming 高月明 (b. Anhui)
Geng Zhanchun 耿占春(b. 1952, Henan)
**Gong Gaixiong 龚盖雄**
Gong Liu 公刘(b. 1927, Jiangxi)

Gong Mu 公木 (1910-1998, Hebei)
**Gou Mingjun 苟明君 (b. Nanchuan)**
Gu Cheng 顾城(1956-1993, Beijing)
Gu Gong 顾工 (b. 1928, Shanghai)
**Guo Jian 郭建**
Guo Lijia 郭力家(b. 1960, Jilin)
**Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978, Leshan)**
Guo Xiaochuan 郭小川 (1919-1976, Hebei)
Guo Yi 郭毅
Guo Yubin 郭豫斌
Ha Jin 哈金 (b. 1956, Liaoning)
**Hai Ling 海灵(b. Xichang)**
Hai Nan 海男(b. 1962, Yunnan)
Haizi 海子(b. 1964-1989, Anhui)
Han Dong 韩东(b. 1961, Jiangsu)
Han Shaogong 韩少功 (b. 1953, Hunan)
Han Xin 韩信 (? – 196 B.C.E.)
Han Yu 韩愈(768-824)
He Jingzhi 贺敬之(b. 1924, Shandong)
**He Qifang 何其芳(1911-1977, Wanxian)**
**He Xiaozhu 何小竹(b. 1963, Pengshui)**
Hei Dachun 黑大春(b. 1960, Beijing)
**Hong Ying 虹影(b. 1962, Chongqing)**
Hou Wailu 侯外庐 (1903-1987, Shanxi)
**Hu Dong 胡冬(b. 1962, Chengdu)**
Hu Feng 胡风 (1902-1985)
Hu Qili 胡启立 (b. 1929, Shaanxi)
Hu Shi 胡适 (1891-1962, Anhui)
**Hu Tu 胡途(b. Xichang)**
**Hu Xiaobo 胡晓波(b. Chengdu)**
Hu Yaobang 胡耀邦(1915-1989, Hunan)
**Hu Yu 胡玉(b. 1962)**
Hua Guofeng 华国锋 (b. 1921, Shanxi)
**Huazhi 华智 (b. Luzhou)**
Huang Beiling 黄贝岭 (b. 1959, Beijing)
**Huang Guotian 黄果天**
Huang Xiang 黄翔(b. 1941, Hunan)
**Huang Yun 黄云**
Ji Kang 嵇康 (223-263, Anhui)
**Jidi Majia 吉狄马加(b. 1961, Liangshan)**
**Jimu Langge (Ma Xiaoming) 吉木狼格（马小明） (b. 1963, Ganluo County)**

**Jiang Hao 蒋浩 (b. Chengdu)**
Jianghe 江河(b. 1949, Beijing)
**Jiang Lan 蒋蓝(b. Zigong)**
**Jieying 洁莹(b. Xichang)**
**Jin Xiaojing 靳晓静(b. 1959, Beijing)**
Jing Bute 京不特 (b. 1965, Shanghai)
**Jing Xiaodong 敬晓东**
Kong Fu 孔孚 (1925-1997, Shandong)
**Kuang Hongbo 况洪波**
**Lan Ma (Wang Shigang) 蓝马（王世刚） (b. 1957, Xichang)**
Lao Mu 老木(b. 1963-2002?, Jiangxi)
Laozi 老子 (sometime in the 6th to 4th century B.C.E.)
**Lei Mingchu 雷鸣雏(b. Fuling)**
**Li Ao 李敖(b. 1965)**
Li Bai (Bo) 李白 (701-762)
Li Gang 李钢 (b. 1951, Shaanxi)
Li He (Li Ho) 李贺(791-817)
Li Hong 力虹
Li Jie 李
Li Jinfa 李金发(1900-1976, Guangdong)
**Li Jinxi 李晋西(b. Chengdu)**
**Li Jing 李静(b. Chengdu)**
**Li Juan 李娟(b. Chengdu)**
Li Qingsong 李轻松 (b. Liaoning)
Li Qingzhao 李清照 (1084-ca. 1151)
Li Weidong 李卫东
**Li Xiaobin 李晓彬**
Li Xiaolin 李晓琳
Li Xiaoyu 李小雨 (b. 1951, Hebei)
**Li Xuemin 力学民**
**Li Yawei 李亚伟(b. 1963, Youyang)**
**Li Yao 李瑶(b. 1962, Chengdu)**
**Li Yi 李毅(b. 1967, Chongqing)**
**Li Yuansheng 李元胜(b. 1963, Wusheng)**
Li Zehou 李泽厚 (b. 1930, Hunan)
**Li Zhen 李震**
**Li Zhengguang 黎正光 (b. Chengdu)**
Liang Fuqing 梁福庆 (b. Guizhou)
**Liang Ping 梁平(b. Chongqing)**
**Liang Qingtun 梁擎暾**
**Liang Yue 梁乐(b. 1963)**

Liang Xiaobin 梁小斌 (b. 1955, Anhui)
Liang Xiaoming 梁晓明 (b. 1963, Shanghai)
Liang Zongdai 梁宗岱 (1903-1983, Guangdong)
**Liao Xi 廖希**
**Liao Yiwu 廖亦武 (b. 1958, Yanting)**
Lin Jiong 林迥
Lin Mang 林莽 (b. 1949, Beijing)
Lin Xue 林雪 (b. 1962, Liaoning)
**Lin Yusheng 林玉笙**
Liu Bang 刘邦 (256-195 B.C.E.)
Liu Bei 刘备 (161-223)
Liu Binyan 刘宾雁 (b. 1924, Jilin)
**Liu Jian 柳箭 (b. 1963)**
**Liu Jiansen 刘建森**
**Liu Shahe 流沙河 (b. 1931, Jintang County)**
**Liu Su 刘苏**
**Liu Taiheng 刘太亨(b. 1963, Pengshan)**
**Liu Tao 刘涛(b. 1961, Chengdu)**
**Liu Xia 刘霞**
Liu Xiang 刘翔 (Hangzhou)
Liu Xiang 刘向 (76-5 B.C.E.)
Liu Xiaobo 刘晓波(b.1955, Jilin)
**Liu Xiaozhou (Xiaoxiao, Liu Xiaomi) 刘小舟（小小，刘小米）(b. Xindu)**
**Liu Yuan 刘原**
Liu Zaifu 刘再复 (b. 1941, Fujian)
Liu Zhanqiu 刘湛秋 (b. 1939, Anhui)
Longzi 龙子
**Lu Fu 陆蜉(b. Leshan)**
**Lu Lu (Lu Guoxin) 鲁鲁（鲁国新）(b. Qinghai)**
Lu Lu 潞潞 (b. 1956, Shanxi)
Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881-1936, Zhejiang)
Lu Yimin 陆忆敏 (b. 1962, Shanghai)
Lü De’an 吕德安 (b. 1960, Fujian)
Lü Guipin 吕贵品 (b. 1959, Jilin)
**Luo Gengye 骆耕野 (b. 1951, Chengdu)**
Luo Yihe 骆一禾 (1961-1989, Beijing)
Ma Gaoming 马高明 (b. 1958, Shandong)
Ma Jian 马建 (b. 1953, Shandong)
**Ma Song 马松 (b. 1963, Ya’an)**
Ma Yongbo 马永波(b. 1964, Heilongjiang)
Mang Ke 芒克(b. 1951, Beijing)

Mao Du 茅盾(1896-1981, Zhejiang)
Mao Zedong 毛泽东(1893-1976, Hunan)
**Meng Chenghao 孟成镐(b. Chongqing)**
Meng Lang 孟浪(b. 1961, Zhejiang)
**Meng Ming 孟明(b. Chengdu)**
Mo Fei 莫非 (b. 1960, Beijing)
Mo Mo 默默(b. 1964, Shanghai)
Mu Dan 穆旦(1918-1977, Zhejiang)
Nan Ye 南野(b. 1955, Zhejiang)
Ning Ke 宁可(b. 1963, Zhejiang)
Niu Bo 牛波(b. 1960, Beijing)
**Ouyang Jianghe 欧阳江河(b. 1956, Luzhou)**
**Ouyang Lihai 欧阳黎海**
**Ouyang Yong 欧阳勇**
**Pan Jiazhu (San Lang) 潘家柱（三郎）(b. 1962, Anhui)**
Pang Pei 庞培 (b. 1962, Jiangsu)
**Peng Linxu 彭林绪(b. Fuling)**
Peng Yanjiao 彭燕郊(b. 1920, Fujian)
**Peng Yilin 彭逸林(b. Chongqing)**
**Ran Yunfei 冉云飞 (b. 1965, Chongqing)**
**Qian Guangpei 钱光培 (b. 1939, Chongqing)**
Qian Yeyong 钱叶用(b. Anhui)
**Qin Zihao 覃子豪(1912-1963, Guanghan)**
**Qiu Zhenglun 邱正伦 (b. Chongqing)**
Qu Yuan 屈原(ca. 339-ca. 278 B.C.E.)
Ruan Ji 阮籍(210-263, Henan)
Senzi 森子 (b. 1961, Heilongjiang)
**Sha Ou 沙鸥**
**Shan Nan(Gao Chongxiu) 山楠（高崇秀）(b. Xichang)**
**Shang Qin 商禽(b. 1930, Hongxian)**
**Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏(b. 1964, Shaanxi)**
Shao Chunguang 邵春光 (b. Shandong)
Shen Tianhong 沈天鸿 (b. 1955, Anhui)
**Shenzi 神子**
**Shi Guanghua 石光华(b. 1958, Chengdu)**
Shi Zhi 食指 (b. 1948, Beijing)
Shu Ting 舒婷 (b. 1952, Fujian)
Sima Xiangru 司马相如 (179-117 B.C.E.)
**Situ Min 司徒闵 (b. Chengdu)**
Song Ci 宋词(b. 1957)
Song Lin 宋琳(b. 1958, Fujian)

**Song Qu 宋渠 (b. 1963, Muchuan County)**
**Song Wei 宋炜 (b. 1964, Muchuan County)**
Su Dongpo(Su Shi) 苏东坡 (苏轼) (1037-1101)
Sun Jilin 孙基林
**Sun Jianjun 孙建军 (b. 1954, Wenjiang)**
**Sun Jiangyue 孙江月 (b. 1965, Chongqing)**
**Sun Jingxuan 孙静轩(b. 1930, Shandong)**
Sun Shaozhen 孙绍振 (b. 1936, Jiangsu)
**Sun Wenbo 孙文波 (b. 1956, Shaanxi)**
Tanshi 谈诗 (b. Liaoning)
Tao Yuanming(Tao Qian) 陶渊明 (陶潜) (b. 365-427)
**Tang Danhong 唐丹鸿 (b. 1965, Chengdu)**
Tang Qi 唐祈 (1920-1990, Jiangsu)
Tang Xiaodu 唐晓渡 (b. 1954, Jiangsu)
**Tang Yaping 唐亚平(b. 1962, Tongjiang County)**
**Wan Xia 万夏(b. 1962, Chongqing)**
**Wang Daorong 王道荣 (b. Chengdu)**
**Wang Fan 王凡**
**Wang Gu 王谷 (b. Chengdu)**
Wang Jiaxin 王家新(b. 1957, Hubei)
**Wang Jianjun 王建军**
Wang Jingzhi 王静之(1902-1996, Zhejiang)
Wang Liaosheng 王辽生 (b. 1930, Liaoning)
**Wang Ning 王宁**
Wang Wei 王维 (?-761)
Wang Xiaolong 王小龙 (b. 1954, Guangdong)
Wang Xiaoni 王小妮 (b. 1955, Jilin)
Wang Yin 王寅(b. 1962, Shanghai)
**Wang Yonggui 王永贵 (b. Chongqing)**
**Wei Haitian 魏海田**
Wei Se 维色 (Tibetan name: 次人维色, b. Tibet)
Wei Wei 维维 (b. Beijing)
**Wei Zhiyuan 魏志远 (b. 1952, Chengdu)**
Wen Qun 文群 (b. Gansu)
**Wen Shu 温恕**
Wen Yiduo 闻一多(1899-1946, Hubei)
Wu Bin 吴滨 (b. Shanghai)
**Wu Jianguo 吴建国 (b. 1963, Wulong)**
Wu Kaijin 吴开晋
**Wu Keqin 吴克勤**
Wu Shaoqiu 吴少秋(b. Guangdong)

**Wu Shiping 吴世苹 (b. Chongqing)**
Xi Chuan 西川 (b. 1963, Jiangsu)
Xianmeng 闲梦 (b. 1964, Nanjing)
Xiang Yu 项羽 (ca. 200 B.C.E.)
**Xiang Yixian 向以鲜(b. Chongqing)**
**Xiao An 小安 (b. 1964, Chongqing?)**
Xiao Hai 小海(b. 1965, Jiangsu)
Xiao Jun 小君(b. 1962, Hebei)
**Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚 (b. 1960, Zhongjiang)**
**Xiao Quan 肖全 (b. 1959)**
**Xiaoxiao 潇潇 (b. Leshan)**
**Xiaoyin (Yuancun, Xiao Xiaoying) 晓音（远村，肖晓英）(b. 1962, Xichang)**
**Xie Chongming 谢崇明 (b. Xichang)**
Xie Mian 谢冕 (b. 1932, Fuzhou)
Xingtian 刑天 (b. 1964)
**Xiong Yu 熊郁 (b. Chengdu)**
Xu Jingya 徐敬亚 (b. 1949, Jilin)
**Xu Lu 徐路 (b. Chengdu)**
**Xu Xinghe 胥兴和**
Xu Zhimo 徐志摩(1895-1931, Zhejiang)
Xue Di 雪迪 (b. 1957, Beijing)
Ya Mo (Wu Lixian) 哑默（伍立宪）(b. 1948, Guizhou)
Yan Li 严力 (b. 1954, Beijing)
**Yan Xiaodong 燕晓东 (b. Chongqing)**
**Yan Yi 雁翼 (b. 1927, Hebei)**
Yan Zhi 严之
Yang Chunguang 杨春光 (b. 1956, Liaoning)
Yang Guangzhi 杨光治 (b. 1938, Guangxi)
Yang Jian 杨键 (b. 1967)
Yang Ke 杨克
**Yang Li (Jiazi) 杨黎（甲子）(b. 1961, Chengdu)**
Yang Lian 杨炼 (b. 1955, Beijing)
**Yang Ping 杨萍**
**Yang Ran 杨然 (b. 1958, Chengdu)**
**Yang Shunli 杨顺礼**
**(Yang) Wenkang（杨）文康**
**Yang Yang 杨洋**
Yang Zimin 杨子敏
**Yang Yuanhong 杨远宏 (b. 1945, Jiangjin)**
**Yao Cheng 姚成**
Yao Xinbao 姚欣保

Ye Lu 叶橹
Ye Weilian 叶维廉 (b. 1937, Guangdong)
Ye Zhou 叶舟(b. 1966, Gansu)
Yi Lei 伊蕾(b. 1951, Tianjin)
Yi Mingzhu 忆明珠 (b. 1927, Shandong)
**Yi Sha 伊沙 (b. 1966, Chengdu)**
**Yin Lichuan 尹丽川 (b. 1973, Chongqing)**
**You Xiaosu 游小苏(b. Chengdu)**
Yu Gang 余刚(b. 1957, Hangzhou)
**Yu Jian 于坚 (b. 1954, Ziyang)**
**Yu Qiang 喻强**
**Yu Tian 雨田(b. 1956, Shima Ba)**
Yu Xiaowei 于小伟 (b. 1961)
Yu Yu 郁郁 (b. 1961, Shanghai)
**Yuan Yong 袁勇 (b. Minzhong)**
Zang Di 臧棣 (b. 1964, Beijing)
Zang Kejia 臧克家 (b. 1905-2004, Shandong)
Zeng Hong 曾宏 (b. Fujian)
**Zeng Lei 曾磊**
**Zhai Yongming 翟永明 (b. 1955, Chengdu)**
Zhang Chunqiao 张春桥 (b. 1917-1991, Shandong)
Zhang Jiayan 张嘉彦 (b. Guizhou)
**Zhang Jianming 张建明**
Zhang Shuguang 张曙光 (b. 1956, Harbin)
**Zhang Xiande 张先德**
Zhang Xiaobo 张小波(b. 1964, Jiangsu)
Zhang Yaxin 章亚昕 (b. 1949, Beijing)
**Zhang Yu 张渝 (b. 1963, Chongqing)**
**Zhang Zao 张枣 (b. 1962, Hunan)**
Zhang Zhen 张真 (b. Shanghai)
Zhang Zhimin 张志民 (b. 1926, Hebei)
Zhao Kai 赵凯 (b. 1936, Shandong)
Zhao Qiong 赵琼(b. 1960, Xi'an)
**Zhao Ye 赵野 (b. 1964, Yibin)**
Zhao Ziyang 赵紫阳 (b. 1919-2005, Henan)
Zheng Bonong 郑伯农 (b. 1937, Fujian)
**Zheng Danyi (Sangzi) 郑单衣（桑子）(b. 1963, Guizhou)**
Zheng Min 郑敏 (b. 1920, Fujian)
**Zhong Ming 钟鸣 (b. 1953, Chengdu)**
**Zhong Shan 钟山 (b. 1968, Chongqing)**
**Zhing Yin 钟音 (b. Xichang)**

Zhou Dao 周导
Zhou Enlai 周恩来(1899-1976, Jiangsu)
**(Zhou) Faxing（周发星）(b. 1966, Daliang Shan)**
**Zhou Fengming 周凤鸣 (b. 1968, Huili)**
**Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑 (b. 1952, Xichang)**
**Zhou Lunzuo 周伦佐 (b. 1952, Xichang)**
**Zhou Yaqin 周亚琴 (b. Xichang)**
Zhou Zan 周瓒 (b.1968, Jiangsu)
**Zhou Zhongling 周忠陵 (b. 1958, Chongqing)**
**Zhu Jian 朱建 (b. 1959, Chongqing)**
Zhu Lingbo 朱凌波(b. 1962, Heilongjiang)
Zhu Xiang 朱湘 (1904-1933, Hunan)
Zhu Yanling 朱燕玲(b. Jiangsu)
**Zhu Ying 朱鹰 (b. 1963)**
Zhu Yongliang 朱永良 (b. Heilongjiang)
Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 (1898-1948, Jiangsu)
**Zhu Ziyong 朱自勇**
Zhuangzi (Zhuang Zhou) 庄子（庄周）(ca. 369-ca. 286 B.C.E.)
**Zou Jin 邹进 (b. 1958)**

## *BIBLIOGRAPHY:* Official Publications of Sichuan Poets

Poetry and related writings officially published in China or overseas, or appearing on the Internet. These materials consist of poems written during the period covered by this study, some of which may not have been first published until a later date, and recently published articles, books, and collections containing relevant material.

**(**Sichuan poets' names, groups, and relevant terms in bold type. Secondary dates in parentheses with on-line listings are those on which the author accessed and printed said items.)


**Bai Hua 柏桦**

（1986a）。〈顽童 魔术师 自我毁灭〉[Playful Child Magician Self Destruction]（on Dylan Thomas）。涪陵：*巴国文风*半年文学刊 1986 第 2 期。（文论）

（1986b）。〈谁；道理〉[Who; Reason]。北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1987a）。〈星期六下午〉[Saturday Afternoon]。北京：*中国作家文学双月刊* 1987 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1987b）。〈再见，夏天；家居〉[So Long, Summer; Home Residence]。北京：*诗刊* 1987 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1988）。*表达* [*Expression*]。桂林：漓江出版社。（诗集）

（1989a）。〈警告；牺牲品〉[A Warning; A Victim]。北京：*诗刊* 1989 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1989b）。〈琼斯敦；美人；献给曼杰斯塔姆；我歌唱生长的骨头；冬日的孩子〉[Jonestown; The Beauty; For Mandelstam; I Sing of Growing Bones; A Child of Winter]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1990a）。〈苏州纪事一年；往事；幸福；夏日读诗人传记〉[A Record of a Year in Suzhou; Past Affairs; Happiness; Reading the Annals of Poets in Summer]。Stockholm：*今天文学杂志* 1991 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1990b）。〈春日；饮酒人；踏青；望江南；祝愿〉[Spring Days; The Drinker; A Walk in the Country in Spring; Gazing South of the River; A Wish]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1990 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1991a）。〈骑手；流逝；种子；这寒冷值得纪念；教育；侧影；节日；祝愿；春日〉[The Rider; Passing; Seeds; This Cold is Worth

**Bai Hua 柏桦**

Remembering; Education; Silhouette; Holidays; A Wish; Spring Days]。广州：*花城文学双月刊* 1991 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1991b）。〈痛；牺牲品〉[Pain; A Victim]。香港：*今天文学杂志*，1991 第 3-4 期。（诗歌）

（1992a）。〈夏天，呵，夏天；纪念朱湘〉[Summer, Hey, Summer; In Memory of Zhu Xiang]。香港：*今天文学杂志*，1992 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1992b）。〈谈诗歌中的事件〉[Talking of Incidents in Poetry]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 1 期。（文论）Also at: (17/1/2003) http://www4.cca.gov.tw/poem/poem-02s-02s-01.asp?cno=15537

（1992c）。〈没有遮掩没有栏杆；草原也已死去〉[No Cover No Railing; The Prairie is Dead Too]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1992 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1994a）。〈**万夏**：1980-1990 宿疾与农事〉[Wan Xia: 1980-1990 Chronic Complaints and Agricultural Matters]。Cambridge, Mass.：*倾向文学杂志* 1994 总第 2 期。（文论）

（1994b）。〈想念大胡子〉[Remembering the Beard]。广州：*作品文学月刊* 1994 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1995）。〈河湾边的阿依古丽〉[Ayiguli at the River Bend]。北京：*诗刊* 1996 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1996a）。〈左边—毛泽东时代的抒情诗人〉[The Left Side – Lyric Poets of the Mao Zedong Era]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月 刊*连载 1996 第 1，2，3，4，5 期。（文艺禄）

（1996b）。〈棉花之歌；春之歌〉[Song of Cotton; Song of Spring]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1996 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1999）。*望气的人*[*A Man Who Watches the Air*]。台北：唐山出版社。（诗集）

（2001）。〈走了，就走了一点点〉[If You’re Going, Go Just a Little]。（文论）（13/1/2003）http://limitpoem.online.cq.cn/jxwk/jxwk-sxzj13.htm

（2002a）。〈**柏桦**访谈录：小诗中有乾坤〉[An Interview with **Bai Hua**: There’s a Universe in Short Poems]。(6/12/2002) http://newyouth.beidao-online.com/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=0719ma07

（2002b）。〈**柏桦**谈另一个人的生死观：死如酒〉[**Bai Hua** Talks About Another Person’s Views on Life and Death: Death Like Wine]。（21/1/2003）http://newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=xx0101

（2002c）。〈夏天还很远；等〉[Summer’s Still Far Away; etc.]。（诗歌，文论）(4/12/2002) http://newyouth.beidao-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=g1011029kn1

（2002d）。〈写作内心的困难〉。（对话）（1/8/2004）

**Bai Hua 柏桦**

http://www.southcn.com/lady/huati/face/200210080642.htm

（2002e）。*往事* [*Past Affairs*]。石家庄：河北教育出版社。（诗集）

（2002f）。〈《往事》自序〉[Preface to *Past Affairs*]。（1/8/2004）

http://www.tamen.net/subject/001.htm

（2002g）。*左边：毛泽东时代的抒情诗人*[*The Left Side – Lyric Poets of the Mao Zedong Era*]。（文艺禄）(3/14/2003)

http://newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=zuobian

（2003）。〈毛泽东与王勃〉[Mao Zedong and Wang Bo]。（文论）（3/14/2003）

http://newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=03014hn5

**Chen Xiaofan 陈小蘩**

（1988）。〈镜子里的陌生人；白猫“D”〉[The Stranger in the Mirror; The White Cat “D”]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1993）。*夏天，葡萄的浓荫里* [*Summer, In the Shade of Grapes*]。成都：四川文艺出版社。（诗集）

**Chen Xiaofan 陈小蘩, Jiang Lan 蒋蓝, Yuan Yong 袁勇, Chen Yaping 陈亚平**

（2002）。〈非非主义：以动词的姿态前进〉[Not-Not-ism: Advance in the Stance of Verbs]。（对话）

http://www.hywx.com/hywxview.asp?zp_id=3244 （8/1/2003）

**Deng Ken 邓垦**

（1994）。〈*野草诗选*后记〉[A Note after *The Weeds Poetry Collection*]。（12/11/2004）

http://www.epochtimes.com.au/gb/3/6/11/n327065.htm

（2000）。〈《野草》掠影〉[A Brief Glimpse at *Weeds*] 。（1/9/2004）

http://bjzc.org/bjs/bc/93/46

（2004a）。〈野草破土记〉[A Record of Weeds Breaking Through]。（14/11/2004）http://www.boxun.com/hero/lushan/24_1.shtml

（2004b）。〈《空山诗选》始末〉[The Whole Story of *The Empty Mountain Poetry Collection*]。（17/11/2004）

http://www.boxun.com/hero/lushan/95_1.shtml

**Deng Xiang 邓翔**

（2004）。〈邓翔教授的主页〉[Home Page of Professor Deng Xiang]。诗歌 [Poetry]：〈一个汉子（1982）；雨中（1982）；柳叶桉树的种子落在地上（1982）；故事（1983）；文论：在明净的日子里。。。1991《**赵野**诗选》序 （2003）[A Man; In the Rain; Willow Leaves and Eucalyptus Seeds Fall on the Ground; Story; Essay: <In Bright Days …> Preface to *The **Zhao Ye** Poetry Collection*]。（10/11/2004） http://web.cenet.org.cn/web/xdeng/

**Er Mao 二毛**

（1986a）。〈守灵〉[Keeping Watch on the Soul]。涪陵：*巴国文风*半年文学刊 1986 第 2 期。（诗歌）

**Er Mao 二毛**

（1986b）。〈赶时髦；离婚〉[Keeping Up With Fashions; Divorce]。北京：*诗刊* 1986 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1987a）。〈第一次约会；他和烤鸭〉[The First Date; Him and Roast Duck]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1987 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1987b）。〈灰色猫；前兆〉[A Grey Cat; Premonition]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1987c）。〈预卜；纯感觉；一种状态；另一种状态；毛玻璃；干什么呢；风景；异花圈〉[An Augur; Pure Feeling; A State; Another State; Ground Glass; What're You Doing; Scenery; A Strange Wreath]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 6 期。（诗歌）

（1988a）。〈愿望；为我们活着干杯；太阳出来红又红〉[A Desire; Here's To Us Living; The Sun Comes Out Redder and Redder]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1988b）。〈咒语〉[Curses]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1988 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1989）。〈你在诗里的夜里〉[You're in the Night of a Poem]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1989 第 3 期。（诗歌）

**Fei Ke 菲可**

（1986a）。〈棕榈之乡（二首）〉[The Home of Palm Trees]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1986b）。〈我感到灵魂已出窍〉[I Feel My Soul has Already Passed On]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 21 日。（诗歌）

（1986c）。〈「新感觉」宣言〉["New Sensation" Manifesto]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 21 日。（文论）

（1988）。〈没有隔壁只有母亲〉[No Next-Door Only Mother]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1990）。〈找回我的朋友〉[Finding Friends Again]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1990 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1991）。〈生活如静静的长河〉[Life Like a Quiet Long River]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1991 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1992）。〈晌午时分的海湾；惠安女；天堂〉[The Bay in the Afternoon; Girl of Huian; Heaven]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1992 第 2 期。（诗歌）

**Guo Liuhong 郭留红**

（1989）。〈在温暖的土坝上〉[On a Warm Earth Dam]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1989 第 3 期。（组诗 5 首）。

**Gou Mingjun 苟明君**

（1985）。〈书生；蜜月；生活；听雨〉[The Student; Honeymoon; Life; Listen to the Rain]。涪陵：*巴国文风*半年文学刊 1985 第 2 期。（组诗）

**Gou Mingjun 苟明君**

（1986a）。〈阁楼；疯人；印象；雨天；病室〉[A Garret; A Madman; Impressions; A Rainy Day; The Sickroom]。涪陵：*巴国文风*半年文学刊 1986 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1986b）。〈空气；书生；蜜月；生活；听雨〉[Air; The Student; Honeymoon; Life; Listen to the Rain]。北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 第 10 期。（组诗）

**Gou Mingjun 苟明君, Liao Yiwu 廖亦武, Ba Tie 巴铁, Li Yawei 李亚伟**

（1989）。〈先锋诗歌四人谈〉[A Four-way Conversation on Avant-garde Poetry]。长春：*作家文学月刊*，第 7 期 1989。

**He Xiaozhu 何小竹**

（1984）。〈安子〉[Ann]。兰州：*飞天文学月刊* 1984 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1985a）。〈牌局；一种语言；大红袍〉[A Game of Cards; A Kind of Language; A Big Red Robe]。涪陵：*巴国文风*年文学刊 1985 第 1 期（创刊号）。（诗歌）

（1985b）。〈草鱼；菖蒲；寺；老语〉[Grass Carp; Bulrushes; A Temple; Old Words]。涪陵：*巴国文风*半年文学刊 1985 第 2 期。（高原城：组诗）

（1986a）。〈蛮鱼；野麦〉[Fierce Fish; Wild Wheat]。涪陵：*巴国文风*半年文学刊 1986 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1986b）。〈鬼城〉[City of Ghosts]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1986 第 2 期。（组诗）

（1986c）。〈草神；羊皮鼓；桑之水；黑森林；黑米；挽歌〉[The God of Grass; A Goat-skin Drum; The Water of Mourning; A Black Forest; Black Rice; A Dirge]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1986 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1986d）。〈一种语言〉[A Kind of Language]。北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 第 10 期。（组诗）

（1987a）。〈古歌〉[An Ancient Song]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1987 第 2 期。（组诗）

（1987b）。〈鬼城〉[City of Ghosts]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1987 第 2 期。（组诗）

（1987c）。〈静坐；旅行；暗藏煤油；最后的梦境〉[Meditative Sitting; Travel; Hidden Kerosene; The Final Dreamscape]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 6 期。（诗歌）

（1988a）。〈鬼城之二〉[City of Ghosts No. 2]。达县：*巴山文学月刊* 1988 第 3 期。（组诗 4 首）

（1988b）。〈无物；大师〉[No Thing; A Great Master]。北京：*诗刊* 1988 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1988c）。〈节日〉[Holidays]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1988 第 10 期。（诗歌）

**He Xiaozhu 何小竹**

（1990）。〈永恒的光芒；西藏；早安，高更〉[The Radiance of Eternity; Tibet; Good Morning, Gauguin]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1990 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1991）。〈羊的话；鱼的话；芭茅的话〉[The Language of Sheep; The Language of Fish; The Language of Cogon grass]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1991 第 1 期。（第马着的幻想：组诗 3 首）

（1992a）。〈雪的乡村；雪中电报〉[Village of Snow; A Telegram in the Snow]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1992 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1992b）。〈内心的言辞〉[Words from the Heart]。成都：*四川文学月刊* 1992 第 6 期。（组诗 4 首）

（1992c）。〈有些泥泞，有些草梗；在田家喝茶〉[Some Mud, Some Stalks of Grass; Drinking Tea in the Fields]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1992 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1993）。〈做梦；爬上来的〉[Dreaming; Climbing Up]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1993 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1996a）。〈我试着用平常的语言；做爱；色达草原；少女巧巧；在跑马溜溜山上；川戏；机器喳喳叫；狄安娜；纸〉[I’m Trying to Use Normal Language; Making Love; Seda Prairie; The Girl Qiaoqiao; On a Mountain Where the Horses are Always Racing; Sichuan Opera; The Cries of Machinery; Diana; Paper]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1996 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1996b）。〈梦见苹果和鱼的安；葬礼上看见那只红公鸡的安；捉蚂蚁的人；一种语言；菖蒲；草；高谷的树；乡村墓园；我要栽一棵棕树；仍然是我；4474 航班；堆积阳光；在翠湖公园；圆通寺；在昆明听张宇光谈西藏；爬上来的〉[Ann Who Dreams of Apples and Fish; Ann Who Saw a Rooster at a Funeral; People Who Catch Ants; A Kind of Language; Bulrushes; Grass; Trees in an Elevated Valley; A Graveyard in the Countryside; I Want to Plant a Palm Tree; It’s Still Me; Flight 4474; Stocking Sunlight; At Cui Lake Park; The Yuantong Temple; Listening to Zhang Yuguang Talk About Tibet in Kunming; Climbing Up]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1996 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1996c）。〈我试着用平常的语言（1993）〉[I’m Trying to Use Normal Language]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1996 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1996d）。〈写诗的乐趣〉[The Joy of Writing Poetry]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1996 第 11 期。（文论）

（1996e）。〈在成都与诗友谈论李白；梅花还是菊花；山羊；马与马栅〉[Discussing Li Bai with Poetry Friends in Chengdu; Plum Blossoms or Chrysanthemums; A Mountain Goat; The Horse and the Hitching Post]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1996 第 12 期。（诗歌）

（1997a）。〈我与‘**非非**’〉[Me and ***Not-Not***]。（文论）(5/10/2002)

**He Xiaozhu 何小竹**

http://huaqiu.our263.com/cgi-bin

（1997b）。〈我与**非非**〉[Me and **Not-Not**]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1998 第 3 期。（文论）

（2000）。〈八十年代的阅读〉[Reading in the Eighties]。（文论）(22/10/2002) http://www.poemlife.com/PoetColumn/hexiaozhu

（2001）。〈**非非**资料（1）〉[**Not-Not** Materials]。（文论）(20/11/2002) http://wxz.our263.com/cgi-bin/index.dll?page5?webid

（2001）。〈潘金莲回忆录〉[The Memoirs of Pan Jinlian (the Golden Lotus)]。（小说/回忆录）(10/3/2003) http://huaqiu.www76.cn4e.com/shi/shigao/xz/panjinlian/1.html

（2002a）。〈加法与减法—诗集‘六个动词，或苹果’自序〉[Addition and Subtraction – Preface to the Poetry Collection *Six Verbs, Or An Apple*]。(18/12/2002) http://huaqiu.www76.cn4e.com/shi/hexiaozhu.htm

（2002b）。〈**刘涛**诗歌印象及点评〉[Impressions and Critiques of **Liu Tao**'s Poetry]。（文论）(6/5/2003) http://www.koopee.com/home/hexiaozhu/qt08.htm

（2002c）。*6 个动词，或苹果* [*Six Verbs, Or An Apple*]。石家庄：河北教育出版社。（诗集）

（2002d）。〈**何小竹**访谈/小郭〉[An Interview with **He Xiaozhu**]。(13/11/2002) http://www.tamen.net/magazine/002/1-3-8.htm

（2003）。〈话说**杨黎**〉[Speaking of **Yang Li**]。（文论）(1/10/2003) http://www.koopee.com/home/hexiaozhu/qt05.htm

（2004）。〈一边是灿，一边是烂〉（评**杨黎**的《灿烂》）[On One Hand Splendid, On The Other Extreme (A Critique of **Yang Li**'s *Splendor*)]。(10/5/2004) http://my.clubhi.com/bbs/660845/messages/60804.html

**Hong Ying 虹影**

（1991）。〈如何变成鱼的；桥梁；黑暗；瞬刻〉[How to Become a Fish; Bridges; Darkness; An Instant]。香港：*今天文学杂志*，1991 第 3-4 期。（诗歌）

（1995a）。〈恶习；三洞；轮盘赌；黑蜘蛛；玩物；厌恶〉[Bad Habits; Three Caves; Roulette; A Black Spider; A Toy; Disgust]。广州：*花城文学双月刊* 1995 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1995b）。〈回去；尾声；太阳落下的房子；旧木场〉[Return; Coda; A House of which the Sun Sets; An Old Lumber Yard]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1995 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1999）。*快跑，月食* [*Run Quick, Lunar Eclipse*]。台北：唐山出版社。（诗集）

（2002）。〈我为我的爱人写作〉[I Write For My Partner]。（访谈录/张涛）(17/12/2003) http://asp.6to23.com/nzsb

**Hu Dong 胡冬**

（1992a）。〈诗人之歌；圣诞节的黎明；H・D；折多三章〉[The Song of the Poet; Christmas Dawn; H.D.; Lots of Twists (3 poems)]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1992b）。〈阴沉的春天（1988/5）；夜的蜗牛篇（1992/9）；练习（1987/7）〉[An Overcast Spring; Snails at Night; Exercise]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1993）。〈赤橙黄绿青蓝紫，等〉[Red Orange Yellow Green Black Blue Purple]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1993 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1995）。〈海底两万里；引诱一个女子；鲁迅之死；黑耶稣〉[Twenty Thousand Leagues at the Bottom of the Sea; Seducing a Girl; The Death of Lu Xun; Black Jesus]。拉萨：*西臧文学双月刊* 1995 第 3 期。（诗歌）

**Jimulangge 吉木狼格**

（1986）。〈出门〉[Leaving Home]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 21 日。（诗歌）

（1993）。〈天花乱坠〉[A Fall of Flowers from Heaven]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1993 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1997）。〈我与**非非**〉[Me and **Not-Not**]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1998 第 3 期。（文论）

（2002a）。*静悄悄的左轮* [*The Silent Revolver*]。石家庄：河北教育出版社。（诗集）

（2002b）。〈《静悄悄的左轮》自序〉[Preface to *The Silent Revolver*]。(10/4/2002) http://www.tamen.net/subject.001.htm

**Jing Xiaodong 敬晓东**

（1986）。〈空白〉[A Blank]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1987）。〈远眺大山的影子是美丽的〉Gazing at Mountains in the Distance is Beautiful]。北京：*诗刊* 1987 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1988）。〈面向自己〉[Facing Myself]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 4 期。（文论）

（1990）。〈双重人格；美与我的界限；夫妻感情；梅；家庭中度过的日子〉[Split Personality; The Border Between Beauty and Me; Spousal Feeling; Plums; Days Passed at Home]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1990 第 4 期。（诗歌）

**Lan Ma 蓝马**

（1986）。〈环形树〉An Annular Tree]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 21 日。（诗歌）

（1990a）。〈可能的果园；少年之脸；雨季之二〉[A Possible Orchard; The Face of Youth; Rainy Season The Second]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1990 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1990b）。〈白杨，白杨；谁是枫叶，谁是松枝〉[Poplar, Poplar; Who's a

**Lan Ma 蓝马**

Maple Leaf, Who a Pine Needle]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1990 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1993a）。〈什么东西才不是梦；无垠的北方；芳香〉[So What is a Dream; The Limitless North; Fragrance]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1993 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1993b）。〈九月的情绪：纯洁；惊喜；晚风；在雪山上；献给我一朵美丽的花；田野〉[A September Mood; Purity; Surprise; On a Snowy Mountain; Give Me a Pretty Flower; Open Country]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1993 第 9 期。（组诗）

**Li Jing 李静**

（1983）。〈菊儿；紫罗兰〉[Chrysanthemums; Violets]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1983 第 1 期。（诗歌）

**Li Yawei 李亚伟**

（1985）。〈穷途〉[Endless Road]。涪陵：*巴国文风* 1985 半年文学刊第 1 期（创刊号）。（诗歌）

（1986a）。〈盲虎；困兽〉[The Blind Tiger; The Cornered Beast]。涪陵：*巴国文风*半年文学刊 1986 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1986b）。〈硬汉们〉[Hard Men]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1986 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1986c）。〈中文系〉[The Chinese Department]。合肥：*诗歌报* 1986，10 月 21 日。（诗歌）

（1986d）。〈**莽汉**宣言〉[The Macho Man Manifesto]。合肥：*诗歌报* 1986，10 月 21 日。（文论）

（1986e）。〈困兽〉[The Cornered Beast]。北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1986f）。〈苏东坡和他的朋友们〉[Su Dongpo and His Friends]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1984，1986）。〈**莽汉**信件〉[**Macho Man** Letters]。（**万夏**，**马松**，郭力家，**二毛**，**胡玉**，**李亚伟**）(20/11/2002) http://xwz.our263.com/cgi-bin/index.dll?page5?webid

（1987a）。〈高尔基经过吉依别克镇；十八岁；友情；旅行照片〉[Gorky Passes Through Jiyibieke Town; Eighteen; Friendship; Tourist Pictures]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1987 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1987b）。〈酒之路；夜酌；回家；古代朋友〉[The Road of Liquor; Night Drinking; Return Home; An Ancient Friend]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1987c）。〈在黄昏；世界拥挤；五月八号日记；庭院之中；南方的日子〉[At Sunset; Crowded World; May 8 Diary Entry; In the Courtyard; Southern Days]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 6 期。（诗歌）

**Li Yawei 李亚伟**

（1987d）。〈**莽汉**手段—**莽汉**诗歌回顾〉[Macho Man Methods – A Retrospective of Macho Man Poetry]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 6 期。（文论）

（1988a）。〈岛；陆地〉[Island; Land]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1988d）。〈我对诗的一些看法〉[Some of My Views on Poetry]。辽源：*关东文学* 1988 第 4 期。（文论）

（1988c）。〈峡谷酒店：世界拥挤；夜酌；酒聊；酒眠；酒店；我站着的时候；回家〉[Inn in the Valley; Crowded World; Night Drinking; Words in Drink; Drunken Sleep; The Inn; While I was Standing; Return Home]。长春: *作家文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（组诗）

（1989a）。〈河：界；客；塔；驿〉[The River: Boundaries; A Guest; A Pagoda; A Post Horse]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1989 第 3 期。（组诗，1988）

（1989b）。〈狂朋；怪侣；美人；战争〉[Crazy Friends; Strange Companion; The Beauty; War]。广州：*花城文学双月刊* 1989 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1989c）。〈第三届(1987-1988)“*作家*诗歌奖”获奖者的话〉[The Third “*Author* Poetry Prize” Winner’s Words]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 第 7 期。（文论）

（1989d）。〈美女和宝马；妖花；夏日的红枣；东渡；梦边的死；深杯；远海；渡船；好色；饿的诗；醉酒；血路；破碎的女子〉[The Beauty and the Precious Horse; A Bewitching Flower; The Red Date of Summer; Eastern Crossing; Death on the Edge of Dreams; Deep Cups; Distant Seas; The Ferry; Good Sex; Poem of Hunger; Drunk on Wine; Blood Road; A Shattered Woman]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1990a）。〈破碎的女人；小美人；远海；异乡女子；内心的花纹〉[A Shattered Woman; A Little Beauty; Distant Seas; A Girl From Elsewhere; Figures of the Heart]。广州：*花城文学双月刊* 1990 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1990b）。〈一个女孩可能像这样离开我们〉[A Girl Would Probably Leave Us Like This]。广州：*花城文学双月刊* 1990 第 1 期。（散文）

（1992a）。〈我们（1989/9）〉[We]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1992b）。〈流浪途中的‘**莽汉主义**’〉[“**Macho Man-ism**” on a Vagrant Path]。（文论）(20/11/2002)
http://xwz.our263.com/cgi-bin/index.dll?page5?webid

（1994a）。〈我们；秋收；大酒；天山叙事曲；自我〉[We; Autumn Harvest; Big Booze; Ballade of Tianshan Mountain; Self]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1994 第 2 期。（诗歌）

**Li Yawei 李亚伟**

（1994b）。〈怀念〉[Cherished Memory]。北京：*诗刊* 1994 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1996a）。〈英雄与泼皮〉[Heroes and Toughs]。天津：*诗探索* 1996 第 2 期。（文论）

（1996b）。〈狂朋；美人；红色岁月（18 首）〉[Wild Friends; The Beauty; The Red Years]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1996 第 3 期。（诗歌）

ed.（2001）。***莽汉主义****诗歌* [**Macho Man-ism** Poetry]。四川。（网上图书）(9/11/2002) http://www.xhere.net/wenzi/shige/manghan/index.htm)

（2002）。〈路不够走，女人不够用来爱〉[Not Enough Roads to Walk, Not Enough Women to Love]。（文论）(11/5/2003) http://www.52911.com/adult/woman/2002-06/090.htm

（2003a）。〈天上，人间〉[In Heaven, On Earth]。（文论）(20/10/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=714

（2003b）。〈**李亚伟**访谈录/**杨黎**〉[An Interview with **Li Yawei**]。(10/6/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=545

**Li Yawei 李亚伟, Gou Mingjun 苟明君, Liao Yiwu 廖亦武, Ba Tie 巴铁**

（1989）。〈先锋诗歌四人谈〉[A Four-way Conversation on Avant-garde Poetry]。长春：*作家文学月刊*，第 7 期 1989。

**Li Yao 李瑶**

（1986）。〈私奔〉[Elopement]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 11 期。（诗歌）

**Li Zhengguang 黎正光**

（1986）。〈夏雪；草甸〉[Summer Snow; Pasture Land]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 3 期。（诗歌）

**Liao Yiwu 廖亦武**

（1982）。〈约；啊！挖笋的人〉[The Date; A! Bamboo Shoot Diggers]。成都：*四川文学月刊* 1982 第 9 期.（诗歌）

（1983a）。〈我和儿子站在岸上〉[I and My Son Stand on the Riverbank]。成都: *四川文学月刊* 1983 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1983b）。〈祖国：儿子们的年代〉[Ancestral Land: The Age of the Sons]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1983 第 4 期。（组诗）

（1983c）。〈悼一位诗人〉[Mourning a Poet]。昆明: *山泉文学月刊* 1983 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1984a）。〈最后一次〉[The Last Time]。北京：*诗刊* 1984 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1984b）。〈大盆地；大高原；老人；神秘树〉[The Great Basin; The Great High Plateau; An Old Man; Tree of Mystery]。北京: *诗刊* 1984 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1985a）。〈曼纽尔的音乐之一〉[Emmanuelle's Music #1]。涪陵：*巴国文风*半年文学刊 1985 第 1 期。（创刊号）。（散文）

（1985b）。〈曼纽尔的音乐之二〉[Emmanuelle's Music #2]。涪陵：*巴国文风*半年文学刊 1985 第 2 期。（散文）

**Liao Yiwu 廖亦武**

（1985c）。〈人民〉[The People]。北京：*诗刊* 1985 第 6 期。（诗歌）

（**Arafat 阿拉法特**）（1986a）。〈巴蜀现代主义思潮〉[The Thought Tide of Modernism in Ba and Shu]。合肥：*诗报*，总第 47 期。（文论）

（1986b）。〈曼纽尔的音乐之二〉[Emmanuelle's Music #2]。福州：*诗*，1986 第 1 期。（散文）

（1986c）。〈大循环 / 上〉[The Great Cycle (Part 1)]。 胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1986 第 2 期．（诗歌）

（1986d）。〈"现代史诗性"质疑—谨以此文就教谢冕老师〉[Calling into Question "The Nature of Modern Epic Poetry" – with this essay respectfully asking the advice of Teacher Xie Mian]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 4 期。（文论）

（1986e）。〈在两个梦境之间；我们还原于世界；神交〉[Between Two Dreamscapes; We Return to the World; Mystical Intercourse]。北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 第 6 期．（散文诗）

（1986f）。〈异乡，橄榄或三毛之歌〉[A Song of a Different Land, Olives or San Mao]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 7 期。（散文）

（1986g）。〈贡嘎拉高原〉[The Gonggala Plateau]。北京：*青年文学月刊* 1986 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1986h）。〈大循环 / 下〉[The Great Cycle (Part 2)]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1986 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1986i）。〈情侣〉[Lovers]。北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1986j）。〈新的传统〉[The New Tradition]。北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 第 10 期。（文论）

（1986k）。〈情侣〉[Lovers]。合肥：*诗歌报* 1986，10 月 21 日。（诗歌）

（1986l）。〈**新传统主义**宣言〉[**New Traditionalism** Manifesto]。合肥：*诗歌报* 1986，10 月 21 日。（文论）

（1987a）。〈爱的梦；睡眠；深入〉[Dream of Love; Sleep; Deep Entry]。北京：*诗刊* 1987 第 1 期。（散文诗歌）

（1987b）。〈死城〉[The City of Death]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1987 第 1-2 期。（长诗）

（1988）。〈深夜，母亲活肖邦奏鸣曲〉[Late Night, Mother or a Chopin Sonata]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 6 期。（诗歌）

（1989a）。〈黄城〉[The City of Yellow]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 第 2 期。（长诗）

（1989b）。〈长廊〉[The Long Corridor]。上海：*上海文学* 1989 第 3 期。（散文诗 8 首，1985）

（1989c）。〈大盆地，我的保姆〉[The Great Basin, My Nanny]。北京：*诗刊* 1989 第 3 期。（诗歌）

**Liao Yiwu 廖亦武**

（1989d）。〈某月某日〉[A Day in a Month]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1989 第 5 期。（散文）

（1989e）。〈作家影集：**廖亦武**〉[Photos of an Author: **Liao Yiwu**]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 年第 9 期。（10 张照片）

（1989f）。〈曼纽尔的音乐之八〉[Emmanuelle's Music #8]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 年第 9 期。（散文）

（1990）。〈吹笛者〉[The Flutist]。北京：*诗刊* 1990 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1994a）。〈蔑视〉[A Show of Contempt]。Cambridge: *倾向文学杂志* 1994 总第 3-4 期。（文论）

（1994b）。〈我是一切天才的反面〉[I am the Opposite of all Genius]。香港：*开放杂志* 1994 第 6 期。（散文 8 章）

（1994c）。〈世界上没有不撒谎的孩子〉[There Are No Children In The World Who Don't Lie]。北京：*北京文学月刊* 1994 第 12 期。（散文 10 章）

（1995a）。〈安魂〉[Requiem for Souls]。Cambridge: *倾向* 1995 总第 5 期。（长诗）

（1995b）。〈美丽与死亡—献给飞飞，愿她的灵魂快乐：辞；遇；叶；海；界，病；亡〉Beauty and Death—For Fei-fei, Hoping Her Soul is Happy: Departure; Encounter; Leaves; The Sea; Boundaries; Illness; Death]。北京：*北京文学月刊* 1995 第 5 期。（散文诗）

（1996a）。〈我是一切天才的反面〉[I am the Opposite of all Genius]。香港：*开放杂志* 1996 第 6 期。（散文诗抄）

（1996b）。〈完整的黑暗〉[Total Darkness]。沈阳：*鸭绿江文学月刊* 1996 第 10 期。（散文）

（1996c）。〈巨匠：第四部〉[The Master Craftsman: Part 4]。沈阳：*鸭绿江文学月刊* 1996 第 11 期。（长诗）

（1998）。〈活法；隐痛；狱中除夕〉[A Way of Living; Secret Pain; New Year's Even in Prison]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1998 第 1 期。（诗歌）

ed.（1999）。*沉沦的圣殿：中国 20 世纪 70 年代地下诗歌遗照* [*The Sunken Temple: Remaining Snapshots of Underground Poetry in the 1970s in China*]。乌鲁木齐：新疆青少年出版社。

（2004）。*证词—为中国底层贱民代言* [*Living Testimonies – Stories of People Behind the Bars in China*]。New York：明镜出版社。(This is a version of Liao's 天劫：*活下去* 第四部 [Catastrophe: *Go On Living* Part 4, 2002。)

**Liao Yiwu 廖亦武**, **Peng Linxu 彭林绪**, ed. *巴国文风* [*The Literary Wind of Ba Country*]（文学半年刊创刊号, 第 2 期 1985，第 3，4 期 1986）。四川涪陵地区文化馆。

**Liao Yiwu 廖亦武, Gou Mingjun 苟明君, Ba Tie 巴铁, Li Yawei 李亚伟**

（1989）。〈先锋诗歌四人谈〉[A Four-way Conversation on Avant-garde Poetry]。长春：*作家文学月刊*，第 7 期 1989。

**Liu Tao 刘涛**

（1986）。〈音符『5』〉[Music Note 『5』]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1988a）。〈影子；又是绿灯；晶体；造访者〉[The Reflection; Another Green Light; Crystal; The Visitor]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1988 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1988b）。〈又是绿灯；外婆的痣；沉淀物〉[Another Green Light; Grandmother's Mole; Sediment]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1988c）。〈手写体〉[Hand-Written Form]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（组诗 6 首）

（1988d）。〈沉淀物；外婆的痣；正面〉[Sediment; Grandmother's Mole; A Facade]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1989a）。〈'女性诗歌'笔谈〉[A Written Conversation on "Women's Poetry"]。北京：*诗刊* 1989 第 6 期。（文论）

（1989b）。〈向南方与北方飞去；是谁坐在其中；叶这个女子〉[Fly to the North and the South; Who's Sitting Amid it All; This Woman Ye]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1989 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1993）。〈献诗；五月和十月；音乐〉[Gift of Poetry; May and October; Music]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1993 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1995a）。〈赞美；芳香的山；小女孩；结合；去爱〉[Praise; Fragrant Hills; Little Girl; Coming Together; Go Love]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1995 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1995b）。〈圣心；我们的母亲；一篮子玫瑰花〉[Sacred Heart; Our Mother; A Basket of Roses]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1995 第 9 期。（诗歌）

**Ma Song 马松**

（1986-1990）。〈亡；想；杀进夏天；醉；约；远；游戏；日日飘；垮；欢乐；花；好时光；光阴在风编的字典上下班；儿语〉[Death; Thought; Rush Into Summer; Drunk; Date; Distance; Games; Drift On Day By Day; Collapse; Joy; Flowers; Good Times; Time Goes Off Shift on the Dictionary Written by Wind; Children's Talk]。（诗歌）(2/7/2003) http://www.xiangpi.net/web/xf/xzwk/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=155

（1987）。〈杀进夏天〉[Rush Into Summer]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 6 期。（诗歌）

（1988a）。〈在冬天〉[In Winter]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1988b）。〈美姑汉子〉[Beautiful Girls and Men]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 6 期。（诗歌）

**Ma Song 马松**

（1989）。〈情诗选章〉[Selections of Love Poems]。广州：*花城文学双月刊* 1989 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1991a）。〈好时光；欢乐；想；他；约；游戏；儿语；花；远〉[Good Times; Joy; Thought; Him; Date; Games; Children's Talk; Flowers; Distance]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1991 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1991b）。〈劳动的人〉[Working People]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1991 第 8 期。（诗歌）

**Ouyang Jianghe 欧阳江河**

（1982）。〈石佛〉[Stone Buddha]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1982 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1983）。〈履历〉[Curriculum Vitae]。贵州：*山泉文学月刊* 1983 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1985）。〈喷泉；话语；你也会〉[A Fountain; Language; You Can Too]。北京：*人民文学* 1985 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1986a）。〈夏天傍晚；母亲和我〉[A Summer Evening; Mother and I]。北京：*诗刊* 1986 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1986b）。〈群山上的云；水墨的空白；阳光；我得重听贝多芬；白桦〉。[Clouds Over the Mountains; The Emptiness of Ink Wash; I Must Listen Again to Beethoven; White Birch]. 胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1986 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1986c）。〈交谈；室内；雨滴；月光〉[A Chat; In the Room; Raindrops; Moonlight]。北京：*诗刊* 1986 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1986d）。〈悬棺：第三章—袖珍花园〉[The Suspended Coffin: Part 3　A Pocket-size Flower Garden]。北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 第 10 期。（长诗）

（1986e）。〈少女之死〉[Death of a Young Girl]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 21 日。（诗歌）

（1986f）。〈日暮远足〉[The Day is Waning the Road is Long。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 24 日。（诗歌）

（1986g）。〈插曲〉[Interlude]。*星星诗刊* 1986 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1987）。〈汉英之间；玻璃工厂〉[Between Chinese and English; The Glass Factory]。北京：*诗刊* 1987 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1988a）。〈也谈口语诗〉[More On Colloquial-language Poetry]。合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 3 月 6 日， 总第 84 期。（文论）

（1988b）。〈从三点视点看今日中国诗坛〉[Looking at China's Poetry Scene from Three Points of View]。北京：*诗刊* 1988 第 6 期。（文论）

（1988c）。〈整个天空都是海水；风暴在内心存留下去最刺骨的火焰是海水；孩子的海多么简单〉[The Entire Sky is Seawater; The Most Piercing Flame Left in the Heart by the Storm is Seawater; The Sea

**Ouyang Jianghe 欧阳江河**

of a Child is so Simple]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1988d）。〈公开的独白；手枪；纸上的秋天；鱼变〉[A Public Monologue; The Handgun; Autumn on Paper; The Transformation of a Fish]。北京：*诗刊* 1988 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1988e）。〈金斯伯格之恋〉[A Love of Ginsberg]。西安：*长安文学月刊* 1988 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1989a）。〈智慧的骷髅之舞；邓南遮的金鱼；一天；我们〉[The Dance of the Skeleton of Wisdom; The Goldfish of Deng Nanzhe; All Day; Us]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1989b）。〈最后的幻像：草莓；花瓶，月亮；落日；黑鸦；蝴蝶；玫瑰；雏菊；彗星；秋天；初雪；老人；书卷〉[The Final Mirage: A Strawberry; Flower Vase, Moon; Sunset; Blackbirds; Butterflies; Roses; Chrysanthemum Buds; Comets; Autumn; First Snow; Oldsters; Books]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1989 第 11 期。（组诗）

（1991）。〈墨水瓶；豹微〉[A Bottle of Ink; The Mark of the Leopard]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1991 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1992a）。〈墨水瓶〉[A Bottle of Ink]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1992b）。〈拒绝；春天；晚餐；梨子〉[Refusal; Spring; Dinner]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1992c）。〈阅览室〉[The Reading Room]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 4 期。（组诗）

（1993a）。〈星期日的钥匙；电梯中；秋天，听已故女大提琴家 Du Pre 演奏；白日美人〉[The Key to Sunday; In an Elevator; Autumn; Listening to the Cello Player Du Pre Play; A Daytime Beauty]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1993 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1993b）。〈89 后国内诗歌写作—本土气质，中年特征与知识分子身份〉[Post-’89 Poetry Writing in China – Native Land Qualities, Middle Age Characteristics, and the Status of the Intellectual]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1993 第 3 期。（文论）

（1993c）。〈关于市场经济的虚构笔记；3 首〉[Fictional Notes on the Market Economy]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1993 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1993d）。〈另一种阅读〉[Another Kind of Reading]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1993 第 4 期。（文论）

（1993e）。〈空中小站；白日美人〉[A Station in the Air; A Daytime Beauty]。广州：*花城文学双月刊* 1993 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1994）。〈纸币，硬币〉[Cash, Change]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1994 第 2 期。（组诗 2 首）

**Ouyang Jianghe 欧阳江河**

（1995a）。〈哈姆雷特；豹微；异乡人的故乡〉[Hamlet; The Mark of the Leopard; The Homeland of an Alien]。台北：*今天文学杂* 1995 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1995b）。〈我们的睡眠，我们的饥饿〉[Our Sleep, Our Hunger]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1995 第 2 期。（组诗 13 首）

（1995c）。〈读北岛近作《旧地》〉[Reading Bei Dao's Recent Work <An Old Place>]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1995 第 3 期。（文论）

（1995d）。〈风筝火鸟；哈姆雷特；去雅典的鞋子；男高音的春天〉[A Firebird Kite; Hamlet; Shoes Going to Athens; The Spring of a Tenor]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1995 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1997a）。〈深度时间：通过倒置的望远镜〉[Deep Time: Through an Inverted Telescope]。（文论）(17/1/2003) http://www4.cca.gov.tw/poem/poem-02s-02s-01.asp?cno=15511

（1997b）。*谁去谁留* [*Who Goes Who Remains*]。长沙：湖南文艺出版社。（诗歌/文论集）

（2001）。*站在虚构这边* [*Standing on This Side of Fabrication*]。北京：三联书店。（文论集）

（2002）。〈世界这样，诗歌却那样〉[The World is This Way, But Poetry is That]。（文论）(6/12/2002) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=262

**Pan Jiazhu 潘家柱, Yang Yuanhong 杨远宏**（1989）。〈废墟，战斗，诗何为—从几位四川诗人的作品开始〉[Ruins, Battles, What's Poetry Doing – Starting From the Work of Some Sichuan Poets]（**廖亦武，李亚伟，翟永明，宋渠-宋炜，二毛，雨田，郭留红，钟鸣，欧阳江河**）。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1989 第 9 期。（文论）

**San Lang (Pan Jiazhu) 三郎（潘家柱）**

（1988）。〈口语化：当代诗探索的双重迷误〉[Colloquialization: The Double Error of Contemporary Poetical Exploration]。合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 3 月 6 日，总第 84 期。

**Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏**

（1985）。〈临考之前〉[Just Before the Test]。兰州：*飞天文学月刊* 1985 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1986a）。〈我在等一个人 想不起她的名字〉[I'm Waiting for Someone, Can't Think of Her Name]。北京：*诗刊* 1986 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1986b）。〈黄土地：父亲；这条路〉[Yellow Earth; Father; This Road]。昆明：*山花文学月刊* 1986 第 9 期。（组诗选 2 首）

（1986c）。〈桥牌名将邓小平〉[Famous Bridge General Deng Xiaoping]。北京：*诗刊* 1986 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1986d）。〈门；卡尔・马克思〉[Doors; Karl Marx]。深圳：*深圳青年报*

**Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏**

1986 年 10 月 23 日。（诗歌）

（1986e）。〈**大学生诗派**宣言〉[University Student Poetry School Manifesto]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 23 日。（文论）

（1986f）。〈关于大学生诗报的出版及其它〉[About the University Student Poetry Paper's Publication and Other Things]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 24 日。（诗歌）

（1986g）。〈桥牌名将邓小平；人到中年〉[Famous Bridge General Deng Xiaoping; At Middle Age]。昆明：*山花文学月刊* 1986 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1987a）。〈月儿弯弯照高楼〉[A Bent Moon Shines on a Tall Building]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1987b）。〈宗教；小品；生活〉[Religion; An Essay; Live]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 6 期。（诗歌）

（1988a）。〈现状；生命；面庞；形势〉[A Current Situation; Life; A Visage; Circumstances]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1988b）。〈从 A 到 J：我的几点想法〉[From A to J: A Few Thoughts of Mine]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（文论）

（1988c）。〈门〉[Doors]。北京：*名作欣赏双月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1988d）。〈歌唱〉[Singing]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1988e）。〈四月；生日；生命；等待；杜甫〉[April; Birthday; Life; Waiting; Du Fu]。北京: *人民文学月刊* 1988 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1988f）。〈现状；读书；生命；歌唱〉[A Current Situation; Studying; Life; Singing]。胡和霍特: *草原文学月刊* 1988 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1990）。〈我的鸟儿〉[My Bird]。 成都：*星星诗刊* 1990 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1991a）。〈召唤；老虎〉[The Summons; The Tiger]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1991 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1991b）。〈程宝林诗歌的品质〉[The Qualities of Cheng Baolin's Poetry]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1991 第 2 期。（文论）

**Shi Guanghua 石光华**

（1983）。〈不显眼的小星〉[An Inconspicuous Little Star]。成都：*四川文学月刊* 1983 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1985a）。〈库尔伦夜歌〉[Song of Kuerlun Nights]。昆明：*山花文学月刊* 1985 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1985b）。〈那是永恒的时辰〉[That is an Eternal Moment]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1985 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1985c）。〈七月，在南方〉[June, in the South]。昆明：*山花文学月刊* 1985 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1985d）。〈没有沉默的北方〉[The Never Silent North]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1985 第 10 期。（诗歌）

**Shi Guanghua 石光华**

（1986a）。〈属于北方的。。。〉[Of the North … ]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1986 第 2 期。（组诗）

（1986b）。〈月墟；暗香〉[A Moonlit Ruin; A Secret Scent]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1986c）。〈望秋；期待〉[Awaiting Autumn; Expectations。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1986d）。〈结束之遁；雪之下；落夜；呓雪；月声；向西之树；远秋〉。[The Escape from an Ending; Beneath the Snow; Nightfall; Shivering Snow; The Sound of the Moon; Trees Leaning West; Distant Autumn]]北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 第 10 期。（组诗）

（1986e）。〈暮泱；疏影〉[The Evening Spreads; Scattered Shadows]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 24 日。（诗歌）

（1987）。〈瓶花；镜子〉[Flowers in a Vase; Mirror]。北京：*诗刊* 1987 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1988a）。〈看见真实 – 中国诗歌现象之三〉[Seeing Reality – Phenomena of Chinese Poetry #3]。 合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 2 月 6 日，总第 82 期。（文论）

（1988b）。〈语言内外 – 中国诗歌现象谈〉[The Ins and Outs of Language – On Phenomena of Chinese Poetry]。成都：*星星月刊* 1988 年第 7 期。（文论）

（1988c）。〈面对诗歌大浪潮〉[Facing the Great Tide of Poetry]。北京：*诗刊* 1988 第 10 期。（文论）

（1991）。〈江雪；春晓；登鹳鹤楼；静夜思〉[River Snow; The Break of Spring; Climbing Stork Tower; Thoughts on a Quiet Night]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1991 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1994a）。〈写作的背景—语言与文化处境的个人思考〉[The Background to Writing – individual Thoughts on the Plight of Language and Culture]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1994 第 1，2 期。（文论）

（1994b）。〈时间；桔子；你是唯一的。。。；冬夜归者〉[Time; A Tangerine; You’re the Only One … ; Returning on a Winter Night]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1994 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（2002）。〈天下哥们一生酒〉[A Life of Booze for All Buddies Under Heaven]。（文论）(30/4/2003) http://tyfoweekly.com/weekly/food/block/html/2003011700021.html

**Shi Guanghua 石光华, Yang Yuanhong 杨远宏**（1986）。〈现代诗歌的沉抑和忧虑〉[The Gloom and Anxieties of Modern Poetry]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 9 期。（文论）

**Shi Guanghua 石光华**, **Sun Wenbo 孙文波**, Mu Fu 木斧, Ye Chao 叶潮, **Zhai Yongming 翟永明**, **Yang Yuanhong 杨远宏**（1994）。〈新诗现状与现状一席谈〉[A Talk About the Present Circumstances of New Poetry and Present Circumstances]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1994 第 8 期。（对话）

**Song Qu 宋渠 & Song Wei 宋炜**

（1984）。〈海上音乐会；渔村的孩子〉[Concert at Sea; Child of a Fishing Village]。昆明：*山花文学月刊* 1984 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1985a）。〈大佛〉[The Great Buddha]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1985 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1985b）。〈雨季：走出小屋的童年〉[Rainy Season; Childhood Walking Out of a Little Room]。昆明：*山花文学月刊* 1985 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1985c）。〈河流〉[Rivers]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1985 第 9 期。（散文诗）

（1985d）。〈二月的孩子〉[A Child of the Second Month]。合肥：*安徽文学月刊* 1985 第 12 期。（诗歌）

（1986a）。〈邀游；南方〉[Invitation to Travel; The South]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1986b）。〈少小离家〉[Leaving Home When Small]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1986c）。〈颂词〉[A Eulogy]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1986 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1986d）。〈大曰是：第四章 涉川〉[The Great Saying of Yes: Part 4]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 24 日。（诗歌选段）

（1987a）。〈镜子世界〉[World of Mirrors]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1987b）。〈长途客车〉[Long-Distance Buses]。北京：*诗刊* 1987 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1987c）。〈鸭蹼〉[Duck Webbing]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 4 期。（小说）

（1987d）。〈有月亮和水和女儿的诗〉[A Poem with the Moon and Water and a Girl]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 6 期。（组诗 5 首）

（1988a）。〈象：五行；生育；起源；空白；沉溺〉[Appearances: The Five Elements; Birth; Origins; Emptiness; Indulgence]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1988 第 3 期。（组诗）

（1988b）。〈红棕榈〉[Red Palm Trees]。达县：*巴山文学月刊* 1988 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1988c）。〈歌；想的时候；故事〉[Song; When Remembering; Story]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1989）。〈家语〉[Home Words]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1989 第 3 期。（组诗 10 首）

（1992）。〈富贵山水；留备过冬的诗〉[Riches and Honors Mountains and Waters; Poetry Laid By for Winter]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1992 第 1 期。（诗歌）

**Song Wei 宋炜**（2003）。〈酒事种种〉[Affairs of Wine]。（文论）(23/4/2003)
http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?id=04023hn4&db=wenxue

**Sun Wenbo 孙文波**

（1986a）。〈少女陆梅的故事〉[The Story of the Girl Lu Mei]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 24 日。

（1986b）。〈爱情的终结〉[The End of Love]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1986c）。〈十四行诗（1，2，3）[Sonnets]〉。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 12 期。（诗歌）

（1987a）。〈春天〉[Spring]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1987 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1987b）。〈春天〉[Spring]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1987 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1988）。〈摧毁玻璃〉[Smash Glass]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1989a）。〈摧毁玻璃〉[Smash Glass]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1989 第 3 期．（诗歌）

（1989b）。〈蒲草〉[Cattails]。北京：*诗刊* 1989 第 12 期。（诗歌）

（1991）。〈暮色沉重；收歌；华阴古堡；花园〉[Heavy Twilight; Harvest Song; An Ancient Castle Shaded by Flowers; Flower Garden]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1991 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1993）。〈新闻图片〉[Pictures in the News]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1993 第 10 期．（诗歌）

（1993d）。〈语言带着肉体向上升〉[Language Carries the Body Up]。（文论）(20/11/2002)
http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu/conshow.php

（1994a）。〈散步：给**肖开愚**〉[A Stroll: For **Xiao Kaiyu**]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1994 第 1 期。（组诗）

（1994b）。〈聊天和搬家〉[Chatting and Moving House]。Cambridge: *倾向文学杂志* 1994 第 3-4 期合刊。（组诗两首）

（1994c）。〈祖辈〉[Ancestors]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1994 第 4 期。（长诗）

（1995）。〈我看见〉[I Saw]。Cambridge：*倾向文学杂志* 1995 总第 5 期。（散文 22 章）

（1996a）。〈一致〉[Identical]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1996 第 2 期。（组诗）

（1996b）。〈笔记*几个问题〉[Notes * Some Questions]。Cambridge: *倾向文学杂志* 1996 总第 7-8 期。（文论）

（1997a）。〈与物质主义对话〉[A Conversation with Materialism]。北京：*北京文学月刊* 1997 第 2 期。（文论）

（1997b）。〈写作：对相关问题的解释〉[Writing: Explanations of Related Problems]。（文论）(20/11/2002)
http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu/conshow.php

**Sun Wenbo 孙文波**

（1998）。〈我的诗歌观〉[My View of Poetry]。天津：*诗探索* 1998 第 4 期。（文论）

（1999c）。〈我理解的 90 年代：个人写作，叙事及其他〉[The Nineties as I Understand Them: Individual Writing, Narrative and Other Things]。天津：*诗探索* 1999 第 2 期。（文论）

（1999b）。〈论争中的思考〉[Thoughts During Polemic]。天津：*诗探索* 1999 第 4 期。（文论）

（1999a）。〈《**九十年代**》及《**反对**》〉[***The Nineties*** and ***Against***]。（文论）(6/12/2002) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=10

（2000a）。〈历史阴影的显现〉[The Appearance of the Shadow of History]。天津：*诗探索* 2000 第 3-4 期。（文论）

（2000b）。〈上苑札记：一份与诗歌有关的问题提纲〉（1）[Notes From the Garden: An Outline of Problems with Poetry]。（文论）(19/11/2002) http://www.poemlife.com/front/front_8/swb.htm

（2000c）。〈上苑札记：读诗〉[Notes From the Garden: Reading Poetry]。（文论）(12/11/2002) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu/conshow.php

（2000d）。〈小论**万夏**〉[A Brief discourse on **Wan Xia**]。（文论）(20/11/2002) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu/conshow.php

（2001a）。***孙文波****的诗* [***Sun Wenbo****'s Poetry*]。北京：人民文学出版社。（诗集）

（2001b）。〈回顾 – 诗歌的可能性〉[A Look Back: The Possibilities of Poetry]。（文论）(24/9/2003) http://www.be-word-art.com.cn/no2/document4.htm

（2002a）。〈只要踏实，只要。。。。。〉[If Only Free of Anxiety, If Only … ]。（文论）(20/11/2002) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu/conshow.php

（2002b）〈中国诗歌的‘中国性’〉[The "Chineseness" of Chinese Poetry]。（文论）(30/4/2002) http://www.be-word-art.com.cn/no6/document9.htm

（2003a）。〈上苑札记：断想〉[Notes From the Garden: Disjointed Thoughts]。（文论）(25/6/2003) http://newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=06025hn4

（2003b）。〈生活：解释的背景〉[Life: Explication's Background]。（文论）(30/4/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=508

（2003c）。〈诗歌之事无大小〉[There is No Large or Small About Matters of Poetry]。（采访；木朵）(1/9/2003) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forum?ID=31&msgID=2147483549

**Sun Wenbo 孙文波**
（2003d）。〈同意臧棣的说法，我的一点意见（有关北岛访谈）〉[Agreeing with Zang Di's Comments, My Opinion (Concerning an Interview with Bei Dao)]。（文论）(19/2/2003)
http://newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=0302019kn10
（2003e）。〈我读切·米沃什〉[I Read Czeslaw Milosz]。（文论）(4/6/2003)
http://newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=0602hn2
（2004a）。〈从地下到地上〉[From Underground to Above-Ground]。（文论）(21/7/2004)
http://www.poemlife.com:9001/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=982
（2004b）。〈答《南方都市报》记者陆勇平问〉[Answering Questions from the *Southern Municipality Paper* Reporter Lu Yongping]。(7/1/2004)
http://www.poemlife.com:9001/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=784
（2004c）。〈给某 X 的一封信〉[A Letter to X]。（文论）(2/8/2004)
http://www.poemlife.com:9001/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=955 (2004/08/02)
（2004d）。〈语言民族主义〉[Linguistic Nationalism]。（文论）(5/3/2004)
http://www.be-word-art.com.cn/no17/document7.htm (2004-3-5)
（ a ）。〈修辞的胜利〉[The Victory of Rhetoric]。（文论）(20/11/2002)
http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu/conshow.php
（ b ）。〈也来谈谈‘可能性’的意义及其他〉[Also Talking about the Significance of "Possibility" and Other Matters]。（文论）(12/11/2002)
http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu/conshow.php

**Sun Wenbo 孙文波**, Mu Fu 木斧, Ye Chao 叶潮, **Shi Guanghua 石光华**, **Zhai Yongming 翟永明**, **Yang Yuanhong 杨远宏**（1994）。〈新诗现状与现状一席谈〉[A Talk About the Present Circumstances of New Poetry and Present Circumstances]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1994 第 8 期。（对话）

**Sun Wenbo 孙文波**, Zang Di 臧棣, **Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚** ed.（1999）。*语言：形式的命名 – 中国诗歌评论* [*Language: The Naming of Forms – Chinese Poetry and Criticism*]。北京：人民文学出版社

**Sun Wenbo 孙文波**, Zang Di 臧棣, **Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚** ed.（2000）。*从最小的可能性开始 – 中国诗歌评论* [*Starting From The Smallest Possibility – Chinese Poetry and Criticism*]。北京：人民文学出版社。

**Sun Wenbo 孙文波**, Zang Di 臧棣, **Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚** ed.（2002）。*激情与责任：中国诗歌评论* [*Enthusiasm and Responsibility – Chinese Poetry and Criticism*]。北京：人民文学出版社。

**Sun Wenbo 孙文波**，Bu Yongtao 布咏涛，Huzi 胡子，etc.（2003）。〈与男诗人讨论女性主义〉[Discussing Women's Poetry with Male Poets]。(20/6/2003)
http://newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=06020hn5

**Tang Danhong 唐丹鸿**

（1993）。〈清洁日：喂乌鸦的人；从梨子到蝴蝶；看不见的玫瑰的袖子拭拂着玻璃窗〉[Grave Cleaning Day: People Feeding Crows; From Pears to Butterflies; The Sleeve of an Invisible Rose Brushes the Window]。Cambridge:*倾向文学杂志* 1994 总第 2 期。（诗歌）

（2002a）。〈童年有趣的故事。。。〉[An Interesting Story from Childhood]。（文论）(9/1/2003) http://www.kafkabookshop.com/jilupian/jlp2/j121.htm

（2002b）。〈我生命中的一个象征 – 答王艾，宋逖的书面访谈〉[A Symbol in My Life – A Conversation on Paper with Wang Ai and Song Di]。（谈**翟永明**）(26/2/2003) http://kafkabookshop.com/shige/sgl/zym.htm

（2003a）。*X 光的，甜蜜的夜* [*A Night of Sweetness and X-Rays*]。（诗集）(19/12/2003) http://www.heilan.com/tandanhong/

**Tang Yaping 唐亚平**

（1984）。〈田园曲〉[A Pastoral Tune]。北京：*诗刊* 1984 第 7 期。（组诗）

（1986a）。〈黑色沙漠：黑夜（序诗）；黑色沼泽；黑色眼泪；黑色犹豫；黑色金子；黑色洞穴；黑色睡裙；黑色子夜；黑色石头；黑夜（跋诗）〉[The Black Desert: Black Night (Prefatorial Poem); The Black Swamp; Black Tears; Black Hesitation; Black Gold; The Black Cave; The Black Nightgown; Black Midnight; Black Stone; The Black Night (Poem as Postscript))。浙江省椒江市文化馆：*现代诗歌报* 1986 年 3 月。（组诗 10 首）

（1986b）。〈忍耐着〉[Enduring]。北京：*诗刊* 1986 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1986c）。〈黑色睡裙；黑色石头〉[The Black Nightgown; Black Stone]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 24 日。（诗歌）

（1986d）。〈谈谈我的生活方式：关于“黑色沙漠”〉[Talking about My Life Style: About “The Black Desert”]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 24 日。（文论）

（1986e）。〈自言自语〉[Talking to Myself]。北京：*诗刊* 1986 第 12 期。（诗歌）

（1987a）。〈一百朵玫瑰〉[One Hundred Roses]。北京：*诗刊* 1987 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1987b）。〈我如此孤寂才如此独立；和你唠唠〉[Because I’m So Lonely I’m So Independent; Nattering With You]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 6 期。（诗歌）

（1988）。〈死亡的表演〉[A Performance of Death]。西安：*长安文学月刊* 1988 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1989）。〈主妇；镜子；走神的正午〉[The Hausfrau; The Mirror; An Absent-Minded Noontime]。北京：*诗刊* 1989 第 6 期。（诗歌）

**Tang Yaping 唐亚平**

（1992）。*月亮的表情* [*An Expression of the Moon*]。沈阳：沈阳出版社。（诗集）

（1993）。〈形而上的风景〉[Metaphysical Scenery]。北京：*诗刊* 1993 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1994a）。〈我因为爱你而成为女人〉[Because I Love You I Became a Woman]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 1 期。（文论）

（1994b）。〈寻找镜子；白果的宝贝；懒散的瓶；市井〉[Looking for a Mirror; A Darling of the Gingko-Nut; A Lazy Bottle; The Market]。北京：*青年文学月刊* 1995 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1995）。〈侠女秋瑾；才女薛涛；美女西施〉[The Female Knight-Errant Qiu Jin; The Female Genius Xue Tao; The Belle of the West Shi Clan]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1995 第 9 期。（诗歌）

**Wan Xia 万夏**

（1986）。〈红瓦〉[Red Tiles]。北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1987）。〈酒狂〉[Booze Hound]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 10 期。（小说）

（1988）。〈蜘蛛；一个诗人的基本服饰；脸相；诗人无饭；圣女之夜；渡湖〉[Spider; The Essential Dress of a Poet; Facial Looks; No Food for Poets; A Night of Saintly Women; Lake-Crossing]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1989）。〈雪中的镜子；农事；黄桃；新丧；客〉[A Mirror in the Snow; Agricultural Matters; Yellow Peaches; A Recent Death; The Guest]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1989 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1990）。〈蝴蝶；铁皮〉[A Butterfly; An Iron Skin]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1994）。〈丧〉[Mourning]。Cambridge, Mass.：*倾向文学杂志* 1994 总第 2 期。（小说）

（1995）。〈时间 1988：空气，皮肤和水（三章）〉[Time 1988: Air • Skin and Water]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1995 第 11 期。（组诗）

**Wan Xia 万夏**, **Xiaoxiao 潇潇**, ed.

（1993）。*中国现代诗编年史：后朦胧诗全集*（上， 下卷）[*Collected Post-Misty Poems: A Chronicle of Chinese Modern Poetry*]。成都：四川教育出版社。

**Xiao An 小安**

（1989a）。〈从上边垂下来一根绳子；早起的尼姑；道姑〉[A Rope Hanging Down From Above; The Early-Rising Buddhist Nun; The Daoist nun]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1989b）。〈阳光一颗一颗〉[Sunshine Piece by Piece]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1989 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（2002b）。*种烟叶的女人* [*A Woman Who Plants Tobacco*]。石家庄：河北教

**Xiao An 小安**

育出版社。（诗集）

（2002c）。〈惟有写诗〉[There's Only Poetry Writing]。（文论）(27/10/2003) http://www.tamen.net/subject/001.htm

**Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚**

（1986a）。〈哭丧婆；作者附记〉[An Old Woman Crying About Death; Appended Note from the Author]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 3 期。（诗歌与文论）

（1986b）。〈以诗的名义 – 从《星星》流派诗专号谈起〉[In The Name Of Poetry – Talking About the Special Edition of *Stars* on Group Poetry]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 6 期。（文论）

（1986c）。〈自己〉[Myself]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1986d）。〈宿命论者；我相信；往昔〉[A Fatalist; I Believe; In Bygone Days]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1986e）。〈岸上的船〉[Boat on the Riverbank]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1986 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1986f）。〈沉船〉[The Sunken Boat]。北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 第 10 期。（小说）

（1986g）。〈车祸〉[Traffic Accident]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 24 日。（诗歌）

（1986h）。〈无派之派〉[A Group With No Group]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 24 日。（文论）

（1986i）。〈藏族女人〉[A Tibetan Woman]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 12 期。（诗歌）

（1987）。〈真诚和宽恕 – 记魏志远〉[Sincerity and Forgiveness – Remembering Wei Zhiyuan]。北京：*诗刊* 1987 第 7 期。（文论）

（1988a）。〈心灵问题〉[A Problem of the Soul]。 合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 1 月 21 日，总第 81 期。（文论）

（1988b）。〈一个人，一个故事；叙小径的花园；在黑暗中；从 1987 十一月 29 日看 1986 十一月 29 日；对将来的几行诗；死亡之诗（一）；通达街 31 号；三人〉[One Person, One Story; Narrating the Footpath's Flower Garden; In Darkness; Looking at 29 November 1986 From 29 November 1987; Facing Future Lines of Poetry; Poems on Death; Tongda Street No. 31; Three People]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1988c）。〈三段话〉[Three Statements]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（文论）

（1988d）。〈汉人；父；我〉[The Han People; Father; Me]。北京：*中国作家文学双月刊* 1988 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1988e）。〈太阳〉[The Sun]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1988 第 5 期。（诗歌）

**Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚**

（1988f）。〈炼丹〉[Refining Cinnabar]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1988 第 6 期。（小说）

（1988g）。〈水〉[Water]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1988 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1988h）。〈死亡之诗〉[Poems on Death]。西安：*长安文学月刊* 1988 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1988i）。〈汉人〉[The Han People]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1988 第 10 期。（组诗）

（1988j）。〈泰—组诗‘汉人’选章〉[<The Han People> Selected from the Sequence <The Great>]。北京：*诗刊* 1988 第 11 期。（组诗 5 首）

（1989a）。〈中国第二诗界〉[China’s Second World of Poetry]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 第 7 期。（文论）

（1989b）。〈海上花园 – 献给南方的爱人〉[Flower Garden on the Sea – For My Southern Partner]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1989 第 10 期。（组诗 22 首）

（1990）。〈草坡； 女王〉[A Grassy Knoll; The Queen]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1990 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1991）。〈庞德；盘庚；马拉美〉[Pound; Bacon; Mallarme]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1991 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1992）。〈请求；呵雾；交换〉[A Plea; Ahh, Mist; Exchange]。北京：*诗刊* 1992 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1993a）。〈继续写作—访谈录〉[Go On Writing – An Interview]。Cambridge: *倾向文学杂志* 1993 创刊号。

（1993b）。〈庄园；孩子；小夜曲；青羊；塔；白色的；公牛〉[A Villa Courtyard; A Child; A Lullaby; Black Sheep; A Pagoda; The White; A Bull]。Cambridge: *倾向文学杂志* 1993 创刊号。（诗歌）

（1993c）。〈山坡〉[A Hillside]。北京：*诗刊* 1993 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1995a）。〈生活的魅力〉[The Charms of Life]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 2 期。（文论）

（1995b）。〈碎片及线索（1993）〉[Shards and Leads]。广州：*花城文学双月刊* 1995 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1996a）。〈来自海南岛的诅咒（火热爱情的双倍痛苦）〉[A Curse From Hainan Island (The Doubled Pain of Fire-Hot Love)]。广州：*花城文学双月刊* 1996 第 1 期。（组诗 4 首）

（1996b）。〈公社；李小红的情欲〉[The Commune; The Lust of Li Xiaohong]。Cambridge: *倾向文学杂志* 1996 总第 7-8 期。（组诗）

（1996c）。〈理由和展望〉[Reasons And Outlooks]。Cambridge: *倾向文学杂志* 1996 总第 7-8 期。（文论）

**Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚**

（1996d）。〈向杜甫致敬〉（1）[A Salute to Du Fu]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1996 第 3 期。（组诗选）

（1996e）。〈台阶上（1992）〉[On the Stairs]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1996 第 4 期。（短篇小说）

（1997a）。〈向杜甫致敬〉（2）[A Salute to Du Fu]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1997 第 1 期。（组诗选）

（1997b）。〈向杜甫致敬〉（3）[A Salute to Du Fu]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1997 第 2 期。（组诗选）

（1998）。〈一点感想〉[A Bit of a Thought]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1998 第 1 期。（文论）

（2001a）。〈文学批评，关于文学的文学〉[Literary Criticism, On Literature on Literature]。（文论）(22/1/2003) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/80.htm

（2001b）。〈**肖开愚**讲座： 要好玩，但还不够（整理修订稿）〉[**Xiao Kaiyu**'s Seminar: It Should Be Fun, But It's Not Enough]。(12/11/2002) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=1224my02

**Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚**，**Sun Wenbo 孙文波**，Zang Di 臧棣 ed.（1999）。*语言：形式的命名 –中国诗歌评论* [*Language: The Naming of Forms – Chinese Poetry and Criticism*]。北京：人民文学出版社。

**Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚**，**Sun Wenbo 孙文波**，Zang Di 臧棣 ed.（2000）。*从最小的可能性开始: 中国诗歌评论* [*Starting From The Smallest Possibility – Chinese Poetry and Criticism*]。北京：人民文学出版社。

**Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚**，**Sun Wenbo 孙文波**，Zang Di 臧棣 ed.（2002）。*激情与责任：中国诗歌评论* [*Enthusiasm and Responsibility – Chinese Poetry and Criticism*]。北京：人民文学出版社。

**Xiaoyin 晓音**

（1994）。〈新诗潮中的女性诗歌〉[Women's Poetry in the New Poetry Tide]。（文论）(19/12/2004) http://hk.netsh.com/eden/bbs/1780/html/tree_1387367.html

（2002）。〈'**女子诗报**'主要成员简介〉[A Brief Introduction to Important Members of ***The Woman's Poetry Paper***]。（文论）(29/1/2003) http://www.ceqq.com/vzsb/search.htm

（2003a）。〈'**女子诗报**年鉴'年卷编辑手记〉[Notes on the Compilation of ***The Woman's Poetry Paper*** *Annual*]。（文论）(17/12/2003) http://asp.6to23.com/nzsb/nianjian.index.html

（2003b）。〈巫女的身影〉[The Figure of a Witch (Interview)]。（访谈录/阿翔） (17/12/2003) http://www.6to23.com/nzsb

（2004a）。〈《**女子诗报**》历史备忘录〉[Historical Memoranda of ***The Woman's Poetry Paper***]。（文论）(9/6/2004) http://61.166.100.18:8008/bbs/ShowPost.asp?id=307

**Xiaoyin 晓音**

（2004b）。〈背对背的谈话（与向卫国）〉[A Back-to-Back Talk (with Xiang Weiguo)]。(19/12/2004) http://hk.netsh.com/eden/bbs/1780/html/tree_1408777.html

**Nüzi Shibao 女子诗报**（2002）。〈男人眼中的女性诗歌〉[Women's Poetry in Men's Eyes]。（文论）(29/1/2003) http://www.ceqq.com/vzsb/sb54-3.htm

**Xiao Xiaoying 肖晓英**（1989）。〈对女性诗歌群体的冒险分析〉[An Adventurous Analysis Women's Poetry Groupings]。（文论）(19/12/2004) http://hk.netsh.com/eden/bbs/1780/html/tree_1387379.html

（2002）。〈《**女子诗报**》与'女性诗歌'〉。[***The Woman's Poetry Paper*** and "Women's Poetry"]（文论）(17/12/2003) http://asp.6to23.com/nzsb/shibaoyushige.index.html

**Yuan Cun 远村**（1990）。〈**女子诗报**如是说〉。[***The Woman's Poetry Paper*** As it Really Is]（文论）(24/11/2003) http://www.ceqq.com/vzsb/sb511.htm

**Xiong Wei 熊伟**

（1986）。〈你看怎么办〉[What Can I Do]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 24 日。（诗歌）

**Yang Li 杨黎**

（1986）。〈毛泽东，我将永远记着你〉[Mao Zedong, I'll Always Remember You]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 21 日。（诗歌）

（1987a）。〈毛泽东，我将永远记着你；我说过，我不能唱〉[Mao Zedong, I'll Always Remember You; I Said, I Can't Sing]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1987 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1987b）。〈开始〉[The Start]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 6 期。（诗 2 首）

（1988a）。〈旗帜；你的声音；五月〉[Flags; Your Voice; May]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1988b）。〈水；鸟之三；鸟之后〉[Water; Bird the Third; Behind the Bird]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 第 3 期.（诗歌）

（1988c）。〈怪客；后怪客〉[The Stranger; The Later Stranger]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1988d）。〈怪客；赶路人；旅途之一；撒哈拉沙漠上的三张纸牌〉[The Stranger; The Hurried Traveller; Journey No. 1; Three Playing Cards Scattered on the Sahara Desert]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1988e）。〈怪客；后怪客；十二个时刻和一声轻轻的尖叫〉[The Stranger; The Later Stranger; Twelve Moments and a Quiet Scream]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1988f）。〈之后〉[After]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（文论）

（1988g）。〈赞美〉[Praise]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 6 期。（诗歌）

**Yang Li 杨黎**

（1988h）。〈真的；赶路人〉[Really; The Hurried Traveller]。北京：*诗刊* 1988 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1988i）。〈天空〉[The Sky]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1988 第 10 期。（长诗）

（1989a）。〈水；鸟之三；鸟之后〉[Water; Bird the Third; Behind the Bird]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1989b）。〈穿越地狱的列车—论**第三代**人诗歌运动（1980-1985）〉[A Train Passing Through Hell – On the Third Generation Poetry Movement 1980-1985]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 第 7 期。（文论）

（1989c）。〈有一条河；好鸟；鸟之外〉[There is a River ; The Good Bird; Beyond the Bird]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1989 第 11 期. （诗歌）

（1990）。〈节日之一；节日之二；节日之三〉[Holiday No. 1; Holiday No. 2; Holiday No. 3]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1990 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1993）。〈对一次散步的回忆；祝福少女们万寿无疆〉[Memory of a Walk; Wishing Young girls Would Live Forever]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1993 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1995a）。〈撒哈拉沙漠上的三张纸牌；西西弗神话；有人；一张纸；对一次散步的回忆〉[Three Playing Cards Scattered on the Sahara Desert; The Myth of Sisyphus; Some People; A Piece of Paper; Memory of a Walk]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1995 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1995b）。〈梦神睡眠器；国营家具商场；中国桑椹；三五牌香烟〉[The Sleep Machine of the God of Dreams; The State-Owned Home Appliance Market; The Chinese Mulberry; 555 Cigarettes]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1995 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1995c）。〈撒哈拉沙漠上的三张纸牌；西西弗神话；有人；一张纸；对一次散步的回忆；鸟之二；鸟之三；祝福少女们；“梦神”睡眠器；英语学习〉[Three Playing Cards Scattered on the Sahara Desert; The Myth of Sisyphus; Some People; A Piece of Paper; Memory of a Walk; Bird the Second; Bird the Third; A Wish for Young Girls; The Sleep Machine of the God of Dreams; Studying English]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1995 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1998）。〈我与**非非**〉[Me and **Not-Not**]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1998 第 3 期。（文论）

（2000a）。〈答朵渔十二问〉[Answering Twelve Questions from Duoyu]。（文论）(22/10/2002)
http://www.wenxue.com/scene/writers/007.htm

（2000b）。〈文论四篇〉[Four Literary Comments]。(22/3/2002)
http://xwz.our263.com/cgi-bin/index.dll?page5

**Yang Li 杨黎**

（2001）。〈《小杨与马丽》自序〉[Preface to *Little Yang and Mary*]。(27/10/2003) http://www.tamen.net/subject/001.htm

（2002a）。〈诗歌小说，我都无话可说 – **杨黎**访谈录〉[Poetry Fiction, I Have Nothing To Say]。(20/1/2003) http://www.booker.com.cn/gb/paper23/22/class002300006/hwz155766.htm

（2002b）。*小杨与马丽* [*Little Yang and Mary*]。石家庄：河北教育出版社。（诗集）

（2002c）。*小杨与马丽* [*Little Yang and Mary*]。（诗集）(21/11/2003) http://www.koopee.com/home/yangli/zp/ml/index.htm

（2002d）。〈打炮〉[Fire the Cannon (poem)]。（诗歌）(22/3/2002) http://www.wenxue2000.com/poetry/yl.htm

（2002e）。〈打炮〉[Fire the Cannon (fiction)]。（小说）(22/10/2002) http://www.wenxue.com/scene/text/482.htm

（2003a）。*灿烂* [*Splendor* (Chapter 3)]：第三章第一节。（回忆/访谈录）(12/2/2003) http://huaqiu.www76.cn4e.com/wenku/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=181

\ （2003b）。*灿烂* [*Splendor* (Chapter 4)]：第四章（回忆/访谈录—**万夏，李亚伟**，郭力家）。(12/3/2003) http://xwz.our263.com/cgi-bin/index.dll?page5?webid=our263&userid=22438&columnno=3&articleid=33

（2003c）。*灿烂* [*Splendor* (Chapter 5)]：第五章（回忆/访谈录—韩东，于小伟，小海）。(12/3/2003) http://xwz.our263.com/cgi-bin/index.dll?page5?webid=our263&userid=22438&columnno=3&articleid=46

（2003d）。*灿烂* [*Splendor* (Chapter 7)]：第七章（回忆/访谈录—**蓝马，何小竹，吉木狼格**）。(12/3/2003) http://xwz.our263.com/cgi-bin/index.dll?page5?webid=our263&userid=22438&columnno=3&articleid=32

Also at: http://www.tamen.net/magazine/001/1-3-7.htm (10/4/2002)

（2003f）。〈诗啊，言之无物〉[Poetry, Nothing to Speak Of]。（木朵/访谈录）(2003-12-10) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=31&page=1&msgID=2

（2003g）。〈向毛主席保证〉[I Guarantee Chairman Mao]。（小说）(16/4/2003) http://huaqiu.www76.cn4e.com/xiaoshuo/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=34

ed.（2004）。*灿烂：第三代人的写作和生活* [*Splendor: The Writing and Life of the Third Generation*]。西宁：青海人民出版社。

（ a ）。*太阳与红太阳。*（诗集）(21/11/2003) http://www.kopee.com/home/yangli/zp/zp-sg-01.htm

**Yang Li 杨黎**，Han Dong 韩东（2002）。〈诗歌讨论〉[Poetry Discussion]。(5/10/2002) http://huaqiu.our263.com/cgi-bin/index.dll?page5?webid=our263&userid=21773&column

**Yang Ping 杨萍**

（1986）。〈侯春鸟〉[A Migratory Bird]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 6 期。（诗歌）

**Yang Ran 杨然**

（1984）。〈寻找一座铜像〉[Searching for a Bronze Statue]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1984 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1985a）。〈父亲，我们送您远行〉[Father, We're Seeing You Off on a Long Journey]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1985b）。〈建筑自己的情思世界〉[Build Your Own World of Emotions and Thoughts]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 6 期。（文论）

（1986）。〈海之门；垂钓者；编后话〉[The Door to the Sea; The Hook Dangler; Words After Writing]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 3 期。（诗歌与文论）

（1987a）。〈冬夜：和诗友饮酒〉[Winter Nights: Drinking Wine with a Poetry Friend]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 6 期。（组诗 2 首）。

（1987b）。〈狂想曲与禁果〉[Rhapsody and Forbidden Fruit]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 12 期。（组诗）

（1993）。〈有一年饮酒；门之诗〉[There was a Year of Drinking; Poem on a Door]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1993 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（2002a）。〈我的诗人档案（代后记）〉[My Poet's Dossier]。（文论）(5/11/2003) www.tyfoweekly.com/weekly/shige/block/html/2002111500105.html

（2002b）。〈诗歌的创新在呼唤良知〉[New Ideas in Poetry Call for a Conscience]。（文论）(7/3/2003) http://www.ceqq.com/MSJY/Mswd/MSJY-z030.htm

**Yang Shunli 杨顺礼**

（1985）。〈疆场〉[A Battlefield]。涪陵：*巴国文风*半年文学刊第 1 期（创刊号）。（组诗 3 首）

（1987a）。〈船票〉[A Boat Ticket]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 4 期。（小说）

（1987b）。〈机器〉[Machines]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 2 期。（小说）

**Yang Yuanhong 杨远宏**

（1983）。〈生活在行进〉[Life is Moving Onward]。成都：*四川文学月刊* 1983 第 7 期。（组诗 3 首）

（1986a）。〈错位〉[Dislocation]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 24 日。（诗歌）

（1986b）。〈「莫名其妙」宣言〉[The "In The Dark" Manifesto]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 24 日。（文论）

（1987）。〈告别巴黎；阿尔的太阳；永恒的草原〉[Good-bye to Paris; The Sun of Aryl; The Eternal Prairie]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1987 第 8 期。（诗歌）

**Yang Yuanhong 杨远宏**

（1988）。〈颐和园〉[The Summer Palace]（1985）。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1991a）。〈大江东去〉[The Great River Flows East]。成都：*四川文学月刊* 1991 第 3 期。（组诗 3 首）

（1991b）。〈昙花或者秋天〉[A Brief Flowering or Autumn]。成都：*四川文学月刊* 1991 第 10 期。（组诗 3 首）

（1993a）。〈坟场上的纸花 – 组诗《九月的情绪》批评（**蓝马**）〉[Paper Flowers in a Graveyard – A Critique of (**Lan Ma**'s) Poem Series <A September Mood>]。成都：*星星月刊* 1993 年第 9 期。（文论）

（1993b）。〈是坠入还是从梦中爬上来 – 评**何小竹**的两首诗〉[Is It Falling In or Climbing Out of Dreams – A Critique of Two Poems by **He Xiaozhu**]。*星星月刊* 1993 年第 9 期。（文论）

（1994）。〈中国现代诗的悲剧性写作—再谈‘重建诗歌精神’〉The Tragic Nature of China's Modern Poetry Writing – Talking Again of "Reconstructing the Poetical Spirit"]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1994 第 9 期。（文论）

（1996）。〈我所认识的**莽汉们**〉[The **Macho Men** I Know]。天津：*诗探索* 1996 第 2 期。（文论）

**Yang Yuanhong 杨远宏**, **Shi Guanghua 石光华**（1986）。〈现代诗歌的沉抑和忧虑〉[The Gloom and Anxieties of Modern Poetry]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 9 期。（文论）

**Yang Yuanhong 杨远宏, Pan Jiazhu 潘家柱**（1989）。〈废墟，战斗，诗何为—从几位四川诗人的作品开始〉[Ruins, Battles, What's Poetry Doing – Starting From the Work of Some Sichuan Poets]（**廖亦武，李亚伟，翟永明，宋渠-宋炜，二毛，雨田，郭留红，钟鸣，欧阳江河**）。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1989 第 9 期。（文论）

**Yang Yuanhong 杨远宏, Shi Guanghua 石光华**, **Sun Wenbo 孙文波**, Mu Fu 木斧, Ye Chao 叶潮, **Zhai Yongming 翟永明**（1994）。〈新诗现状与现状一席谈〉[A Talk About the Present Circumstances of New Poetry and Present Circumstances]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1994 第 8 期。（对话）

**Yao Cheng 姚成**

（1986）。〈错位手术；咖啡厅〉[An Operation in the Wrong Place; Coffeeshop]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 11 期。（诗歌）

**Yu Tian 雨田**

（1987a）。〈祈祷者〉[One Who Prays]。北京：*中国作家文学双月刊* 1987 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1987b）。〈雅砻江；冰美人；墓碑〉[Yalong River; The Icy Beauty; The Grave Stone]。北京：*青年文学月刊* 1987 第 3 期。（诗歌）

**Yu Tian 雨田**

（1987c）。〈画像〉[A Portrait]。胡和霍特：*草原文学月刊* 1987 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1988a）。〈野河〉[The Wild River]。北京：*中国作家文学双月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（散文诗）

（1988b）。〈血歌：不仅献给死去的淘金者〉[Song of Blood: Not Only for Dead Gold-Panners]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1989）。〈麦地〉[Land of Wheat]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1989 第 3 期。（组诗 4 首）

（1991）。〈被揭示的刀锋；纯洁的诗；城市〉[The Revealed Knife Blade; A Pure Poem; The City]。北京：*诗刊* 1991 第 12 期。（诗歌）

（1992）。〈冬天的水之三，之四〉[Winter's Water No. 3, No. 4]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1992 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1993a）。*秋天里的独白* [*A Monologue in Autumn*]。香港：香港新世纪出版社。（诗集）

（1993b）。*最后的花朵与纯洁的诗* [*The Last Flowers and Pure Poetry*]。重庆：广西民族出版社。（诗集）

（1993c）。〈无形的分界线〉[A Formless Line of Demarcation]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1993 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1993d）。〈阳光渗出的方式；意外的梦境或独自歌唱〉[A Method Leaked From the Sun; An Accidental Dreamscape or Singing Alone]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1993 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1994a）。〈从头上飞过的啄木鸟〉[A Woodpecker That Flew Overhead]。广州：*作品文学月刊* 1994 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1994b）。〈坍塌山体上的一株向日葵（1992）〉[A Sunflower on a Collapsed Mountainous Body]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1994 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1996）。〈中国小镇上的一匹石马；病房里的腊梅；郊外女子；阅读；诗人与石头〉[A Stone Horse in a Little Town in China; A Winter Plum Blossom in a Sickroom; Woman from the Outskirts; Reading; The Poet and the Stone]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1996 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（2003）。〈诗歌在民间生存 – 与青年诗人木星，白鹤林谈诗〉[Poetry Lives Among the People – A Discussion of Poetry with the Young Poets Mu Xing and Bai Helin]。(10/10/2003) http://www.zhongdian.net/vol2/fangtanlu.html

**Zhai Yongming 翟永明**

（1982）。〈有一条小河；红叶；我是〉[There is a Brook; Red Leaves; I Am]。成都：*四川文学月刊* 1982 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1983）。〈等待；我有了一把扫帚〉[Waiting; I Have a Broom]。成都：*四川文学月刊* 1983 第 1 期。（诗歌）

**Zhai Yongming 翟永明**

（1986a）。〈渴望〉[Desire]。深圳：*特区文学双月刊* 1986 第 4 期。（*女人*）

（1986b）。〈独白；母亲；预感；世界；我对你说；边缘〉[Monologue; Mother; A Premonition; The World; I Say to You; Margins]。北京：*诗刊* 1986 第 9 期。（*女人*选章，除了‘我对你说’）

（1986c）。〈预感；七月〉[A Premonition; July]。北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 第 10 期。（*女人*选章）

（1986d）。〈黑房间〉[The Black Room]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 24 日。（诗歌）

（1986e）。〈黑房间；此时此刻；男左女右；人生在世〉[The Black Room; At This Very Moment; Men Left Women Right; People Live In The World]。北京：*诗刊* 1986 第 11 期。（组诗选章）

（1986f）。〈终点；观望〉[Terminus; Wait and See]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1986g）。〈青春诗话〉[Words on Poetry from Youth]。北京：*诗刊* 1986 第 11 期。（文论）

（1987a）。〈今夜〉[Tonight]。北京：*诗刊* 1987 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1987b）。〈生命；噩梦〉[Life; Nightmare]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 6 期。（*女人*）

（1987c）。〈始终：秋天：憧憬；瞬间；旋转〉[From Start to Finish: Autumn; Anticipation; An Instant; A Whirl]]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1987 第 5 期。（*女人* 4 首）

（1987e）。〈红房间；这些都是真心话；邓肯之死；圣诞节之夜；头发被你剪去〉[The Red Room; These are All True Words from the Heart; The Death of Isadora Duncan; Christmas Eve; You’ve Cut Off My Hair]]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1987 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1988a）。〈另一种爱；有些时刻有些地点；冬天的印象〉[Another Type of Love; Some Times Some Places; An Impression of Winter]。兰州：*飞天文学月刊* 1988 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1988b）。〈无垠的地区〉[ An Unbounded Region]。达县：*巴山文学月刊* 1988 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1988c）。〈静安庄〉[Peaceful Village]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（组诗 12 首）

（1988d）。〈诗人和关于诗的主张〉[Poets and Viewpoints on Poetry]。 北京：*作家生活报* 1988 年 6 月 5 日，第 16 期。（文论）

（1988e）。〈肖像〉[A Portrait]。北京：*诗刊* 1988 第 8 期。（组诗 8 首）

（1989a）。〈何等状态：何等状态；双胞胎；白色的走廊；房东！房东！〉[What a State: What a State; Twins; A White Corridor; Landlord! Landlord!]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1989 第 3 期。（组诗）

**Zhai Yongming 翟永明**

（1989b）。〈女性诗歌与诗歌中的女性意识〉[Women's Poetry and Woman's Consciousness in Poetry]。北京：*诗刊* 1989 第 6 期。（文论）

（1989c）。*女人* [*Woman*]。桂林：漓江出版社。（诗集）

（1991）。〈变奏的乐章：未曾出世的孩子；我与蝙蝠；吃鱼的日子〉[A Variation of a Movement: A Child Never Born; Bats and Me; Days of Eating Fish]。成都：*四川文学月刊* 1991 第 1 期。（组诗选章）

（1992a）。〈我与蝙蝠；土拨鼠〉[Bats and Me; The Marmot]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1992b）。〈我策马扬鞭；年轻的褐色植物〉[I Spur the Horse, Flourish the Whip; A Young Brown Plant]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1993a）。〈玩偶；壁虎与我〉[The Doll; Geckos and Me]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1993 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1993b）。〈我站在直街横街的；下午；凌晨〉[I Stand at the Intersection of Perpendicular and Horizontal Streets; Afternoon; The Small Hours]。北京：*诗刊* 1993 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1994a）。〈死亡的图案〉[Death's Design]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1994 第 2 期。（组诗 7 首）

（1994b）。〈重逢〉[Reunion]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1994 第 2 期。（组诗 6 首）

（1994c）。〈去过博物馆〉[I've been to the Museum]。北京：*诗刊* 1994 第 6 期。（诗歌）

（1994d）。***翟永明****诗集* [*A Collection of* ***Zhai Yongming****'s Poetry*]。成都：成都出版社。

（1995a）。〈再谈‘黑夜意识’与‘女性诗歌’〉[Talking Again of "The Consciousness of Black Night" and "Women's Poetry"]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 1 期。（文论）

（1995b）。〈拭管人；圣诞节之夜；西部的太阳〉[People Who Wipe Pipes; Christmas Eve; The Sun in the West]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1995 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1995c）。〈纽约：小矮人的故事〉[New York: A Dwarf's Story]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1995 第 5 期。（散文）

（1995d）。〈身体（5 首）；未曾出世的孩子；我策马扬鞭〉[The Body; A Child Never Born; I Spur the Horse, Flourish the Whip]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1995 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1995e）。〈称之为一切：九月；在南部地区；家事；星期六下午〉[Call This Everything; September; In a Southern Region; Saturday Afternoon]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1995 第 9 期。（组诗）

**Zhai Yongming 翟永明**

（1996a）。〈面向心灵的写作〉[Writing While Facing the Soul]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1996 第 2 期.（文论）

（1996b）。〈《咖啡馆之歌》以及以后〉[“Café Song” and After]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1996 第 11 期。（文论 2 篇）

（1996c）。〈未曾出世的孩子；时间是一九五五年；绿房间〉[A Child Never Born; The Time is 1955; The Green Room]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1996 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1996d）。〈变化（1，2）；孩子的时光〉[Change; The Time of the Child]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1996 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1996e）。〈一个朋友的死讯（8 首）；科罗娜 19 号〉[News of a Friend’s Death; Kalona No. 19]。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1996 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1996f）。〈纸上建筑〉[A Construct on Paper]。（文论）(22/10/2002) http://www.wenxue.com/scene/text/zym/001.htm

（1997a）。〈一首歌的三段咏唱；三首更轻的歌谣（红；白；黑）；编织的三种行为〉[Three Parts of an Aria; Three Lighter Ballads (Red; White; Black); Three Acts of Knitting]。广州：*花城文学双月刊* 1997 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1997b）。*纸上建筑* [*A Construct on Paper*]。上海：东方出版中心。（文论集）

（1997c）。〈散文小辑〉[A Group of Prose Essays]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1997 第 3 期。（5 篇）

（1999）。〈献给无限的少数人〉[For an Unlimited Minority]。天津：*诗探索* 1999 第 1 期。（文论）

（2000）。*坚韧的破碎之花* [*Tenacious Flowers of a Crack-Up*]。北京：东方出版社。（诗集）

（2002a）。〈词语与激情共舞—访谈录/周瓒〉[Words Dance with Enthusiasm – An Interview with Zhou Zan]。(20/11/2002) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu

（2002b）。〈当男权遇到女权〉[When Male Rights Meet Female Rights]。（文论）(18/8/2002) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu

（2002c）。〈完成之后又怎样？**翟永明**回答臧棣，王艾〉[After Completion, What Then? **Zhai Yongming** Answers Zang Di and Wang Ai]。(20/1/2003) http://bluetiger1998.coolcity.com.cn/?MenuID=30&ArticleID=42

（2002d）。〈为需要，为内心的快乐而创作〉[Create Out of Need and Inner Happiness]。（文论）(12/11/2002) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu

**Zhai Yongming 翟永明**

（2002e）。〈《终于使我周转不灵》自序〉[Preface to *Ultimately Making Me Lose Liquidity*]。(6/12/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=282

（2002f）。*终于使我周转不灵* [*Ultimately Making Me Lose Liquidity*]。石家庄：河北教育出版社。（诗集）

（2003）。〈专访：装在美人骨架里的英雄+诗人〉[Hero + Poet Fixed on the Frame of a Beauty: An Interview with Yan Wo],（燕窝）(16/2/2004) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msgID=214748193

（2004a）。〈时间美人和美人的时间〉[Time's Beauty and the Time of a Beauty]。（文论）(2004-6-11) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msgID=214748070

（2004b）。〈我们都是单翼天使〉[We are All One-Winged Angels]。（燕窝，专访） http://www.poemlife.com:9001/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=829

（ a ）。〈面对词语本身〉[Facing Language Itself]。（文论）(20/11/2002) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu/conshow.php

（ b ）。〈三天宽的歌喉〉[A Singing Voice Three Days Wide]。（随笔/谈**唐丹鸿**）(20/11/2002) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu/conshow.php

（ c ）。〈为一本未能出版的书所写的序〉[A Preface for a Book Never Published]。（文论）(23/6/2003) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msgID=214748192

（ d ）。〈现实的弗里达和超现实场景中的《弗里达》〉[The Real Florida and the "Florida" in a Surrealistic Scene]。（文论）(23/6/2003) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msgID=214748192

**Zhai Yongming 翟永明, Yang Yuanhong 杨远宏, Shi Guanghua 石光华, Sun Wenbo 孙文波**, Mu Fu 木斧, Ye Chao 叶潮（1994）。〈新诗现状与现状一席谈〉[A Talk About the Present Circumstances of New Poetry and Present Circumstances]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1994 第 8 期。（对话）

**Zhang Zao 张枣**

（1985）。〈论诗人〉[On Poets] a translation of an essay by Carl Jung 荣格。涪陵：*巴国文风*半年文学刊 1985 第 2 期。

（1986a）。〈四个四季 夏歌〉[The Four Seasons Summer Song]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 24 日。（诗歌）

（1986b）。〈镜中；维昂纳尔：追忆似水年华〉[In the Mirror; Villanelle: Recalling Years Passing Like Water]。北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1988）。〈中国凉亭；穿上最美丽的衣裳；老师〉[A Chinese Pavilion; Wear the Prettiest Clothing; Teacher]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1988 第 7 期。（诗歌）

**Zhang Zao 张枣**

（1989）。〈灯心绒幸福的舞蹈及其它〉[The Happy Dance of Corduroy and Other Poems]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 第 7 期。（诗歌 9 首）

（1990）。〈给另一个海子的信；希尔多夫村的忧郁〉[A Letter to Another Haizi; The Sorrow of Seedorf Village。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1990 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1991）。〈眼镜店；合唱队；海底的幸福夜〉[The Optical Shop; The Choir; A Happy Night at the Bottom of the Sea]。台北：*今天文学杂* 1991 第 2 期。（诗歌）

**Zhao Ye 赵野**

（1997）。〈语言与历史事件〉[Language and Historical Incidents]。（文论）(17/1/2003) http://www4.cca.gov.tw/poem/poem-02s-02s-01.asp?cno=15517

**Zheng Danyi 郑单衣**

（1994）。〈黑草莓〉[Black Strawberries]。北京：*诗刊* 1994 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1996）。〈昏迷组诗（5 首）〉[The Coma Poetry Sequence]。北京：*北京文学月刊* 1996 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1997a）。〈写作：独立性与差异〉[Writing: Independence and Difference]。天津：*诗探索* 1997 第 1 期。（文论）

（1997b）。〈80 年代的诗歌储备〉[The Poetry Reserve of the 1980s]。天津：*诗探索* 1998 第 2 期。（文论）

（2000a）。〈写在《夏天的翅膀》出版前夕〉[Written on the Eve of Publication of *The Wings of Summer*]。(10/10/2003) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msgID=2147481438

（2000b）。〈写作，无时态的告慰〉[[Writing, Sympathy Expressed Without Tenses]。（文论）(22/10/2002) http://www.wenxue.com/gb/200101/zdy1.htm

（2003a）。〈传统离现在有多远？〉[How Far is the Present from Tradition?]。（采访）(1/9/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=587 Also at: (10/10/2003) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msgID=2147481438

（2003c）。〈访谈：私下的，或公开的/ 与罗辉〉[Interview: In Private; or in Public]。(10/10/2003) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msgID=2147481438

（2003d）。〈**郑单衣**简介〉[A Brief Intro to **Zheng Danyi**]。(10/10/2003) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msgID=2147481438

**Zhong Ming 钟鸣**

（1988）。〈满屋子的傻话；射手；所见〉[A Room Full of Silly Prattle; The Marksman; Seen]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（诗歌）

**Zhong Ming 钟鸣**

（1989a）。〈画片上的怪鸟〉[A Strange Bird in a Miniature Painting]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1989 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1989b）。〈没有时态的女人〉[A Woman Without a Tense]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1989 第 3 期。（组诗 3 首）

（1990）。〈中间地带；单血管人〉[Intermediary Zone; Man With a Single Blood Vessel]]。Oslo：*今天文学杂志*，1990 第 1 期。（散文）

（1991a）。〈树皮，词根，书与废黜〉[Tree Bark, Word Roots, Books and Dethroning]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1991 第 2 期。（文论）

（1991b）。〈返青的季节〉[A Season of the Return of Green]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1991 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1991c）。〈老余〉[Old Yu]。成都：*四川文学月刊* 1991 第 12 期。（小说）

（1992a）。〈树巢（史诗选刊）〉[Establishing a Nest (Selections from an Epic Poem)]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1992b）。〈笼子里的鸟儿和笼子外面的俄耳甫斯（上）〉[A Bird in a Cage and Oedipus Outside One]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 2 期。（文论）

（1992c）。〈笼子里的鸟儿和笼子外面的俄耳甫斯（下）〉[A Bird in a Cage and Oedipus Outside One]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 3 期。（文论）

（1992d）。〈中国杂技：硬椅子〉[Chinese Gymnastics: A Hard Chair]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 4 期。（组诗 4 首）

（1992e）。〈那一种滋味〉[That Sort of Flavor]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1992 第 6 期。（诗歌）

（1992f）。〈女娲；火炉；温柔的高音〉[Nü Wa; A Stove; A Gentle Tenor]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1992 第 6 期。（诗歌）

（1993a）。〈有关鸟儿的玄说两则〉[Two Pieces on the Mysteries of Birds]。Cambridge, Mass.：*倾向文学杂志* 1993 创刊号。（散文）

（1993b）。〈第五元素〉[The Fifth Element]。广州：*花城文学双月刊* 1993 第 2 期。（散文）

（1994）。〈呕吐〉[Vomiting]。Cambridge, Mass.：*倾向文学杂志* 1994 总第 3-4 期。（散文）

（1996）。〈旁观与见证〉[Spectating and Witnessing]。天津：*诗探索* 1996 第 1 期。（文论）

（1997a）。〈告别一九八九（节选）〉[Good-Bye to 1989]。Cambridge: *倾向* 1997 总第 9 期。（文艺禄）

（1997b）。〈与亚里斯多德可能的谈话〉[A Possible Discussion with Aristotle]。（文论）(17/1/2003) http://www4.cca.gov.tw/poem/poem-02s-02s-01.asp?cno=15545

**Zhong Ming 钟鸣**

（1998）。*旁观者* [*Spectator*]。（3 册）海口：海南出版社。（诗歌/文论集）

（1999a）。〈**翟永明**诗二首点评〉[A Critique of Two Poems by **Zhai Yongming**]。天津：*诗探索* 1999 第 1 期。（文论）

（1999b）。〈秋天的戏剧 —关于诗人对话素质的随感〉[The Opera of Autumn – Random Thoughts on the Quality of Discussions with Poets]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1999 第 4 期。（文论）

（2002）。*秋天的戏剧* [*The Opera of Autumn*]。上海：学林出版社。（文论集）

**Zhong Ming 钟鸣**，Feng Chuan 冯川，Wen Chu'an 文楚安，**Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑**，（2002）。〈'诗歌白皮书'四人谈〉[A Four-Way Discussion of "A Poetry White Paper"]。（对话）(26/2/2003)
http://www.hywx.com/hywxview.asp?zp_id=1711

**(Zhou) Faxing （周）发星**

（2003a）。〈苍茫大凉山：一个人的诗歌工作室〉[Vast Mount Daliang: The Poetry Workshop of an Individual]（采访人：孙文涛）。
http://big5.xinhunet.com/gate/big5/news.xinhuanet.com/book/2003-09/24/content_1095622.htm （1/9/2004）

（2003b）。〈"《独立》首届民间诗歌奖"揭晓〉[Announcement of Results of "The First *Independence* 'Popular' Poetry Prize"]。**周伦佑 Zhou Lunyou** joint winner of top prize, shared with 海上 Haishang。（17/11/2004）
http://shiwhcb.home.sunbo.net.show_hdr.php?xname=A0090V0&dname=TEDEAUO&xpos=4

**Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑**

（1981）。〈孤松〉[The Solitary Pine]。北京：*诗刊* 1981 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1982a）。〈春节；错误；回忆〉[Spring Festival; The Mistake; Recollections]。兰州：*飞天文学月刊* 1982 第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1982b）。〈最后一根火柴〉[The Final Match]。成都：*四川文学月刊* 1982 第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1983a）。〈黑色的雕像〉[The Black Statue]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1983 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1983b）。〈春装〉[Spring Attire]。成都：*四川文学月刊* 1983 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1984a）。〈黑色的雕像〉[The Black Statue]。北京：*诗刊* 1984 第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1984b）。〈我是弹花匠的儿子〉[I am the Son of a Cotton Fluffer]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1984 第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1984c）。〈果实〉[Fruit]。兰州：*飞天文学月刊* 1984 第 5 期。（诗歌）

**Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑**

（1984d）。〈我给生活剪影〉[I Make Outlines of Life]。北京：*诗刊* 1984 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1985a）。〈街灯读过那一页故事〉[A Page of a Story Read By Streetlight]。兰州：*飞天文学月刊* 1985 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1985b）。〈一棵白杨〉[A Poplar]。北京：*诗刊* 1985 第 7 期。（诗 歌）

（1986a）。〈水晶花〉[A Flower of Rock Crystal]。北京：*诗刊* 1986 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1986b）。〈白狼；狼谷〉[The White Wolf; The Valley of Wolves]。北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1986c）。〈非非主义宣言〉[Not-Not-ism Manifesto]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986，10 月 23 日。（文论）

（1986d）。〈十三级台阶〉[The Thirteen-Step Flight of Stairs]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986, 10 月 23 日。（诗歌）

（1986e）。〈狼谷〉[The Valley of Wolves]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 11 期。（诗歌）

（1988a）。〈第三浪潮与**第三代**诗人〉[The Third Tide of Poetry and **Third Generation** Poets]。北京：*诗刊* 1988 第 2 期。（文论）

（1988b）。〈语言的奴隶与诗的自觉—谈*非非主义*的语言意识兼答一位批评者（叶延滨）〉[A Slave of Language and the Self-Awareness of Poetry – On **Not-Not-ism** Language Consciousness and in Answer to a Critic (Ye Yanbin)]。沈阳：*当代诗歌月刊* 1988 第 3 期。（文论）

（1988c）。〈语言的伪证 – 谈《口语化：现代诗的沉沦与贬值》的引证错误〉[The False Witness of Language – on the Mistakes in the Citation of Evidence in “Colloquialization: the Decline and Devaluation of Modern Poetry”。合肥：*诗歌报* 1988，3 月 6 日，总第 84 期。（文论）

（1988d）。〈自由方块：动机一，二，五〉[Free Squares: Motive 1, 2, 5]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。（诗歌选章）

（1988e）。〈**第三代**诗论〉[On the **Third Generation**]。（文论）
(26/11/2002) http://www.new153.com/ff/ff2002/ff3-03.htm

（1989a）。〈**第三代**诗论〉[On the **Third Generation**]。天津：*艺术广角月刊* 1989 第 1 期。（文论）

（1989b）。〈美丽岛；鱼形花瓶〉[A Pretty Island; A Fish-Shape Vase]。北京：*诗刊* 1989 第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1990）。〈看一支蜡烛点燃〉[Watching a Candle Being Lit]。香港：*争鸣月刊* 1990 第 12 期。（诗歌）

（1992）。〈果核的含义〉[The Meaning of a Fruit Pit]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 1 期。（诗歌）

**Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑**

（1993a）。〈果核的含义；猫王之夜〉[The Meaning of a Fruit Pit; Night of the Cat King]。广州：*花城文学双月刊* 1993 第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1993b）。〈画家的高蹈之鹤与矮种马；第二道假门；想象大鸟；镜中的石头〉[The High-Stepping Crane and Midget Horse of the Painter; The Second False Door; The Great Bird of the Imagination; The Stone in the Mirror]。北京：*人民文学月刊* 1993 第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1993c）。〈红色写作〉[Red Writing]。香港：*开放杂志月刊* 1993 第 8 期。（文论）

（1993d）。〈深入骨头与制度—红色写作的精义〉[Deep Entry into Bones and the System – The Gist of Red Writing]。香港：*开放杂志* 1993 第 8 期。（文论）

（1993e）。〈**第三代**诗人〉[Third Generation Poets]。香港：*开放杂志* 1993 第 8 期。（诗 1 首）

（1994a）。〈拒绝的姿态〉[A Stance of Refusal]。Cambridge: *倾向文学杂志* 1994 总第 2 期。（文论）

（1994b）。〈异端之美的呈现—‘**非非**’七年忆事〉[The Appearance of the Beauty of Heresy – Memories of Seven Years of **Not-Not**]。天津：*诗探索* 1994 第 2 期。（文论）

ed.（1994c）。*打开肉体之门 – **非非主义**：从理论到作品* [*Opening the Door of Flesh – **Not-Not-ism**: From Theory to Works*]。兰州：敦煌文艺出版社。

ed.（1994d）。*亵渎中的第三朵语言花 – 后现代主义诗歌* [*The Third Flower of Language in the Midst of Profanity – Post Modernist Poetry*]。兰州：敦煌文艺出版社。

（1999a）。*反价值时代 – 对当代文学观念的价值解构* [*An Age of Anti-Value – A Deconstruction of the Values of Contemporary Literary Values*]。成都：四川人民出版社。（文论集）

（1999b）。*在刀锋上完成的句法转换* [*Transformation of Syntax Completed on the Knife's Edge*]。台北：唐山出版社。（诗集）

（2000a）。〈中国当代文学向何处去—二十一世纪汉语文学写作面临的困境与选择〉[Where is Contemporary Chinese Literature Headed – The Difficulties Faced by Twenty-First Century Chinese Language Literary Writing]。（文论）(26/3/2002)
http://www.new153.com/ff/ff2002/ff3-1.htm

ed.（2000b）。***非非**：FEIFEI 2000* [***Not-Not** #8]。香港：新时代出版社。（诗刊）

（2001a）。〈高扬**非非主义**精神，继续**非非**〉[Raise High the Spirit of **Not-Not-ism**, Continue **Not-Not**]。（文论）(5/12/2002)
http://www.poemlife.com/ReviewerColumn/zhoulunyou

**Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑**

（2001b）。〈**非非**主创人**周伦佑**先生谈**非非**精神〉[The Main Creator of **Not-Not**, **Zhou Lunyou**, Discusses the **Not-Not** Spirit]。（访谈录）(26/3/2002)
http://www.new153.com/new_magazine/new_12/renwu.htm

（2001c）。〈前进中的**非非主义**—2001/**非非主义**流派专号编辑手记〉[Advancing **Not-Not-ism** – 2001/Editorial Notes in the **Not-Not-ism** Group Special Number]。（文论）(27/3/2002)
http://www.new153.com/new_magazine/new_11/xdhy3.htm
Also at:
http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=197

ed.（2001d）。***非非：2001 年第九卷*** [***Not-Not*** #9]。香港：新时代出版社。（诗刊）

（2001e）。〈遁词〉[Subterfuge]。（组诗）(26/11/2002)
http://www.new153.com/ff/ff2002/ff2-03.htm

（2002a）。〈**非非主义**简介〉[A Simple Introduction to **Not-Not-ism**]。（文论）(19/11/2002) http://www.new153.com/ff/ff2002/index1.htm

（2002b）。*燃烧的荆棘*（诗集选 18 首，1969-1976）[*A Selection of the Poetry of Zhou Lunyou: Burning Brambles*]。(5/12/2002)
http://www.poemlife.com/ReviewerColumn/zhoulunyou

（2002c）。〈走向 21 世纪写作〉[Writing Moving into the Twenty-First Century]。（文论）(9/12/2002)
http://www.new153.com/ff/index.htm

ed.（2002d）。***非非：2002 年第十卷*** [***Not-Not*** #10]。香港：新时代出版社。（诗刊）

（2002e）。〈高于零度的写作可能—汉字拼贴的写作历程〉[The Possibilities of Writing Above Zero Degrees – The Writing Journey of Piecing Together Chinese Characters]。（文论）（11/3/2005）
http://www.poemlife.com:9001/ReviewerColumn/zhoulunyou/

（2003）。〈全面推进体制外写作〉[On All Fronts Push On with Writing Outside the System]。（文论）(10/3/2003)
http://www.new153.com/whdt/ArticleShow.asp?ArticleID=426

（2004）。〈十万只雄鸡高唱的自由诗篇〉[Free Poems Crowed by a Hundred Thousand Roosters]。（文论）(2004/8/4)
http://www.new153.com/Article_Show.asp?ArticleID=816

（2005a）。〈“体制外写作”命名缘起〉[The Origins and Naming of “Writing Outside the System”]。（11/3/2005）
http://www.poemlife.com/ReviewerColumn/zhoulunyou

（2005b）。〈体制文学乏走狗的“撒娇”—驳李少君兼谈“**莽汉**”和“撒娇”〉[System Literature Lacks the “Coquettishness” of Running Dogs – Refuting Li Shaojun and Discussing “**Macho Man**” and “Coquettishness”]。（2005/4/11）
http://www.poemlife.com/ReviewerColumn/zhoulunyou

**Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑，Zhou Lunzuo 周伦佐，Gong Gaixiong 龚盖雄**（2002）。〈体制外写作：命名与正名〉[Writing Outside the System: Naming and Correct Names]。（对话）(1/9/2003) http://www.new153.com/whdt/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=207 ; 208; 209.

**Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑, Zhong Ming 钟鸣**，Feng Chuan 冯川，Wen Chu'an 文楚安（2002）。〈'诗歌白皮书'四人谈〉[A Four-Way Discussion of 'A Poetry White Paper']。（对话）(26/2/2003) http://www.hywx.com/hywxview.asp?zp_id=1711

**Zhou Lunzuo 周伦佐**

（1986）。〈爱的哲学〉[The Philosophy of Love]。福州：*大时代双月刊* 1986 第 3 期。（文论）

（2001）。〈穿过重重阴霾而呼啸的生命之箭—八十年代"流浪讲学"纪事〉[Passing Through Heavy Mist and the Arrows of a Whizzing Life – A Record of "Wandering Lectures" During the 1980s] in **Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑** ed.（2001e）。***非非：2001 年第九卷*** [***Not-Not** #9*]。香港：新时代出版社。（诗刊）

**Zhu Jian 朱建**

（1986a）。〈人在天涯〉[People at the End of the World]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 21 日。（诗歌）

（1986b）。〈群岩突破之声〉[The Sound as Boulders Break Out]。深圳：*深圳青年报* 1986 年 10 月 21 日。（文论）

## *BIBLIOGRAPHY:* Unofficial Publications of Sichuan Poets

Primary Sources (Privately published poetry, other collected materials, and poetry published in unofficial journals outside Sichuan)

**Ba Tie 巴铁**

（1988I ）。〈《死城》论纲〉[A Theoretical Outline of <The City of Death>]。涪陵，四川。（文论手稿）

（1988II）。〈《悬棺》试论〉[A Preliminary Discussion of <The Suspended Coffin>]。涪陵，四川。（文论手稿）

**Bai Hua 柏桦**

（1985）。〈谁；下午；道理〉[Who; Afternoon; Reason]。北京 – 上海：*当代中国诗歌七十五首*，1985。（诗歌）

（1988I）。〈痛〉[Pain]。南京：*87 年现代诗歌运动：交流资料之一*，1988。（诗歌）

（1988II）。〈往事〉[Past Affairs]。南京：*他们* 1988 总第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1990）。〈叶芝〉[Yeats]（trans. of essay by T.S. Eliot）。南京：*思无邪：89 年现代诗歌运动，交流资料之二*，1990。（诗歌）

（1991I）。〈夏天，呵，夏天；生活；纪念朱湘；十夜　十夜〉[Summer, Hey, Summer; Life; In Memory of Zhu Xiang; Ten Nights　Ten Nights]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 夏总第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1991II）。〈未来；衰老经；现实；以桦皮为衣的人；生活；演春与种梨；纪念朱湘〉[The Future; Classic of Decrepitude; Reality; A Person with Birch Bark for Clothes; Life; A Performance of Spring and Planting Pears; In Memory of Zhu Xiang]。上海：*倾向* 1991 总第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1992）。〈生活颂；棉花之歌〉[Ode to Life; Song of Spring]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1993 秋冬合卷总第 8 期。（诗歌）

（1993）。〈**非非主义**的终结〉[The End of **Not-Not-ism**]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 春夏总第 9 期。（回忆录）

**Bai Hua 柏桦**, **Zhou Zhongling 周忠陵**, ed.（1985）。*日日新* [*Day By Day Make It New*]。北培/重庆，四川。（诗刊 41 页）

**Chen Xiaofan 陈小蘩**

（1988）。〈雪旅（组诗）；穿越这片废墟（组诗）；更古老的树；白夜；人・影子；时空的交叉点；盼〉[A Snowy Trip; Pass Through This Stretch of Ruins; A More Ancient Tree; White Nights; People * Shadows; An Intersection of Time; Expectations]。成都，四川。（诗歌手稿）

**Chen Xiaofan 陈小蘩**

（1991）。〈水的波纹；三月，忧郁的季节；孕中；注视成长；再次孤独〉[Ripples on Water; March, Season of Melancholy; In Pregnancy; Concentrate on Growth; Alone Again]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 夏总第 2 期。（诗歌）

**Er Mao 二毛**

（1986）。〈地下诗（1，2，3）〉[Underground Poetry]。上海：*大陆*，1986 总第 2 期：。（诗歌）

（1988）。*实验诗十首* [*Ten Experimental Poems*]。（颂歌；武器；形式或内容；地主；邪门；寻根；在旧社会；占有夏天；嘿嘿；悼词）[Ode; Weapons; Form or Content; Landowners; Gates to Evil; A Search of Roots; In the Old Society; An Occupation of Summer; Hey Hey; A Memorial Speech]。重庆，四川。（诗集）

**Fu Wei 傅维**

（1989）。〈致爱人；十二行；轻车送我到长宅；夏天及古代；阿坝之行〉[To My Wife; Twelve Lines; A Light Vehicle Takes Me to a Lasting Home; Summer and Antiquity; A Trip to Aba]。重庆，四川。（诗歌手稿）

（1990）。〈香樟树（1988/10）〉[A Fragrant Camphor Tree]。南京：*思无邪：89 年现代诗歌运动*，1990。（诗歌）[under the pseudonym 漆维]

（1991）。〈决裂；桃子的外衣〉[Rupture; The Outer Garments of a Peach]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 夏总第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1993）。〈表弟〉[Cousins]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1993 秋冬总第 8 期。（诗歌）

**Fu Wei 傅维 & Zhong Shan 钟山 ed.**

（1990-1991）。*写作间* [*Writers' Workshop*]。重庆，四川。（诗刊，总 2 期）。

**Gou Mingjun 苟明军**

（1986II）。〈诱惑〉[Temptation]。上海：*大陆* 1986 总第 2 期：89。（诗歌）

（1988I）。〈翻过那个柱口就是疯人院〉[Over This Barrier is the Madhouse]。南川，四川。（诗歌手稿）

（1988II）。〈毫无意义：一首诗；另一首诗；毫无意义；父亲笑了；宁静〉[Completely Meaningless: A Poem; Another Poem; Completely Meaningless; Father Laughs; Silence]。南川，四川。（组诗手稿）

（1988III）。〈荒年；没有梦的礼拜日晚上；活下去；黑夜；被砍掉的向日葵；祖母；黑风；荒年的最后一个梦〉[A Lean Year; A Dreamless Sunday Night; Go On Living; Black Night; Cut Down Sunflowers; Grandmother; Black Wind; The Last Dream of a Lean Year]。南川，四川。（诗歌手稿）

**He Xiaozhu 何小竹**

（1986I）。〈鬼城〉[City of Ghosts]。涪陵， 四川。（组诗手稿 6 页）

（1986II）。〈梦中的胡须；另一面〉[A Beard in a Dream; The Other Side]。上海：*大陆* 1986 总第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1988）。〈组诗〉[Poem Series]。涪陵，四川。（组诗手稿）

**He Xiaozhu 何小竹**, **Lan Ma 蓝马**, **Yang Li 杨黎**, **Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏**, **Li Xiaobin 李晓彬**, ed.（1990，1991）。***非非****诗歌稿件集* [*The **Not-Not** Poetry Manuscript Collection*]。成都，四川。（诗刊 140 页，总 2 期）

**Hong Ying 虹影**

（1993I）。〈六个讲不下去的故事〉[Six Stories That Can Not Continue to be Told]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1993 秋冬总第 8 期。（组诗）

（1993II）。〈伦敦；柏林；哥本哈根；布拉格〉[London; Berlin; Copenhagen; Prague]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1993 春夏总第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1994I）。〈我们彼此的地狱〉[Our Mutual Hell]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 秋冬总第 10 期。（组诗）

（1994II）。〈组诗：鬼脸〉[Poem Series: Funny Faces]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 春夏总第 9 期。（组诗）

**Hu Dong 胡冬**

（1986）。〈故事〉[Story]。上海：*大陆* 1986 总第 2 期：34。（诗歌）

**Lan Ma 蓝马**

（1988）。〈世的界〉[The Field of Life]。成都，四川。（长诗手稿）

**Lan Ma 蓝马, Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏**, **Yang Li 杨黎**, **Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑**

（1988）。〈**第三代**：对混乱的澄清〉[**Third Generation** Poetry: A Clarification of Chaos]。成都：四川。（油印对话 8 页）

**Lan Ma 蓝马**, **Yang Li 杨黎**, **Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏**, **He Xiaozhu 何小竹**, **Li Xiaobin 李晓彬**, ed.（1990，1991）。***非非****诗歌稿件集* [*The **Not-Not** Poetry Manuscript Collection*]。成都，四川。（诗刊 140 页）

**Li Yawei 李亚伟**

（1986I）。〈85 年谋杀案；无意识的日子；隐士〉[A Murder in 1985; Unconscious Days; A Hermit]。上海：*大陆* 1986 总第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1986II）。〈困兽；盲虎；一九八六；行者；男情；恐龙；酒之路；决斗；流浪；第一个情人〉[The Cornered Beast; The Blind Tiger; 1986; The Traveller; Male Emotion; Dinosaurs; The Road of Liquor; A Duel; Roaming; The First Lover]。四川。（诗集）

（1986III）。〈**莽汉**手段—**莽汉**诗歌回顾〉[**Macho Man** Methods – A Retrospective of **Macho Man** Poetry]。四川。（文论 12 页）

（1986IV）。***莽汉****一九八四–一九八五诗选: 男人的诗是这样写的* [***Macho Men** – Poetry Selection 1984-1985: Men's Poetry is Written Like This*]（硬汉们；中文系；生活；给未婚妻一封信；毕业分

**Li Yawei 李亚伟**

配；更年期；老张和遮天蔽日的爱情；苏东坡和他的朋友们；十八岁；高尔基经过吉依别克镇；年龄不饶人；我的斧子呻吟；你是一个好姑娘）[Hard Men; The Chinese Department; Life; A Letter to My Fiancé; Graduation Work Assignment; Menopause; Old Zhang and a Love that Blots out the Sun; Su Dongpo and His Friends; Eighteen; Gorky Passes Through Jiyibieke Town; Age Spares No One; My Axe is Sighing; You're a Good Girl]。四川。（个人诗集 32 页）

（1987I）。〈岛〉[Island]。四川。（诗歌手稿 4 页）

（1987II）。〈诗章；金色的旅途；乘船换火车而又乘船；米米〉[A Canto; A Golden Journey; Get on a Boat, Change to a Train, Then Back on a Boat; Mimi]。四川。（诗歌手稿）

（1988I）。〈狂朋；怪侣；美人；战争〉[Wild Friends; A Strange Companion; The Beauty; War]。十堰，湖北。（诗歌手稿）

（1988II）。〈天空：岛；三月；帆；酒；羽；歌〉[The Sky: Island; March; Sails; Alcohol; Wings; Song]。重庆，四川。（组诗 6 首）

（1989I）。〈飞行〉[In Flight]。十堰，湖北。（长诗手稿 5 页）

（1989II）。〈飞行；我们〉[In Flight; We]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 夏总第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1989III）。〈火焰岛〉[Island of Flames]。四川。（长诗手稿 8 页）

（1989IV）。〈骑手〉[The Horseman]。四川。（长诗手稿 6 页）

（1989V）。〈秋收〉[Autumn Harvest]。北培/重庆，四川。（长诗手稿 8 页）

（1989VI）。〈抒情诗十首：美女和宝马；东渡；梦边的死；远海；破碎的女子；妖花；夏日的红枣；深杯；渡船；好色〉[Ten Lyric Poems: The Beauty and the Precious Horse; Eastern Crossing; Death on the Edge of Dreams; Distant Seas; A Shattered Woman; A Bewitching Flower; Red Dates of Summer; Deep Cups; The Ferry; Good Sex]。北培/重庆，四川。（手稿）

（1992）。〈怀旧的红旗〉[The Red Flag of Nostalgia]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1993 春夏总第 7 期。（组诗）

（1993）。〈急刹车〉[Emergency Braking]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 春夏总第 9 期。（文论）

**Li Yawei 李亚伟, Liao Yiwu 廖亦武, Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚**（1988）。〈给当代诗坛一耳光〉[Taking a Slap at the Contemporary Poetry Scene]。四川。（文论 5 页）

**LiaoYiwu 廖亦武**

（1983）。〈帽子〉[The Hat]。兰州：*同代诗刊*，1983。（诗歌）

（1984I）。〈归宿〉[A Home To Return To]。成都， 四川。（组诗 5 页）

**LiaoYiwu 廖亦武**

（1985I）。〈金翡翠：禁水；远村；变迁；咒语；火祭；独归〉[The Golden Red Finch: Forbidden Water; A Distant Village; Changes; Curses; A Fire Rite; Return Alone]。涪陵，四川。（组诗手稿）

（1985II）。〈大地之门〉[The Gates of Earth]。西安：*长安诗报*，第 3 期 1986。（诗歌）

（1985III）。〈大循环：循环柱；八月；水道没有中断；浪迹者；乌江新娘；阿拉法威的丧歌；碎片；最后的见证〉[The Great Cycle: The Cycle Pillar; The Eighth Month; The Water Way Has Not Been Severed; A Footloose Traveller; The New Bride of the Black River; A Dirge for Allahfaweh; Shards; The Final Witnessing]。成都，四川。（组诗油印）

（1985IV）。〈归宿〉[A Home To Return To]。南宁：*求索青年文学报*，第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1985V）。〈曼纽尔的音乐〉（艺术札记之四，与**巴铁**谈巫文化）[Emmanuelle's Music #4]。株洲：*回归带诗报*，创刊号 1987。（文论）

（1986I）。〈阿拉法威的丧歌〉[A Dirge for Allahfaweh]。上海：*大陆* 1986 总第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1986II）。〈白马：魔幻之鸟，只有幽灵能够抵达；寻找白马，你上溯了五条河流；鱼，宽恕我们吧；我为什么悲哀地凝视露水；马蹄悠扬，我将逝去〉[White Horses: The Bird of Magic, Only Ghosts can Approach; Looking for White Horses, You've Gone Up Five Rivers; Fish, Forgive Us; Why Do I Sadly Stare at Dew; Melodious Horse hooves, I'm Going to Pass Away]。涪陵，四川。（组诗手稿）

（1986III）。〈死城〉[The City of Death]。涪陵，四川。（长诗手稿 13 页）

（1986IV）。〈几百个世纪以来，人类守着这颗在深渊里运转的星球，迷惘地哭着：我为什么痛哭；你在摇篮里 熟睡着一个死孩子；冥目静听乌云拍击你的白发；穿插了无数道暗门抵达彼界；你的确被不断地埋葬过；人们守着这颗在深渊里运转的星球，迷惘地哭着〉[For Several Centuries, Humankind have been Watching Over this Planet Spinning in the Abyss, Crying in a Fog: Why Do I Cry; You're in a Cradle There Sleeps a Dead Child; With Dimming Eyes Silently Listen to the Black Clouds Striking Your White Hair; Pierce Numberless Hidden Doors to Reach the Other World; Indeed You're being Incessantly Buried; People have been Watching Over this Planet Spinning in the Abyss, Crying in a Fog。涪陵， 四川。（组诗手稿 6 页）

ed.（1987I）。*巴蜀现代诗群* [*The Modern Poetry Groups of Ba and Shu*]。涪陵，四川。（诗刊 110 页）

**LiaoYiwu 廖亦武**

（1987II）。〈巨匠（5 部）：序曲；（1）海上；食物；狂欢季；歌谣；（2）先知；人群；招魂（之一，二，三）；（3）一个孩子；一头狮子；九个夜行人；（4）公元前 278 年 7 月 15 日___郢都；公元前 316 年 4 月 5 日___巴人村；公元 631 年 2 月 7 日___麦加；公元 1966 年 8 月 15 日___东京；公元 2278 年 7 月 15 日___郢都；（5）天问；终曲（巨匠的最后一首诗）〉[The Master Craftsman (5 parts): Preface; (1) On the Sea; Food; Carnival Season; A Folk Song; (2) Prophet; Crowds; The Summoning of the Soul (1, 2, 3); (3) A Child; A Lion; Nine Night Travellers; (4) B.C.E. 278 July 15 __ Yingdu; B.C.E. 316 April 5 __ Ba People Village; C.E. 631 February 7 __ Mecca; C.E. 1966 August 15 __ Tokyo; C.E. 2278 July 15 __ Yingdu; (5) Questioning Heaven; The End Song (The Final Poem of the Master Craftsman)]。涪陵，四川。（组诗手稿 59 页）

（1988I）。〈幻城〉[The City of Illusions]。涪陵，四川。（长诗手稿 11 页）

（1988II）。〈杂种：寓言；哲学；喜剧；悲剧；诗歌；小说；舞蹈；故事；格言〉[Bastards: An Allegory; Philosophy; A Comedy; A Tragedy; Poetry; Fiction; Dance; A Story; An Aphorism]。涪陵，四川。（组诗手稿 19 页）

（1988III）。〈偶象：巨镜（1）；等待偶象；偶象降临；偶象颂歌；偶象游戏（七天）；巨镜（2）〉[Idols: The Giant Mirror (1); Waiting for an Idol; An Idol Descends; Ode to the Idol; The Idol Game (Seven Days); The Giant Mirror (2)]。涪陵，四川。（组诗手稿 25 页）

（1989）。〈屠杀〉[Slaughter]。涪陵，四川。（长诗手稿 14 页）

（1985-89）。〈曼纽尔的音乐〉（第 3，4，9，10）[Emmanuelle’s Music #3, #4, #9, #10]。涪陵，四川。（散文手稿）

（1992）。〈朗诵经历；汉人的朗诵；其它〉[Experience of Recitals; Recitals of the Han; Other Topics]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 春夏总第 9 期。（散文）

（1994）。*活下去*：第一卷 [*Go On Living*: Part 1]。 成都, 四川。（小说初稿 153 页）

ed.（1995）。*死城* [*The City of Death*]。成都，四川。（诗歌与评论集 176 页）

（1998）。*活下去* 第 4 卷：天劫—八九前后的个人主义证词 [*Go On Living* Part 4: Catastrophe – Evidence of Individualism Before and After 1989]。成都, 四川。（纪实文学初稿 160 页）

**Liao Yiwu (Lao Wei) 廖亦武 (老威)** ed.（1997）。*知识分子* [*Intellectual*]（第 1 期）。成都，四川。（文学刊物 294 页）

ed.（1998）。*知识分子* [*Intellectual*]（第 2 期）。成都，四川。（文学刊物 400 页）

**Liao Yiwu (Ya Suo) 廖亦武 [亚缩]**。（1999I）。*古拉格情歌* [*Love Songs From the Gulags*]。（诗册 86 页）

**Liao Yiwu 廖亦武, Li Yawei 李亚伟, Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚**（1988）。〈给当代诗坛一耳光〉[Taking a Slap at the Contemporary Poetry Scene]。四川。（文论 5 页）

**Liu Tao 刘涛**

（1986）。〈今天不下雨〉[It's Not Raining Today]。上海：*大陆* 1986 总第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1988I）。〈看见的均是彩色的；想到的就是想到的；你说出的我不能说出；是谁坐在其中；叶这个女子〉[What's Seen is all Colored; What's Remembered is What's Remembered; What You've Said I can not Say; Who is Sitting Among Them; This Woman Ye]。成都，四川。（诗歌手稿）

（1988II）。〈鸟儿木夕；窗外是树叶；持枪男子〉[Muxi the Bird; Outside the Window is Leaves; A Man with a Gun]。成都，四川。（诗歌手稿）

（1988III）。〈天目（4 首）〉[Eyes of Heaven]。成都，四川。（组诗手稿）

（1988IV）。〈向南方和北方飞去〉[Fly to the South and the North]。成都，四川。（诗歌手稿）

（1991）。〈陌生的题材；人像；关心〉[An Odd Topic; A Human Likeness; Solicitude]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 夏总第 2 期。（诗歌）

**Ma Song 马松**

（1986）。〈夏天；讲故事；情绪〉[Summer; Telling Stories; A Mood]。上海：*大陆* 1986 总第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1991）。〈致爱〉[To Love]。贵阳：*大骚动* 1991，第 1 期。（诗歌）

**Ouyang Jianghe 欧阳江河**

（1984）。〈悬棺（全三章）〉[The Suspended Coffin]。成都，四川。（长诗手稿 16 页）

（1985）。〈关于现代诗的随想〉[Random Thoughts on Modern Poetry]。成都，四川。（油印文论 3 页）

（1986-1988）。〈空中家园；乌鸦和女孩；夏天的冷面孔；日日新；兽皮手套；大鸟；邓南遮的金鱼；蛇；美人；智慧的骷髅之舞；冷血的秋天〉[A Home in the Air; Blackbirds and Girls; The Cold Face of Summer; Day By Day Make It New; Animal Skin Gloves; The Big Bird; The Gold Fish of Deng Nanzhe; Snakes; The Beauty; The Dance of the Skeleton of Wisdom; A Cold-Blooded Autumn]。成都， 四川。（诗集手稿）

（1988I）。〈对抗与对称：中国当代实验诗歌〉[Confrontation and Symmetry: Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry]。成都，四川。（文论手稿 25 页）

**Ouyang Jianghe 欧阳江河**

（1988II）。〈室内：聆听（10 首）；一夜肖邦；苹果〉[In The Room: Listen (10 poems); A Night of Chopin; Apples]。成都，四川。（诗歌手稿）

（1988III）。〈最后的幻像：草莓；黑鸦；花瓶，月亮；落日；玫瑰；雏菊；彗星；蝴蝶；秋天；初雪；老人；书卷〉[The Final Mirage: A Strawberry; Blackbirds; Flower Vase, Moon; Sunset; Roses; Chrysanthemum Buds; Comets; Butterflies; Autumn; First Snow; Oldsters; Books]。成都，四川。（诗歌手稿）

（1988IV）。〈阳光下的果树；夏天的孩子；纸上的秋天；邓南遮的金鱼；深圳或肖邦〉[An Apple Tree in Sunlight; Child of Summer; Autumn on Paper; The Gold Fish of Deng Nanzhe; Shenzhen or Chopin]。北京：*倾向* 1988 第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1989I）。〈短歌（8 首）〉[Short Songs]。成都，四川。（诗歌手稿）

（1989II）。〈快餐馆（10 首）〉[The Fast Food Restaurant]。成都，四川。（组诗手稿）

（1989III）。〈1989，致友人〉[1989, To Friends]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1993 秋冬总第 6 期。（组诗 8 首）

（1990）。〈傍晚过广场〉[Crossing the Square at Nightfall]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 冬总第 4 期。（长诗）

（1991I）。〈月圆时节；墨水瓶；春之声；寂静〉[Season of the Full-Moon; An Ink Bottle; The Sound of Spring; Silence]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 春总第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1991II）。〈魂游十四行诗（8—19）〉[Sonnets for Wandering Souls]。上海：*倾向* 1991 总第 3 期。（组诗选章）

（1993）。〈我们的睡眠，我们的饥饿〉[Our Sleep, Our Hunger]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 秋冬总第 10 期。（组诗 12 首）

**Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏**

（1986）。〈卡尔·马克思〉[Karl Marx]。上海：*大陆* 1986 总第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1986-1988）。*歌唱：二十首* [*Singing: Twenty Poems*]。（现状；面庞；读书；诗人；生命；歌唱；告别；依靠；写作；后代；生日；母亲；等待；祖国；四月；邻居；春天；苦衷；杜甫；痛哭）[A Current Situation; A Visage; Studying; A Poet; Life; Singing; Departure; Support; Writing; Later Generations; Birthday; Mother; Waiting; An Ancestral Home; April; Neighbors; Spring; Unspoken Difficulties; Du Fu; Tears of Pain]。成都，四川。（诗集）

（1991）。〈好人一生平安〉[A Peaceful Life for Good People]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 夏总第 2 期。（组诗）

**Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏, Yang Li 杨黎, Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑, Lan Ma 蓝马**

（1988）。〈**第三代**：对混乱的澄清〉[Third Generation Poetry: A

Clarification of Chaos]。成都：四川。（油印对话 8 页）

**Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏**, **Yang Li 杨黎**, **He Xiaozhu 何小竹**, **Lan Ma 蓝马**, **Li Xiaobin 李晓彬**, ed.（1990，1991）。***非非****诗歌稿件集* [*The* ***Not-Not*** *Poetry Manuscript Collection*]。成都，四川。（诗刊 140 页）

**Song Qu 宋渠**，**Song Wei 宋炜**

（1986）。〈意味深长；渐进十七支；噤声〉[Of Lasting Import; Slowly Enter Seventeen; Keep Silent]。上海：*大陆* 1986 总第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1994）。〈乘车上程度；西城纪事 – 致席永君；瞬息的仪仗；四联章，或幸福的舞台剧〉[Get On the Bus and Rise a Level; Notes from the West City – To Xi Yongjun; The Accoutrements of a Instant; Four Antithetical Couplets, or a Happy Stage Play。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 秋冬总第 10 期。（诗歌）

**Sun Wenbo 孙文波**

（1988）。〈太阳下的孩子〉[Children Under the Sun]。南京：*87 年现代诗歌运动：交流资料之一*，1988。（诗歌）

ed.（1987-1989）。*红旗* [*The Red Flag*]（总 4 期）。成都，四川。（诗刊）

（1991）。〈伪奥古斯都传〉[The Tale of a False August]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 冬总第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1993I）。〈上山〉[Up The Mountain]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1993 秋冬总第 8 期。（组诗 18 首）

（1993II）。〈诗歌，语言的精神形式〉[Poetry, The Form of the Spirit of Language]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1993 秋冬总第 8 期。（文论）

（1993III）。〈新闻图片；玫瑰花香〉[Pictures in the News; The Fragrance of Roses]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1993 春夏总第 7 期。（组诗）

（1994I）。〈搬家；梦中吟〉[Moving House; Sighs in Dreams]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 秋冬总第 10 期。（组诗）

（1994II）。〈假面舞会；临夏纪事；钢铁生涯〉[A Mask Ball; Notes as Summer Approaches; A Career of Steel]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 春夏总第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1994III）。〈修辞的胜利 – **欧阳江河**的诗〉[The Victory of Rhetoric – **Ouyang Jianghe**'s Poetry]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 春夏总第 9 期。（文论）

（1994IV）。〈诗人和时代生活〉[Poets and the Life of the Times]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 秋冬总第 10 期。（答问）

（1996）。〈我的诗观〉[My Views on Poetry]。北京：*新诗 New Poetry* 2002 年 3 月创刊号。（文论）

（2001）。〈我怎么成为了自己〉[How I Became Me]。（文论稿）

（2002）。〈**付维**传；中国诗歌的‘中国性’〉[The Story of Fu Wei; The 'Chineseness' of Chinese Poetry]。北京：*新诗 New Poetry* 2002 年 3 月创刊号。（文论）

**Sun Wenbo 孙文波, Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚** ed.（1989-1992）。*九十年代* [*The Nineties*]（总 4 期）。成都—上海。（诗刊）

**Tang Danhong 唐丹鸿**

（1994）。〈你可能是我的兄弟。。。；向日葵；机关枪新娘；暑假紧紧塞住鼻孔〉[You're Probably My Brother … ; Sunflowers; A New Bride of the Machine Gun; Summer Vacation Plugs the Nostrils Tight]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 秋冬总第 10 期。（诗歌）

**Tang Yaping 唐亚平**

（1983）。***唐亚平****诗集* [*A Collection of* ***Tang Yaping****'s Poetry*]。四川。（个人诗集 14 页）

（1991I）。〈斜依雨季〉[Leaning on the Rainy Season]。贵阳：*大骚动* 1991 总第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1991II）。〈形而上的风景（之 8，10）〉[Metaphysical Scenery (No. 8 & 10)]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 秋总第 3 期。（诗歌）

（1991III）。〈意外的风景〉[Accidental Scenery]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 春总第 1 期。（诗歌）

**Wan Xia 万夏**

ed.（1984）。***莽汉：****男子汉的诗是这样写的* [***Macho Man****: Men's Poetry is Written Like This*]。成都， 四川。（诗刊 50 页）

ed.（1985）。*现代诗内部交流资料 Modernists Federation* [*Modern Poetry Internal Exchange Materials*]。成都，四川。（诗刊 80 页）

（1986）。〈给邵氏姐妹的十一首诗：芭蕾；纯粹的人；彼女；给你一条不朽的生命；女孩和马；捡瓷片的手；一个诗人的基本服饰；脸相；诗人无饭；圣女之夜；渡湖〉[Eleven Poems for the Shao Sisters: Ballet; A Person of Purity; That Woman; Give Me a Life of Immortality; Girls and Horses; A Hand Gathering Shards of Porcelain; The Essential Dress of a Poet; Facial Looks; No Food for Poets; A Night of Saintly Women; Lake-Crossing]。成都， 四川。（个人诗集）

（1988I）。〈关于词语的五首诗：词，内心；黑白子；本质；渡光阴的人；词，房子；词，刀锋〉[Five Poems on Words: Words, The Heart; The Black and White; True Nature; A Person Passing Through Time; Words, The House; Words, A Knife Blade]。成都， 四川。（个人诗集）

（1988II）。〈给张敏的四首诗：月落（5 首）；手；生命中不能承受的轻（4 首）；鬼（5 首）〉[Four Poems for Zhang Min: Moon Set; Hands; The Unbearable Lightness of Being; Ghosts]。成都， 四川。（个人诗集）

**Wan Xia 万夏, Shi Guanghua 石光华, Liu Taiheng 刘太亨, Song Qu 宋渠, Song Wei 宋炜, Zhang Yu 张渝** ed.（1986）。*汉诗: 二十世纪编年史—一九八六*（第 1 期）[*Han Poetry: A Chronicle of the 20th Century 1986*]。成都，四川。（诗刊 120 页）

**Wan Xia 万夏, Shi Guanghua 石光华, Liu Taiheng 刘太亨, Song Qu 宋渠, Song Wei 宋炜, Zhang Yu 张渝** ed.（1988）。*汉诗: 二十世纪编年史 1987-1988*（第 2 期）[*Han Poetry: A Chronicle of the 20th Century 1987-1988*]。成都，四川。（诗刊 132 页）

**Xi Yabing 席亚兵**

（2002I）。〈**孙文波**诗歌人格气质散论〉[Comments about Human Nature in **Sun Wenbo**'s Poetry]。北京：*新诗 New Poetry* 2003 年 3 月创刊号。（文论）

（2002II）。〈印象与臆解〉[Impressions and Subjective Explanations]（评论**肖开愚**）[Critique of **Xiao Kaiyu**]。北京：*新诗 New Poetry* 2003 年 8 月第 2 辑。（文论）

**Xiang Yixian 向以鲜**

（1990）。〈人们的梦〉[Dreams of People]。南京：*思无邪：89 年现代诗歌运动*，1990。（诗歌）

**Xiao An 小安**

（1988）。〈采独叶草去〉[Let's Go Pick Single-Bladed Grass]。南京：*87 年现代诗歌运动：交流资料之一*，1988。（诗歌）

**Xiao He 晓禾**

（1988）。〈他：痛苦的寻找着自己 – 青年诗人**雨田**印象〉[He: Painfully Looking for Himself – Impressions of the Young Poet **Yu Tian**]。绵阳，四川。（文论手稿）

**Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚**

（1987）。〈水（5 首）〉[Water]。四川。（组诗手稿）

（1988I ）。〈**廖亦武**在诗歌中〉[**Liao Yiwu** in Poetry]。中江，四川。（文论手稿 34 页）

（1988II）。〈汉人〉[The Han People]。中江，四川。（诗歌手稿）

（1988III）。〈汉人；强盗；为一个字的海岸；我走过南方；母语；谣曲；花前月下；雨夜作；帝；空；即景；晨光中的农妇；南山；父；为龙宅一：工作；为龙宅二；龙宅；侠客；情诗（组诗）；1987 年春，自成都返中江，在刘家河坝读《五灯会元》；泰（组诗）〉[The Han People; The Bandit; A Seashore for a Chinese Character; I've Been Through the South; Mother Language; A Ballad; Before the Flowers Beneath the Moon; Work on a Rainy Night; The Emperor; Extempore; A Farmer Wife in the Dawn Sunlight; South Mountain; Father; For the Dragon Home No. 1; Work; For the Dragon Home No. 2; The Dragon Home; Knight Errant; Love Poems; Spring 1987, Returning to Zhongjiang from Chengdu, Reading <Five Lanterns Gets First Place in the Imperial Exams> at the Liujia River Dam; The Great]。中江，四川。（诗歌手稿）

（1988IV）。〈谋杀〉[Murder]。中江，四川。（短篇小说手稿）

**Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚**

（1988V）。〈墓地（组诗 10 首）〉[The Graveyard]。中江，四川。（诗歌手稿）

（1988VI）。〈诗第 228；收藏品；诉说（十二）；被涂改的女人；死亡之诗（十一）；马拉美的皇后〉[Poem No. 228; Collectables; The Telling; The Altered Woman; Poems on Death; The Empress of Mallarme]。中江，四川。（诗歌手稿）

（1988VII）。〈中国第二诗界〉[China's Second World of Poetry]。四川。（文论手稿 62 页）

（1990I）。〈李小红的爱情〉[The Love of Li Xiaohong]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 秋冬总第 10 期。（诗歌）

（1990II）。〈三种时间里的英雄〉[A Hero in Three Types of Time]。上海：*倾向* 1990 总第 2 期。（散文）

ed.（1990-1991）。*反对* [*Against*]（总 13 期）。成都，四川。（诗刊）

（1991I）。〈通达街 31 号；盲人的手杖；晚餐〉（1986）[No. 31 Tongda Street; The Walking Stick of the Blind; Dinner]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 春总第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1991II）。〈转瞬；呼声〉[In a Flash; A Shout]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 冬总第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1991III）。〈北望的歌谣：昆虫；西风；城堡；下雨；庄园；孩子；早晨；小夜曲；公牛〉[The Ballad of Beiwang; Beetles; The West Wind; Falling Rain; A Villa Courtyard; A Child; Morning; A Lullaby; A Bull]。上海：*倾向* 1991 总第 3 期。（组诗）

（1992）。〈一位持怀疑论的诗人〉[A Skeptical Poet]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1992 秋冬总第 6 期。（散文）

（1993I）。〈传奇诗〉[A Romance Poem]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1993 春夏总第 7 期。（诗歌）

（1993II）。〈传奇诗〉[A Romance Poem]。杭州：*北回归线*总第 3 期，1993。（诗歌）

（1994）。〈精神科；照片；祖国女郎；梦见钟子期；另外的诗〉[The Psychic Department; Photographs; Maidens of the Ancestral Land; Dreaming of the Time of Bells; A Different Poem]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 春夏总第 9 期。（诗歌）

**Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚, Li Yawei 李亚伟, Liao Yiwu 廖亦武**（1988）。〈给当代诗坛一耳光〉[Taking a Slap at the Contemporary Poetry Scene]。四川。（文论 5 页）

**Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚, Sun Wenbo 孙文波** ed.（1989-1992）。*九十年代* [*The Nineties*]（总 4 期）。成都—上海。（诗刊）

**Xiaoxiao 潇潇**

（1990）。〈等候；冬天〉[Waiting; Winter]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 春总第 1 期。（诗歌）

**Xiaoyin 晓音**

ed.（1988-1994）*女子诗报* [*The Woman's Poetry Paper*]。西昌，四川。（诗刊，总 4 期）

**Yang Li 杨黎**

（1986）。〈看水的男人；看水去；中国鱼〉[The Man Watching Water; Going to See the Water; China Fish]。上海：*大陆* 1986 总第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1988I）。〈撒哈拉沙漠上的三张纸牌；英语学习〉[Three Playing Cards Scattered on the Sahara Desert; Studying English]。南京：*他们* 1988 总第 5 期。（诗歌）

（1988II）。〈动作〉[Movement]。成都，四川。（油印诗 7 页）

（1990）。〈红灯亮了；少女二〉[The Red Light is Lit; Girl No. 2]。南京：*思无邪：89 年现代诗歌运动，交流资料之二*，1990。（诗歌）

（1991）。〈少女十四行；死亡十四行；阳光十四行〉[A Sonnet on Girls; A Sonnet on Death; A Sonnet of the Sun]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 夏总第 2 期。（诗歌）

**Yang Li 杨黎, Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑, Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏, Lan Ma 蓝马**

（1988）。〈**第三代**：对混乱的澄清〉[**Third Generation** Poetry: A Clarification of Chaos]。成都：四川。（油印对话 8 页）

**Yang Li 杨黎, He Xiaozhu 何小竹, Lan Ma 蓝马, Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏, Li Xiaobin 李晓彬**, ed.（1990，1991）。***非非诗歌稿件集*** [***The Not-Not** Poetry Manuscript Collection*]。成都，四川。（诗刊 140 页）

**Yang Ran 杨然**

（1987）。〈生命惶惑曲：投奔土地；惶惑；安魂曲〉[A Song on the Alarming Perplexity of Life: Escape to the Land; Perplexed; Requiem]。石家庄，青年诗友同盟会：*力作抗衡* 试刊 1 号，1987。（组诗）

**Yang Shunli 杨顺礼, Lei Mingchu 雷鸣雏**，

ed.（1985）。*中国当代实验诗歌* [*Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry*]。涪陵，四川。（诗刊 80 页）

**Yu Tian 雨田**

（1987）。〈自然之自然定律〉[The Natural Laws of Nature]。石家庄，青年诗友同盟会：*力作抗衡* 试刊 1 号，1987。（诗歌）

（1988I）。〈城里城外：妓女及其它；谋杀；老者言辞；魔鬼舞；情人之死〉[Inside the City and Out; Prostitutes and Other Matters; Murder; The Words of an Elder; Dance of the Devil; The Death of a Lover]。绵阳，四川。（组诗手稿）

（1988II）。〈静木（静辞第二部）：另一种预感；孤独片断之一；一个男人的问题；并非手记或者村庄和死亡；空屋结构〉[Quiet Wood (Part 2 of <Quiet Words>); A Different Premonition; A Passage of Being Alone; A Man's Problem; Not a Handwritten Note or the Village and Death; The composition of an Empty

Room]。广元，四川。（组诗手稿）

**Yu Tian 雨田**

（1988III）。〈女皇山庄 – 1988 年 6 月 13 日星期一或者受到绵阳的来信：谁；关于红鸟；一走进山庄我说我是人；黄昏 给朋友读诗我实在感到无聊；女皇山庄之夜；所触；落雨时刻；走过干道我不是为了逃避；临行前想到的事 一二三〉[The Empress' Mountain Villa – Monday 13 June 1988 or Receiving a Letter from Mianyang: Who; About Red Birds; As Soon as I Walked into the Mountain Villa I Say I'm a Person; Dusk I Feel Reading Poems to Friends is Boring; Nights at the Empress' Mountain Villa; Things Thought of Before Departure 1, 2, 3]。广元，四川。（组诗手稿）

（1988IV）。〈血歌：剑门关；天长地久；巴山人；孤独者；独眼〉[Songs of Blood: The Sword Gate Pass; The Sky Long The Earth Old; Ba Mountain People; The Loner; The Single Eye]。绵阳，四川。（组诗手稿）

（1991）。〈最初的界域；内向或一种体验；一只鸟从头上飞过〉[The Initial Border Regions; Introversion or a Physical Experience; A Bird Flies Overhead]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1992 秋冬总第 6 期。（诗歌）

**Zhai Yongming 翟永明**

（1985I）。〈黑夜的意识〉[The Consciousness of Black Night]（文论）。*女人* [*Woman*]（组诗 20 首）第一部：预感；臆想；瞬间；荒屋；渴望。第二部：母亲；世界；夜境；憧 憬；噩梦。第三部：独白；证明；边缘；七月；秋天。第四部：旋转；人生；沉默；生命；结束。[Part 1: A Premonition; Phantasm; An Instant; The Desolate Room; Desire. Part 2: Mother; The World; Night Scene; Anticipation; Nightmare. Part 3: Monologue; Evidence; Margins; July; Autumn. Part 4: A Whirl; The Life of People; Silence; Life; The Finish] 成都，四川。（油印组诗集 41 页）

（1985II）。〈噩梦；证明；结束〉[Nightmare; Evidence; The Finish]。北京—上海：*当代中国诗歌七十五首* 1985 年。（*女人*）

（1986I）。〈静安庄（第四，八，九，十月）〉[Peaceful Village: The Fourth, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Months]。成都，四川。（组诗手稿）

（1986II）。〈生命；夜境；秋天〉[Life; Night Scene; Autumn]。上海：*大陆* 1986 总第 2 期。（*女人*）

（1991）。〈死亡的图案〉（组诗选）[Death's Design]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 春总第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1992）。〈给韩东的一封信〉[A Letter to Han Dong]。上海：*发言* 1992。（文论）

（1993I）。〈玩偶；壁虎与我；午夜的判断〉[Dolls; Geckos and Me; The

Judgment of Midnight]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1993 春夏总第 7 期。（诗歌）

**Zhai Yongming 翟永明**

（1993II）。〈颜色中的颜色 – 献给 H・D〉（1990）[The Color Within Color – For H. D.]。杭州：*北回归线* 1993 年。（诗歌）

（1994I）。〈莉莉和琼（叙事组诗）〉[Lily and Joan]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1994 春夏总第 9 期。（诗歌）

（1994II）。〈关于不可能的爱情：回忆与时间（外二首）〉[On Impossible Love: Memories and Time]。北京：*现代*汉诗 1994 秋冬总第 10 期。（诗歌）

**Zhang Zao 张枣**

（1988）。〈惜别莫尼卡；第六种办法；灯心绒幸福的舞蹈；苍蝇；楚王梦雨；早晨的风暴〉[A Reluctant Parting with Monica; The Sixth Way; The Happy Dance of Corduroy; A Fly; The King of Chu Dreams of Rain; A Storm at Dawn]。北京：*倾向* 1988 总第 1 期。（诗歌）

**Zhao Ye 赵野**

（1991）。〈雨季〉[The Rainy Season]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 春总第 1 期。（诗歌）

**Zheng Danyi 郑单衣**

（1991I）。〈伪装的幸福；我已从悲伤中逃脱；黑草莓〉[Feigned Happiness; I’ve Already Broken Free of Sorrow; Black Strawberries]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 夏总第 2 期。（诗歌）

（1991II）。〈致秋天；玫瑰或火焰的房子；而且，整整一个下午被哭泣掉〉[To Autumn; Roses or a House of Flames; And the Whole Afternoon has been Cried Away]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 冬总第 4 期。（诗歌）

（1991III）。〈三只苹果的秋天；哭泣〉[The Autumn of Three Apples; Sobs]。贵阳：*大骚动* 1991，第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1992）。〈青春；如果你是玫瑰；萨克斯与其吹奏者；在一个夏天，在一个夏天；致秋天；挽歌〉（1989）[Youth; If You Were a Rose; A Sax and it’s Blower; One Summer, One Summer; To Autumn; Funeral Song]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1992 春夏总第 5 期。（诗歌）

**Zhong Ming 钟鸣**

ed.（1982）。*次生林* [*The Born-Again Forest*]。成都，四川。（诗刊 107 页）

ed.（1989-1992）。*象罔* [*Image Puzzle*]（总 12 期）。成都，四川。（诗歌, 艺术刊物）

（1990I）。〈湖边的书库（1974。镜泊）〉[A Book Depository by a Lake]。南京：*思无邪：89 年现代诗歌运动*，1990。（诗歌）

（1990II）。〈中间地带〉[Intermediary Zone]。上海：*倾向* 1990 总第 2 期。（散文）

**Zhong Ming 钟鸣**

（1991）。〈断齿三章〉[Three Poems on Broken Teeth]。北京：现代汉诗 1991 春总第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1992）。〈遥远的星光；轩；奥菲利亚；火炉；击壤歌〉[Distant Starlight; The Veranda; Ophelia; A Stove; Song of Border Strikes]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1992 秋冬总第 6 期。（诗歌）

（1993）。〈羽林郎；鸟卜；玉面〉[An Armed Escort; The Augury of a Bird; The Face of Jade]。杭州：*北回归线* 1993 年总第 3 期。（诗歌）

**Zhong Shan 钟山**

（1991）。〈玫瑰〉[Roses]。贵阳：*大骚动*，1991 总第 1 期。（诗歌）

**Zhong Shan 钟山 & Fu Wei 傅维 ed.**

（1990-1991）。*写作间* [*Writers' Workshop*]。重庆，四川。（诗刊，总 2 期）。

**(Zhou) Faxing（周）发星**

ed.（1987-1989）。*温泉诗刊* [*Warm Springs Poetry*]。大凉山，四川。（诗刊）

ed.（1990-1993）。*大凉山诗歌* [*Mount Daliang Poetry*]。大凉山，四川。（诗刊）

ed.（1997-）。*开风* [*The Wind of the Kai People*]。大凉山，四川。（诗刊）

ed.（1998-）。*独立* [*Independence*]。大凉山，四川。（诗刊）

**Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑**

（1984）。〈带猫头鹰的男人〉[The Man with the Owl]。西昌，四川。（诗歌 5 页）

ed.（1986I）。***非非:*** *Fei Fei* [***Not-Not***] *Poetical Works and Poetics* （创刊号）。西昌—成都，四川。（诗刊 80 页）

ed.（1986II）。*非非评论* [***Not-Not*** *Criticism*]（第 1 期）。西昌—成都，四川。（诗报 4 版）

ed.（1987I）。***非非:*** *Fei Fei* [***Not-Not***] *Poetical Works and Poetics* （第 2 期）。西昌—成都，四川。（诗刊 140 页）

ed.（1987II）。*非非评论* [***Not-Not*** *Criticism*]（第 2 期）。西昌—成都，四川。（诗报 4 版）

（1987III）。〈头像〉[Portrait of the Head]。西昌，四川。（组诗手稿 14 页）

ed.（1988I）。***非非:*** *Feifei* [***Not-Not***] *Poetical Works and Poetics* （第 3 期）。西昌—成都，四川。（诗刊 148 页，诗歌专号）

ed.（1988II）。***非非:*** *Feifei* [***Not-Not***] *Poetical Works and Poetics* （第 4 期）。西昌—成都，四川。（诗刊 142 页，评论专号）

（1988III）。〈**"第三代"**诗论〉[On the Third Generation]。西昌，四川。（文论手稿 34 页）

（1991I）。〈永远的伤口；石头构图的境况；画家的高蹈之鹤与矮种马〉[The Everlasting Wound; A Situation Composed of Stones; The

**Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑**

High-Stepping Crane and Midget Horse of the Painter]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 春总第 1 期。（诗歌）

（1991II）。〈主体的损失；想象大鸟；果核的含义；在刀锋上完成的句法转换〉[The Subject's Loss; The Great Bird of the Imagination; The Meaning of a Fruit Pit; Transformation of Syntax Completed on the Knife's Edge]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1991 秋总第 3 期。（诗歌）

ed.（1992I）。***非非*** [***Not-Not***]（复刊号, 总第 5 期）。西昌—北京（诗刊 148 页）

（1992II）。〈拒绝的姿态〉[A Stance of Refusal]。北京：*现代汉诗* 1992 春夏总第 6 期。（文论）

ed.（1993I）。***非非*** [***Not-Not***]（第 6-7 期）。西昌—北京。（诗刊 195 页）

（1993II）。〈当代诗歌：跨越年代的言说 – 答中国新诗研究所吕进先生问〉[Contemporary Poetry: A Speaking that Crosses the Ages – Answering Questions from Lü Jin in China's New Poetry Research。杭州：*北回归线* 1993 年，第 3 期。（文论）

**Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑, Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏, Yang Li 杨黎, Lan Ma 蓝马**

（1988）。〈**第三代**：对混乱的澄清〉[**Third Generation** Poetry: A Clarification of Chaos]。成都：四川。（油印对话 8 页）

**Zhou Weichi 周伟驰**

（2002）。〈诗歌中的语言游戏 – 关于**肖开愚**的一辑诗歌〉[The Language Game in Poetry – On a Volume of Poetry by **Xiao Kaiyu**]。北京：*新诗 New Poetry* 2003 年 8 月第 2 辑。（文论）

***BIBLIOGRAPHY:* Secondary Sources and Translations**
(Secondary dates in parentheses with on-line listings are those on which the author accessed and printed said items.)

**Axiang 阿翔**
（2000）。〈大陆民间诗歌刊物点评: 1999-2000 年 点评（1, 2）〉[Critiques of Various Mainland Unofficial Poetry Journals: 1999-2000]。(3.12.2002) http://www.new153.com/friend_magazine/01.htm
（2002a）。〈通过民刊我见证了诗歌的变迁〉[I Witnessed the Change in Poetry Through Unofficial Journals]。(3/12/2002) http://www.new153.com/new_magazine/new_16/mjsj.htm
（2003）。〈民刊：隐秘的生长与现状 – 从第三期《诗歌月刊》‘民刊专号’说开起〉[Unofficial Journals: A Hidden Growth and the Current Situation – Starting from the March "Unofficial Journal Special Issue" *Poetry Monthly*]。(7/1/2002) http://www.tcpoetry.com/wk9/shxbj/axiang.htm

**Ai Fei 艾斐**
（1992）。〈呼唤诗魂 – 兼论‘新诗潮’，‘后新诗潮’的美学误区〉[Calling on Poetry's Soul – Also Discussing the Aesthetic Areas of Error of the "New Poetry Tide" and the "Post-New Poetry Tide"]。北京：*诗刊* 1992 第 3 期。

**Ba Tie 巴铁**
（1986）。〈他的执拗，他的热情—理解**廖亦武**〉[His Willfulness, His Enthusiasm – Understanding **Liao Yiwu**]。北京：*中国文学月刊* 1986 年第 11 期。
（1989a）。〈《死城》论纲〉[A Theoretical Outline of <The City of Death>]。长春：*作家文学月刊*，1989 第 2 期。
（1989b）。〈当代诗歌中的后现代主义因素 – 以**欧阳江河**的两首小诗为例〉[Post Modernist Elements in Contemporary Poetry – With Two Poems by **Ouyang Jianghe** as Examples]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 第 12 期。

**Ba Tie 巴铁, Li Yawei 李亚伟, Gou Mingjun 苟明君, Liao Yiwu 廖亦武**
（1989）。〈先锋诗歌四人谈〉[A Four-way Conversation on Avant-garde Poetry]。长春：*作家文学月刊*，第 7 期 1989。

**Bai Hang 白航**
（1986）。〈朦胧诗的冲击波〉[The Shock Wave of Misty Poetry]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 11 期。
（1987）。〈读**廖亦武**〉[Reading **Liao Yiwu**]。成都：*星星诗刊*，1987 第 11

期。

**Bai Ma 白马**

（1986）。〈「巴国文风」论〉[On "The Literary Wing of Ba Country"]。涪陵：*巴国文风* 1986 半年刊第 1 期。

**Bai Xiaosheng 百晓生**

（2001）。〈诗坛英雄座次排行榜〉[A Ranking of Heroes on the Poetry Scene]。(22/1/2003) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/89.htm

**Bai Yuanbao 白元宝**

（2002）。〈逃避虚无：九十年代中国诗歌的实证倾向〉[Escape From Nihilism: The Positivist Tendency of 1990s Chinese Poetry]。(6/1/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/PoetColumn/baiyuanbao/article

**Bao Zhongwen 包忠文**

（1992）。*现代文学观念发展史* [*A History of the Development of Modern Literary Concepts*]。南京：江苏教育出版社。

**Barmé, Geremie R.**

ed. (1995a). *Shades of Mao: The Posthumous Cult of the Great Leader*. NY: M.E. Sharpe.

(1995b). <To Screw Foreigners Is Patriotic: China's Avant-garde Nationalists>. (23/4/2003) http://www.tsquare.tv/themes/ToScrew.html

(1999). *In The Red: On Contemporary Chinese Culture.* New York: Columbia University Press.

**Barmé, Geremie R. and Minford, John**

ed. (1988). *Seeds of Fire: Chinese Voices of Conscience.* New York: Hill and Wang.

**Barmé, Geremie R. and Jaivin, Linda**

ed. (1992). *New Ghosts, Old Dreams : Chinese Rebel Voices.* New York: Random House.

**Barnard, Patrick**

ed./trans (1983). *The Language of Silent Things: Selections from Baudelaire's Les Fleurs Du Mal.* Dunvegan, Ont.: Quadrant Editions.

**Barnstone, Tony**

ed. (1993). *Out of the Howling Storm: The New Chinese Poetry.* Hanover: The University Press of New England.

**Bei Chuang 北窗**

（2003）。〈《***女子诗报***》和《翼》诗刊〉[The Poetry Journals ***The Woman's Poetry Paper*** and *Wings*]。(29/1/2003) http://www.ceqq.com/vzsb/sb54-2.htm

**Beifang Mai 北方麦**

（2002）。〈残疾的先锋诗歌〉[Deformed Avant-garde Poetry]。http://www.tcpoetry.com/wangkan6/lilun/husang.htm

**Ben She 本社 ed.**

（1993）。*当代青年诗人十家* [*Ten Contemporary Young Poets*]。上海：上海文艺出版社。（including poetry by **Ouyang Jianghe 欧阳江河**,

**Zheng Danyi 郑单衣**，**Bai Hua 柏桦**，and **Zhai Yongming 翟永明**）

**Benton, Gregor**

ed. (1982). *Wild Lilies, Poisonous Weeds: Dissident Voices from People's China.* London: Pluto's Press.

**Billings**

（2002）。〈庸常下的精神飞翔—*自由诗篇：1967-2001*〉[Spiritual Flight Beneath the Commonplace– *Free Poetry: 1967-2000*]。(6/12/2002) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=391

**Bloom, Harold**

(1973). *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Bourdieu, Pierre**

(1968-1989). *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature.* (Ed. and introduced by Randal Johnson.) Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993.

(1979). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste.* (trans. by Richard Nice, 1984) London: Routledge, 1986.

(1980). *The Logic of Practice.* (trans. by Richard Nice). Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003.

(1981-1984). *Language and Symbolic Power.* (Ed. and introduced by John B. Thompson; trans. by Gino Raymond & Mathew Adamson). Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.

(1984-1988). *Homo Academicus.* (trans. by Peter Collier). Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003.

(1992). *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*. (trans. by Susan Emanuel). Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

**Browder, Clifford**

(1967). *André Breton: Arbiter of Surrealism.* Geneva, Switz.: Librairie Droz.

**Brown, Edward J.**

(1982). *Russian Literature Since the Revolution.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

**Bu Yongtao 布咏涛**

（2003）。〈新世纪诗歌观察（1）黑暗中的歌者 – 五•四以来中国女性诗歌概述〉[Observations of New Century Poetry – A General account of Women's Poetry Since May Fourth]。(23/6/2003) http://newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=06020hn4

**Cai Yihuai 蔡益怀**

（2003）。〈止血的生命之盐 – 读**郑单衣**的诗集《夏天的翅膀》〉[The Salt of Life That Stops Blood – Reading **Zheng Danyi**'s Poetry Collection *The Wings of Summer*]。 (10/10/2003) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msgID=21474814386

**Cai Yongmei 蔡咏梅**

（2004）。〈《野草》的故事〉[The Story of *Wild Grass*]。（2004-9-1） http://members.lycos.co.uk/sixiang001/author/C/CaiYongMei/

**Can Ran 粲然**

（2004a）。〈民刊的 2003〉[The 2003 of Unofficial Journals]。(3/5/2004) http://www.poemlife.com:9001/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=921

**Cang Er 苍耳**

（2001b）。〈先锋性与后卫性〉[The Nature of the Avant-garde and that of a Rear Guard]。(1/2/2004) http://www.poemlife.com/ReviewerColumn/canger

（2002）。〈中国二十年先锋诗片论〉[Comments on Twenty Years of Avant-garde Poetry in China]。(3/12/2002) http://www.new153.com/new_magazine/new_17/xdhy6.htm

**Cavanagh, Clare**

(1995). *Osip Mandelstam and the Modernist Creation of Tradition.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

**Chadwick, Charles**

(1971). *Symbolism.* London: Methuen & Co Ltd.

**Chan, Anita & Unger, Jonathan**

(1991). *Voices From The Protest Movement in Chongqing: Class Accents And Class Tensions* from *The Pro-democracy Protests in China: Reports From The Provinces*, ed. by Jonathan Unger (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.). See this chapter at: http://www.tsquare.tv/links/Chan.html (23/4/2003)

**Chang, Kang-I Sun & Saussy, Haun ed.**

(2000). *Women Writers of Traditional China: An Anthology of Poetry and Criticism.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

**Chang Li 常立 & Lu Shourong 卢寿荣**

（2002）。*中国新诗* [*Chinese New Poetry*]。上海：上海人民美术出版社。

**Char, René**

(1992). *Selected Poems.* (ed. Mary Ann Caws, Tina Jolas) New York: New Directions Books.

**Chen Chao 陈超**

（1986）。〈诗歌走向世界的思考〉[Reflections on Poetry Moving Toward the World]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 4 期。

（1988a）。〈新的意味和声音 – 诗歌审美特征的新变之三〉[New Meanings and Sounds – New Changes in the Characteristics of Aesthetic Appreciation of Poetry No. 3]。 合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 2 月 21 日，总第 83 期。

（1988b）。〈观点：**第三代**诗的发生和发展〉[Viewpoint: The Occurrence and Development of **Third Generation** Poetry]。 北京：*文艺报* 1988 年 9 月 3 日，第 5 期。

ed.（1989）。*中国探索诗鉴赏辞典* [*An Appreciation Dictionary of Chinese Exploratory Poetry*]。石家庄：河北人民出版社。

ed.（1993）。*以梦为马 – 新生代诗卷* [*With Dreams for Horses: Poetry of the Newborn Generation*] 。北京：北京师范大学出版社。

ed.（2002a）。*20 世纪中国探索诗鉴赏*（下）[*An Appreciation Dictionary of*

*Twentieth Century Chinese Exploratory Poetry* (Vol. 2)]。石家庄：河北人民出版社。

**Chen Chao 陈超**

（2003）。〈当代和诗人互赠沉重的尊严 – 读**郑单衣**《夏天的翅膀》〉[Contemporary Times and a Poet Mutual Gift a Heavy Respect – Reading **Zheng Danyi**'s *The Wings of Summer*]。(1/9/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=623

**Chen Shaohong 陈少红**

（1990）。〈从后现代主义看诗与城市的关系〉[Looking at the Relationship Between Poetry and the City from a Post-Modernist Perspective], in Chen Bingliang 陈炳良 ed. *中国当代文学探研* [*An Exploration of Chinese Contemporary Literature*]。香港：三联书店，1992。

**Chen Shaowei 陈绍伟**

ed.（1986）。*中国新诗集序跋选* [*A Selection of Prefaces and Post-faces of Chinese New Poetry Collections*]。长沙：湖南文艺出版社。

**Chen Sihe 陈思和**

（1999）。*中国当代文学史* [*A History of Chinese Contemporary Literature*]。上海：复旦大学出版社。Also at: (10/2/2003) http://www.white-colar.net/wx_hsl/dangdai/xd_02/csh_ddwxs/index.htm

**Chen Wei 陈蔚& Liu Chun 刘春**

（2004）。〈中国诗歌考察 1998-2004〉[A Study of Chinese Poetry 1998-2004]。 (1/6/2004) http://chenwei1966@sina.com

**Chen Xiaomei**

(1995). *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Chen Xiaoming 陈晓明**

（1993）。〈历史转型与后现代主义的兴起〉[History's Changing Patterns and the Rise of Post-Modernism]。广州：*花城文学双月刊* 1993 第 2 期.

（2001）。*表意的焦虑：历史祛魅与当代文学变革* [*The Anxiety of Expression: The Dispelling of Demons and Contemporary Literary Transformations*]。北京：中央编译出版社。

**Chen Xuguang 陈旭光**

（1994a）。〈'**第三代**诗歌'与'后现代主义'〉["**Third Generation** Poetry" and "Post-Modernism"]。沈阳：*当代作家评论双月刊* 1994 第 1 期。

ed.（1994b）。*快餐馆里的冷风景（诗歌诗论选）* [*The Cold Scenes in the Fast Food Restaurant (A Collection of Poetry and Theory)*]。北京：北京大学出版社。

（1995a）。〈凝望世纪之交的前夜—'当代女性诗歌：态势与展望'研讨会述要〉[A Close Look on the Eve of the Turn of the Century – An Account of Important Points at the Conference on "Contemporary

Women's Poetry: The Situation and the Outlook"。长春：*文艺争鸣月刊* 1995 第 5 期。

**Chen Xuguang 陈旭光**

（1995b）。〈主体，自我和作为话语的象征 – '后朦胧诗'转型论〉[The Symbols of the Subject, the Self and Active Language – On the Changing Forms of "Post-Misty Poetry"]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 4 期。

（1996）。*诗学：理论与批评* [*Poetics: Theory and Criticism*]。天津：百花文艺出版社。

**Chen Yaping 陈亚平**

（2003）。〈后**非非**写作：中国先锋诗歌的本体建构〉[Post-**Not-Not** Writing: The Noumenal Construction of Chinese Avant-Garde Poetry]。(21/11/2003) http://www.new153.com/whdt/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=622

**Chen Yaping 陈亚平，Jiang Lan 蒋蓝**

（2003）。〈**非非**系，以及后**非非**写作的使命〉[The **Not-Not** System, and the Mission of Post-**Not-Not** Writing]。（对话）(1/9/2003) http://www.new153.com/whdt/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=210

**Chen Zhongyi 陈仲义**

（1993）. 〈**第三代**与朦胧诗之比较〉[A Comparison of **Third Generation** and Misty Poetry]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1993 第 12 期。

（1994a）。〈**第三代**诗歌的生长性〉[The Growability of **Third Generation** Poetry]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1994 第 5 期。

（1994b）。*诗的哗变：**第三代**诗面面观* [*The Mutiny of Poetry: A View of the Faces of **Third Generation** Poetry*]。厦门：鹭江出版社。

（1995）。〈抵达本真几近自动的言说 – '**第三代**诗歌'的语感诗学〉[Reaching Original Truth is How Close to Automatic Speech – The Poetics of the Feeling for Language in "**Third Generation** Poetry"]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 4 期。

（2001）。〈大陆先锋诗歌（1976-2001）四种主要写作向度〉[Mainland Avant-Garde Poetry (1976-2001) Four Major Tendencies in Writing]。(5/12/2002) http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/chenzhongyi

（2003）。〈漂流瓶里的翅翼 – **郑单衣**简论〉[Wings in a Drifting Bottle – A Brief Discussion of **Zheng Danyi**]。(3/9/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=628

**Cheng Baolin 程宝林**

（1993a）。〈鸟使诗生动起来 – **蓝马**组诗《九月的情绪》简评〉[Birds Make Poetry Come to Life – A Simple Critique of **Lan Ma**'s Poem Sequence <A September Mood>]。成都：*星星月刊* 1993 年第 9 期。

（1993b）。〈幸亏我们还有梦 – **何小竹**诗《做梦（外一首）》简评〉

Luckily We Still Have Dreams – A Simple Critique of **He Xiaozhu**'s poem <Dream>']。成都：*星星月刊* 1993 年第 9 期。

**Cheng Bo 程波**

（2002）。〈‘个人写作’与‘个人话语场’—九十年代先锋诗歌的一种阐释〉["Individual Writing" and "Individual Discourse Space"—An Explanation of Avant-Garde Poetry in the 1990s]。(22/11/2002) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/123.htm

（2001）。〈西南联大诗人群与新诗的现代性转变 — 个案研究与主体学研究〉[The Poetry Groups of the Alliance of Southwestern Universities and the Transformation of Modernness of Poetry—Individual Case Studies and the Study of the Subject]。(28/11/2002) http://www.wenxue.com/gb/2001o1/chengbo.htm

**Cheng Guangwei 程光炜**

（1986a）。〈诗的抽象化与感情浮泛〉[The Abstractification and Revealing of Emotion in Poetry]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 5 期。

（1986b）。〈从台湾现代主义诗歌的衰落说开去—兼与伊甸同志商榷〉[Speaking From the decline of Modernism in Taiwan's Poetry—A Discussion with Comrade Yi Dian]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 9 期。

（1988a）。〈不可遏止的新诗潮流〉[The Inexorable New Poetry Tide]。 合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 2 月 6 日，总第 82 期。

（1988b）。〈论今年诗歌创作中的平民意识〉[On the Consciousness of Ordinary People in This Year's Poetry]。兰州： *飞天文学月刊* 1988 第 2 期。

（1989a）。〈当前诗创作的两个基本向度〉[Two Fundamental Tendencies in Current Poetry]。北京：*文学评论双月刊* 1989 第 5 期.

（1989b）。〈非个性化－对**第三代**诗创作论的解释〉[Non-Individuation—An Explanation of **Third Generation** Creative Poetics]。兰州：*飞天文学月刊* 1989 第 3 期.

（2000）。*雨中听枫：文坛回忆与批评* [*Listening to Maples in the Rain: Memories and Critiques of the Literary Scene*]。武汉：湖北教育出版社。

（2002）。*程光炜诗歌时评* [*Occasional Poetry Critiques of Cheng Guangwei*]。开封：河南大学出版社。

（2003）。*中国当代诗歌史* [*A History of Contemporary Chinese Poetry*]。北京：中国人民大学出版社。

（ a ）。〈不知所终的旅行—九十年代诗歌综论〉[A Journey With No Known End—A Comprehensive Discussion of 1990s Poetry]。(22/11/2002) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/73.htm

**Cheng Wenchao 程文超, Yang Ke 杨克, Xie Youshun 谢有顺, Zhang Ning 张柠**

（2001）。〈是民间保存了诗歌的火种—广州四人看诗歌的民间沉浮〉[The Spark of Poetry has been Preserved Among the People—Four

People in Guangzhou Look at Fall and Rise of Poetry Among the People]。
(9/12/2002) http://www.njpinglun.com/ykylzj01-srtsg.htm

**Cheng Xiaobei 程小蓓**
（2002）。〈解读**肖开愚**的诗〉[A Reading of **Xiao Kaiyu**'s Poetry]。
(4/12/2002) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/data

**Chi Yuzhou 迟宇宙**
（2002）。〈后朦胧诗，而且诗歌？〉[Post-Misty Poetry, But Poetry?]。
(21/1/2003)
http://www.cat898.com/fashion/fashion104/SHI/P/sp05.htm

**China Social Sciences Academy Literary Research Center 中国社会科学院文学研究所**
（1982）。*唐宋词选* [*A Collection of Tang and Song Lyric Poetry*]。北京：人民文学出版社。

**Chow Tse-Tsung**
(1960). *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

**Cool**
（2003）。〈关于后现代主义及其诗歌的几点认识〉[On Post-Modernism and the Recognition of a Few Aspects of Its Poetry]。(3/4/2003)
http://www.xhere.net/article/show.php?type=lilun&id=1045985603

**CSLS**
(2003). <China's Productivity Performance and Its Impact on Poverty in the Transition Period (1978-2001)>. (23/11/2004)
http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/APCITY/UNPAN017805.pdf

**Cuddon, J. A.**
ed. (1992). *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory.* London: Penguin Books.

**Cui Weiping 崔卫平**
（1992）。〈个人与私人化〉[The Individual and Personalization]。天津：*诗探索* 1992 第 2 期。
ed.（1993a）。*苹果上的豹 – 女性诗卷* [*A Leopard on an Apple: The Poetry of Women*] 。北京：北京师范大学出版社。
（1993b）。〈当代女性主义诗歌〉[Contemporary Feminist Poetry]。长春：*文艺争鸣月刊* 1993 第 5 期。
（1995）。〈在诗歌中灵魂用什么语言说话〉[What Language does the Soul Use in Poetry]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 3 期。
（2001）。〈女性写作 – 美丽的谎言〉[Women's Writing—Pretty Lies]。
http://www.whxf.net/wenxue/?date=20010609&folder=heike&file=02.56.30&filenum=20 (6/3/2003)
（ a ）。〈看不见的声音〉[An Invisible Sound]。(22/11/2002)
http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/15.htm

**Cui Weiping 崔卫平， Michelle Yeh 奚密**
（ a ）。〈为新诗一辩〉[A Defense of New Poetry]。(22/11/2002) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/30.htm

**Culler, Jonathan**
(1997). *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
(1981). *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, literature, deconstruction.* London: Routledge.

**Dante Alighieri**. *Inferno.* New York : Bantam Books, 1982.

**Da Xian 大仙**
（1994）。〈抵达‘后朦胧’—‘后朦胧诗全集’〉[Arriving at the “Post-Misty”— *Collected Post-Misty Poems*。长春：*文艺争鸣月刊* 1994 第 3 期。（书评）

**Dai Jinhua 戴锦华, Mu Qing 穆青, Zhou Zan 周瓒 & He Lei 贺雷**
（2000）。〈女性诗歌：可能的飞翔 – 关于‘翼’的对话〉[Women’s Poetry: A Flight of possibilities—A Discussion About *Wings*]。(23/1/2003) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu/conshow.php

**Dai Wangshu 戴望舒**
（1983）。*戴望舒译诗集* [*A Collection of Translated Poems by Dai Wangshu*]。长沙：湖南人民出版社。

**Day, Michael**
(1991). Trans. of <The Howl>, a version of <Slaughter 屠杀> by **Liao Yiwu 廖亦武**, here ‘anonymous’, in Barmé, Geremie & Javin, Linda ed. *New Ghosts, Old Dreams: Chinese Rebel Voices*, New York: Random House, 1991: 100-105.
(1992a). Trans. of <Slaughter> by **Liao Yiwu**, in *PEN International Bulletin of Selected Books*, London, UK: Vol. XLII, No. 2, 1992: 92-94.
(1992b). Trans. of <Slaughter> by **Liao Yiwu**, in *SONOMA MANDALA Literary Review*, Sonoma State University, Ca., USA, Fall 1992: 48-55.
(1995). Trans. of <I have a Broom 我有了一把扫帚>, <The Black Room 黑房间>, and <Nightmare 恶梦> by **Zhai Yongming 翟永明** in *PRISM International*, Vancouver, Canada, 34.1, Fall 1995: 65-67.
(1998). Trans. of a version of <The Chinese Department 中文系>, by **Li Yawei 李亚伟**, in *The Temple*, Walla Walla, Washington, USA,Vol. 2, No. 4, Fall 1998: 12-15.
(2002). ***Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚***, containing translations of 9 of Xiao’s poems, including <Ahh, Mist 呵雾> (pp. 8-9), published by the 33rd Poetry International Festival in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, June 2002.

**Des Pres, Terrence**
(1988). *Praise and Dispraise : Poetry and Politics, the 20th Century.* London: Penguin Books.

**Ding Dong 丁东, Xie Yong 谢泳**
（1994）。〈关于中国文革中的地下文学〉[On Underground Literature During China’s Cultural Revolution]。上海：*上海文学月刊* 1994 第 3 期.

**Ding Kairan 丁慨然**
ed.（1992）。*中国中青诗人传略* [*Brief Biographies of Chinese Middle-Aged and Young Poets*]。北京：中国国际广播出版社。
**Ding Zonghao 丁宗皓**
（1995）。〈没有氛围也没有星星—新诗潮 10 年扫描〉[No Atmosphere and No Stars—A Cursory Description of Ten Years of the New Poetry Tide]。沈阳：*鸭绿江文学月刊* 1995 第 2 期。
**Duke, Michael S.**
ed. (1985). *Contemporary Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Post-Mao Fiction and Poetry.* Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.
**Duo Yu 朵渔**
（2002）。〈以‘**第三代**’为师〉[With the “**Third Generation**” as Teachers]。(12/2/2003) http://bj2.netsh.com/bbs/95748/messages/2788.html
**Eagleton, Terry**
(1996a). *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (2nd ed.). Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.
(1996b). *The Illusions of Postmodernism.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
(2000). *The Idea of Culture.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
**Eliot, T.S.**
(1961). *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism: Studies in the Relation of Criticism to Poetry in England.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
**Ellman, Richard & O`Clair, Robert**
ed. (1975). *The Norton Anthology of Modern Poetry.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
**Emerson, Andrew G.**
(2004). *A Bilingual Edition of Poetry out of Communist China by Huang Xiang*. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press.
**Engelberg, Edward**
ed. (1967). *The Symbolist Poem: The Development of the English Tradition.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc..
**Er Dong 耳东**
（1990）。〈“先锋”的沉落〉[The Fall of the “Avant-Garde”]。北京：*诗刊* 1990 第 2 期。
**Fan Xing 樊星**
（2001）。〈‘文革’情节 –‘世纪末思想录’之一〉[The “Cultural Revolution” Complex—“Records of Fin De Siécle Thought” No. 1]。(21/11/2002) http://www.white-collar.net/wx_hsl/dangdai/wgq/027.htm
**Fei Sha 飞沙**
（2003）。〈诗是太昂贵的东西—近访**肖开愚**〉[Poetry as Too Expensive a Thing—A Recent Interview of **Xiao Kaiyu**]。(6/1/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=419

**Feng Yan 烽烟**
（2002）。〈沉静的眺望及人生的痛苦意义 – 论**晓音**诗歌的‘洁癖’和‘宿命’〉[A Calm Gaze and the Significance of the Pains of Life—On “Aversion to Purity” and “Fatalism” in **Xiaoyin**’s Poetry]。(5/25/2004) http://www.qiuse.com/wxqk/2/new_page_35.htm

**Feng Yan 风言**
（1986）。〈也算读后感 – 读《异乡，橄榄或三毛之歌》后的几点想法致**廖亦武**〉[Also a Post-Reading Feeling—A Few Thoughts for **Liao Yiwu** After Reading < A Song of a Different Land, Olives or San Mao >]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 7 期。

**Feng Zengyu 逢增玉**
（1999）。〈中国现代文艺思潮中的现代性问题〉[Problems With Modernism in the Chinese Modern Literature and Arts Thought Tide]。(28/11/2002) http://www.white-collar.net/wx_hsl/dangdai/xd_02/038.htm

**Finkel, Donald**
ed. (1991). *A Splintered Mirror: Chinese Poetry from the Democracy Movement.* San Francisco: North Point Press.

**Flower, John Myers**
(1997). *Portraits of Belief: Constructions of Chinese Cultural Identity in the Two Worlds of City and Countryside in Modern Sichuan Province.* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia) (17/1/2003) http://www.uncc.edu/~jmflower/portrait.htm

**Forché, Carolyn**
ed. (1993). *Against Forgetting: Twentieth-Century Poetry of Witness.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

**Fowler, Brigit**
(1997). *Pierre Bourdieu and Cultural Theory: Critical Investigations.* London: SAGE Publications.
(1999).〈Pierre Bourdieu’s sociological theory of culture〉. (7/1/2004) http://www.variant.randomstate.org/8texts/Brigit_Fowler.html

**Fu Sang 扶桑**
（1989）。〈论现代史诗模式〉[On the Forms of Modern Epic Poetry]。兰州：*飞天文学月刊* 1989 第 1 期。

**Fu Zhengming 傅正明**
（2001）。〈有诗为证 – 八九民运的异议诗歌〉[There is Poetry as Evidence—Dissident Poetry in the 1989 People’s Movement]。(12/2/2003) http://www.penchinese.org/fuzhengming-youshi.htm

**Ge Tao 葛涛**
（2001）。〈中国现代解诗学的一座丰碑 – 评孙玉石《中国现代主义诗潮史论》〉[A Great Monument to the Study of Chinese Modern Poetry Explication—A Critique of Sun Yushi’s *On the History of the Chinese Modernism Poetry Tide*]。(17/6/2003) http://www.gmdaily.com.cn/2_pindao/gmsp/1999/19990801/gb/gmsp^3^0^DS703.htm

**Germain, Edward B.**
ed. (1978). *Surrealist Poetry in English.* London: Penguin Books.
**Goldblatt, Howard**
ed. (1990). *Worlds Apart: Recent Chinese Writing and its Audiences.* Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.
**Goldman, Merle**
(1967). *Literary Dissent in Communist China.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
ed. (1977). *Modern Chinese Literature in the May Fourth Era.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
(1981). *China's Intellectuals: Advise and Dissent.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
**Gong Gaixiong 龚盖雄**
（2001）。〈**非非主义**与汉语原创写作〉[**Not-Not-ism** and Original Creative Writing in the Chinese Language]。(6/1/2003) http://www.new153.com/ff/ff2001/ff3-2.htm
（2002）。〈在变构中展开的当代先锋诗学 – 试论**周伦佑**的变构诗学及其对当代汉语写作的贡献〉[Contemporary Avant-Garde Poetry in the Opening Out of Structural Transformation—On **Zhou Lunyou**'s Poetics of Structural Transformation and Its Contributions to Contemporary Writing in the Chinese Language]。(1/9/2003) http://www.new153.com/whdt/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=602
（2004）。〈中国女性文学与**陈小蘩**的诗歌〉[Chinese Women's Literature and the Poetry of **Chen Xiaofan**]。(4/8/2004) http://www.sjycn.com/list.asp?Unid=103
**Goodman, David S.**
(1981). *Beijing Street Voices: The Poetry and Politics of China's Democracy Movement.* Boston: Barion Boyars Publishing.
**Gufeng Wenshi 古风文史**
（2003）。*中国当代文学史* [*A History of Chinese Contemporary Literature*]。(10/10/2003) http://www.gfwhys.com/wxsh/wxsh.htm
**Gu Yuanqing 古远清**
（1988）。〈现代诗将面临另一种挑战〉[Modern Poetry Will Face Another Challenge]。 合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 4 月 6 日，总第 86 期。
**Gu Yuelong 古岳龙**
（2001a）。〈'**非非**'重出江湖〉[***Not-Not*** Rises Again in China]。(26/2/2003) http://culture.163.com/edit/010302/010302_46885.html
（2001b）。〈**非非主义**：体制外写作的旗帜〉[**Not-Not-ism**: The Banner of Writing Outside the System]。(28/11/2003) http://www.wenxue.com/gb/200201/yjzh/gyl_ff.htm
（2003a）。〈体制外写作的命名与实践；"**非非** 2002 年体制外写作专号"出版〉[The Naming and Practice of Writing Outside the System;

The Publication of "The ***Not-Not*** 2002 Special Edition on Writing Outside the System"]。(10/3/2003)
http://www.new153.com/whdt/ArticleShow.asp?ArticleID=424
（2003b）。〈***非非*** *2002 年卷*‘体制外写作专号’正式出版〉[The Formal Publication of ***Not-Not*** *2002 Annual* "Special Issue on Writing Outside the System"]。(12/3/2003)
http://newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=03012hn7

**Guizhou TV 贵州电视台**

（2002a）。〈**唐亚平**：才思敏捷的电视人〉[**Tang Yaping**: An Intelligent Sensitive Television Personality]。(26/3/2003)
http://www.swtv.com.cn/celebrity/typ/typ.htm
（2002b）。〈**唐亚平**：清在荧屏诗苑间〉[**Tang Yaping**: Clarity Between the Screen and the Garden of Poetry]。(26/3/2003)
http://www.swtv.com.cn/celebrity/typ/2.htm

**Guo Rongguang 郭荣光**

（1992）。*历代名诗大观* [*A Grand Overview of Famous Poetry Throughout History*]。济南：山东文艺出版社。

**Haft, Lloyd**

(1983). *Pien Chih-lin: A Study in Modern Chinese Poetry*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
ed. (1989). *A Selective Guide to Chinese Literature 1900-1949: Volume III –The Poem.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.

**Han Dong 韩东**

（1992）。〈《他们》：人和事〉[*Them*: People and Matters]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 1 期。
（1999）。〈论民间（‘1999 中国诗年选’代序”）〉[On Poetry Among the People (In Lieu of a Preface for *An Annual Collection of Chinese Poetry 1999*)]。(5/10/2002)
http://huaqiu.our263.com/cgi-bin/index.dll?page5?webid
（2001）。〈自由，年代，诗丛（“年代诗丛”总序）〉[Freedom, The Times, A Series of Poetry Collections (A General Preface for *A Series of Poetry Collections for the Times*)]。(6/12/2002)
http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=270
（2002a）。〈长兄为父（纪念‘朦胧诗’25 周年）〉[An Elder Brother as the Father (For the Twentyfifth Anniversary of "Misty Poetry")]。(6/12/2002)
http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=306
（2002b）。〈‘年代诗丛’总序〉[A General Preface for *A Series of Poetry Collections for the Times*。(11/2/2003)
http://www.hywx.com/hywxview.asp?zp_id=2445
（2002c）。〈关于语言，**杨黎**及其它〉[On Language, **Yang Li** and Other Matters]。(19/11/2003)
http://www.poemlife.net/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=741

**Han Dong 韩东**

（2002d）。〈《年代诗丛》第一辑〉介绍：《火车》于小伟著；《静悄悄的左轮》**吉木狼格**著；《种烟叶的女人》**小安**著；《房子》丁当著；《6 个动词，或苹果》**何小竹**著；《我仍然无法深知》鲁羊著；《小杨与马丽》**杨黎**著；《往事》**柏桦**著；《终于使我周转不灵》**翟永明**著；《他们不得不从河堤上走回去》朱文著 [An Introduction to the First Set of *A Series of Poetry Collections for the Times*: *The Train* by Yu Xiaowei; *The Silent Revolver* by **Jimu Langge**; *A Woman Who Plants Tobacco* by **Xiao An**; *The House* by Ding Dang; *Six Verbs, Or An Apple* by **He Xiaozhu**; *I Still Can't Really Believe It* by Lu Yang; *Little Yang and Mary* by **Yang Li**; *Past Affairs* by **Bai Hua**; *Ultimately Making Me Lose Liquidity* by **Zhai Yongming**; *They Must Return From the River Dike* by Zhu Wen]。(27/10/2003) http://www.tamen.net/publish/4-1.htm

（2003a）。〈'断裂'作家韩东书面访谈录〉[An Interview on Paper with the "Rupture" Author Han Dong]。(23/1/2003) http://huaqiu.www76.cn4e.com/wenku/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=187

（2003b）。〈对韩东的一个采访（曾念长）〉[An Interview with Han Dong]。(30/4/2003) http://www.tamen.net/magzine/004/4-4-4htm

（2003c）。〈关于'他们'及其它〉[On *Them* and Other Matters]。（访谈录）(9/1/2004) http://my.clubhi.com/bbs/660996/messages/19193.html

（2003d）。〈哑巴说话〉[Mutes Speak]。(11/2/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=437

**Han Dong 韩东& Zhu Wen 朱文**

（1993）。〈古闸笔谈〉[A Conversation on Paper at the Ancient Lock]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1993 第 4 期。

**Han Xin 韩歆**

（2002）。〈新古典主义诗歌提纲〉[An Outline of the Poetry of New Classicalism]。 (31/1/2003) http://202.109.136.197/zcsk/jsy.htm

**Haraszti, Miklos**

(1987). *The Velvet Prison : Artists Under State Socialism*, trans. Katalin and Stephen Landesmann. New York : Basic Books.

**Heaney, Seamus**

(1988). *The Government of the Tongue : The 1986 T.S. Eliot Memorial Lectures and Other Critical Writings*. London : faber and faber.

**Hingley, Ronald**

(1982). *Nightinggale Fever : Russian Poets in Revolution*. London : George Weidenfeld and Nicholson.

**Hockx, Michel**

(1994). *A Snowy Morning: Eight Chinese Poets on the Road to Modernity*. Leiden: Research School CNWS.

**Hockx, Michel**

ed. (1999). *The Literary Field of Twentieth-Century China.* Surrey, UK : Curzon Press.

(2000). <*Creation by Association and by Dissociation*>. (28/1/2004) http://deall.ohio-state.edu/denton.2/institutions/hockx.htm

(2003). *Questions of Style: Literary Societies and Literary Journals in Modern China 1911-1937.* Leiden: Brill.

**Hockx, Michel & Smits, Ivo**

ed. (2003). *Reading East Asian Writing: The Limits of Literary Theory.* London: Routledge Curzon.

**Holzman, Donald**

(1976). *Poetry and Politics: The Life and Works of Juan Chi.* London: Cambridge University Press.

**Hong Zicheng 洪子诚**

（1986）。*当代中国文学的艺术问题* [*Problems of Art in Contemporary Chinese Literature*]。北京：北京大学出版社。

ed. （2001）。*20 世纪中国文学研究：当代文学研究* [*Twentieth Century Chinese Literature Studies: Contemporary Literature Studies*]。北京：北京出版社。

ed. （2002）。*在北大课堂读诗* [*Studying Poetry in a Classroom at Beijing University*]。武汉：长江文艺出版社。

（2004）。〈《朦胧诗新编》编选者序〉[The Editors' Preface to *A New Collection of Misty Poetry*] in Hong Zicheng & Cheng Guangwei 程光炜 ed.《朦胧诗新编》，武汉：长江文艺出版社。

**Hoover, Paul**

ed. (1994). *Postmodern American Poetry: A Norton Anthology.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.

**Hsu Kai-yu**

ed. (1963). *Twentieth Century Chinese Poetry: An Anthology.* New York: Doubleday.

ed. (1980a). *Literature of the People's Republic of China.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

(1980b). *Wen I-To.* Boston: Twayne Publishers.

**Hu Pin-ching**

(1966). *Li Ching-chao.* Boston: Twayne Publishers.

**Hu Yan 胡彦**

（1996）。〈当代人本诗歌的语言特征〉[The Linguistic Features of Contemporary Humanistic Poetry]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1996 第 5 期.

**Hua 华**

（1997）。〈好酒不怕巷子深 – 闲话成都〉[Good Wine is Not Afraid of Deep Alleys—Casual Talk About Chengdu]。(4/2/2003) http://planck.utmb.edu/Sichuan/Chengdul.htm

**Huang Beiling 黄贝岭**

（1986）。〈作为运动的中国新诗潮〉[China's New Poetry Tide as a Movement]。北京：*华侨日报*（海洋副刊）1986 年 10 月 25

日。

**Huang Beiling 黄贝岭**

（1999a）。〈二十世纪汉语文学中被遮蔽的传统—中国的地下文学〉[A Hidden Tradition in Twentieth Century Chinese Language Literature—China's Underground Literature]。(22/11/2002) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/126.htm

（1999b）。〈中国地下文学鸟瞰〉[A Bird's-Eye View of Chinese Underground Literature]。(17/1/2003) http://www.ilc.cuhk.edu.hk/chinese/poetry010109.htm

**Huang Canran 黄灿然**

（1993a）。〈中国现代诗的地下诗（上，中，下）〉[The Underground Poetry of Chinese Modern Poetry]。Vancouver: *星岛日报* 1993 年 7 月 18, 19, 20 日。

（1993b）。〈《中国现代诗的地下诗》补遗（上，下）〉[Appenda to < The Underground Poetry of Chinese Modern Poetry。Vancouver: *星岛日报* 1993 年 9 月 18，19 日。

**Huang He 黄河**

（2004）。〈诗界边缘的灿烂行走〉[A Splendid Journey on the Margins of the Realm of Poetry]。〈评**杨黎**的*灿烂*[A Critique of **Yang Li**'s *Splendor*]〉(18/6/2004) http://www.qingyun.com/cgi-bin/personal.pview.cgi?op=art&pn=huanghe

**Huang Liang 黄梁**

（1999a）。〈刀锋上的诗与历史—解析**周伦佑**的思想，词根和时代语境〉[Poetry on the Edge of a Knife and History—An Analysis of **Zhou Lunyou**'s Thought, Linguistic Roots and the Language of the Times]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1999 第 1 期。

（1999b）。〈大陆先锋诗歌的语言之路—从语言意识勘察新诗潮的语言现象〉[The Linguistic Path of Mainland Avant-Garde Poetry—An Investigation in Linguistic Consciousness of New Poetry Tide Linguistic Phenomena]。(22/11/2002) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/86.htm

（1999c）。〈意志自由之路—大陆先锋诗歌历史脉动与文化特征〉[The Path of Free Will—The Historical Impulse and Literary Characteristics of Mainland Avant-Garde Poetry]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1999 第 3 期。

（1999d）。*地下的光脉* [*Underground Veins of Light*]。台北：唐山出版社。

（2000）。〈大块抒情，坦荡吟诗：**柏桦**诗〉[A Large Chunk of Lyricism, A Magnanimous Recitation of Poetry: The Poetry of **Bai Hua**]。天津：*诗探索* 2000 第 1-2 期。

**Huang Lin 荒林**

（1995）。〈女性诗歌神话：**翟永明**诗歌及其意义〉[The Myth of Women's Poetry: **Zhai Yongming**'s Poetry and Its Significance]。天津：*诗*

*探索* 1995 第 1 期。

**Huang Xiang 黄翔**

（2003）。〈半个世纪的蜡烛〉[The Candle of a Half Century]。（14/11/2004）www.boxun.com/hero/huangxiang/1_1.shtml

（2004）。〈震撼北京：1978-1979〉[Rocking Beijing]。（14/11/2004）www.boxun.com/hero/huangxiang/23_1.shtml

**Huang Xiong 黄雄**

（1994）。〈试论新时期现代主义诗歌的发展历程及审美追求〉[On the Course of Development of Modernist Poetry of the New Period and the Quest for Aesthetic Appreciation]]。宁德：*宁德师专学报* 1994 第 1 期。

**Huang Zumin 黄祖民 ed.**

（1992）。*超越世纪—当代先锋派诗人四十家* [*Transcending the Century—Forty Contemporary Avant-Garde Poets*]。北京：山西高校联合出版社。（including poetry by **Zhai Yongming 翟永明，Wan Xia 万夏，Yi Sha 伊沙，Zheng Danyi 郑单衣，Bai Hua 柏桦，Li Yawei 李亚伟，Zhang Zao 张枣，Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏**，and **Tang Yaping 唐亚平**）

**Huoguang Yiyi 火光熠熠**

（2001）。〈**杨黎**‘打开天窗说亮话’到底说了什么〉[What is **Yang Li**’s <Open the Sky’s Window and Speak Clearly> Really Saying]。(10/12/2002) http://wenxue.com/scene/2001/11/hgyy.htm

**Idema, Walt & Haft, Lloyd**

(1997). *A Guide To Chinese Literature.* Ann Arbor: Center For Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan.

**Independent Learning Centre, The Chinese University of Hongkong**

（2002a）。〈朦胧诗与**第三代**诗人〉[Misty Poetry and **Third Generation** Poets]。(17/1/2003) http://www.ilc.cuhk.edu.hk/chinese/poetry000523.html

（2002b）。〈诗人何罪？〉[Poets are Guilty of What Crime?]。(21/1/2003) http://www.ilc.cuhk.edu.hk/chinese/poetry000822.htm

（2002c）。〈再读朦胧诗〉[Reading Misty Poetry Again]。17/1/2003) http://www.ilc.cuhk.edu.hk/chinese/poetry000912.html

**Jian Min 简敏**

（2003）。〈诗人**郑单衣**简论〉[Brief Comments on the Poet **Zheng Danyi**]。(10/10/2003) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msgID=2147481432

**Jiang Gengyu 姜耕玉**

（1999）。〈论二十世纪汉语诗歌的艺术转变〉[On the Artistic Transformation of Twentieth Century Chinese Language Poetry]。(21/11/2002) http://www.white-collar.net/wx_hsl/pome/003.htm

**Jiang Lan 蒋蓝**

（2002a）。〈储满光的血槽〉[A Trough of Blood Full of Light]。

http://www.hywx.com/hywxview.asp?zp_id=2807

**Jiang Lan 蒋蓝**

（2002b）。〈后**非非**写作中的文体向度 – 读**陈亚平**的‘影响三部曲’〉[The Stylistic Tendencies of Post-**Not-Not** Writing—Reading **Chen Xiaofan**'s <Trilogy of Influence>]。(20/1/2003) http://bluetiger1998.coolcity.com.cn/index.htm?MenuID=83&ArticleID=668

（2002c）。〈面对黑暗的极端方式〉[An Extreme Manner of Facing Darkness]。(4/12/2002) http://www.hywx.com/hywxview.asp?zp_id=3030

（2002d）。〈作为动词的**非非**〉[**Not-Not** as a Verb]。(4/12/2002) http://www.hywx.com/hywxview.asp?zp_id=2643

（2003）。〈体制外写作的命名与实践—致友人书〉[The Naming and Practice of Writing Outside the System—Letter to a Friend]。(10/3/2003) http://www.new153.com/whdt/ArticleShow.asp?ArticleID=427

**Jiang Weiyang 蒋维扬**

（1988）。〈大幕垂落　公正与否任评说 – 《诗歌报》首届探索诗/爱情诗大奖赛揭晓〉[The Big Curtain Drops　A Fair and Repudiative Critique—The Announcement of Results of the First *Poetry Press* Exploratory Verse and Love Poetry Contest]。合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 6 月 21 日，总第 91 期。

**Jiang Ziya 姜子牙**

（2001）。〈民间诗坛封神榜〉[A Roll-Call of the Acknowledged Gods in the Popular (Among the People) Poetry Scene]。(22/1/2003) http://www.ceqq.com/Mjzy/Mjzy-sf/002.HTM

**Jiao Husan 焦虎三**

（2003）。〈后**非非**的现实主义批判文本 – 后**非非**文学文本之一〉[Post-**Not-Not**'s Realist Criticism of Texts—Post-**Not-Not** Literary Texts No. 1]。(21/11/2003) http://www.new153.com/whdt/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=623

**Jin Dacheng 靳大成**

ed.（2003）。*生机：新时期著名人文期刊素描* [*A Chance to Survive: Sketches of Famous Periodicals in the Humanities During the New Era*]。北京：中国文联出版社。

**Jin Xiaofeng 金小凤**

（2003）。*小凤丢手绢 – 寻问当代 26 位先锋人物* [*Xiaofeng Throws a Hankie—Interviewing 26 Contemporary Avant-Garde Figures*]。（B 卷，**欧阳江河** [Including **Ouyang Jianghe** in Vol. 2]）济南：山东画报出版社。

**Jing Wendong 敬文东**

（1998a）。〈关于诗歌的几点注记〉[Some Footnotes on Poetry]。(22/11/2002) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/54.htm

**Jing Wendong 敬文东**

（1998b）。〈我们的时代，我们的生活—**欧阳江河**〉[Our Era, Our Life—**Ouyang Jianghe**]。(18/6/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewColumn/jingwendong

（1999）。*指引与注视* [*Guidance and an Attentive Look*]。（e-book）(28/11/2002) http://www.wenxue.com/scene/series/jwd1/index.htm

（2000）。〈下午的精神分析：诗人**柏桦**论〉[A Psychological Analysis of the Afternoon: On the Poet **Bai Hua**]。(18/6/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/jingwendong

（2002a）。〈六十年代的‘怀乡病’— 有关我的同辈人的诗歌札记之一〉[The “Homesickness” of the 1960s—Notes on My Generation’s Poetry No. 1]。(10/2/2003) http://www.cc.org.cn/zhoukan/guanchayusikao/0203/0203081009.htm

（2002b）。〈像树那样稳稳站立 – **孙文波**诗歌阅读札记〉[Standing Steadily Like a Tree—Notes on Reading **Sun Wenbo**’s Poetry]。(7/2/2003) http://www.be-word-art.com.cn/no8/document19.htm

（2003）。〈对四川‘方言’的妙用：一个个案分析〉[An Ingenious Usage of the Sichuan “Dialect”: A Case Study]。(1/9/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=614

**Kang Hua 康华，Wei Guo 魏国**

（1988）。〈现代诗：言语的自觉〉[Modern Poetry: The Self-Awareness of Language]。合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 3 月 6 日，总第 84 期。

**Keller, Raffael**

(2000). *Die Poesie die Südens: Eine vergleichende Studie zur chinesische Lyrik der Gegenwart.* Bochum: edition cathay.

**Kim, Eleana**

(1994). <Language Poetry: Dissident Practices and the Makings of a Movement>. (12/1/2004) http://home.jps.net/~nada/language1.htm

**Kuang Nan 匡南**

（2001）。〈论中国新诗的基本问题 – 兼论中国新文化运动之后中国文化的命运〉[On the Basic Problems of China’s New Poetry—Also on the Fate of Chinese Culture After China’s New Culture Movement]。(30/1/2003) http://wyg.sunchina.net/sixiang/000809/kuangnan.html

**Kwong, Charles Yim-tze**

(1994). *Tao Qian and the Chinese Poetic Tradition: The Quest for Cultural Identity.* Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan.

**Lan Dizhi 蓝棣之**

（ a ）。〈九叶派诗歌批评理论探源〉[A Critical Theoretical Exploration of Nine Leaves Group Poetry]。(22/11/2002) http://www.white-collar.net/wx_hsl/pome/014.htm

ed.（1992）。*九叶派诗选* [*The Poetry of the Nine Leaves Group*]。北京：人民文学出版社。

**Lan Niao 蓝鸟**

ed.（1989）。*中国青年新诗潮大选 – 1988 年卷* [*A Grand Selection of Chinese Youth's New Poetry Tide*]。西安：中国新诗文库出版中心。

**Lang Ren 狼人**

（1993）。〈困顿与无奈 – 初评当代民间诗坛的先锋现状〉[Exhaustion and Helplessness—An Initial Critique of the Current Situation of the Contemporary Scene of Poetry Among the People]。(12/2/2003) http://www.ceqq.com/Mjzy/Mjzy-1c/013.HTM

**Lao Dao 老刀**

（2004）。〈2001 年以来民刊资料不完全整理〉[An Incomplete Ordering of Unofficial Journals Since 2001]。(24/11/2004) http://we.hichinese.net/news/detail.php?id=37

**Lao Mu 老木**

ed.（1985a）。*青年诗人谈诗（教学参考资料）* [*Young Poets Talk Poetry (Teaching Research Materials)*]。北京：北京大学五四文学社。(A semi-official publication.)

ed.（1985b）。*新诗潮诗集（上，下）* [*New Poetry Tide Poetry Collection*]。北京：北京大学五四文学社。(A semi-official publication.)

（1988）。〈诗歌毁誉不一的发展 – 本报文学部召开诗歌座谈会纪要〉[The Progress of the Variable Praise or Blame of Poetry—Notes on a Poetry Seminar Called By the Literature Department of This Paper]。北京：*文艺报* 1988 年 2 月 27 日，第 8 期。

（1997）。〈反思与拯救：90 年代新诗写作〉[Reassessment and Salvation: New Poetry Writing in the 1990s]。天津：*诗探索* 1997 第 2 期。

**Lao Yu 老愚**

（1989）。〈论**非非主义**诗歌〉[On **Not-Not-ism** Poetry]。北京：*当代文学研究资料与信息* 1989 第 8/9 期。

**Larson, Wendy**

(1993a). 〈Contemporary Chinese Poetry: Erotics, Modernity, and Cultural Essence〉, in Michael C. Hillman, ed., Austin, Texas U.: *Literature East & West*, 1993.

（1993b）。〈当代中国诗歌的唯美与色情情调〉[Aesthetics and Erotics in Contemporary Chinese Poetry]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1993 第 3 期。

ed. (1993). *Inside Out: Modernism and Post-Modernism in Chinese Literary Culture.* Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

**Lee, Gregory**

(1989). *Dai Wangshu: The Life and Poetry of a Chinese Modernist.* Hongkong: The Chinese University Press.

**Lee, Lily Xiao Hong & Stefanowska, A.D.**

ed. (2001). *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women: The Twentieth Century 1912-2000.* Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

**Leng Shuang 冷霜**
（2000）。〈九十年代‘诗人批评’〉[“Critiques By Poets” in the 1990s]。(18/2/2003) http://www.netsh.com.cn/bbs/3436/messages/9268.html
**Li Fukang & Hung, Eva**
ed. (1992). <Post-Misty Poetry>. Hongkong: *Renditions* No. 37.
**Li Li 黎荔**
（2000）。〈禅思与中国当代诗歌〉[Zen Thought and Chinese Contemporary Poetry]。(12/2/2003)
http://xylt.fjnet.com/cnzen/ten6-1-15-35.htm
**Li Lizhong 李丽中，Zhang Lei 张雷，Zhang Xu 张旭**
ed.（1990）。*朦胧诗后 – 国先锋诗选* [*After Misty Poetry – A Selection of Chinese Avant-garde Poetry*]。天津：南开大学出版社。
**Li Ming 黎明**
（1990）。〈殉道诗人**周伦佑**〉[**Zhou Lunyou** – A Poet Sacrificing Himself for the Cause]。香港：*争鸣杂志* 1990 第 12 期。
（1995）。〈四川六诗人被捕的前后经过〉[Events Surrounding the Arrest of Six Sichuan Poets]。Cambridge: *倾向* 1995 总第 5 期。
**Li Runxia 李润霞**
（2004）。〈黄翔充满自由人文精神的诗篇—论黄翔在文革时期的地下诗歌创作〉[Huang Xiang’s Poems Full of the Spirit of a Free People’s Literature—On Huang Xiang’s Creation of Underground Poetry During the Cultural Revolution Period]。(7/6/2005)
http://www.boxun.com/hero/huangxiang/17_1.shtml
**Li Shaojun 李少君& Shen Haobo 沈浩波**
（2002）。〈关于八十年代与九十年代的对话〉[A Dialogue About the 1980s and 1990s]。(27/2/2003)
http://www.poemlife.com/ReviewerColumn/lishaojun
**Li Shaojun 李少君**
（2002）。〈现实性：九十年代诗歌写作的一种倾向〉[A Realist Nature: A Tendency in Poetry Writing of the 1990s]。(27/2/2003)
http://www.poemlife.com/ReviewerColumn/lishaojun
（2004a）。〈诗国的危机〉[Crisis in the Land of Poetry]。(23/6/2004)
http://www.poemlife.com:9001/ReviewerColumn/lishaojun
（2004b）。〈从**莽汉**到撒娇〉[From **Macho Man** to Coquettishness]。(9/12/2004)
http://www.poemlife.com:9001/ReviewerColumn/lishaojun
**Li Tuo 李陀**
（1991）。〈1985〉。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1991 第 3-4 期。
**Li Xiaoyu 李小雨**
（1995）。〈失却女性〉[Losing Femininity]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 3 期。
**Li Xinyu 李新宇**
（2000）。*中国当代诗歌艺术演变史* [*A History of the Evolution of the Art of*

*Chinese Contemporary Poetry*]。杭州：浙江大学出版社。

**Li Youliang 李有亮**

（1988）。〈生命：诗的大陆—论诗的复归本体态势〉[Life: Poetry's Continent—On the Stance of Returning to Poetry Itself]。北京：*文艺评论双月刊* 1989 第 2 期。

**Li Zhen 李震**

（1996）。〈沿着语言的边缘捕捉不知名的昆虫〉[Following Along the Margins of Language Catching Unidentified Insects]。天津：*诗探索* 1996 第 3 期。

（2001）。*母语诗学纲要* [*An Outline for Poetics of the Mother Language*]。西安：三秦出版社。

**Li Zhensheng 李振声**

（1995a）。〈构筑诗的巴比伦塔－**'第三代'**诗中的**'非非'**现象〉[Constructing Poetry's Tower of Babel—The Phenomenon of "**Not-Not**" in "**Third Generation**" Poetry]。沈阳：*当代作家评论双月刊* 1995 第 3 期。

（1995b）。〈诗意：放逐与收复－论**'第三代'**诗中的'他们'与**'莽汉'**现象〉[Poetic Qualities: Exile and Recovery—On the Phenomena of "Them" and "**Macho Man**" in **Third Generation** Poetry]。北京：*文学评论双月刊* 1995 第 3 期。

（1996a）。〈既成言路的中断 —**'第三代'**诗的语言策略，兼论**钟鸣**〉[A Break in the Fixed Path of Language—The Linguistic Strategies of "**Third Generation**" Poetry, Also On **Zhong Ming**]。长春：*文艺争鸣月刊* 1996 第 1 期。

（1996b）。〈理解与感悟 – 说**'第三代'**诗〉[Comprehension and Emotion—Speaking of "**Third Generation**" Poetry]。天津：*诗探索* 1996 第 1 期。

**Li Zhensheng**

(2003). *Red-Color News Soldier – A Chinese Photographer's Odyssey Through the Cultural Revolution*. London: Phaidon Press.

**Liang Yanping 梁艳萍 & Zhang Jiahui 张佳惠**

（2004）。〈'马拉以打'的音乐 – 读**吉木狼格**《静悄悄的左轮》〉["Malayida" Music—Reading **Jimu Langge**'s Poetry]。(19/7/2004) http://www.poemlife.com: 9001/ReviewerColumn/liangyanping

**Liang Zongdai 梁宗岱**

（1931）。〈论诗〉[On Poetry]。(22/1/2003) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/109.htm

（1934）。〈谈诗〉[A Discussion of Poetry]。(22/1/2003) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/111.htm

（1935a）。〈诗-诗人-批评家〉[Poetry-Poets-Critics]。(22/1/2003) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/110.htm

（1935b）。〈新诗底十字路口〉[New Poetry's Crossroad]。(22/1/2003)

http://www.lingshodao.com/shilun/xinshi/108.htm

**Liao Weitang 廖伟棠**

（2001）。〈激情的挽歌 – 评**柏桦**回忆录《左边—毛泽东时代的抒情诗人》〉[An Enthusiastic Dirge—A Critique of **Bai Hua**'s Memoir *The Left Side – Lyric Poets of the Mao Zedong Era*。(27/2/2003) http://newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=jqdwg

**Liao Yuan 燎原**

（2003a）。〈从学院涌向街巷的"**莽汉**"—中国当代诗潮流变十二书（之五）〉[**Macho Man**'s Surge From the Academy onto the Streets—Twelve Letters on Different Currents in China's Contemporary Poetry Tide (No. 5)]。（19/11/2004）

（2003b）。〈"**第三代**"的诗歌飞行集会—中国当代诗潮流变十二书（之六）〉[The Flying Assembly of "**Third Generation**" Poetry—Twelve Letters on Different Currents in China's Contemporary Poetry Tide (No. 6)]。（19/11/2004）http://bj2.netsh.com/bbs/91181/24/76508.html

**limit poem**

（2004）。〈民刊资料〉[Unofficial Journal Materials]。(29/9/2004) http://limitpoem.online.cq.cn/mk/mkzl.htm

**Lin, Julia C.**

(1972). *Modern Chinese Poetry: An Introduction.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

(1984). *Essays on Contemporary Chinese Poetry.* Athens: Ohio University Press.

**Lin Yusheng 林玉笙**

（1979）。*The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Anti traditionalism in the May Fourth Era.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

（1988）。*中国意识的危机（增订再版本）— 五四时期激烈的反传统主义。*[*The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Anti traditionalism in the May Fourth Era (A Revised and Enlarged Republication)*] 贵阳：贵州人民出版社。

**Link, Perry**

ed. (1983). *Stubborn Weeds: Popular and Contoversial Literature after the Cultural Revolution.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

(1999). *The Uses of Literature: Life in the Socialist Chinese Literary System.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

**Liu Bo 刘波**

（2004）。〈那个辉煌年代的爱与憎〉[The Love and Hate of That Glorious Age]。（评**杨黎**的*灿烂*）[A critique of **Yang Li**'s *Splendor*] (18/6/2004) http://www.nanfangdaily.com.cn/southnews/sh/ydrs/200404020955.asp

**Liu Chang 刘畅**

（2001）。〈对解构的结构—对**周伦佑**诗歌作品的类结构分析〉[The Construction of Deconstruction—An Analysis of the Composition of Categories in **Zhou Lunyou**'s Poetic Work] (27/3/2002)

http://www.new153.com/ff/ff2002/ff3-5.htm

**Liu Chun 刘春**

（1994）。〈**第三代**诗与后现代主义是何关系〉[What Relation Does **Third Generation** Poetry Have With Post-Modernism]。天津：*诗探索* 1994 第 3 期。

（2003）。〈惟有旧日子带给我们幸福（评**柏桦**）〉[Only Former Days Bring Us Happiness (A Critique of **Bai Hua**)]。(27/3/2002) http://newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=0302017kn2

**Liu, James J. Y.**

(1962). *The Art of Chinese Poetry*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

(1982). *The Interlingual Critic: Interpreting Chinese Poetry*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

**Liu Lijun 刘丽君**

（2001）。〈从**翟永明**诗歌中的‘眼睛’看其诗歌风格变化〉[In the “Eye” in **Zhai Yongming**’s Poetry Seeing Changes in Poetic Style]。(6/3/2003) http://www.whxf.net/wenxue/?date=20010609&folder=xinlin&file=03.31.35&filenum=20

**Liu Shijie 刘士杰**

（1999）。*走向边缘的诗神* [The Gods of Poetry Moving to the Margins]。太原：山西教育出版社。

**Liu Su 刘苏**

（2002）。〈贫困时代的诗人〉[Poets of an Impoverished Era]。(28/1/2003) http://www.godoor.net/text/WENHUA/wenxue43.htm

**Liu Xiang 刘翔**

（2001a）。〈**柏桦**诗歌中的快与慢〉[The Fast and the Slow in **Bai Hua**’s Poetry]。（4/30/2002） http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/liuxiang

（2001b）。〈当代抒情诗与诗歌精神〉[Contemporary Lyric Poetry and the Poetic Spirit]。(7/2/2003) http://www.be-word-art.com.cn/no3/document18.htm

（2001c）。〈尴尬时代的抒情诗歌 – 论在中国当代诗歌格局中抒情诗的地位和意义〉[Lyric Poetry of an Embarrassed Age—On the Position and Significance of Lyric Poetry in Configuration of Contemporary Chinese Poetry]。(7/2/2003) http://www.be-word-art.com.cn/no4/document16.htm

（2001d）。〈**周伦佑**：当代诗歌的变构者〉[**Zhou Lunyou**: A Structural Transformer of Contemporary Poetry]。(27/3/2002) http://www.new153.com/ff/ff2002/ff3-4.htm

（2003）。*那些日子的颜色 – 中国当代抒情诗歌* [*The Color of Those Days—Contemporary Chinese Lyric Poetry*]。上海：学林出版社。

**Long Quanming 龙泉明**

（1995）。〈二十年代象征主义诗歌论〉[On Symbolist Poetry of the 1920s]。

北京：*文学评论双月刊* 1996 第 1 期。

**Lorca, Garcia**

(1955). *Poet in New York.* (trans. Ben Belitt) New York: Grove Press Inc..

**Lovell, Julia**

(2002a). 〈Misty in Roots: Chinese Poetry after Mao〉。(17/1/2003) http://www.poetrysociety.org.uk/review/pr92-3/lovell.htm

(2002b). <Gao Xingjian, the Nobel Prize and Chinese Intellectuals: Notes on the Aftermath of the Nobel Prize 2000> in *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, Columbus, Ohio, Fall 2002, vol. 14, no. 2.

**Lu Xixi 鲁西西**

（1999）。〈第三境界：**肖开愚**〉[The Third State: **Xiao Kaiyu**]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1999 第 1 期。

**Lu Xiaoya 卢小雅**

（2002）。〈再造汉诗：文化的幻象〉[Recreate Han Poetry: Phantoms of Culture]。(28/1/2003) http://culture.163.com/editor/020806/020806_64239.html

**Lu Xun 鲁迅**

（1926）。*野草* [*Weeds*]。香港：新艺出版社 （1982）。

**Lü Jin 吕进**

（2002）。〈二十世纪下半叶的中国新诗研究〉[Chinese New Poetry Research in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century]。北京：*文学评论双月刊* 2002 第 5 期。

**Lü Zhouju 吕周聚**

（2004）。〈异端的诗学—**周伦佑**的诗歌理论解读〉[Heretical Poetics—An Analytical Reading of **Zhou Lunyou**'s Poetics]。天津：*诗探索* 2004 秋冬卷。

**Luo Hanzhao 骆寒超**

（2001）。〈论中国新诗八十年来诗思路子的拓展与调控〉[On the Developments and Adjustments in the Path of Poetic Thought in Chinese New Poetry Since the 1980s]。北京：*文学评论双月刊* 2001 第 1 期。

**Luo Kailan 罗凯岚，Liu Wuji 柳无忌 & Luo Niansheng 罗念生**

（1985）。*二罗一柳忆朱湘* [*Two Luos and One Liu Remember Zhu Xiang*]。北京：三联书店。

**Luo Zhenya 罗振亚**

（1995）。〈从意象到事态 – '后朦胧诗'抒情策略的转移〉[From Images to Situations—The Shift in "Post-Misty Poetry" Lyrical Strategies]。北京：*诗探索* 1995 第 4 期。

（2002）。〈后朦胧诗的语言态度〉[The Linguistic Attitudes of Post-Misty Poetry]。天津：*诗探索* 2002 第 3-4 期。

（2003）。〈亚文化选择：民刊策略与边缘立场〉[The Choice of Sub-Culture: Unofficial Journal Strategies and a Position on the Margins]。天

津：*诗探索* 2003 第 3-4 期。

**Luo Zhenya 罗振亚**

（a）。〈四十年代‘九叶’诗派概观〉[A General Survey of the “Nine Leaves” Poetry Group of the 1940s]。(12/12/2003) http://www.liufangdi.com/htdocs/XXLR1.ASP?ID=5108

（b）。〈现代主义诗歌：中国对西方的接受〉[Modernist Poetry: The Reception by China From the West]。(12/12/2003) http://www.liufangdi.com/htdocs/XXLR1.ASP?ID=5105

（c）。〈运行的地火：前朦胧诗论〉[A Moving Ground Fire: On Pre-Misty Poetry]。(12/12/2003) http://www.liufangdi.com/htdocs/XXLR1.ASP?ID=5109

**Ma Ce 马策**

（2000）。〈诗歌之死〉[The Death of Poetry]。(19/5/2003) http://www.xiangpi.net/web/xf/xzwk/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=72

（2002）。〈诗坛的博弈〉[Games on the Poetry Scene]。(12/2/2003) http://asp2.6to23.com/ycwx/maces122.htm

（2004）。〈失落的天堂 – **《灿烂》**阅读札记〉[A Fallen Heaven—Notes on Reading ***Splendor***]。(2004/08/02) http://www.yecao.net/Html/200442423379-1.html

**Ma Zhihao 马志豪**

（2003）。〈语言中的家与国 – 谈**郑单衣**诗集「夏天的翅膀」〉[A Home and Country in Language—On **Zheng Danyi**’s Poetry Collection *The Wings of Summer*]。 (6/10/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=544

**Ma Zhaoyang 马朝阳**

ed.（1987）。*中国当代校园诗人诗选* [A Collection of Poetry From China’s Campus Poets]。北京：北京师范大学中文系五四文社。

**Mandelstam, Nadezhda**

(1989). *Hope Abandoned*. London: Collins Harvill.

**Mandelstam, Osip**

(1996). *The Voronezh Notebooks: Osip Mandelstam Poems 1935-1937*. (Richard & Elizabeth McKane trans.) Newcastle upon Tyne: Bloodaxe Books Ltd.

**Manfredi, Paul**

(2001). 〈Writing the Influenced Text: Modern Chinese Symbolist Poetry〉, in *Journal of Modern Chinese Literature in Chinese*, Hongkong: Lingnan University, 5.2 (January 2002).

**Mao Zedong 毛泽东**

（1968）。*毛泽东选集（一卷本）*[*The Collected Writings of Mao Zedong (Vol. 1)*]。上海：人民出版社。

**Mayakovsky, Vladimir**

(1960). *The Bedbug and Selected Poetry*. (ed./trans. Patrick Blake) Cleveland: The World Publishing Company.

**McDougall, Bonnie S. & Louie, Kam ed.**

(1997). *The Literature of China in the Twentieth Century*. London: Hurst &

Company.

**McDougall, Bonnie S.**

(1971). *The Introduction of Western Literary Theories into Modern China 1919-1925.* Tokyo: The Centre of East Asian Cultural Studies.

ed. (1976). *Paths in Dreams: Selected Prose and Poetry of Ho Ch'i-fang.* St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

**Meng Yifei 梦亦非**

（2000a）。〈口语诗歌：无效的静态写作〉[Colloquial Language Poetry: Writing of an Ineffective Quiescent State]。(22/11/2002) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/92.htm

（2000b）。〈女性诗歌：上升~迟疑~狂欢〉[Women's Poetry: Ascendance – Hesitation – Carnival]。(22/11/2002) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/90.htm

（2000c）。〈知识分子写作：标准与失范〉[Intellectual Writing: Standards and the Loss of Models]。(4/12/2002) http://www.hywx.com/hywxview.asp?zp_id=401

**Milosz, Czeslaw**

(1973). *Selected Poems.* New York: Seabury Press.

(1983). *The Witness of Poetry: the Charles Eliot Norton Lectures 1981-82.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

**Miller, Leslie et al.**

ed. (1993). *Literature and Politics in Central Europe: Studies in Honour of Marketa Goetz-Stankiewicz.* Columbus, SC: Camden House, Inc.

**Min Li-Zhi**

(2000). 〈An Introduction to Contemporary New Chinese Poetry〉。(17/1/2003) http://www.cccp-online.org/archive/cccpll/page_22.html

**Minford, John**

(1983). 〈Introduction: Into the Mist〉, in Hongkong: *Renditions* No's 19-20, Spring & Autumn.

**Miu Kegou 缪克构**

（2001）。〈回到读者—评‘中国新诗：1916-2000’〉[A Return to the Reader—A Critique of "Chinese New Poetry: 1916-2000"]。(19/3/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=487

**Mo Luo 摩罗**

（2003）。〈文革时期的潜在写作〉[The Latent Writing of the Cultural Revolution Period]。(1/12/2003) http://www.new153.com/whdt/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=630

**Mo Mo 默默**

ed.（2004）。*撒娇* [*Coquettery*]。香港：时尚周刊出版有限公司。

**Morin, Edward**

ed. (1990). *The Red Azalea: Chinese Poetry since the Cultural Revolution.* Honolulu: The University of Hawaii.

**Mu Duo 木朵**
（2003）。〈雕虫小技 3：纯洁的意象和语气的布置（**万夏**的‘豆子’）〉[Insignificant Skill 3: Pure Imagery and an Arrangement of Moods (**Wan Xia**'s <Beans>)]。（文论）(27/3/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=491

**Nathan, Leonard & Quinn, Arthur**
(1991). *The Poet's Work: An Introduction to Czeslaw Milosz.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

**Neruda, Pablo & Vallejo, César**
(1993). *Neruda & Vallejo: Selected Poems.* (ed. Robert Bly) Boston: Beacon Press.

**Niu Han 牛汉**
（2002）。〈一块扔在疼痛的历史的伤疤〉[A Scar Thrown into a Painful History]。（对话）(10/2/2003) http://www.anewfocus.com/yhf/yhf2002-2-11.htm

**Niu Han 牛汉 & Cai Qijiao 蔡其矫 ed.**
（1991）。*东方金字塔：中国青年诗人 13 家* [*An Oriental Pyramid: Thirteen Young Chinese Poets*]。合肥：安徽文艺出版社。
（including poems by **Tang Yaping 唐亚平** and **Zhai Yongming 翟永明**）

**Owen, Stephen**
(1985). *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics: Omen of the World.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

**Palandri, Angela C. Y.**
(1972). *Modern Verse From Taiwan.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

**Pan Di 潘迪**
（1994）。〈参加北京民运的洋鬼子与中国诗人—中共逮捕浪潮波及巴蜀诗人〉[The Foreign Devil Who Participated in the Beijing People's Movement and Chinese Poets—The Tide of Communist Arrests Reaches the Poets of Ba and Shu (Sichuan)]。香港：*前哨杂志* 1994 第 5 期。(In this article Michael Duke 杜迈可 is confused for Michael Day 戴迈河.)

**Pan Yuan & Pan Jie**
(1985). 〈The Non-Official Magazine *Today* and the Younger Generation's Ideals for a New Literature〉 in Kinkley, Jeffery C. ed., *After Mao: Chinese Literature and Society 1978-1981*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

**Pang Pei 庞培**
（2000）。〈诗人**柏桦**〉[The Poet **Bai Hua**]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 2000 第 1 期。

**Pasternak, Boris**
(1959). *The Poetry of Boris Pasternak.* (trans. George Reavey) New York: Capricorn Books.

**Patton, Simon**
(2005). <Zhai Yongming [PR China] 1955- >. (26/1/2005) http://china.poetryinternational.org/cwolk/view/24369

**Patton, Simon & Yu Jian**
（ a ）。〈**Zhang Zao**〉。(19/11/2003)
http://china.poetryinternational.org/cwolk/view/20296
**Peng Fang 彭放**
（1989）。〈‘探索’的折磨与困惑〉[The Torture and Perplexity of “Exploration”]。北京：*诗刊* 1989 第 10 期。
**Perelman, Bob**
(1996). *The Marginalization of Poetry: Language Writing and Literary History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
**Perse, St.-John**
(1959). *Anabasis: A Poem by St.-John Perse*. (trans. T.S. Eliot) London: faber and faber.
**Poemlife**
（2002a）。〈当代最好的女诗人—**小安**〉[The Best Woman Poet of Present Times—**Xiao An**]。（文论）(6/12/2002)
http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=272
**Pratt, William**
ed. (1963). *The Imagist Poem: Modern Poetry in Miniature*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc..
**Pu Min 普珉**
（2004）。〈评论：黑蓝访谈录〉，与岩鹰 [Criticism: A Black and Blue Conversation (with Yan Ying)]。（10/11/2004）
http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msg
**Qi Feng 齐风，Ren Wu 任悟，Jie Er 阶耳**
ed.（1988）。*朦胧诗名篇鉴赏辞典* [*Misty Poetry Famous Works Appreciation Dictionary*]。西安：陕西师范大学出版社。
**Qian Guangpei 钱光培**
（1987）。〈致新诗形式的创新者〉[To the Creators of New Forms in New Poetry]。北京：*诗刊* 1987 第 6 期。
**Qian Wenliang 钱文亮**
（2003）。〈在记忆与表象之间—《琼斯敦》（**柏桦**）〉[Between Memory and Representation—<Jonestown> (by **Bai Hua**)]。天津：*诗探索* 2003 第 1-2 期。
**Qian Yulin 钱玉林**
（2001）。〈新诗的厄运与当代先锋诗〉[The Bad Fate of New Poetry and Contemporary Avant-Garde Poetry]。(12/11/2002)
http://www.ldxz.con/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=802&BigClassName
**Qin Xiaoyu 秦晓宇**
（2003）。〈在此停留 – 谈**孙文波**最新诗集*空中乱飞*〉[Stop Here—On **Sun Wenbo**’s Newest Poetry Collection *Wild Flights*]。(14/4/2003)
http://newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=04011hn3
**Qin Yuhui 秦宇慧**
（1998）。〈**第三代**诗歌的美学原则〉[The Aesthetic Principles of **Third**

**Generation** Poetry]。(12/11/2002)
http://www.white-collar.net/wx_bzj/990109.htm

**Qiu Hua 秋华**
（2002）。〈**钟鸣**出书略考〉[A Brief Study of **Zhong Ming**'s Publications]。(26/2/2003)
http://www.946.com.cn/wx2/bookreview/zhongming.htm

**Qiu Zhenglun 邱正伦**
（1988）。〈关于现代诗歌走向的一次深沉打量〉[About the Weighty Assessment Modern Poetry is Approaching]。 合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 4 月 6 日，总第 86 期。

**Ran Yunfei 冉云飞**
（1995）。〈作怪的**钟鸣**〉[**Zhong Ming** The Mischief-Maker]。(26/2/2003)
http://www.946.com.cn/wx2/fengyun/zuoguai.htm

**Ren Ke 人可**
（1988）。〈本质上仅仅是女人 – **翟永明**和她的诗〉[In Essence Only a Woman—**Zhai Yongming** and Her Poetry]。 北京：*作家生活报* 1988 年 7 月 25 日，第 21 期。

**Rou Gang 柔刚**
（2001）。〈柔刚诗歌年奖（1992-2000）〉[The Annual Rou Gang Poetry Prize]。（**Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑** winner of 3,000 RMB in 1993 for <Twenty Poems on the Edge of a Knife>《刀锋二十首》）
（17/11/2004） http://limitpoem.online.cq.cn/sj/rgsgnj.htm

**Rubenstein, Joshua**
(1980). *Soviet Dissidents: Their Struggle for Human Rights.* Boston: Beacon Press.

**Russell, Charles**
(1985). *Poets, Prophets, and Revolutionaries: The Literary Avant-Garde from Rimbaud Through Post-Modernism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Sade 萨德**
（2001）。〈中国当下诗歌怪现状〉[The Strange Situation in China's Current Poetry]。(7/2/2003)
http://www.huozhe.net/sk/sk8/shadepinglun.htm

**Schmidt, J. D.**
(1994). *Within the Human Realm: The Poetry of Huang Zunxian 1848-1905.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Sang Ke 桑克**
（2001）。〈**孙文波**的风俗诗—读诗集***孙文波**的诗*〉[**Sun Wenbo**'s Poetry on Customs—Reading the Collection ***Sun Wenbo**'s Poetry*]。(6/12/2002)
http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=161

**Schneider, Laurence A.**
(1980). *A Madman of Ch'u: The Chinese Myth of Loyalty and Dissent.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

**Sha Guang 沙光**

ed.（1994）。*中国诗选（诗歌・诗论 No. 1）*[*A Selection of Chinese Poetry (Poetry & Poetics No. 1)*]。成都：成都科技大学出版社。

**Shangxie 上邪**

（2004）。〈听**张枣**讲课—一次潜在的文学批评之旅〉[Listening to **Zhang Zao** Lecture—A Journey Through Latent Literary Criticism]。(4/1/2005) http://www.poemlife.com:9001/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=1148

**Shen Haobo 沈浩波**

（2004）。*沈浩波诗歌 No.1 之心脏大恶*[*Shen Haobo Poetry No. 1 Great Evil of the Heart*]。大连：大连出版社。

**Shen Qi 沈奇**

（1988）。〈过渡的诗坛〉[The Poetry Scene in Transition]。合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 4 月 21 日，总第 87 期。

（1994a）。〈沉寂，造势，导引，清理，以及。。。—当前诗坛若干问题〉[Quiet, Creating a Situation, Guidance, Clearing Up, and …—Some Problems on the Current Poetry Scene]。合肥：*诗歌报月刊* 1994 第 6 期。

（1994b）。〈角色意识与女性诗歌〉[Role Consciousness and Women's Poetry]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 1 期。

（2001）。〈拓殖，收摄与在路上 – 现代汉诗的本体特征及语言转型〉[Opening Up New Land, Assimilating and On The Road—Noumenal Features of Modern Han Poetry and a Linguistic Shift in Form]。(26/2/2003) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/48.htm

（2004a）。〈秋水静石一溪远—论**赵野**兼评其诗集〉[Autumn Water Silent Stones A Stream Away—On **Zhao Ye** and a Critique of His Poetry Collection]。(6/12/2004) http://www.poemlife.com:9001/ReviewerColumn/shenqi/

（2004b）。〈两个"**莽汉**"与一个"撒娇"—读**李亚伟**，默默诗合集《**莽汉**与撒娇》〉[Two "**Macho Men**" and One "Coquette"—Reading **Li Yawei** and Mo Mo's Joint Poetry Collection ***Macho Man*** *and Coquettish*]。(4/1/2005) http://www.poemlife.com:9001/ReviewerColumn/shenqi/

**Shen Shen 申申**

（1986）。〈"二十二条诗规"—关于新时期十年诗歌创作对诗歌理论挑战的对话录〉["Twenty-Two Rules of Poetry"—the Record of a Dialogue on the Challenges to Poetry Writing and Poetics During Ten Years of the New Era]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 12 期。

**Shen Tianhong 沈天鸿**

（1986）。〈小题大做：论"桌子"的搬动〉[A Big Deal About a Small Issue: On the Movement of "Tables"]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 5 期。

**Shen Tianhong 沈天鸿**

（1988）。〈总体把握：反抒情或思考 – 中国诗歌现状研究论纲〉[Total Mastery: Anti-Lyricism or Reflection—A Study Outline on the Current Situation in China's Poetry]。合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 8 月 6 日，总第 94 期。

（1994）。〈后现代诗歌与后现代主义诗歌〉[Post-Modern Poetry and Post-Modernist Poetry]。天津：*诗探索* 1994 第 3 期。

**Shen Yadan 沈亚丹**

（1994）。〈中国当代诗歌荒诞意识的表现形式〉[The Forms of Expression of Consciousness of the Absurd in Chinese Contemporary Poetry]。南京：*南京大学学报* 1994 第 4 期。

**Shen Yubing 沈语冰**

（2003a）。〈什么是后现代主义？〉[What is Post-Modernism?]。(4/7/2003) http://www.be-word-art.com.cn/no13/docunent6.htm

（2003b）。〈我为什么要批判后现代主义？〉[Why do I want to Criticize Post-Modernism?]。(4/7/2003) http://www.be-word-art.com.cn/no13/document5.htm

**Shen Zeyi 沈泽宜**

（1989）。〈得到的与失去的—谈新生代诗〉[What is Lost and What is Gained—On the Poetry of the New-Born Generation]。北京：*文学评论* 1989 第 3 期。

**Shi de dangxia 诗的当下**

（2000）。〈诗人们究竟怎么啦？！。。。一份对诗歌阅读者的问卷调查。。。对三位诗人的采访〉[What is it with Poets?! … A Survey of Poetry Readers]。（**Yang Li 杨黎**，**He Xiaozhu 何小竹**，Han Dong 韩东） (12/2/2003) http://goldnets.myrice.com/golden_eye/index23.html

**Shi Xiaoman 释小满**

（2002）。〈官方与民间：两个虚构的伪命名〉[The Official Establishment and the Popular (Among the People): Two Fabricated Pseudo Namings]。(7/1/2004) http://www.tcpoetry.com/wangkan6/lilun/huren.htm

**Si Cheng 斯城**

（1994）。〈死亡：作为生〉[Death: As Life Itself]（on **Zhai Yongming 翟永明**）。拉萨：*西藏文学双月刊* 1994 第 4 期。

**Skvorecky, Josef**

(1988). *Talkin' Moscow Blues.* Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys.

**Soong, Stephen C. and Minford, John**

ed. (1984). *Trees on the Mountain: An Anthology of New Chinese Writing.* Hongkong: The Chinese University Press.

**Spence, John**

(1990). *The Search for Modern China.* New York: W.W. Norton &Company.

**Spender, Stephen**

(1953). *The Creative Element: A Study of Vision, Despair and Orthodoxy among some Modernist Writers.* London: Hamish Hamilton.

***Stars 星星诗刊社***

（1986）。〈“我最喜爱的当代中青年诗人”评选揭晓〉[The Announcement of the Results of “The Contemporary Middle-Aged or Young Poet I Like Most” Reader Survey]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 10 期。（Shu Ting 舒婷，Bei Dao 北岛，**Fu Tianlin 傅天林**，Yang Mu 杨牧，Gu Cheng 顾城，Li Gang 李钢，Yang Lian 杨炼，Ye Yanbin 叶延滨，Jianghe 江河，Ye Wenfu 叶文福）

**Stephens, Thom**

（2003）。〈**郑单衣**诗歌重放异彩〉[**Zheng Danyi**’s Poetry Releases Its Extraordinary Radiance Again]。(1/9/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=627

**Stevens, Wallace**

(1951). *The Necessary Angel: Essays on Reality and the Imagination.* New York: Vintage Books.

**Su Wei 苏炜**

（2003）。〈风雪故人来 – 《红豆》琐事〉[The Arrival of Old Friend of the Time of Wind and Snow—Trivialities about *Red Bean*]。台北：*今天文学杂志*，总 62 期 2003 No. 3. (On semi-official journals 1981-1983.)

**Sui Feng 随风**

（2002）。〈新时期重庆诗歌人物点评〉[Critiques of Chongqing Poets of the New Era]。(18/10/2002) http://www.limitpoem.com/jx1/jx14-3.htm

**Sun Jilin 孙基林**

（1989-1998）。〈**第三代**诗学〉[Poetics of the **Third Generation**]。(A collection of 8 essays; 22/11/2002) http://www.white-collar.net/wx_hsl/pome/01-third/index-3.htm

1. 〈**第三代**诗歌发生的诗学语境〉[The Linguistic Field of the Production of the Poetics of **Third Generation** Poetry](1988)；
2. 〈文化的消解：**第三代**诗的意义〉[The Dissolution of Culture: The Significance of **Third Generation** Poetry] (1988)；
3. 〈“他们”论〉[On “Them”] (1988)；
4. 〈“**非非**”论〉[On “**Not-Not**”] (1988)；
5. 〈中国**第三代**诗歌后现代倾向的观察〉[Observations on the Post-Modernist Tendencies of China’s **Third Generation** Poetry] (1993)；
6. 〈**第三代**诗的本体意识〉[The Noumenal Consciousness of **Third Generation** Poetry] (1996)；
7. 〈**非非主义**与西方语言哲学〉[**Not-Not-ism** and Western Language Philosophy] (1995)；

**Sun Jilin 孙基林**

8. 〈**第三代**诗学的思想形态〉[The Morphology of Thought of **Third Generation** Poetics] (1998)。
9. 〈**非非主义**与西方语言哲学〉[**Not-Not-ism** and Western Language Philosophy]。天津：*诗探索* 1997 第 4 期。

**Sun Naixiu 孙乃修**

（2004）。〈郭小川的挣扎〉[The Struggle of Guo Xiaochuan]。(7/1/2004) http://www.chinamz.org/125issue/125gbbj1.html

**Sun Qin'an 孙琴安**

（1987）。*现代诗四十家风格论* [*On the Styles of Forty Modern Poets*]。上海：上海社会科学院出版社。

**Sun Yushi 孙玉石**

（1983）。*中国初期象征派诗歌研究* [*Research into the Early Period of Chinese Symbolist Poetry*]。北京：北京大学出版社。

（1987）。*象征派诗选* [*A Selection of Symbolist Poetry*]。北京：人民文学出版社。

（1996）。〈解读穆旦的《诗八首》〉[Reading Mu Dan's <Eight Poems>]。(17/6/2003)http://thunder.prohosting.com/~mudan/review/shun.htm

（ a ）。〈鲁迅《野草》的生命哲学与象征艺术〉[The Philosophy of Life and Art of Symbolism in Lu Xun's *Weeds*]。(17/6/2003) http://www.cctv.com/lm/131/61/85872.html

**Symons, Arthur**

ed./trans. (1958). *The Symbolist Movement in Literature.* New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc..

**Tan Guilin 谭桂林**

（2001）。〈西方影响与九叶诗人的新诗现代化构想〉[The Influence of the West and the Conception of the Modernization of New Poetry by The Nine Leaves Poets]。北京：*文学评论双月刊* 2001 第 2 期。

**Tan Xudong 谭旭东**

（2002）。〈断裂与狭隘 – 说说新诗界的两大错〉[Rupture and Narrowness—On Two Big Errors of the World of New Poetry]。(25/2/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=463

**Tang Chao & Robinson, Lee**

ed. (1992). *New Tide: Contemporary Chinese Poetry.* Toronto: Managajin Books.

**Tang Xiaodu 唐晓渡**

（1986）。〈严肃的诗人〉[Serious Poets]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 7 期。

（1988）。〈乱花迷眼论新诗 – 全国当代新诗研讨会（运河笔会）综述〉[Perplexed by a Confusion of Poetry Discussing New Poetry—A Summary of the National Contemporary New Poetry Conference (The Grand Canal Conference)]。北京：*诗刊* 1988 第 8 期。

（1989）。*不断重临的起点* [*The Incessantly Arriving Starting-Point*]。北京：文化艺术出版社。

**Tang Xiaodu 唐晓渡**

（1992）。〈不要回避困境〉[Do Not Try to Avoid the Predicament]。香港：*今天文学杂志* 1992 第 1 期。

ed.（1992）。*灯心绒幸福的舞蹈 – 后朦胧诗选萃* [*The Happy Dance of Corduroy – The Best of Post-Misty Poetry*] 。 北京： 北京师范大学出版社。

ed.（1993a）。*与死亡对称 – 长诗，组诗卷* [*In Symmetry with Death: Long Poems and Poetry Sequences*] 。北京：北京师范大学出版社。

ed.（1993b）。*在黎明的铜镜中 – “朦胧诗”卷* [*In the Copper Mirror of Daybreak—“Misty Poetry” Volume*]。北京：北京师范大学出版社。

（1996）。〈谁是**翟永明**？〉[Who is **Zhai Yongming**?]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1997 第 2 期。

（1997）。〈写作将如何进行下去—关于九十年代先锋诗〉[How will Writing Continue—On Avant-Garde Poetry of the 1990s]。(22/11/2002) http://www.white-collar.net/wx_hsl/dangdai/xd_02/010.htm

ed.（1998）。*中外现代诗名篇细读* [*Close Readings of Famous Modernist Poems from China and Beyond*] 。重庆：重庆出版社。

ed.（1999）。*先锋诗歌* [*Avant-garde Poetry*]。 北京： 北京师范大学出版社。

（2001）。*唐晓渡诗学论集* [*A Collection of Essays on Poetics by Tang Xiaodu*]。北京：中国社会科学出版社。

（2003a）。〈人与事：我所亲历的八十年代《诗刊》（上）〉[People and Matters: My Experience of *Poetry Monthly* during the 1980s (Part 1)]。台北：*今天文学杂志*，2003 春季号总第 60 期。

（2003b）。〈人与事：我所亲历的八十年代《诗刊》（下）〉[People and Matters: My Experience of *Poetry Monthly* during the 1980s (Part 2)]。台北：*今天文学杂志*，2003 夏季号总第 61 期。

（2003c）。〈时过境迁话《今天》— 芒克访谈录〉[Times Past Places Different On *Today*—An Interview with Mang Ke]。(24/9/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=646

（ a ）。〈中国诗坛：后新诗潮诗人们开设的黑店？ — 一个前诗人的私人话语〉[The Chinese Poetry Scene—A Inn for Thieves Opened by Poets of the Post-New Poetry Tide?]。(31/1/2003) http://www.3miao.com/long/contents/poetryworld.htm

**Tang Xiaodu 唐晓渡& Wang Jiaxin 王家新**

ed.（1987）。*中国当代实验诗选* [*A Selection of Contemporary Chinese Experimental Poetry*]。沈阳：春风文艺出版社。

**Tang Xiaodu 唐晓渡& Wang Jiaxin 王家新**

（1988）。〈再度孤独：青年诗人创作一瞥〉[Alone Again: A Glimpse at the Handiwork of Young Poets]。 合肥： *诗歌报* 1988 年 5 月 21 日，总第 89 期。

**Tang Xiaodu 唐晓渡, Shi Zhi 食指 & Lin Mang 林莽**

（1999）。〈当代诗歌先行者〉[Trail-Blazers of Contemporary Poetry]。

(22/11/2002) http://www.white-collar.net/wx_hsl/pome/012.htm

**Tao, Naikan**

(1996). 〈Going Beyond: The Post-Menglong Poets, **Zhai Yongming** (**翟永明**) and Zhang Zhen (张真)〉, in the *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*: vols. 27+28 (1995-1996).

**Tao, Naikan & Prince, Tony**

(1999). 〈Introductory Note〉 to the trans. of <Jing'an Village> [静安庄] by **Zhai Yongming** (**翟永明**), in *Renditions* No. 52 – Autumn 1999: 92-93.

**Tay, William**

(1985). 〈Obscure Poetry: A Controversy in Post-Mao China〉, in Kinkley, Jeffery C. ed., *After Mao: Chinese Literature and Society 1978-1981*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

**Thompson, William Irwin**

(1967). *The Imagination of Insurrection: Dublin, Easter 1916. A Study of an Ideological Movement.* New York: Oxford University Press.

***Them 他们***

（2004）。〈新闻旧事：**翟永明**，**小安**的诗集获“莱蒂菲杯”第二届中国女性文学奖〉[News and Old Affairs: **Zhai Yongming** and **Xiao An**'s Poetry Collections Win the Second "Laidifei Cup" for Women's Literature]。（**翟**：《终于使我周转不灵》；**小安**：《种烟叶的女人》[**Zhai**: *Ultimately Making Me Lose Liquidity*; **Xiao An**: *A Woman Who Plants Tobacco*]）(16/2/2004) http://www.tamen.net/story/

**Tian Zhiwei 田志伟**

（1987）。*朦胧诗纵横谈* [*Free Talk About Misty Poetry*]。沈阳：辽宁大学出版社。

**Treece, Henry**

(1956). *Dylan Thomas: Dog Among Fairies.* New York: John de Graff.

**Twitchell, Jeffrey & Huang Fan**

(1997). 〈Avant-Garde Poetry in China: The Nanjing Scene 1981-1992〉, in *World Literature Today*; University of Oklahoma, Winter 1997.

**van Crevel, Maghiel 柯雷**

(1996). *Language Shattered: Contemporary Chinese Poetry and Duoduo*. Leiden: Research School CNWS.

(1997). <Scenes in Chinese Poetry> in *HEAT* #5, Sydney, 1997.

(1999). <Translator's Introduction to Xi Chuan's "Salute"> in *Renditions*, no. 51, Hongkong, 1999.

(2003a). <The Horror of Being Ignored and the Pleasure of Being Left Alone: Notes on the Chinese Poetry Scene>. (20/6/2003) http://deall.ohio-state.edu/denton.2/mclc/mclctrans/vancrevel.html

(2003b). <**Xiao Kaiyu**>. (19/11/2003) http://china.poetryinternational.org/cwolk/view/16247

(2004a). <Rhythm, Sound and Sense: Narrativity in **Sun Wenbo**>, in *Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese*, Hongkong, forthcoming.

**van Crevel, Maghiel 柯雷**

(2004b). <The Intellectual versus The Popular: A Polemic in Chinese Poetry> in Raoul Findeisen ed. *Chinese Texts, People and Procedures*, Bochum, forthcoming.

(2005). <Thanatography and the Poetic Voice: Ways of Reading Haizi>. Forthcoming.

**Waley, Arthur**

(1937). *The Book of Songs.* London: George Allen & Unwin.

**Wang, C. H.**

(1974). *Shih Ching as formulaic Poetry in an Oral Tradition.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

**Wang Chao 王潮**

（1993）。〈变构语言的努力：**非非**语言意识浅析〉[The Effort to Change the Structure of Language: A Shallow Analysis of **Not-Not**'s Language Consciousness]。天津：*诗探索* 1994 第 2 期。

**Wang Gan 王干**

（1993）。〈一个幽灵：自省或批判－新潮文艺中的‘文革’阴影〉[A Specter: Self-Appraisal or Criticism—The Shadow of the Cultural Revolution in the Literature and Arts of the New Tide]。长春：*文艺争鸣月刊* 1994 第 1 期。

**Wang Guangming 王光明**

（1993）。*艰难的指向：“新诗潮”与二十世纪中国现代诗* [*Difficult Directions: The “New Poetry Tide” and Twentieth Century Modern Chinese Poetry*]。北京：时代文艺出版社。

（1995）。〈不断破碎的心灵碎片—论‘新生代’诗〉[The Endlessly Shattered Shard of the Soul—On the Poetry of the “New-Born Generation”]。长春：*文艺争鸣月刊* 1996 第 1 期。

**Wang Hongtu 王宏图，Ge Hongbing 葛红兵，Zhang Sheng 张生，Zhang Hong 张闳**

（2002）。〈‘文革后一代’的精神资源和文化想象〉[The Spiritual Resources and Cultural Imagination of the “Generation after the Cultural Revolution”]。(10/2/2003)
http://www.dzzk.net/101/1.html

**Wang Jifang 王继芳**

（2002）。〈写作者，战士 – 韩东访谈录〉[Writer, Soldier—An Interview with Han Dong]。(11/2/2003)
http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=439

**Wang Jiaping 王家平**

（1999）。〈文革主流诗歌美学的建构和畸变〉[The Slight Changes to and Construction of the Aesthetics of Mainstream Poetry in the Cultural Revolution]。(21/11/2002)
http://www.white-collar.net/wx_hsl/dangdai/wgq/003.htm

（2002）。*红卫兵诗歌研究：「疯狂」的缪斯* [*Research into Red Guard*

*Poetry: The Muse of "Madness"*]。台北：五南图书出版股份有限公司。

**Wang Jiaxin 王家新**

（1995）。〈夜莺在它自己的时代：关于当代诗学〉[The Nightingale in an Era of Its Own: On Contemporary Poetics]。天津：*诗探索* 1996 第 1 期。

**Wang Jianzhao 王剑钊**

（1995a）。〈女性自白诗歌：‘黑夜意识’的预感〉[Women's Confessional Poetry: Premonitions of the "Consciousness of Black Night"]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 1 期。

**Wang Jianzhao 王剑钊**

（1995b）。〈后朦胧诗初论〉[An Initial Essay on Post-Mist Poetry]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 4 期。

（1999）。〈文革中的地下诗歌〉[Underground Poetry During the Cultural Revolution]。(21/11/2002) http://www.white-collar.net/wx_hsl/pome/004.htm

**Wang Ning 王宁**

（1994）。〈中国当代诗歌中的后现代性〉[The Post-Modernity in Chinese Contemporary Poetry]。天津：*诗探索* 1994 第 3 期。

**Wang Yichuan 王一川**

（1998）。*中国形象诗学 – 1985 至 1995 年文学新潮阐释* [*The Chinese Poetics of Form—An Elucidation of the New Tide in Literature from 1985 to 1995*]。上海：上海三联书店。

**Wang Zhaoyang 王朝阳**

（2003）。〈红卫兵诗歌：虚拟战争的写照〉[Red Guard Poetry: Portrait of a Fictitious War]。(24/2/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=465

**Wang Zhe 王哲**

（1992）. 〈灵魂的艺术－论中国当代现代主义诗歌的演进〉[Art of the Soul—On the Progress of Contemporary Chinese Modernist Poetry]。兰州：*飞天文学月刊* 1993 第 1 期。

**Wei Guangqi 魏光奇**

（2001）。〈没有空白—文革时期的读书生活〉[It was not a Blank—The Reading Life During the Cultural Revolution Period]。(22/11/2002) http://www.white-collar.net/wx_hsl/dangdai/wgq/002.htm

**Wei Hui 魏慧**

（1995）。〈论**第三代**诗歌的语言策略〉[On the Language Strategies of **Third Generation** Poetry]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 2 期。

**Wei Xi 维熹**

（1986）。〈梦幻之羊 – 读《异乡，橄榄或三毛之歌》致**廖亦武**〉[A Sheep of Illusion—Reading < A Song of a Different Land, Olives or San Mao> To **Liao Yiwu**]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 7 期。

**Wei Zhiyuan 魏志远**
（1986）。〈创作的灵魂 – 青年诗辑《人生之旅》读后[**肖开愚**]〉[A Creative Soul—After Reading <Journey Through Life> in the Youth Poetry Collection (on **Xiao Kaiyu**)]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 7 期。
**Weissbort, Daniel**
ed. (1991). *The Poetry of Survival: Post-War Poets of Central and Eastern Europe.* London: Penguin Books.
**Williams, C.A.S.**
(1976). *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives.* New York: Dover Publications, Inc..
**Wu Benxing 吴奔星**
（1987）。*文学风格流派论* [*On the Literary Styles of Groups*]。太原：北岳文艺出版社。
**Wu Kaijin 吴开晋**
（1991）。*新时期诗潮论* [*On the Poetry Tide During the New Era*]。济南：济南出版社。
**Wu Sijing 吴思敬**
ed.（1993）。*磁场与魔力 – 新潮诗论卷* [*Magnetic Fields and Magic—Poetics of the New Tide*]。 北京：北京师范大学出版社。
**Wutian Taichun 武田泰淳 & Zhunei Shi 竹内实**
（1993）。*诗人毛泽东* [*Mao Zedong The Poet*]。北京：中央文献出版社。
**Wu Xiao 吴晓 & Chen Xuguang 陈旭光**
（1989）。〈近几年诗歌理论问题述评〉[An Assessment of Poetry Theory of Recent Years]。北京：*当代文学研究资料与信息* 1989 第 11 期。
**Wu Zhangshu 吴丈蜀**
（1981）。*读诗常识* [*Common Knowledge in Reading Poetry*]。上海：上海古籍出版社。
**Xi Chuan 西川**
（2002）。〈民刊：中国诗歌小传统〉[Unofficial Journals: A Little Tradition of Chinese Poetry]。(12/6/2002) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=231
**Xi Du 西渡**
（1998）。〈历史意识与 90 年代诗歌写作〉[Historical Consciousness and the Writing of Poetry During the 1990s]。(26/2/2003) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/36.htm
（2002）。〈时代的弃婴与缪斯的宠儿 – 试论 60 年代出生的诗人〉[Abandoned Children and Darlings of the Muse—A Assessment of Poets Born in the 1960s]。(7/2/2003) http://www.be-word-art.com.cn/no8/document15.htm
**Xi Ping 溪萍**
ed.（1988）。***第三代****诗人探索诗选* [*The Third Generation Poets Exploratory*

*Poetry Selection*]。北京：中国文联出版公司。

**Xi Yunshu 席云舒**

（2002）。〈论朦胧诗〉[On Misty Poetry]。(5/12/2002) http://www.poemlife.com/ReviewerColumn/xiyunshu/article.asp?vArticleId

**Xiang Weiguo 向卫国**

（1994）。〈女性意识・女性诗歌・《**女子诗报**》〉[Women's Consciousness * Women's Poetry * ***The Woman's Poetry Paper***]。(17/12/2003) http://my.ziqu.com/bbs/665533/messages/390.htp

（2002）。*边缘的呐喊* [*Shouts from the Margins*]。北京：作家出版社。

**Xiangxia 乡下**

（2002）。〈我读**杨黎**《早课》之所想〉[Thoughts on Reading **Yang Li**'s <Early Classes>]。(18/10/2002) http://sgb.51.net/cgi/shi/images/article/259.html

**Xiaohai 小海**

（a）。〈关于《他们》〉[On *Them*]。(12/12/2003) http://limitpoem.online.cq.cn/jx/jx9-9.htm

**Xiaohai 小海& Yang Ke 杨克**

ed.（1998）。*他们：十年诗歌选* [*Them: A Selection From Ten Years of Poetry*]。桂林：漓江出版社。

**Xie Mian 谢冕**

（1987）。〈空间的跨越—诗歌运动十年（1976-1986）〉[Striding Across Space—Ten Years of the Poetry Movement (1976-1986)]。北京：*文艺理论研究双月刊* 1987 第 5 期。

（1988）。〈美丽的遁逸—论中国后新诗潮〉[A Pretty Flight from Leisure—On China's Later New Poetry Tide]。北京：*文学评论双月刊* 1988 第 6 期。

ed.（1993）。*雨花石或悬崖边的树 – 归来者诗选* [*Yuhua Rocks or Trees on the Edge of a Precipice—Selections of Poetry from Returned Poets*]。北京：北京师范大学出版社。

（1994）。〈20 世纪中国诗歌：1978-1989〉[Twentieth Century Chinese Poetry: 1978-1989]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 2 期。

**Xie Mian 谢冕 & Yang Kuanghan 杨匡汉**

ed.（1987）。*中国新诗萃：50 年代 – 80 年代* [*The Best of China's New Poetry: The 1950s – The 1980s*]。北京：人民文学出版社。

**Xie Zesheng 谢泽生 & Liang Changzhou 梁长洲**

（1993）。*风流缪斯的蝴蝶效应 – 新诗潮审美史论* [*The Butterfly Effect of a Dissolute Trendy Muse—On the Aesthetic History of the New Poetry Tide*]。郑州：河南人民出版社。

**Xinwenwang 新文网**

（2001）。〈大陆民间诗歌刊物点评：1999-2000 年〉[Comments on Mainland Unofficial Poetry Journals: 1999-2000]。(3/12/2002) http://www.new153.com/friend_magazine/01.htm

（2002）。〈大陆民间诗歌刊物点评：2000 年〉[Comments on Mainland Unofficial Poetry Journals: 2000]。(1/9/2004) http://www.new153.com/friend_magazine/03.htm

**Xu Fenglai 徐风来**

（2004）。〈废话诗人**杨黎**花絮〉[Tidbits about the BS Poet **Yang Li**]。(19/7/2004)http://www.netsh.com.cn/bbs/2549/messages/4130.html

**Xu Jiang 徐江**

（2000）。〈什么是先锋，什么是民间〉[What is Avant-Garde, What is Among the People (Popular)]。(22/1/2003) http://www.ceqq.com/Mjzy/Mjzy-1c/004.HTM

**Xu Jiang 徐江**

（2002）。〈简谈新时代诗歌的表征〉[A Simple Discussion of Characterization in the Poetry of the New Age]。(16/1/2003) http://www.new153.com/new_magazine/new_13/xdhy3.htm

**Xu Jingya 徐敬亚**

（1981）。〈复苏的缪斯—三年来诗坛的回顾及断想〉[The Recovery of the Muse—Recollections and Thoughts on Three Years of the Poetry Scene]。北京：*当代文学研究丛刊* 1981 第 2 期。

（1983a）。〈A Volant Tribe of Bards – A Critique of the Modernist Tendencies of Chinese Poetry〉in Hongkong: *Renditions*, # 19 & 20, Spring & Autumn. (Trans. and adapted by Ng Mau-sang.)

（1983b）。〈崛起的诗群 – 评我们诗歌的现代倾向〉[A Risen Band of Poets – A Critique of Modern Tendencies in Our Poetry]。兰州：*当代文艺思潮*，1983 年第 1 期。

（1984）。〈时刻牢记社会主义的文艺方向 – 关于“崛起的诗群”的自我批评〉[Always Firmly Remember the Direction of Socialist Literature and Arts – A Self-Criticism Regarding “A Risen Band of Poets”]。北京：*人民日报*，1984 年 3 月 5 日。

（1986）。〈生命：第三次体验〉[Life: A Third Understanding]。 合肥：*诗歌报* 1986 年 10 月 21 日，总第 51 期。

ed.（1986a）。〈中国诗坛 1986’现代诗群体大展〉[A Grand Exhibition of Modernist Poetry Groups on China’s Poetry Scene 1986]（第一辑），including ***莽汉主义***，***新传统主义***，*海上诗群*，*他们*，*西川体*，等 in 合肥：*诗歌报*，no. 51， 1986/10/21。

ed.（1986b）。〈中国诗坛 1986’现代诗群体大展〉[A Grand Exhibition of Modernist Poetry Groups on China’s Poetry Scene 1986]（第二，三辑），including ***非非主义***，***大学生诗派***，*九行诗*（**胡冬**），***四川五君***，***整体主义***，*无派之派*（**肖开愚**），*莫名其妙*（**杨远宏**），*朦胧诗人*，等 in *深圳青年报*，no. 185, 1986/10/24.

（1989）。*崛起的诗群* [A Risen Band of Poets]。长春：同济大学出版社。

**Xu Jingya 徐敬亚, Meng Lang 孟浪, Cao Changqing 曹长青, Lü Guipin 吕贵品**

ed.（1988）。*中国现代主义诗群大观 1986-1988* [*A Grand Overview of China’s*

*Modernist Poetry Groups 1986-1988*]。上海：同济大学出版社。

**Xu Xing 许行**

（1992）。〈戴戎与**四川新派诗人**—爱情故事演成间谍事件，镇压文艺只准诗人‘快乐’〉[Michael Day and Poets of Sichuan's New Schools—A Love Story Evolves into a Espionage Case, A Crackdown on Poetry Only Allowing Poets to be "Happy"]。New York: *世界周刊* Jan. 20-Jan. 26; Jan. 27-Feb. 2, 1992.

**Xuan Ge 玄歌**

（2000）。〈咖啡馆中的多重时间〉（论**欧阳江河**）[Repetitive Time in a Café (on **Ouyang Jianghe**)]。(27/10/2003) http://www.baifan.net/~baifan/jdsg/shilun/39.htm

**Xuan Qiu 选鳅**

（1999）。〈中国新诗的基本问题〉[Basic Problems of China's New Poetry]。(10/10/2003)http://www.duoweiweek.com/11/Literature/733.html

**Yan Wo 燕窝，An Ge 安歌，Ding Yan 丁燕**

（2003）。〈诗歌是生命和自己在说话 – 谈女性写作〉[Poetry is Life and the Self Speaking Together—On Women's Poetry]。(3/3/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=472

**Yan Xiaodong 燕晓东**

（2003）。〈网友来稿：文化的反抗〉[A Manuscript from an Internet Friend: The Resistance of Culture]。(12/2/2003) http://www.booker.com.cn/gb/paper21/9/class002100005/hwz69144.htm

**Yan Yuejun 阎月君，Gao Yan 高岩，Liang Yun 梁云，Gu Fang 顾芳**

ed.（1987）。*朦胧诗选* [*Misty Poetry Selections*]。沈阳：春风文艺出版社。

**Yan Zhen 严阵**

（1988）。〈古老的东方有一条龙 – 关于现代诗的辨析之一〉[The Ancient Orient has a Dragon—Analyses of Modern Poetry No. 1]。 合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 5 月 6 日，总第 88 期。

**Yang Chunguang 杨春光**

（1988）。〈反文化诗的实验及其反叛意义〉[The Experiment in Anti-Culture Poetry and Its Rebellious Significance]。(28/2/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/ReviewerColumn/yangchunguang

（1989）。〈**第三代**：终极生命诗的最后体验〉[The **Third Generation**: The Final Knowledge of Ultimate Life Poetry]。(28/2/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/ReviewerColumn/yangchunguang

（1991）。〈现代诗的发展问题和**第三代**诗人的界定〉[Problems in the Development of Modern Poetry and the Definition of **Third Generation** Poets]。(3/3/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/ReviewerColumn/yangchunguang

（2000）。〈诗从语言始，到政治止〉[Poetry Starts from Language, and Stops in Politics]。(4/2/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/yangchunguang

**Yang Chunguang 杨春光**
（2001）。〈诗歌的纠正（诗论之二）〉[The Correction of Poetry (On Poetry No. 2)]。(12/2/2003) http://www.hjclub.com/ShowTopic.asp?ID=106717

**Yang Guang 杨光**
（2003）。〈现当代诗歌中的女性意识探幽〉[An Exploration in the Dark of Women's Consciousness in Modern Poetry]。(1/9/2003) http://www.studa.com/newpaper/2003-6-18/2003618142439.asp

**Yang Jian 杨健**
（1993a）。*文化大革命中的地下文学* [*Underground Literature During the Great Cultural Revolution*]。济南：朝华出版社。

**Yang Jian 杨健**
（1993b）。〈文化大革命中的地下文学〉[Underground Literature During the Great Cultural Revolution]。(21/11/2002) http://www.white-collar.net/wx_hsl/dangdai/wgq/wgq_005a.htm

**Yang Jianlong 杨剑龙**
（2002）。〈狂热年代红卫兵情感的宣泄与记录〉[The Public Unburdening of Red Guard Emotions and Notes on a Fanatical Time]。(10/3/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=475

**Yang Ke 杨克**
（2002）。〈*90 年代实力诗人诗选*序〉[Preface to *Selections of Poetry by Strong Poets During the 1990s*]。(6/12/2002) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=288

**Yang Kuanghan 杨匡汉 & Liu Fuchun 刘福春**
ed.（1987）。*中国现代诗论（上，下）* [*Essays On Chinese Modern Poetry* (2 vol.)]。广州：花城出版社。

**Yang Lian 杨炼**
（1983）。〈传统与我们〉[Tradition and Us]。昆明：*山花文学月刊* 1983 第 9 期。

**Yang Mu 杨牧**
（1983）。〈The Traditional Orientation of China's New Poetry〉。Hongkong: *Renditions* No's 19-20, Spring & Autumn.

**Yang Ping 杨平**
（1995）。〈觉醒下的契机：80 年代先锋诗歌〉[The Turning Point After Awakening: Avant-Garde Poetry of the 1980s]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 3 期。

**Yang Xiaobin 杨小滨**
（1989）。〈崩溃的诗群—当今先锋诗歌的语言与姿态〉[A Buckled Band of Poets—The Language and Posturing of Contemporary Avant-Garde Poetry]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1989 第 9 期。
（1993）。〈政治的修辞—中国先锋文学中的反讽〉[The Rhetoric of Politics—Irony in Chinese Avant-Garde Literature]。台北：*今天*

*文学杂志* 1993 第 3 期。

**Yang Xiaobin 杨小滨**

（1999）。*历史与修辞* [*History and Rhetoric*]。兰州：敦煌文艺出版社。

（ a ）。〈从象征到语言：八十年代末的后朦胧诗〉[From Symbols to Language: Post-Misty Poetry at the End of the 1980s]。(18/6/2003) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu/conshow.php

（ b ）。〈答问：什么是中国的后现代主义〉[In Answer to the Question: What is China's Post-Modernism]。(18/6/2003) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu/conshow.php

（ c ）。〈中国先锋文学与历史创伤〉[Chinese Avant-Garde Literature and Historical Trauma]。(18/6/2003) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu/conshow.php

（ d ）。〈作为幽灵的后现代—九十年代诗〉[The Post-Modern as a Specter—Poetry of the 1990s]。(18/6/2003) http://wenxue.newyouth.beida-online.com/wangshang/maolu/conshow.php

**Yangzi 羊子**

（1988）。〈全面失控与突围 – 中国诗坛：一九八七〉[A Total Loss of Control and a Breaking of a Siege—The Chinese Poetry Scene: 1987]。 合肥： *诗歌报* 1988 年 4 月 21 日，总第 87 期。

**Yao Jiahua 姚家华**

ed.（1989）。*朦胧诗论争集* [*A Collection of Essays from the Misty Poetry Polemic*]。北京：学苑书店。

**Ye Lu 叶橹**

（1986）。〈诗与非诗〉[Poetry and Non-Poetry]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 8 期。

**Ye Xiaowen 叶晓文**

（2003）。〈1980 年以后的汉语诗歌研究线索〉[Clues to Research in Chinese Language Poetry After 1980]。(5/5/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=516

**Yeh, Michelle 奚密**

（1991a）。〈差异的忧慮—一个回响〉[The Anxiety of Difference—An Echo]。香港： *今天文学杂志* 1991 第 1 期。

（1991b）。〈从边缘出发：论中国现代诗的现代性〉[Setting Off From the Margins: On Modernism in Chinese Modern Poetry]。香港： *今天文学杂志* 1991 第 3-4 期。

(1991c). *Modern Chinese Poetry: Theory and Practice since 1917*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

ed./trans. (1992). *Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

（1993a）。〈海子‘亚洲铜’探析〉[An Analysis of Haizi's <Asian Copper]。台北： *今天文学杂志* 1993 第 2 期。

（1993b）。〈Contemporary Chinese Poetry Scenes〉 。 Chicago: *Chicago*

*Review*, Vol. 39, No's 3&4, 1993.

**Yeh, Michelle 奚密**

(1993c). 〈Death of the Poet: Poetry and Society in Contemporary China and Taiwan〉 in Michael C. Hillman, ed., *Literature East & West*, Austin, Texas U., 1993.

（1996a）。〈边缘，前卫，超现实—对台湾五，六十年代现代主义的反思〉[Margins, Vanguards, Surrealism—A Reconsideration of Modernism in Taiwan During the 1950s and 1960s]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1996 第 3 期。

（1996b）。〈The 'Cult of Poetry' in Contemporary China〉 in *The Journal of Asian Studies*: University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Vol. 55, No. 1, February 1996.

（1997）。〈当代中国的'诗歌崇拜'〉[Contemporary China's "Cult of Poetry"]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1997 第 1 期。

（1998a）。*现当代诗文录* [*Essays on Modern Poetry*]。台北：联合文学出版社。

（1998b）。〈中国式的后现代？— 现代汉诗的文化政治〉[Post-Modernism Chinese Style?—The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Poetry]。(22/11/2002) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/120.htm

（1999）。*从边缘出发：现代汉诗的另类传统* [*Setting Off From the Margins: An Alternative Tradition of Modern Chinese Poetry*]。广州：广东人民出版社。

**Yeh, Michelle 奚密，Cui Weiping 崔卫平**

（ a ）。〈为新诗一辩〉[In Defense of New Poetry]。(22/11/2002) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/30.htm

**Yeh Wen-hsin**

ed. (2000). *Cross-Cultural Readings of Chineseness: Narratives, Images and Interpretations of the 1990s.* Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies.

**Yi Bian 一编**

（1986a）。〈答复两位朋友的挑战[**大学生诗派，尚仲敏，燕晓东**]〉[Responding to the Challenge of Two Friends (the **University Student Poetry Group**, **Shang Zhongmin**, **Yan Xiaodong**)]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 7 期。

（1986b）。〈中国诗歌社团诗选专号 编辑小记〉[A Brief Note From the Editors of the Special Edition of Poetry Selections from Chinese Poetry Associations]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 11 期。

**Yi Dian 伊甸**

（1985）。〈对当前诗坛的一些观察〉[Some Observations on the Current Poetry Scene]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 5 期。

**Yidui ren 一堆人**

（2003）。〈八十年代后生要灭九十年代文学〉[Those Born in the 1980s want

Annihilate 1990s Literature]。(4/6/2003) http://newyouth.beida-online.com/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=o604hn5

**Yi Ping 一平**

（1993）。〈在中国现实文化状态中诗的意义〉[The Significance of Poetry in China's Real Cultural State]。天津：*诗探索* 1994 第 2 期。

**Yi Sha 伊沙**

（2000）。〈2000 年中国诗关键词〉[Key Vocabulary for Chinese Poetry in 2000]。(22/11/2002) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/28.htm

（2002）。〈一份可供阅读的写作提纲：中国现代诗 1968-2002〉[An Outline for Writing that is Fit to be Read: Modern Chinese Poetry 1968-2002]。 (26/2/2003) http://www.gepark.net/magazine3/r0.htm

（2003a）。〈我也说说 – 《回答朱白》〉[I Also Have Things to Say—<In Answer to Zhu Bai> (On **Yang Li**, etc.)]。（谈**杨黎**等） (19/7/2004) http://sh.netsh.com/bbs/3307/messages/51538.html

（2003b）。*伊沙诗选* [*A Selection of Yi Sha's Poetry*]。西宁：青海人民出版社。

**Yi Xing 一行**

（2000）。〈公共生活的个体立场 – 试论**欧阳江河**‘傍晚穿过广场’〉[The Stance of the Individual in Public Life—An Initial Analysis of **Ouyang Jianghe**'s <Crossing the Square at Nightfall>]。 http://bluetiger1998.coolcity.com.cn/index.htm?MenuID=65&ArticleID=325 (20/1/2003)

（2001）。〈暧昧时代的动物晚餐—论**欧阳江河**〉[Dinner for Animals in a Dull Age—On **Ouyang Jianghe**]。(30/4/2002) http://www.poemlife.net/ReveiwerColumn/yixing

（2004）。〈深掩：论**欧阳江河**的《交谈》〉[Deeply Hidden: On **Ouyang Jianghe**'s <A Chat>]。(19/7/2004) http://www.poemlife.com:9001/ReviewerColumn/yixing

**Yiye Zhiqiu 一叶之秋**

（2000）。〈‘文化大革命’对文学的摧残及‘文革’期间的地下文学活动〉[“The Great Cultural Revolution's” Destruction of Literature and Underground Literary Activities During the “Cultural Revolution”]。(22/11/2002) http://www.white-collar.net/wx_hsl/dangdai/xd_02/079.htm

**Yinzi 荫子**

（1986）。〈关于诗之我见[**廖亦武**]〉[My Opinions on Poetry (on **Liao Yiwu**)]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 10 期。

**Yip, Wai-lim 叶维莲**

(1992). *Lyrics From Shelters: Modern Chinese Poetry 1930-1950.* New York: Garland Publishing.

(1993). *Diffusions of Distances: Dialogues Between Chinese and Western Poetics.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

**Yu Bang 育邦**

（2002）。〈声音与现象—泛谈**第三代**，‘70 后和中间代的诗歌〉[Sounds and Appearances—On the Poetry of the **Third Generation**, the Post-1970 Generation and the Middle Generation]。(6/12/2002) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=265

**Yu Cijiang 于慈江**

（1988）. 〈朦胧诗与**第三代**诗：蜕变期的深刻律动〉[Misty Poetry and **Third Generation** Poetry: The Profound Rhythms of a Period of Transformation]。北京：*文学评论双月刊* 1988 第 3 期.

**Yu Jian 于坚**

（1986）。〈青春诗话〉[Youth on Poetry]。北京：*诗刊* 1986 第 11 期。

（1988a）。〈在太原的谈话〉[A Talk in Taiyuan]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1988 第 4 期。

（1988b）。〈诗歌精神的重建 – 一份提纲〉[The Reconstruction of the Spirit of Poetry—An Outline]。 合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 7 月 21 日，总第 93 期。

（1995）。〈**杨黎**和他的诗歌〉[**Yang Li** and His Poetry]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 3 期。

（1998）。〈诗歌之舌的硬与软：关于当代诗歌的两类语言向度〉[The Hardness and Softness of the Tongue of Poetry: On Two Types of Linguistic Tendencies in Contemporary Poetry]。天津：*诗探索* 1998 第 1 期。

（2001）。〈当代诗歌的民间传统〉[The Popular (Among the People) Tradition of Contemporary Poetry]。(6/12/2002) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=143

（2002）。〈关于中国当代诗歌—在瑞典奈赫国际诗歌节上的发言〉[On Chinese Contemporary Poetry—A Speech at Sweden’s Naihe International Poetry Festival]。 (12/11/2002) http://211.100.5.19/forum/view.jsp?forum=1&thread=95542&messageID=208278

（2003）。*诗集与图像 ANTHOLOGY AND IMAGE 于坚 2000-2002*。西宁：青海人民出版社。

（2004）。〈谈“他们”，民间写作与知识分子写作及其他〉[On *Them*, Writing Among the People and Intellectual Writing and Other Matters]，与马铃薯访谈录。（10/11/2004） http://www.yecao.net/Html/200441321126-1.Html

**Yu Lizi 郁离子**

（1996）。〈危机与革命 – ‘**第三代**’诗创作与批评的恶性循环〉[Crisis and Revolution—The Vicious Cycle of “**Third Generation**” Poetry Writing and Criticism]。天津：*诗探索* 1996 第 1 期。

**Yu, Pauline**

(1987). *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

**Yuan Weishi 袁伟时**

（1999）。〈文学革命与‘反传统’的是是非非〉[The Truth and Lies of Literary Revolution and “Counter-Culture”]。(21/11/2002) http://www.white-collar.net/wx_hsl/dangdai/xd_02/074.htm

**Yuan Yajuan 袁亚娟**

（2003）。〈当代先锋诗歌的误区〉[The Zone of Error for Contemporary Avant-Garde Poetry]。(14/2/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=445

**Yuan Yong 袁勇**

（2001）。〈深陷在价值结构中的诗歌英雄—阅读**周伦佑**‘石头构图的境况’〉[A Poetry Hero Sunk Deep in the Construction of Values—Reading **Zhou Lunyou**’s <A Situation Composed of Stones>]。(27/3/2002) http://www.new153.com/ff/ff2002/ff3-6.htm

（2002）。〈21 世纪诗歌和汉语言的价值重建〉[Twenty-First Century Poetry and the Rebuilding of Value in the Chinese Language]。(24/2/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=461

**Yuan Youming 袁幼鸣**

（1994）. 〈诗人何为－1993 中国 “21 世纪新空间” 文化研讨会综述〉[What is a Poet to Do—A General Summary of the 1993 National “The Twenty-First Century New Spaces” Conference on Culture]。南京：*钟山文学双月刊* 1994 第 2 期.

**Yuan Yuan 袁远**

（2001）。〈女诗人**翟永明**的书吧〉[The Woman Poet **Zhai Yongming**’s Book Store-Bar]。(20/1/2003) http://bluetiger1998.coolcity.com.cn/index.htm?MenuID=22&ArticleID=51

**Zang Ce 藏策**

（2003）。〈‘文化诗学’（1）视界中的屈原与《楚辞》〉[“Cultural Poetics” (1) Qu Yuan and *The Songs of the South* on the Event Horizon]。(2/7/2003) http://www.njpinglun.com/zcplzj/zcplzj01-qyycc.htm

**Zang Di 臧棣**

（1995）。〈自白的误区〉[The Regions of Error of Confession]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 3 期。

（1996）. 〈后朦胧诗：作为一种写作的诗歌〉[Post-Misty Poetry: Poetry as a Type of Writing]。长春：*文艺争鸣月刊* 1996 第 1 期.

（2003）。〈出自固执的记忆 – 读**赵野**的诗〉[Out of an Obstinate Memory—Reading **Zhao Ye**’s Poetry]。(1/9/2003) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=616

**Zang Di 臧棣，Sang Ke 桑克，Jing Wendong 敬文东，Xi Du 西渡**

（2001）。〈60 年代出生的中国诗人四人谈〉[A Four-Way Conversation on Chinese Poets Born in the 1960s]。(6/12/2002)

http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=245

**Zang Di 臧棣, Zhu Zhu 朱朱, Xi Du 西渡, Jing Wendong 敬文东, Huang Fan 黄梵, Zhang Taozhou 张桃洲**

（2002）。〈重识中国新诗传统〉[A Reappraisal of China's New Poetry Tradition]。(6/12/2002)
http://www.poemlife.net/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=390

**Zang Di 臧棣，Xi Du 西渡，Chen Dongdong 陈东东，Sang Ke 桑克，Huang Fan 黄梵，Zhang Taozhou 张桃洲，Jing Wendong 敬文东**

（2003）。〈诗人的角色意识〉[The Poet's Role Consciousness]。(5/9/2003)
http://www.poemlife.net/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=523

**Zeng Yanbing 曾艳兵**

（1995）。〈从朦胧诗到后朦胧诗—新时期诗歌艺术形态的转换与变形〉[From Misty to Post-Misty Poetry—The Shifts and Changes in Form of the Artistic Patterns of Poetry in the New Era]。
临海：*台州师专学报* 1995 第 5 期。

**Zhang Hong 张闳**

（1996）。〈简朴的力量—**肖开愚**诗歌的姿态和品质〉[Plain Power—The Stances and Qualities of **Xiao Kaiyu**'s Poetry]。(6/12/2002)
http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=30

（1999）。〈意识形态诗学批判〉[A Critique of Ideological Poetics]。(22/1/2003) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/79.htm

（2000a）。〈北岛，或一代人的'成长小说'〉[Bei Dao, or a "Novel of Growing Up" of a Generation]。(5/12/2002)
http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/zhanghong

（2000b）。〈短评五则：蓝蓝，**肖开愚**，丁丽英，沈浩波，杨健〉[Five Brief Critiques: Lan Lan, **Xiao Kaiyu**, Ding Liying, Shen Haobo, Yang Jian]。(5/12/2002)
http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/zhanghong

（2000c）。〈短评六则：朱大可，**钟鸣**，**欧阳江河**，余华，戴锦华，崔卫平〉[Six Brief Critiques: Zhu Dake, **Zhong Ming**, **Ouyang Jianghe**, Yu Hua, Dai Jinhua, Cui Weiping]。(5/12/2002)
http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/zhanghong

（2000d）。〈介入的诗歌—90 年代诗歌写作诸问题〉[Poetry of Intervention—Issues in Poetry Writing During the 1990s]。(24/9/2003)
http://www.poemlife.com/ReviewerColumn/zhanghong

（2000e）。〈无处立足的立场—评**欧阳江河**的*站在虚构这边*〉[A Stance Without a Place to Stand—A Critique of **Ouyang Jianghe**'s *Standing on This Side of Fabrication*]。(5/12/2002)
http://www.poemlife.com/ReviewerColumn/zhanghong

（2001）。〈抒情的荒年〉[The Barren Years of Lyricism]。(6/12/2002)
http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=28

（2002a）。〈当代诗歌的'外省精神'〉[Contemporary Poetry's "Out-of-

Province" Spirit]。(24/1/2003)
http://xinsanwen.com/xsg/200301/jiu/htm

**Zhang Hong 张闳**

（2002b）。〈权力阴影下的‘分边游戏’〉[The "Taking Sides Game" Beneath the Shadow of Power]。(10/2/2003)
http://wyg.sunchina.net/sixiang/zhanghong/02.html
http://wyg.sunchina.net/sixiang/001107/42.htm

**Zhang Hong 张闳，Sang Ke 桑克，Jing Wendong 敬文东，Duo Yu 朵渔**

（2003）。〈当代汉语诗歌关键词（二）〉[Crucial Vocabulary in Contemporary Chinese Language Poetry]。(16/12/2003)
http://www.poemlife.com:9001/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=760

**Zhang Huimin 张慧敏**

（1995）。〈女性诗歌：个体经验的时空意象化〉[Women's Poetry: The Image-ization of the Time and Space of Individual Experience]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 1 期。

**Zhang, Jeanne Hong 张晓红**

(2002). <**Zhai Yongming's** 'Woman' – with Special Attention to its Intertextual Relations with the Poetry of Sylvia Plath> in *Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese*, Hongkong: Lingnan University, vol. 5, no. 2, January 2002.

(2003). <Gender in post-Mao China> in *European Review*; Vol. 11, No. 2.

(2004). *The Invention of Discourse: Women's Poetry from Contemporary China*. Leiden: CNWS, 2004.

**Zhang Jiahui 张佳惠& Liang Yanping 梁艳萍**

（2002）。〈“马拉以打”的音乐—读**吉木狼格**《静悄悄的左轮》〉[The Music of "Malayida"—Reading **Jimu Langge**'s *The Silent Revolver*]。(19/7/2004)
http://www.poemlife.com:9001/ReviewerColumn/liangyanping/

**Zhang Jianjian 张建建**

（1995）。〈女性的诗学：**唐亚平**论〉[Women's Poetics: On **Tang Yaping**]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 1 期。

**Zhang Jiong 张炯**

（1994）。〈毛泽东与新中国诗歌〉[Mao Zedong and New Chinese Poetry]。沈阳：*当代作家评论双月刊* 1994 第 1 期。

**Zhang Jun 张军**

（2003）。〈当代诗歌叙事性的控制〉[Narrativity's Domination of Contemporary Poetry]。(6/11/2003)
http://www.poemlife.net/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=548

**Zhang Liqun 张立群**

（2004a）。〈90 年代女性诗歌：在现实中敞开的技巧〉[Women's Poetry of the 1990s: Skills Unfolded in Reality]。(10/6/2005)
http://www.poemlife.com:9001/ReviewerColumn/zhangliqun/

（2004b）。〈“断裂”，延续以及发展—80 到 90 年代诗歌〉["Rupture,

Continuation and Development—Poetry of the 1980s and 1990s]。(15/6/2005) http://www.poemlife.com:9001/ReviewerColumn/zhangliqun/

**Zhang Mu 张目**

（1995）。〈板块与套盒：现代主义诗歌的语言范型〉[Plates and Box Sets: The Linguistic Patterns of Modernist Poetry]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 2 期。

**Zhang Ning 张拧**

（1998）。〈飞翔的蝙蝠：**翟永明**论〉[A Bat in Flight: On **Zhai Yongming**]。天津：*诗探索* 1999 第 1 期。

**Zhang Qinghua 张清华**

（2002）。*内心的迷津：当代诗歌与诗学求问录* [*An Enchanting Stream of the Heart: A Record of Quests and Questions on Contemporary Poetry and Poetics*]。济南：山东文艺出版社。

**Zhang Taozhou 张桃洲**

（1998）。〈重审‘四五’诗歌运动的诗学意义〉[A Reassessment of Poetic Significance of the “April Fifth” Poetry Movement]。(6/6/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/zhangtaozhou

（1999a）。〈论‘新民歌运动’的现代来源 – 关于新诗发展的一个症结性的难题〉[On the Modern Origins of the “New Folk Song Movement”—On a Crucial Conundrum in the Development of New Poetry]。(15/5/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/zhangtaozhou

（1999b）。〈现代解诗学与中国现代主义诗潮的诗论建构 – 论孙玉石新诗研究的理论维度〉[Modern Poetry Interpretation Studies and the Construction of Poetic Theories in the Chinese Modernist Poetry Tide—On the Theoretical Dimensions of Sun Yushi’s New Poetry Research]。 (16/6/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/zhangtaozhou

（2000）。〈论新诗在 40 年代和 90 年代的对应性特征〉[On the Corresponding Features of New Poetry in the 1940s and 1990s]。(12/3/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/zhangtaozhou

（2001）。〈主体意识：介于个体与群体之间 – 中国新诗的两种人称辨析〉[Objective Consciousness: Intervening Between the Individual and the Group—An Analysis of Two Types of Personal Address in Chinese Poetry]。(12/2/2003) http://www.cc.org.cn/pingtai/011128300/0111283007.htm

（2003）。〈现代汉语的诗性空间 – 论 20 世纪中国新诗语言诸问题〉[The Poetic Space of the Modern Chinese Language—On Issues of Language in Twentieth Century Chinese New Poetry]。(6/6/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/zhangtaozhou

**Zhang Wanxin 张万新**

（2003）。〈**李亚伟**诗歌简历〉[A Résumé of the Poetry of **Li Yawei**]。(27/10/2003) http://sh.netsh.com/bbs/3307/messages/51378.html

**Zhang Xiao 张哮**

（2000）。〈**宋氏兄弟**〉[The **Song Brothers**]。(28/11/2002) http://www.wenxue.com/scene/critic/244.htm

**Zhang Xiaobo 张小波**

（2003）。〈必须以诗歌来对抗〉[One Must Resist With Poetry (an interview with Ma Ce)]。（马策/访谈录）(2003-12-10) http://my.clubhi.com/bbs/660845/messages/58152.html

**Zhang Xuchun 张旭春**

（2001）。〈文学行为与文化批判—后现代主义在中国的角色定位〉[Literary Acts and Cultural Criticism—A Definition of the Role of Post-Modernism in China]。(6/12/2002) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=52

**Zhang Yaxin 章亚昕 & Geng Jianhua 耿建华**

ed.（1988）。*中国现代朦胧诗赏析 Chinese Modern Misty Poetry Appreciation and Analysis*]。广州：花城出版社。

**Zhang Yiwu 张颐武**

（1988）。〈冲突的超越 – 诗歌实验的意义〉[A Transcendence of Conflict—The Significance of Experimentation in Poetry]。 合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 2 月 6 日，总第 82 期。

（1989）。〈诗的危机与知识分子的危机〉[The Crisis of Poetry and the Crisis of the Intellectual]。(22/1/2003) http://www.booker.com.cn/gb/paper54/1/class005400041/hwzl130609.htm

**Zhao Lin 赵林**

（1996）。〈**第三代**诗人与第四层人生〉[**Third Generation** Poets and the Fourth Level of Human Life]。北京：*文艺评论双月刊* 1996 第 2 期。

**Zhao Minli 赵敏俐**

（2002）。〈新时期（1976 年以后到 20 世纪末）的汉诗研究〉[Research into Chinese Poetry of the New Era (From 1976 to the End of the Twentieth Century)]。(17/12/2002) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=399

**Zhao Qiong 赵琼 & Daozi 岛子**

ed./trans.（1987）。*美国自白派诗选* [*A Selection of Poetry From the American Confessional Poets*]。桂林：漓江出版社。

**Zhao Siyun 赵思运**

（1995，2001）。〈现代诗歌：对人类生命的终极关怀〉[Modern Poetry: The Ultimate Concern for the Life of Humanity]。(30/5/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/zhaosiyun

（2002a）。〈时空牢笼里的躯体—新时期女性诗歌考查（上，下）〉[A

Body in a Cage of Time and Space—Investigations into Women's Poetry of the New Era]。(26/3/2003)
http://bj2.netsh.com/bbs/95748/messages/2816.html

**Zhao Siyun 赵思运**

（2002b）。〈新时期女性诗歌文本中的躯体意象考察〉[Investigations into the Image of the Body in the Texts of Women's Poetry in the New Era]。(26/3/2003)
http://dadao.net/htm/culture/2002/0909/3148.htm

（2002c）。〈新时期女性诗歌文本中的‘书写’意象〉[The Image of "Writing" in the Texts of Women's Poetry in the New Era]。(6/3/2003)
http://www.guxiang.com/wenxue/pinglun/dushu/200208/200208280022.htm

（2002d）。〈新时期女性诗语考察〉[Investigations into Women's Poetic Language in the New Era]。(7/3/2003)
http://www.xiaoyan.com/bbs/msg_topic.cfm?tn=3&fn=4

（2003a）。〈毛泽东语录（12 首）— 非虚构实验文本（附评论）〉[Quotations of Mao Zedong (12 poems) — Non-Fabricated Experimental Texts (with critiques)]。(30/4/2003)
http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/zhaosiyun

（2003b）。〈男性诗歌性话语中的祖国意识〉[Consciousness of the Ancestral Land in Masculine Poetic Language]。(5/2/2003)
http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/zhaosiyun

（2003c）。〈后革命时期的中间代诗人〉[Middle Generation Poets in the Post-Revolution Era]。(5/11/2003)
http://www.xiaoyan.com/bbs/msg_topic.cfm?tn=137&fn=4

（2003d）。〈体制外写作：迟到的命名与吁请〉[Writing Outside the System: A Tardy Naming and Shouted Request]。(1/12/2003)
http://www.poemlife.com/ReviewerColumn/zhaosiyun

（2003e）。〈大跃进民歌中的太阳崇拜〉[The Worship of the Sun in the Folk Songs of the Great Leap Forward]。(5/9/2003)
http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/zhaosiyun

（2005）。〈共和国十七年时期**何其芳**的诗性人格呈现〉[The Manifestation of **He Qifang**'s Poetic Persona during the First Seventeen Years of the Republic]。（26/5/2005）
http://www.poemlife.net/ReviewerColumn/zhaosiyun

**Zhao Weifeng 赵卫峰**

（2003）。〈诗歌民刊现象浅谈〉[A Brief Discussion of the Unofficial Poetry Journal Phenomenon]。(11/5/2003)
http://www.zhongdian.net/shownews.asp?newsid=286

**Zhao Xiaoqi 赵小琪**

（1996）。〈消解与重构 – ‘后新诗潮’诗歌对‘本体’的瓦解与重建〉[Dissolution and Reconstruction—The Collapse and Rebuilding of the "Noumenon" by the Poetry of the "Post-New Poetry Tide"] 。

(12/2/2003)
http://data.sc.cninfo.net/main/wenhua/went/20000216.html

**Zhao Xun 赵寻**

（2001）。〈‘民刊’的意义〉[The Significance of “Unofficial Journals”]。(6/12/2002)
http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=187

（2002）。〈八十年代诗歌‘场域自主性’重建 – 近二十年来‘诗歌’观念建构（之一）〉[The Reestablishment of “The Autonomous Nature of the Field” in the Poetry of the 1980s—The Construction of the Concept of “Poetry” during the Past Twenty Years]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 2002 第 3 期。
Also at: (1/9/2003)
http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=583

**Zhao Zhi 赵智**

（1987）。〈建构女性的神话 – 青年女诗人**翟永明**的诗作〉[The Construction a Women’s Myth—The poetic Works of the Young Woman Poet **Zhai Yongming**]。北京：*文艺报* 1987 年 10 月 10 日，第 41 期。

**Zheng Min 郑敏**

（1988）。〈足迹和镜子 – 今天新诗创作和评论的需要〉[Footprints and Mirrors—The Needs of Today’s New poetry Writing and Criticism]。北京：*诗刊* 1988 年第 8 期。

（1995）。〈女性诗歌研讨会后想到的问题〉[Issues Thought of After the Women’s Poetry Conference]。天津：*诗探索* 1995 第 3 期。

（1996a）。〈探索当代诗风 – 我心目中的好诗〉[An Exploration into Contemporary Poetry Fashions—Good Poetry in My Mind and Eye]。天津：*诗探索* 1996 第 2 期。

（1996a）。〈20 世纪围绕语言之争：结构与解构〉[A Battle Revolving Around Language in the Twentieth Century: Structure and Deconstruction]。天津：*诗探索* 1996 第 1 期。

（2000）。〈新诗百年探索与后新诗潮〉[One Hundred Years of New Poetry Exploration and the Post-New Poetry Tide]。(22/11/2002)
http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/137.htm

（2001）。〈郑敏访问记〉[An Interview with Zheng Min]。(9/12/2002)
http://u64di1.chinaw3.com/shilun/xinshi/11.htm

（2002）。〈中国新诗八十年反思〉[A Reassessment of Eighty Years of China’s New Poetry]。北京：*文学评论双月刊* 2002 第 5 期。

（2003）。〈读**郑单衣**诗集《夏天的翅膀》有感〉[Feelings on Reading **Zheng Danyi**’s Poetry Collection *The Wings of Summer*]。(10/10/2003)
http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msgID=2147481435

**Zheng Min 郑敏，Wu Sijing 吴思敬**

（2000）。〈新诗，究竟有没有传统？〉[New Poetry, Is There Truly a

Tradition?]。（对话）(10/2/2003)
http://www.anewfocus.com/yhf/yhf2001-1-6.htm

**Zheng Shusen 郑树森**

（1987）。*文学因缘* [*Causes of Literature*]。台北：东大图书公司。

**Zhongguo dangdai wenxueshi jiaocheng 中国当代文学史教程**

（2001a）。〈女性自我世界的空间：‘女人组诗’〉[Space for a Woman's World of the Self: The Poetry Sequence <Woman>]。(26/3/2003)
http://www.grassy.org/Star/FPRec.asp?FPID=985&RecID=2

（2001b）。〈**翟永明**简介〉[A Résumé of **Zhai Yongming**]。(26/3/2003)
http://www.grassy.org/Star/FPRec.asp?FPID=985&RecID=1

**Zhongguo wenyi yanjiu hui 中国文艺研究会**

（1997）。*今天（1978-1980）复刻板* [*Today (1978-1980) A Republished Edition*]。东京：木村桂文社。

**Zhonghua Xiaoyuan Wang 中华校园网**

（2002）。〈诗歌中的八十年代和九十年代〉[The 1980s and 1990s in Poetry]。(14/2/2003)
http://campus.peopledaily.com.cn/gb/paper108/4/class010800001/hwz81

**Zhong Weiguang 仲维光**

（2003）。〈当代中国无大师〉[Contemporary China has No Great Masters]。(6/11/2003)
http://newyouth.beida-online.cam/data/data.php3?db=wenxue&id=0609hn2

**Zhong Wen 钟文**

（2001）。〈中国现代诗的发展〉[The Development of Chinese Modern Poetry]。(4/2/2003)
http://www.lib.szu.edu.cn/szulibtm/AD_zyjs/BD_sdsjk?xb/xbwk/xb86/86

**Zhou Jianglin 周江林**

（2001）。〈**唐丹鸿**：激情与风情之女〉[**Tang Danhong**: A Woman of Enthusiasm and Style]。(20/1/2003)
http://bluetiger1988.coolcity.com.cn/index.htm?MenuID=22&ArticleID=52

**Zhou Jun 周俊 & Zhang Wei 张维 ed.**

（1991）。*海子，骆一禾作品集* [*The Collected Works of Haizi and Luo Yihe*]。南京：南京出版社。

**Zhou Shiyuan 周始元**

（1986）。〈西方现代主义正走向哪里〉[Where is Western Modernism Going]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 9 期。

**Zhou Weichi 周伟驰**

（2003）。〈两次遇见**郑单衣**〉[Two Meetings with **Zheng Danyi**]。(18/6/2003)
http://www.poemlife.net/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=556

**Zhou Yaping 周亚平**

（1988）。〈我看**第三代**诗人其人其事〉[How I See **Third Generation** Poets and Their Affairs]。 合肥：*诗歌报* 1988 年 6 月 6 日，总第 90

期。

**Zhou Zan 周瓒**

（2002a）。〈当代中国先锋诗歌论纲〉[An Outline of Contemporary Chinese Avant-Garde Poetry]。(26/11/2002) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/125.htm

（2002b）。〈**虹影**的词语迷宫和她诗中的超现实意境〉[**Hong Ying**'s Linguistic Maze and Surrealistic Conceptions in Her Poetry]。(26/2/2003) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/25.htm

（2002c）。〈论**翟永明**诗歌的声音与述说方式〉[On Methods of Narration and Sound in **Zhai Yongming**'s Poetry]。(6/12/2002) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=21

（2002d）。〈女性诗歌：‘误解小词典’〉[Women's Poetry: "A Little Dictionary of Misconceptions"]。(20/1/2003) http://bluetiger1998.coolcity.com.cn/index.htm?MenuID=22&ArticleID=162

（2003）。〈九十年代以来的女性诗歌〉[Women's Poetry Since the 1990s]。(23/4/2003) http://www.poemlife.net/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=503

（2004a）。〈女性诗歌的，自由的期待与可能的飞翔〉[Expectations of Women's Poetry and Liberty, and the Flight of Possibility]。(2004-5-26) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msg

（2004b）。〈我想象有一位双面缪斯〉[I Imagine a Two-Faced Muse (An interview with Yan Wo)]。（燕窝专访）(2004-5-26) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msg

**Zhou Zan 周瓒，Yu Jian 于坚，Zang Di 臧棣，Yi Sha 伊沙**

（2003a）。〈当代汉语诗歌关键词（一）〉[Crucial Vocabulary in Contemporary Chinese Language Poetry (1)]。(16/12/2003) http://www.poemlife.com:9001/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=759

**Zhou Zan 周瓒，Yu Jian 于坚，Zang Di 臧棣，Yi Sha 伊沙**

（2003b）。〈诗坛热点问答录〉[A Record of Questions and Answers about Hot Issues on the Poetry Scene]。(12/11/2003) http://www.poemlife.com.cn/forum/add.jsp?forumID=14&msgID=21474813

**Zhou Zhengbao 周政保**

（ a ）。〈九十年代中国文学十大景点〉[Ten Big Sights in Chinese Literature of the 1990s]。(29/1/2003) http://www.white-collar.net/01-author/z/37-zhou_zb/001.htm

**Zhu Dake 朱大可**

（1988）。〈空心的文学—关于新时期文学的白皮书〉[Literature with a Hollow Heart—A White Paper on the Literature of the New Era]。长春：*作家文学月刊* 1988 第 9 期。

（1991a）。〈先知之门：关于海子的死亡与探查〉[The Door of the Prophets: On the Death and Examination of Haizi]。(2004/8/2) http://www.skyven.org/cn/NewsFiles/9/20040328/147.html

**Zhu Dake 朱大可**

（1991b）。〈先知之门 – 海子与骆一禾论纲〉[The Door of the Prophets – An Outline on Haizi and Luo Yihe]。(2004/8/2) http://www.boxun.com/sixiang/zhudake/03.html

（2001）。〈燃烧的迷津〉[A Burning Stream of Enchantment]。(22/11/2003) http://www.lingshidao.com/shilun/xinshi/38.htm

**Zhu Lingbo 朱凌波**

（1987）。〈**第三代**诗概观〉[A General Survey of **Third Generation** Poetry]。辽源：*关东文学月刊* 1987 第 7 期。

**Zhu Qinghe 朱庆和**

（2002）。〈**吉木狼格**—汉语玩得比所有汉人都好的彝族人〉[**Jimu Langge**—A Member of the Yi Nationality Who Plays with the Han Chinese Language Better Than Any Han Chinese]。(6/12/2002) http://www.poemlife.com/Wenku/wenku.asp?vNewsId=269

**Zhu Wen 朱文**

（1998）。〈断裂，一份问卷和五十六份答卷〉[Rupture, A Survey and Fifty-Six Responses]。台北：*今天文学杂志* 1998 第 4 期。（发起，整理）

**Zhu Xianshu 朱先树**

（1986）。〈当代意识与美的追求 – 给**杨然**的一封信〉[Contemporary Consciousness and the Pursuit of Beauty—A Letter to **Yang Ran**]。成都：*星星诗刊* 1986 第 6 期。

**Zhuang Rouyu 庄柔玉**

（1993）。*中国当代朦胧诗研究 – 从困境到求索* [*Research into Chinese Contemporary Misty Poetry—From Predicament to Quest*]。台北：大安出版社。

**Zou Jianjun 邹建军**

（1994）。〈中国新诗：世纪末的沉思〉[Chinese New Poetry: Meditations at the End of the Century]。天津：*诗探索* 1994 第 2 期。

***BIBLIOGRAPHY:*** **Sichuan Unofficial Journal List, including scanned copies of Tables of Contents and Covers (pending), and List of Major Sichuan Avant-garde Poets and the Journals their work can be found in**

(digitally scanned copies will be available in a later e-book format)

***次生林*** (*The Born-Again Forest*), 1982, 108 pages; (Chengdu)
**CSL** edited by Zhong Ming 钟鸣.

***第三代人*** (*The Third Generation*), 1983; (Chengdu)
**TG** edited by Zhao Ye 赵野, Beiwang 北望, Tang Yaping 唐亚平, Hu Xiaobo 胡晓波, & Deng Xiang 邓翔.

***莽汉：未定诗稿*** (*Macho Men: Unsolicited Poetry Manuscripts*), 1985, 50 pages; (Nanchong & Chengdu)
**MH** edited by Wan Xia 万夏. (Also several mimeographed individual poetry collections.)

***现代诗内部交流资料*** (*Modernists Federation*), 1985, 78 pages; (Chengdu)
**MF** edited by Wan Xia 万夏, Yang Li 杨黎, Zhao Ye 赵野, Song Wei 宋炜, Hu Dong 胡冬, Shi Guanghua 石光华 , & Wang Gu 王谷.

***日日新*** (Day By Day Make It New), 1985, 34 pages; (Chongqing)
**RRX** edited by Bai Hua 柏桦 & Zhou Zhongling 周忠陵.

***中国当代实验诗*** (Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry), 1985, 79 pages; (Fuling)
**ZDS** edited by Yang Shunli 杨顺礼, Lei Mingchu 雷鸣雏, and Liao Yiwu 廖亦武.

***非非：Feifei Poetical Works and Poetics***, 1986 (80 p.) , 1987 (140 p.), 1988 (150 p.), 1988 (146 p.), 1992 (150 p.), 1993 (198 p.); and
***非非评论*** [Feifei Critique](newspaper format, 4 p.), 1986 & 1987; (Xichang & Chengdu)
**FF** **FFPL** editor-in-chief: Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑.

***汉诗：二十世纪编年史*** (*Han Poetry*), 1986 (122 p.) & 1988 ( 130 p.); (Chengdu)
**HS** edited by Shi Guanghua 石光华, Song Qu 宋渠, Song Wei 宋炜, Wan Xia 万夏, Liu Taiheng 刘太亨 , & Zhang Yu 张谕.

***巴蜀现代诗群*** (*Modern Poetry Groups of Ba and Shu*), 1987, 112 pages; (Fuling)
**BXS** edited by Liao Yiwu 廖亦武.

***红旗*** (*The Red Flag*), 1987-1989, 4 issues, 20-44 pages; (Chongqing)
**HQ** edited by Fu Wei 傅维 & Sun Wenbo 孙文波.

***女子诗报*** (*The Woman's Poetry Paper*), 1988-1990, 1994, 4 issues, 4 pages; (Xichang)
**NZSB** edited by Xiaoyin 晓音.

***象罔*** (*Image Puzzle*), 1990-1992 a total of 12 issues, between 12-90 pages each;
**XW** (Chengdu), edited by Zhong Ming 钟鸣, Zhao Ye 赵野, Xiang Yixian 向以鲜, and Chen Zihong 陈子弘.

***反对*** (*Against*), 1990-1993 a total of 14 issues, between 11-52 pages each; (Chengdu)
**FD** edited by Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚.

***九十年代*** (*The Nineties*), 1989-1993 a total of 4 issues, between 108-126 pages each;
**JN** (Chengdu), edited by Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚 & Sun Wenbo 孙文波.

***非非诗歌稿件集*** (*Not-Not Poetry Manuscript Collection*), 1990-1991 a total of 2 issues,
**FF2** 142 pages each; (Chengdu)
edited by Lan Ma 蓝马, Yang Li 杨黎, Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏, He Xiaozhu 何小竹, & Li Xiaobin 李晓彬.

***写作间*** (*Writer's Workshop*), 1990-1991, 2 issues, 50 pages; (Chongqing)
**XZJ** edited by Fu Wei 付维 & Zhong Shan 钟山.

**List of Major Sichuan Avant-garde Poets**
**and the Journals their work can be found in.**

Bai Hua 柏桦: CSL, RRX, MF, ZDS, HS, HQ, FF, BXS, XW, JN.
Chen Xiaofan 陈小繁: MF, FF, FF2, BXS.
Er Mao 二毛: ZDS, FF, BXS.
He Xiaozhu 何小竹: ZDS, FF, FF2, BXS.
Hu Dong 胡冬: MF, MH.
Lan Ma 蓝马: FF, FFPL, FF2, BXS.
Li Yawei 李亚伟: MF, ZDS, FF, HS, MH, BXS.
Liao Yiwu 廖亦武: MF, ZDS, HS, BXS.
Liu Tao 刘涛: MF, ZDS, FF, FF2, BXS.

Ma Song 马松: MF, ZDS, MH.
Ouyang Jianghe 欧阳江河: CSL, RRX, MF, ZDS, HS, BXS, FD, JN.
Shang Zhongmin 尚仲敏: FF, FFPL, FF2.
Shi Guanghua 石光华: MF, ZDS, HS, XW, FD.
Song Wei & Song Qu 宋炜 宋渠: MF, ZDS, HS, BXS.
Sun Wenbo 孙文波: MF, HS, HQ, BXS, FD, JN.
Wan Xia 万夏: MF, ZDS, HS, FF, MH, BXS, HQ, JN.
Xiao An 小安: FF, FF2.
Xiao Kaiyu 肖开愚: HS, FD, JN.
Yang Li 杨黎: MF, ZDS, HS, FF, FFPL, FF2, BXS.
Yang Yuanhong 杨远宏: MF, ZDS, FF, BXS.
Zhai Yongming 翟永明: CSL, MF, HS, FF, BXS, XW, JN.
Zhang Zao 张枣: RRX, MF, ZDS, MF, HS, HQ, XW.
Zhao Ye 赵野: TG, MF, HS, HQ, XW.
Zhong Ming 钟鸣: CSL, MF, XW, JN.
Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑: MF, ZDS, HS, FF, FFPL, BXS.

**A TIMELINE FOR CHINESE POETRY**

(Limited to materials referred to in this text and focused on Sichuan unofficial poetry developments, for the post-Mao era, until 1993. Information relevant to poetry in bold type.)

2100 – 1600 B.C.E. Xia 夏 Dynasty

1600 – 1100 B.C.E. Shang 商 Dynasty

1100 – 771 B.C.E. Western Zhou 西周 Dynasty

***Book of Songs* *诗经*** collected (305 poems, or songs)

***Book of Changes* *易经*** compiled

770 – 256 B.C.E. Eastern Zhou 东周 Dynasty

770 – 476 B.C.E. Spring and Autumn 春秋 Period

**Confucius 孔子**, said to have compiled the ***Book of Songs*** and the ***Book of Changes***

**Laozi 老子**

475 – 221 B.C.E. Warring States 战国 Period

**Qu Yuan 屈原 – First Named Poet**

**Zhuangzi 庄子**

221 – 207 B.C.E. Qin 秦 Dynasty

206 B.C.E. – 220 Han 汉 Dynasty

206 B.C.E. – C.E. 23 Western Han 西汉

25 – 220 Eastern Han 东汉

220 – 280 Three Kingdoms 三国

265 – 316 Western Jin 西晋 Dynasty

317 – 420 Eastern Jin 东晋 Dynasty

**Tao Yuanming 陶渊明**

420 – 581 Northern and Southern Dynasties 南北朝 Period (4 in the North, 5 in the South)

581 – 618 Sui 隋 Dynasty

618 – 907 Tang 唐 Dynasty

**Li Bai 李白** and **Du Fu 杜甫**

907 – 960 Five Dynasties 五代 Period

960 – 1127 Northern Song 北宋 Dynasty

**Su Dongpo 苏东坡** and **Li Qingzhao 李清照**

1127 – 1279 Southern Song 南宋 Dynasty

916 – 1125 Liao 辽 Dynasty (in the North)

1115 – 1234 Jin 金 Dynasty (in the North)

1271 – 1368 Yuan 元 Dynasty (Mongol rule)

1368 – 1644 Ming 明 Dynasty

1644 – 1911 Qing 清 Dynasty (Manchu rule)

1912 – 1949 Republic of China 中华民国

1915-1921: New Culture Movement.

***New Youth 新青年* magazine founded in 1915, publishes first New Poetry in 1917.**

**Hu Shi 胡适 publishes first New Poetry collection, *Experiments 尝试集* (1919).**

1919: May Fourth Movement.

***Goddesses* 女神 by Guo Moruo 郭沫若 published in 1921.**

**Poetry collections of Bing Xin 冰心 published in 1923.**

**First collection of Symbolist poetry by Li Jinfa 李金发 published in 1925.**

1927: Civil War between CCP and Nationalists begins.

1931: Japanese occupation of Manchuria

1937: Japan begins to invade eastern and southern China.

**Mao Zedong's "Talks at Yan'an on Literature and the Arts" in May 1942, and thought reform campaign against critical leftist writers.**

1945: Surrender of Japan.

**The Nine Leaves 九叶派 poets begin publishing modernist verse in 1946.**

1948: CCP thought reform drive against the Hu Feng 胡风 group of leftist writers.

1949: Civil War ends, Nationalists flee to Taiwan.

1949 – People's Republic of China 中华人民共和国

1954-1955: Thought reform campaigns against Hu Feng and others.

1957-1958: Anti-Rightist Campaign against critical intellectuals.

1958-1959: The Great Leap Forward push toward communism, which led to the deaths of tens of millions through famine between 1959-1962.

1963: Socialist Education Campaign – large numbers of intellectuals sent to the countryside for thought reform.

1966-1969: Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution – universities and literary journals closed, nationwide attacks on rightist intellectuals.

1969-1976: Rule of the Gang of Four and ultra-leftist cultural policies.

1976: Death of Zhou Enlai and the April Fifth Movement, followed by the death of Mao and the fall of the Gang of Four.

1978-1979: Democracy Wall and the Beijing Spring – Crackdown from 1 April 1979. Deng Xiaoping takes power from Hua Guofeng (Mao's anointed heir) and introduces The Four Basic Principles (upholding CCP rule), while denouncing liberalization.

***Today* 今天 founded in December 1978, banned in September 1980.**

**<The Answer 回答> by Bei Dao 北岛 published in March 1979 issue of *Poetry* 诗刊.**

Aug. 1980: An article in *Poetry* denounces Misty poetry and a polemic begins in official literary publications.

**Unofficial university student poetry conference in Chongqing in 1982.**

**Publication of *The Born-Again Forest* 次生林 in Chengdu at same time.**

**Publication of *The Third Generation* 第三代人 in Chengdu in 1983.**

Oct. 1983: A campaign against Misty and New Tide poetry begins at an official poetry conference in Chongqing. At the same time, Deng Xiaoping calls for the elimination of Spiritual Pollution. Bei Dao, Gu Cheng, Yang Lian, and Xu Jingya are among writers singled out for criticism.

**Establishment of the Macho Men 莽汉 poetry group in Nanchong in early 1984.**

**Sichuan Young Poets Association 四川省青年诗人协会 established in Chengdu in November 1984.**

Dec. 1984: The National Writers Association is allowed to freely elect its president (Ba Jin).

Jan. 1985: CCP secretary-general Hu Yaobang denounces "radical leftist nonsense" of preferring "socialist weeds to capitalist seedlings," and Hu Qili speaks of allowing creative freedom.

**Publication of *Modernists Federation 现代诗内部交流资料, Day By Day Make It New 日日新,* and *Chinese Contemporary Experimental Poetry 中国当代实验诗歌* in 1985.**

**Publication of *Not-Not 非非 #1* and *Han Poetry 汉诗 #1* in 1986.**

Dec. 1986: After a crackdown on free university student association elections, student demonstrations for democracy and freedom begin in Hefei, spread to Chongqing, Kunming, and Shenzhen, and then to Tianjin, Nanjing, and Beijing.

Jan. 1987: Hu Yaobang is forced to resign, followed by cultural crackdown and a national campaign to learn the spirit of self-sacrifice from the Cultural Revolution model soldier Lei Feng. A new state agency is established to control all publications and press and oversee distribution of all supplies needed in printing.

Feb. 1987: The combined Jan-Feb. issue of *People's Literature* 人民文学 is recalled, the work of the novelist Ma Jian 马建 and poets Yi Lei 伊蕾 and **Liao Yiwu 廖亦武** are criticized in a subsequent national campaign against bourgeois liberalization in culture.

**Publication of *Modern Poetry Groups of Ba and Shu* 巴蜀现代诗群 (edited by Liao), *Not-Not* 非非 *#2* and *The Red Flag* 红旗 *#1* in 1987.**

Nov. 1987: Zhao Ziyang made CCP secretary-general, removal of top hard-line conservatives from CCP politburo, renewed emphasis on economic reforms and stability.

**Publication of *Not-Not* 非非 *#3 & 4* and *Han Poetry* 汉诗 *#2* in 1988.**

**Publication of *The Woman's Poetry Paper* 女子诗报 *#1* in 1989.**

Apr. 1989: Hu Yaobang dies; in Beijing university student demonstrations at his death turn to calls for free speech, democracy, and against CCP corruption. Other sectors of society participate, and demonstrations spread throughout the country.

Jun. 1989: Bloody suppression of peaceful mass protests in Beijing and Chengdu on June 3-4; Zhao Ziyang forced to resign.

**Liao Yiwu writes Parts 3 & 4 of <Slaughter 屠杀> in Fuling on the morning of June Fourth, later in the day tapes dramatic reading of the poem.**

**Zhou Lunyou 周伦佑 arrested in Xichang in August 1989.**

**Publication of *Image Puzzle* 象罔 *#1*, *The Nineties* 九十年代 *#1* in late 1989.**

**Publication of *Against* 反对 *#1* in early 1990.**

**Liao Yiwu and several other poets arrested in March 1990 for avant-garde poetry video commemorating the dead of June Fourth 1989.**

**Publication of *Not-Not Poetry Manuscript Collection* 非非诗歌稿件集 *#1* and *The Writer's Workshop* 写作间 *#1* in 1990.**

**Publication of *Modern Han Poetry 现代汉诗#1* in Beijing in 1991.**

Jan. 1992: Deng Xiaoping's Trip to the South to reinvigorate economic reforms; but collapse of the Soviet Union means continued cultural repression into 1993.

**Publication of *Not-Not 非非#5* in 1992, and *#6-7* in 1993.**

**Official publication of *Collected Post-Misty Poems: A Chronicle of Chinese Modern Poetry 后朦胧诗全集：中国现代编年史* in August 1993.**

## *China's Tweede Wereld van de poëzie: De Sichuanese avant-garde, 1982-1992*

**door Michael Day**

*samenvatting in het Nederlands,*
*uit het Engels vertaald door Marlies Rexwinkel*

Na de dood van Mao Zedong en de val van de Bende van Vier (1976) begonnen in China officiële literaire tijdschriften, sinds het begin van de Culturele Revolutie in 1966 alle gesloten maar nu heropend, een veelheid aan nieuwe poëzie te publiceren. Veel daarvan was van de hand van oudere, "teruggekeerde" dichters die de draad weer hadden opgepakt, en schreven in een stijl die vergelijkbaar was met die van de periode 1949-1966.

In 1979 verschenen echter in het maandblad *Poëzie* (Peking) werk van jongere dichters, geschreven in een sensationele, nieuwe stijl die was beïnvloed door Westers symbolisme en modernisme. De bekendste en invloedrijkste dichtersgroep publiceerde het onofficiële tijdschrift *Vandaag*, dat nationale aandacht kreeg op de Muur der Democratie, tijdens Pekingse Lente (1978-1980). *Vandaag* werd in begin 1980 in de ban gedaan, maar het blad en zijn geschiedenis bleven in later jaren van groot belang. De autoriteiten traden hard op tegen dergelijke activiteiten, en voerden een aanhoudende propagandacampagne tegen hetgeen door onvriendelijke orthodoxe lezers, dichters en critici werd betiteld als Duistere poëzie. Desondanks zagen op China's middelbare scholen en universiteiten talloze semi-officiële poëzie-verenigingen en -tijdschriften het licht.

In dezelfde periode lijkt de Westerse sinologie – tot de jaren 1990 – haar belangstelling voor poëtische ontwikkelingen in China te verliezen, en kent dit proefschrift zijn aanvang. Het laatste hoofdstuk van deze tekst beslaat een periode van drie jaar (1990-1992), terwijl de drie jaar daarvóór samen vier hoofdstukken krijgen. Een deel van de verklaring is dat veel materiaal uit de latere periode gemakkelijk verkrijgbaar en relatief bekend is. Ik heb vooral eerder, minder bekend, maar cruciaal materiaal willen belichten: teksten uit Sichuan in de jaren 1980 die ten grondslag lagen aan de avant-garde poëzie en haar ontwikkeling in de jaren 1990 en het nieuwe millennium.

Deze studie richt zich op de zuidwestelijke provincie Sichuan, om verschillende redenen. In de eerste plaats is Sichuan door de omvang van de poëzie-scene en de organisatie-graad van veel onofficiële publicaties en netwerkactiviteiten uniek in China, en dus ideaal voor een monografie, die tegelijk kan gelden als een ongewoon krachtig voorbeeld van wat in dezelfde periode elders in China gaande was. Ten tweede was deze veelal ongeziene "Tweede Wereld" van de poëzie voor het grootste deel onafhankelijk van de officiële poëzie-scene, en kende zij persoonlijke, esthetische motieven, die vaak in lijnrechte tegenspraak waren met de propaganda van het culturele establishment van de Communistische Partij (CCP). Ten derde bleek een aantal Sichuanese onofficiële tijdschriften en individuele dichters alras uiterst invloedrijk in de Tweede Wereld. Hun namen en gedichten genieten inmiddels grote bekendheid.

De eerste prikkel tot groei van de Tweede Wereld en de avant-garde in Sichuan en elders kwam van de oprichting van *Vandaag* in Beijing, en de poëzie in dat tijdschrift; en de

bijbehorende, dubbele afwijzing van poëzie volgens de voorschriften van de CCP en de conservatieve esthetiek die vorm kreeg in de redacties van officiële tijdschriften en uitgeverijen en de censuur die zij uitoefenden. In het begin volgden gelijkgestemde aspirant-dichters in Sichuan, van wie de meesten geboren waren in de jaren 1950, de nieuwe esthetische modellen zoals dat van *Vandaag*. Dit resulteerde in 1982 in de verschijning van *Het Herboren Bos* in Chengdu. Jongere dichters, veelal geboren in de jaren 1960 en nu student, stelden echter rond dezelfde tijd vast, tijdens een informele conferentie in Chongqing, dat er grote verschillen waren tussen hun poetica en die van de avant-garde die onder invloed stond van *Vandaag*. Daar ontstond de kenmerkende term "Derde Generatie", en een tijdschrift dat dezelfde naam droeg. In 1984 gaf de Macho groepering verder vorm aan deze verschillen.

De verschijning van deze nieuwe dichters – "nieuw" binnen een groep die als geheel gold als nieuwkomers – droeg bij aan het ontstaan van een avant-garde die als zodanig herkend kan worden in het Westen. In de jaren 1950 geboren dichters ageerden aanvankelijk tegen de richtlijnen van de CCP, maar binnen de opkomende avant-garde zetten de jongeren zich ook af, of misschien wel voornamelijk, tegen de verheerlijking van de Duistere poëzie. Met deze daad keerde de Tweede Wereld het bredere publiek dat de Duistere poëzie waardeerde de rug toe. De jongeren startten een cyclus van poëtisch experiment en vernieuwing die na enkele jaren in staat was zichzelf in stand te houden, met dichters die voornamelijk schreven voor andere dichters en waarvan de meesten min of meer gedreven werden door "kunst om de kunst". Als dit al niet het geval was vóór de bloedige onderdrukking van de Protestbeweging rond het Plein van de Hemelse Vrede in Peking en andere steden in 1989 ("Vier Juni"), ontzegde hernieuwde politieke onderdrukking in de volgende jaren de avant-garde dichters alsnog de publieke fora die zij van 1986 tot 1989 hadden genoten, en duwde hen verder in deze richting. In de jaren 1989-1992 waren China's niet-orthodoxe dichters in feite geïsoleerd in kleine groepjes, en moesten zich verlaten op onofficiële publicaties in eigen beheer om hun positie te verstevigen of nieuwe posities in te nemen, buiten het gezichtsveld van een groter publiek. Ironischerwijze is de voortdurende culturele onderdrukking in China een kracht die helpt de onofficiële poëziewereld gaande te houden.

De meeste dichters die in de jaren 1980 tot de avant-garde toetraden waren sterk autodidactisch – een kenmerk dat zij deelden met de Duistere dichters, en dat getuigde van hun toewijding aan de kunst. Het enige voordeel dat de jongere dichters met een universitaire opleiding wellicht hadden was toegang tot meer literaire bronnen in de bibliotheken. Daarbuiten profiteerden allen in dezelfde mate van schoksgewijze culturele en politieke liberalisering in de late jaren 1970 en de jaren 1980, die aan middelbare scholen en universiteiten en zelfs in fabrieken de oprichting van poëzie-verenigingen mogelijk had gemaakt.

De nationale obsessie met culturele vernieuwing en modernisering in het spoor van de Culturele Revolutie – vooral onder intellectuelen – zette de avant-garde aan tot experiment en wedijver. Vervolgens leidden publieke kritiek en de beperkte visie van het culturele establishment van de CCP tot de ontwikkeling van de Tweede Wereld van de poëzie. De avant-garde dichters stelden publieke erkenning in officiële publicaties nog steeds op prijs, en hadden haar nodig – dat gold ook voor de bijbehorende honoraria – maar de Tweede Wereld vormde hun ware thuisbasis. Netwerken en allerhande

koppelingen verbonden de Tweede Wereld met de Eerste Wereld, die van officieel uitgegeven poëzie, daarom vaak beschouwd als officieel gesanctioneerd. Zodoende was het voor de dichters mogelijk zich tussen de twee werelden te bewegen zonder het idee te hebben dat zij zich compromitteerden.

Dichters die succes binnen de gevestigde orde afwezen waren zeldzame uitzonderingen, die de idee van opoffering voor de kunst ver doortrokken. Anderen bereikten een compromis zonder dat dat – door henzelf of door anderen – zo werd gezien. Zij deden een stap terug van vroegere, radicalere poëtische vormen of ontwikkelden via avant-gardistische polemiek esthetische oplossingen die het makkelijker maakten tolerantie te verkrijgen van het establishment. Het is niet verbazend dat veel van deze oplossingen – bewust of onbewust – ontstonden na Vier Juni, vaak al kort na het geweld van de zomer van 1989. Een stijl die later “intellectuele poëzie” zou worden gedoopt, bij voorbeeld, ontwikkelde zich op een dergelijke manier onder dichters die tot de avant-garde wensten te behoren of zich aan politieke druk door de CCP wilden onttrekken, zo getuigen diverse onofficiële tijdschriften in Sichuan, later in het jaar 1989.

De onofficiële activiteiten op netwerk-, organisatorisch en uitgeefgebied in Sichuan creëerden een klimaat van wedijver binnen de Tweede Wereld dat vernieuwing in de poëzie stimuleerde, en bijdroeg aan vergelijkbare activiteiten in heel China. De galgenhumor en ironie van de Macho en Niet-Niet groeperingen bleken populair. Zo ook de verhalende elementen van de Macho groep, en hernieuwde belangstelling hiervoor van individuele dichters, in het spoor van Vier Juni. De Niet-Niet-dichters brachten aspecten van structuralisme en deconstructivisme binnen in de poëzie, en hun aandacht voor talige kwesties stimuleerde groeiende belangstelling van de Chinese avant-garde voor dit onderdeel van de poëzie. Zhai Yongmings gedichten-reeks <Vrouw> (1984) droeg bij aan de benoeming van vrouwenpoëzie als onderdeel van de avant-garde, en leidde tot de oprichting van het onofficiële tijdschrift *Vrouwenpoëziekrant*, dat een radicaler feministische benadering van poëzie voorstond.

Hopelijk zal erkenning van de activiteit en de prestaties van de Sichuanese avant-garde tussen 1982 en 1992 leiden tot grotere waardering voor hun werk, en kennis van de complexiteiten en unieke moeilijkheden waaronder dichters in China hun werk moeten doen. Bovendien hoop ik dat het veelomvattende karakter van deze studie en de hoeveelheid materiaal die de lezer ter beschikking krijgt meer belangstelling zullen bewerkstelligen, voor de Sichuanese dichters èn andere dichters en groeperingen die in dezelfde periode en daarna actief waren in andere delen van China.

*

## Curriculum Vitae

*uit het Engels vertaald door Marlies Rexwinkel*

Michael Martin Day (戴迈河，戴戎) is geboren en getogen in Vancouver (Canada). Hij behaalde in 1985 zijn BA Aziatische Studies / Chinees en in 1994 zijn MA Moderne Chinese Literatuur, beide aan de Universiteit van British Columbia (UBC). Tussen 1982 en 1992 verbleef hij zeven jaar in China, eerst met een beurs in het kader van culturele uitwisseling, als student aan de universiteiten van Shandong en Nanjing, vervolgens als docent Engelse taal en literatuur in Zhanjiang en Xi'an, en ten slotte als journalist en redacteur in Beijing en Hongkong. In 1986 werkte hij als taaldocent Chinees aan UBC, waar hij later ook moderne Chinese literatuur en geschiedenis en cultuur van Oost-Azië doceerde. In 1995 en 1996 was hij verantwoordelijk docent voor het Zomerprogramma Chinees van de Universiteit van Lethbridge, in Alberta. Sinds 2000 heeft hij in deeltijd gedoceerd aan de Karels-Universiteit te Praag: moderne Chinese poëzie, Chinees voor gevorderden (analyse van de werken van Mao Zedong), wetenschappelijk Engels en poëzie-vertaling. In 2002 verkreeg Michael Day toelating tot de promotie aan de Universiteit Leiden, als extern promovendus onder begeleiding van Maghiel van Crevel. In september 2003 ontving hij een PhD-stipendium van de Chiang Ching-kuo Stichting (CCK), dat krachtig bijdroeg aan de voorspoedige afronding van dit proefschrift.

Day heeft Engelse vertalingen van Chinese literatuur (poëzie en proza) en artikelen over Chinese poëzie en politiek gepubliceerd, en lezingen over Chinese literatuur, cultuur en politiek gegeven, in Canada, China, Denemarken, Hongkong, Nederland, Tsjechië, het Verenigd Koninkrijk en de Verenigde Staten van Amerika. Sinds 2003 heeft hij in het online Digital Archive for Chinese Studies (DACHS, Ruprecht-Karls-Universiteit Heidelberg / Universiteit Leiden) het leeuwendeel van het poëzie-hoofdstuk verzorgd.

*