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## Red Tourism in China

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### Introduction

Currently, Red Tourism in China is a subject that continues to fascinate scholars in a variety of disciplines. Although some consider it to be just a pursuit for popular amusement, Red Tourism is in fact better described as a tourism built on political pilgrimage, which emphasises the visiting of national sacred places, such as the birthplaces and residences of past communist leaders, ‘glorious’ battlefields, and revolutionary martyrs’ cemeteries and memorials, in order to learn revolutionary history and to boost the national prestige of socialist countries. This type of tourism can be traced back to the founding of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, when people began to make pilgrimages to sacred places in order to retrace the Long March, a 12,500-kilometre-long trek. It was especially important for younger people who were born around 1949 to have this vicarious experience of the Long March to ensure that they acquired a proper appreciation of the revolutionary spirit. Most of this generation readily adopted asceticism as a means of embracing their revolutionary heritage.<sup>1</sup>

Mao Tourism is another example of a type of political pilgrimage. After a revolutionary memorial was established in 1953 in Mao’s hometown of Shaoshan, located in Hunan Province, it gradually grew to become a popular revolutionary sacred place for the new nation. A few hundred thousand people visited Shaoshan between 1953 and 1964. During the Cultural Revolution, thousands had turned into millions when the projected persona of Mao Zedong changed drastically from that of Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leader to a near God of the PRC. In the 1980s, visitor numbers began to sharply decrease because of hostility towards what was perceived to be a radical political movement; however, by 1990, visitors were beginning to increase. Han Min suggests three reasons for this: the official repudiation of the Cultural Revolution, the large-scale celebration of the hundredth anniversary of Mao’s birthday, and the ongoing success of the economic reformation of 1978. As the revaluation of Mao spread across the whole country, goods printed with his likeness increasingly came to be seen as good-luck charms. Consequently, Mao became a greatly profitable tourism resource.<sup>2</sup>

Red Tourism is not necessarily the same as the Mao Tourism of the 1950s to 1970s, due in large part to the widespread social changes brought by globalisation and events and movements like the rapid socialisation in the 1950s, the Cultural Revolution, the reform and open policies in

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<sup>1</sup> Zhang Enhua, ‘From Communism to Consumerism, From Revolution to Recreation: Red Tourism in China’, *China 21* vol. 29 (2008), pp. 163-165 (in Japanese).

<sup>2</sup> Han Min, ‘Mao Tourism of Shaoshan’, in Tan Chee-Beng, Sidney C. H. Cheung, and Yang Hui (eds.), *Tourism, Anthropology and China* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 2001), pp. 216-220.

place since 1978, the Tiananmen incident in 1989, the Beijing Olympics in 2008, and the Shanghai Exposition in 2010. Over the decades, peoples' opinions of sites related to revolution have been various, reflecting the change from revolutionary narrative to the vast extent of popular entertainment. In 1989, the first theme park in China, Splendid China, was inaugurated in Shenzhen and dealt primarily with Chinese history and culture. China Folk Culture Villages, an ethnic theme park showcasing the culture of twenty-four Chinese minority groups, was inaugurated in 1991 as a sister park to Splendid China (photo 1). The Window of the World followed in 1994, displayed various replicas of famous world heritages built at scales of 1:1, 1:5, or 1:15. The great success of these theme parks in Shenzhen resulted in theme parks spreading to the rest of the country. In 1996, Song Cheng was built in Hangzhou along with the historical theme park (photo 2). Grand Prospect Garden, based on the Qing novel *Dream of the Red Chamber*, was also built. Yunnan Ethnic Village and Beijing Ethnic Village were both designed as ethnic theme parks. This paper will analyse all of these cultural aspects of Red Tourism, giving particular consideration to two of the most prominent phenomena in the tourism industry, Dark Tourism and Disneyization.<sup>3</sup>

**Photo 1:** China Folk Culture Villages



**Photo 2:** Song Cheng



### Revolutionary Narratives

In 1991, the CCP promulgated the ‘Outline on Implementing Patriotic Education’ and requested local governments to establish ‘Patriotic Education Bases’. As a result, a hundred sites were selected to be Patriotic Education Bases. Of these, a total of sixty-six deal with revolutionary history, which mainly comprises the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese civil wars between the CCP and the Kuomintang (KMT), the Korean War, the Arrow War, and the Opium War (table 1). As well as revolutionary sites, archaeological and historical sites such as the Forbidden Palace and the Great Wall of China are also included. Another selection of a hundred sites was made in 2001, followed by sixty-six more in 2006.

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<sup>3</sup> Alan Bryman, *The Disneyization of Society* (Sage Publications, 2004).

**Table 1:** Chronology of Modern China

Date	Events
1840-1842	Opium War
1856-1860	Arrow War (Second Opium War)
1894-1895	First Sino-Japanese War
1904-1905	Russo-Japanese War
1911	Xinhai Revolution
1921	Foundation of the CCP
1927	Nanchang Uprising, Chinese Civil War
1931	Manchurian Incident (Mukden Incident)
1934-1935	Long March
1937	Marco Polo Bridge Incident, Second Sino-Japanese War (-1945)
1945	Chinese Peoples' Political Consultative Conference, Chinese Civil War
1949	Foundation of the PRC
1950-1953	Korean War
1958-1961	Great Leap Forward
1966-1977	Cultural Revolution
1978	Opening and Reform

On being listed as a Patriotic Education Base, each site received financial support from the government to modernise its exhibitions as the 1950s and 1970s displays were deemed too old-fashioned to attract modern tourists more accustomed to Disney-style amusement parks. In particular, drastic renovation of the exhibitions was considered necessary to appeal to their target audience of younger tourists born after the end of the Cultural Revolution, which was the age of those groups most encouraged to study revolutionary history.

The practice of touring Patriotic Education Bases gradually came to be known as 'Red Tourism' in the 1990s. The term was first officially used when the government issued its 'National Red Tourism Development Planning 2004-2010' strategy in 2004, during the fifty-fifth anniversary of the PRC. It had two major purposes: economic development and ideological regeneration. Red Tourism development achieved both by benefiting the government politically and travel agencies economically.<sup>4</sup> During the first phase (2004 -2007), twelve major zones (table 2) (map 1), thirty tourist routes, and a hundred highlighted sites were established. Each major zone represents a theme related to the region.

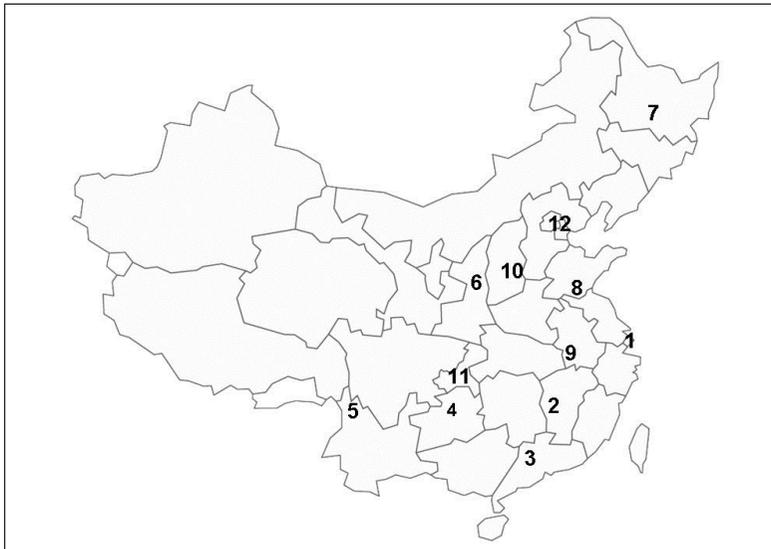
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<sup>4</sup> 'China Boosts Red Tourism in Revolutionary Bases', [http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200502/22/eng20050222\\_174213.html](http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200502/22/eng20050222_174213.html) (5 July, 2011).

**Table 2:** 12 Major Zones and Themes

Major Zone	Theme
1. Shanghai	Beginning of the History, Foundation of the Party
2. Jinggangshan, Ruijin, Shaoshan, and Nanchang	Cradle of the Revolution, Homeland of Leaders
3. Baise District	Baise Storm, Two River Red Tourism
4. Zunyi	Historical Change, Victory by Surprise Attack
5. Northern Yunnan and Western Sichuan	Unspeakable Hardship, Miracle of the Revolution
6. Yan'an	Yan'an Sprit, Revolutionary Sacred Place
7. Northern East	Anti-Japanese Heroes, Endless Snowfield
8. Shanxi, Gansu, and Ningxia	Overture to the Eastern March, Decisive Battle in Huaihai
9. Dabieshan	Great Strides, Homeland of General
10. Taihang	Taihang Gunpowder Smoke, Hope for Victory
11. Chongqing	Chuanshan Soviet District, Red Rock Spirit
12. Beijing and Tianjin	People's Victory, Waving Flag

**Map 1:** 12 Major Zones of Red Tourism



The order of the major zones represents the history of the CCP. The CCP was founded through the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China held in Shanghai in 1921. The site of the conference, rebuilt in 1999, has been preserved as a memorial museum and the central institution of this Red Tourism district. Moreover, Longhua Martyrs' Memorial Cemetery is quite prominent. The CCP, which initially collaborated with the KMT, soon found itself at odds with the KMT, because Chiang Kai-shek acquired control and through a power struggle after the death of Sun Yat-sen, decided to meticulously strike out against the communists. In 1927, this led to the KMT establishing a police headquarters near Longhua Temple and executing hundreds of

communists. In the 1950s, the cemetery was established to rebury many of the remains that were interred there (photo 3).

**Photo 3:** Longhua Martyrs' Memorial Cemetery



**Photo 4:** Bayi Square (August 1st Square)



Theme 2 narrates the first uprising of the CCP, the foundation of the revolutionary base in Jinggangshan, and the Chinese Soviet Republic in Ruijin. On 1<sup>st</sup> August, 1927, the CCP launched an armed uprising against the Wuhan Nationalist Government in Nanchang, the capital of Jiangxi Province (photo 4). However, Zhou Enlai, Ye Ting, Lin Bocheng, and Mao Zedong failed in their revolts against the KMT, and were forced to withdraw to the hinterland to reorganise their troops. They regrouped at Jinggangshan, located in the Luoxiao Mountains. In 1931, the Chinese Soviet Republic was established under Mao Zedong's leadership in Ruijin in southeastern Jiangxi.

Themes 4, 5, and 6 relate to the Long March. Attacked by Chiang Kai-shek's forces, Mao Zedong had to leave Ruijin in Jiangxi Province and undertake the Long March, a massive military retreat from Ruijin in Jiangxi Province to Yan'an in Shanxi Province (photo 5). Meanwhile, he did in fact achieve leadership over the CCP through the Zunyi Conference held in 1935. Today, the site of the conference is the most important Patriotic Education Base in Guizhou Province. Many soldiers died on the long trek; however, in 1935, the Red Army finally arrived at Yan'an in western Shanxi Province, where the new headquarters of the CCP were soon established. It was here that Mao Zedong created the basis of his revolutionary ideology, later published as *The Little Red Book*, an extensive collection of his selected texts.

**Photo 5:** Yan'an Hall



**Photo 6:** Harbin Revolutionary Memorial Hall



Themes 7 and 10 are connected with the Second Sino-Japanese War that broke out in 1937. During that war, some heroes appeared; Yang Jingyu (1905-1940) and Zhao Yiman (1905-1936). After their deaths at the hands of the Japanese Army, they were repeatedly depicted in dramas and posters as revolutionary martyrs. Zhao Yiman had been tortured in the headquarters of the Manchurian Police built in the Western European classical style of architecture in Harbin, which later opened as an early revolutionary memorial hall on 10<sup>th</sup> October, 1948 (photo 6). The place of martyrdom for Yang Jingyu in Jilin Province, later named Jingyu, became a large memorial park with a statue and memorial tower dedicated to him. Taihang, previously called Liao and located in Shanxi Province, became a battlefield in 1942. When the Eighth Route Army, headed by Generals Pang Dehuai and Zuo Qian, broke through the ranks of the surrounding Japanese corps, Zuo Qian died during the accompanying Japanese aerial bombardment. To commemorate him, Liao-xian was renamed Zuo-xian.

Themes 8 and 9 relate to the Chinese civil wars. After the end of Japanese hostilities in 1945, the breakdown of relations between the CCP and the KMT at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Chongqing, provisional capital from 1937 to 1949, provoked another Chinese civil war. In 1938, the CCP set up an office in Hongyan-cun ('Red Rock Village') to avoid Japanese air raids. Before the retreat from Chongqing, the KMT killed approximately two hundred communists in the Baigongguan ('White Residence') in Geleshan, which was a prison for communists and a training institute of a secret agency built by the KMT with the support of the United States in 1942. This episode was the basis of the famous revolutionary novel *Hongyan* or 'Red Rock'.<sup>5</sup> In 1964, Baigongguan was named the Exhibition Hall of Chiang Kai-shek's Crime of Collaborating with the KMT and the United States and soon after, the Geleshan Revolutionary Martyr Cemetery was built in Geleshan (photo 7).

These series of themes finally end with the victory of the CCP and the declaration of the foundation of the People's Republic of China by Mao Zedong. This includes the creation of National Flag Square, the Monument to the People's Heroes with Mao's inscription of 'Eternal Glory to the People's Heroes', and the Chairman Mao Mausoleum in Tiananmen Square (photo 8). Revolutionary narratives usually impress upon visitors the heroes' deaths and the victorious battles in which they gave their lives. In particular, they are used to foster a collective memory or 'Red Spirit'.

**Photo 7:** Geleshan Revolutionary Martyr Cemetery



**Photo 8:** Chairman Mao Mausoleum



<sup>5</sup> Luo Guangbin was imprisoned and Yan Yiyan wrote *Hongyan* in 1961. It depicts Jiang Xueqin and Xu Yunfeng being arrested because of Fu Zhigao's betrayal and their rescue by an old man pretending to be a lunatic before the Chongqing liberation on 30<sup>th</sup> November.

## Red, Green, and Dark

In China, places associated with revolutionary narratives are collectively referred to as Red Culture or Red Heritage. The colour red is extensively used in very explicit and visual ways. For example, Jinggangshan, Yan'an, Zunyi, and Shanghai, where revolutionary events took place, are each referred to as *Hongse Mingcheng* or the 'Red Great City'. Moreover, Red Tourism websites showcasing such places routinely use the colour red as do guidebooks that emphasise the relationship between the colour red and particular objects. *Hongse* events, *Hongse* songs, and *Hongse* people are almost always depicted in red. Guidebooks stress that they follow the 'National Red Tourism Developing Planning 2004-2010' and aim to strengthen readers' patriotism and loyalty to the party and the army, with *Hongse* education through the introduction of Red Tourism resources.<sup>6</sup>

The touring of battle sites and the graves of the famous, the infamous, and the merely affluent and visits to the locations of infamous deeds, especially places associated with death, is called 'Dark Tourism', which is a product of post-modernity.<sup>7</sup> Viewed in this way, Red Tourism can be categorised as a form of Dark Tourism. Xu Renli points out a common aspect that Dark Tourism shares with Red Tourism, which is that the purpose of visiting is pleasure in and comprehension of tragic events; a difference is the way the visitors understand the events. In Dark Tourism, visitors to negative places, such as Hiroshima, Auschwitz, and the Killing Fields, mourn the numerous victims and ideally resolve never to allow such atrocities to occur in the future; in contrast, with Red Tourism, the visit is essentially a positive one as sacred places provide opportunities to learn Chinese revolutionary history and intensify the collective feelings of Red Spirit. Xu goes on to assert that the colour green, a colour with strong associations with the twenty-first century, shows the prospects for the Chinese tourism industry.<sup>8</sup> Red Tourism rarely stands alone; occasionally, it collaborates either with Green Tourism or with Dark Tourism. In China, Green Tourism frequently manifests itself as a mixture of eco-tourism, ethnic tourism, and rural tourism, largely because areas where eco-tourism development is carried out are mostly those populated by minorities.

## Red and Green

Jinggangshan, called the Cradle of the Revolution, is one of the most eminent Red Tourist sites in China (photo 9). Moreover, it is considered to be a Green Tourist site, too. Jinggangshan,

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<sup>6</sup> *Hongse Mingcheng: Series of Red Tourism Guidebooks* (Beijing: Chinese Tourism Press, 2005) (in Chinese); Li Qingshan (ed.), *Red Tourism Handbook* (Beijing: Dazhong Wenyi Press, 2009) (in Chinese); Xie Shanguang, *Handbook of Jinggangshan* (Jiangxi: Meishu Press, 2003) (in Chinese).

<sup>7</sup> John Lennon and Malcolm Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (South-Western Cengage Learning, 2001).

<sup>8</sup> Xu Renli, *Research on China's Red Tourism* (Beijing: China Finance Press, 2000), pp. 4-5 (in Chinese).

listed as a Natural Reserve Area in 1981 and as a Chinese Scenic and Historic Area in 1982,<sup>9</sup> continues to be one of the natural landscape sightseeing spots in the country. Prior to the development of Red Tourism, it was a poor area in the rugged and remote mountains of Jiangxi Province. However, after Red Tourism started to develop, highways were expanded and Chinese three-star hotels and restaurants were soon constructed in the area.<sup>10</sup> In addition, the old residences of Mao Zedong and Zhu De as well as the graves of revolutionary heroes were repaired (photo 10).

**Photo 9:** Jinggangshan



**Photo 10:** Old Residence of Mao Zedong



There are more than thirty revolutionary sites related to the early period of the CCP in Jinggangshan. Mao Zedong, who fled from Changsha to Jinggangshan with his troops in October 1927, and Zhu De, who had been unsuccessful in the Nanchang Uprising, joined forces in Ciping, a village located in the Jinggangshan Mountains. They had to reorganise their troops, which consisted of local farmers and miners, into the Red Army, and were forced to establish a revolutionary base where the CCP leaders could give the local people military training and a political education. The leaders introduced three principles for the newly created Red Army: the quick implementation of all orders, prohibition of confiscation of goods from poor farmers, and entrustment to the government of any goods confiscated from landlords.

Ciping was the location of the leading department within Jinggangshan; therefore, revolutionary sites were concentrated here. Sites related to revolutionary leaders were restored in 1961 and listed as part of the national cultural heritage protection system. Jinggangshan Revolution Museum, the first local revolutionary museum, was established in Ciping in 1959 on the tenth anniversary of the PRC. In 1962, Zhu De visited and wrote an inscription for the museum. In all, there are seven exhibition parts. The first is a brief introduction to Jinggangshan and the uprisings of Mao Zedong and Zhu De. The second is an explanation of the founding of the revolutionary base in Jinggangshan. The third explores the golden age of Jinggangshan, while the fourth highlights the development of revolutionary ideology. The fifth part is a direct appeal to the

<sup>9</sup> A registration of Chinese Scenic and Historic Areas began in 1982, listing forty-four places that have traditionally been famous such as Huangshan in Anhui Province, Wuyishan in Fujian Province, Guilin in Guangxi Province, and Shilin in Yunnan Province in 1982. They are characteristic of the cultural landscape of China.

<sup>10</sup> Gu Huimin, Chris Ryan, and Zhang Wei, 'Jinggangshan Mountains: A Paradigm of China's Red Tourism', in Chris Ryan (ed.), *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation* (Oxford: Elsevier, 2007), pp. 62-64.

people to keep the revolutionary spirit alive. In total, the museum possesses more than three thousand exhibits, composed of eight hundred and sixty authentic relics and two thousand replicas. The most precious exhibits in the collections are the oil lamp and ink stone both used by Mao Zedong. These objects are in particular ‘treated like holy relics’.<sup>11</sup>

In 1985, construction began of the Jinggangshan Revolutionary Martyr Cemetery (photo 11), and it was partly opened in October 1987, on the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the CCP revolutionary base in Jinggangshan. Nineteen statues of revolutionary leaders were carved by renowned sculptors for Jinggangshan Sculpture Garden and numerous stone monuments inscribed by communist leaders were erected in the Monument Garden (photo 12). In China, inscriptions by famous leaders are considered to be an important way of conferring authority on a place. Revolutionary martyrs’ cemeteries and memorials are filled with inscriptions. In certain instances, leaders either composed an original poem or wrote a familiar phrase. The ‘Monument to Jinggangshan Revolutionary Martyrs’ was inscribed by Deng Xiaoping and ‘Jinggangshan Revolutionary Base, Heroes’ Eternal Immortality’ was inscribed by Peng Zhen. ‘Eternal Immortality’ has been one of the most commonly used phrases to glorify the heroes since Mao Zedong wrote this for the Monument to the People’s Heroes in front of Tiananmen in Beijing. This monument was designed by placing Mao’s inscription in the centre and combining it with the newly imported Western monument style (photo 13).

**Photo 11:** Revolutionary Martyr Cemetery



**Photo 12:** Monument Garden



**Photo 13:** Monument to the People’s Heroes



**Photo 14:** Evergreen Tree



<sup>11</sup> George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 80.

Another site with strong associations with Mao is Dajing Village in Jinggangshan, famous for having Mao's Reading Stone and the Evergreen Tree at the White Wall House (photo 14). Mao Zedong, Peng Dehuai, and Teng Daiyuan lived in the White Wall House, which had a medical clinic, while Zhu De and Chen Yi lived in the Yellow Wall House. In January 1929, the two houses were burned down except for a piece of the White Wall House. The White Wall House was rebuilt in 1960, and the Yellow Wall House was rebuilt in 1984. The Stone for Reading, which Mao Zedong indeed used to read books and documents, in front of the White Wall House and two Immortal Trees behind the House are considered to be witness to the revolutionary history. Today, it is essential for visitors to take photos in front of the Stone and the Tree.

### **Red and Dark**

One consequence of modern wars has been the need for and the generation of national sacred places and national heroes. Nations involved in the First World War were forced to confront the need for large cemeteries and memorials to commemorate the massive death toll of the war. This large-scale erection of war memorials was not only for mourning the victims but also served as a way to justify the state's involvement in what was seen as an inevitable war which was noble nevertheless. During this lingering process of memorialisation and conducting funerals, death ceased to be about the individual and was instead about the collective heroic sacrifice of the group dying for their motherland: equally, bloody battlefields began to be viewed as shared national sacred places.<sup>12</sup> Today, visiting of battlefields and cemeteries is called Dark Tourism.

In the twentieth century, the new cemetery landscape fashioned of white gravestones and green lawns<sup>13</sup> first appeared in the form of martyrs' cemeteries. This design for a public cemetery was an unusual choice in China, whose funerary culture is chiefly characterised by ancestor worship and *Fengshui*, or Chinese geomancy, which had traditionally determined where corpses were buried.<sup>14</sup> Some of these initial cemeteries contained bronze, marble, or concrete statues and monuments, and were designed in the style of Socialist Realism, an official art style created by Stalin in 1933. Two such examples are the bronze statue of a helmet and a rifle facing the main gate of Harbin Revolutionary Martyr Cemetery (photo 15) and the bronze statue of a soldier on the top of the war memorial in Shenyang Martyrs Cemetery (photo 16). In martyrs' cemeteries, these types of statues are usually accompanied by simple gravestones engraved with the names of the dead and monuments inscribed by communist leaders, such as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and Zhu De, with deviation from this traditional concept being rare.

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<sup>12</sup> Mosse, pp. 79-82.

<sup>13</sup> Sarah Wagner, 'Tabulating Loss, Entombing Memory: The Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Centre', in Elizabeth Anderson, Avril Maddrell, Kate McLoughlin, and Alana Vincent (eds.), *Memory, Mourning, Landscape* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2010), p. 61.

<sup>14</sup> Watson writes that 'the grave cult is inextricably linked to geomancy, an amoral and competitive cosmological system'. James L. Watson, 'Graves and Politics in Southeastern China', in James L. Watson and Evelyn Rawski (eds.), *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 227.

**Photo 15:** Revolutionary Martyr Cemetery



**Photo 16:** Shenyang Martyrs Cemetery



During repairs on cemeteries, in all nations in the 1980s and 1990s, huge monuments and statues were newly erected, and occasionally, statues that had been broken during the Cultural Revolution were restored. Memorial museums built simultaneously onsite differed considerably from former museums, whose rooms were usually quite dim and musty, with monotonous displays of photos and drawings. Traditionally using visual equipment to display and narrate revolutionary history in a dramatic way, these sites gradually adopted more sensationalistic techniques in their exhibitions. Using methods not out of place in a Disney-like theme park, some tourist sites began to offer a quasi-experience of the Revolution by encouraging visitors to dress up in Red Army uniforms and singing *Hongse* songs.

In 1987, the Museum of the War of Chinese People's Resistance against Japanese Aggression (photo 17) on the Marco Polo Bridge, southwest of Beijing, was opened to the public on the fiftieth anniversary of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, and is a typical example of the new style of museum. 'The semi-panorama picture under the subject of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident is one of the basic exhibits in the museum. Combining a large-scale painting and some models, it employs computer-controlled audio, optic and electric techniques, which can turn the painting immediately into a scene of dark clouds, war flames and fierce gunshots, as if a visitor were present at the Marco Polo Bridge Battle a decade ago.'<sup>15</sup>

The Yuanmingyuan Garden deserves special mention for the war in that it directly appeals to visitors' emotions (photo 18). Originally built by Giuseppe Castiglione, an Italian missionary, as a summer palace in Beijing in the early eighteenth century in the Western architectural style, the garden was completely destroyed by the French and British Armies in the Arrow War in 1857 to 1860. Although several parts were rebuilt in the 1980s, they were preserved in their broken state in order to remind visitors of the 'National Humiliation'. Visitors find a placard printed with a slogan 'Never Forget the National Humiliation, Rejuvenate China' in the garden. Callahan calls this humiliation 'pessoptimism', a mixture of pessimism and optimism, whereby visitors are expected to absorb the humiliating aspects of modern Chinese history by observing ruined architecture and mourning the victims of the past.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Brochure of the Museum of the War of the Chinese People's Resistance against Japanese Aggression (in English).

<sup>16</sup> William A. Callahan, *China: The Pessoptimist Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

**Photo 17:** Museum of the War**Photo 18:** Yuanmingyuan

A similar placard can be seen at 203 Highland in Lüshun (photo 19), located on the Liaodong Peninsula. Lüshun has specific, if different, meanings for China, Japan, and Russia due to the hard-fought battles repeatedly breaking out there in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These battles stem from the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. In November 1894, a massacre was committed in Lüshun, and an alleged twenty thousand local people were killed by the Japanese Army. In 1997, the Mausoleum of Ten Thousand Martyrs (photo 20), which had actually been built to commemorate the tragedy in 1896, was registered as a Patriotic Education Base. After the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese Army became displeased at the words ‘Japan is at fault’ on the stone monument in the mausoleum and removed it. In 1922, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry repaired the monument and in 1948, it was further repaired through the Lüshun Government. In 1994, Prime Minister Li Peng inscribed the title of the mausoleum.

Russia, which had been expanding eastwards and extending its influence into Manchuria and into Korea since the late 1800s, built the Trans-Siberian Railway to connect Moscow and Russia’s farthest eastern port, Vladivostok, in the nineteenth century, and established the naval base of Port Arthur. After the First Sino-Japanese War, in 1895, Japan was forced through the Triple Intervention by Russia, Germany, and France to return the temporarily occupied Liaodong Peninsula to the Qing Dynasty. Russians stationed in Lüshun continued to build numerous strong fortresses, which was a great threat to Japan and brought about the Russo-Japanese War in 1904. The fiercest battle was fought between the Japanese Army led by General Nogi and the Russian Army headed by General Stoessel over control of the fortress at 203 Highland, two hundred and three metres above sea level. Nogi finally succeeded in occupying the fortress and concluded a peace treaty with Stoessel in Shuishiyang, now called the Navy’s Meeting Place. For China, this place represents the imperialists’ invasion and partition of China, otherwise known as the ‘National Humiliation’. In contrast, for Japan, it evokes a glorious memory of their victory in the Russo-Japanese War. The Manchurian Association of Battlefield Preservation, an organisation founded in 1911, built a monument engraved with the words ‘Shuishiyang, the Remains of the Navy’s Meeting Place’ (photo 21) (map 2).

Photo 19: 203 Highland



Photo 20: Mausoleum of Ten Thousand Martyrs



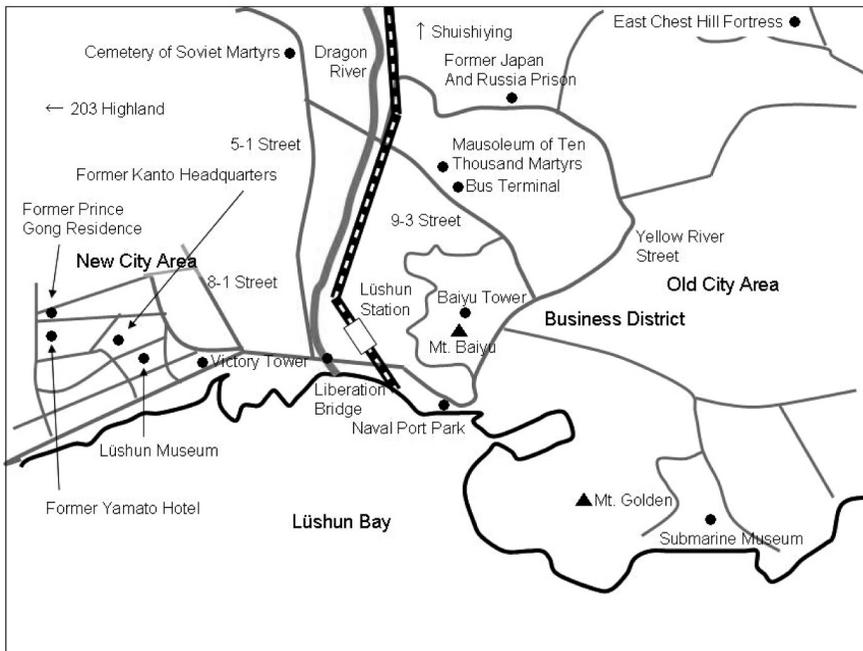
Photo 21: Shuishiying



Photo 22: Baiyu Tower



Map 2: Map of Lüshun



In the early twentieth century, Japan created a series of the war monuments in Lüshun. In 1913, 203 Highland Monument was the first built by the association. It was a shell-shaped monument made of arms used during the war with the inscription, ‘Erlingshan’, written by General Nogi. Similar monuments were built at several other battlefields including East Crest Hill Fortress, Pine Tree Hill Fortress, and Two Dragons Hill Fortress. A candle-shaped sixty-six-metre tower appeared on top of Baiyu Mountain to commemorate those who died (photo 22). The Manchurian Association of Battlefield Preservation and Dalian City Transportation Company, a branch of the South Manchuria Railway Company, organised tour routes connecting the monuments, museum, and battlefields, thereby whetting the Japanese appetite for travelling in Manchuria.<sup>17</sup> As far back as the 1930s, numerous Japanese tourists had participated in bus tours organised by Dalian City Transportation Company.<sup>18</sup> The Japanese people eventually came to regard Lüshun as one of their national sacred places. Guidebooks on Lüshun were repeatedly published, and ‘Sacred Place Rakugan’, a dessert made of soybeans and rice flour mixed with sugar, was even sold as a local souvenir.<sup>19</sup>

After the withdrawal of the Japanese Army and the occupation by Soviet troops, the landscape of Lüshun changed from one viewed as a Japanese sacred place to an emerging socialist city. On a visit to China in September 1954, General Secretary Khrushchev went to the battlefields of the Russo-Japanese War and proposed that three monuments be built.<sup>20</sup> The result was the construction of the Soviet Martyr Memorial Tower in Stalin Square (now People’s Square) in Dalian on 5<sup>th</sup> May, 1955, the Victory Tower unveiled on Stalin Street in Lüshun on 3<sup>rd</sup> September, 1955, and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Monument built in front of the Lüshun Museum on 14<sup>th</sup> February, 1957. At the final withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1955, the Cemetery of Soviet Martyrs, which was the primary graveyard for Imperial Russian soldiers dating back to the late nineteenth century and containing the monument and tombstones for the Russian soldiers that Japan built after the Russo-Japanese War, was reconstructed. Moreover, Soviet martyrs who fell during the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Korean War as well as those who died in the Lüshun garrison in 1945-1955 were buried there. Eventually, the Soviet-style cemetery became the largest of its kind for foreigners in China (photo 23) (map 3). In 2008, the cemetery was once again entirely reconstructed through the donation of two million dollars from a Russian company and on 26<sup>th</sup> September, 2010, President Medvedev laid a floral tribute on the tombs.<sup>21</sup> Considering the above, this cemetery tells Lüshun’s history: in the late nineteenth century, Russia built the basement; in the early twentieth century, Japan inherited the construction; after the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War, the Soviet Union extended the cemetery in the form of Socialist Realism;

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<sup>17</sup> Japan Center for Historical Records, ‘On the Manchurian Association of Battlefield Preservation’, Ref. C08020381500 (1914) (in Japanese).

<sup>18</sup> Gao Yuan, ‘From a Battlefield to a Sightseeing Spot: Manchurian Tourism around the Russo-Japanese War’, *China 21* vol. 29 (2008) (in Japanese).

<sup>19</sup> *Battlefield in Lüshun*, Buneido Press (in Japanese).

<sup>20</sup> ‘Welcome to General Secretary Khrushchev’, *Liaoning Ribao*, 22<sup>nd</sup> April, 1957 (in Chinese).

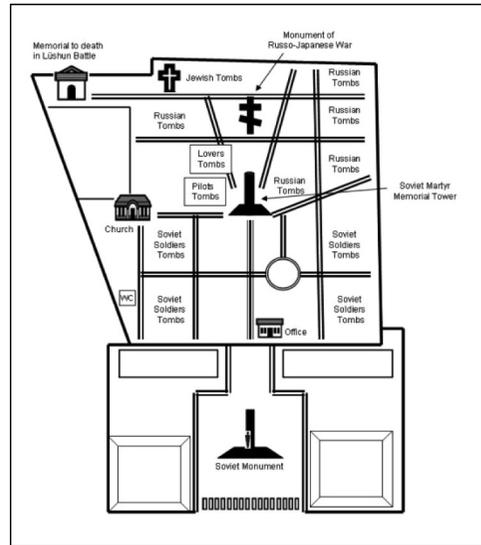
<sup>21</sup> ‘China, Russia team up on territorial claims’, *Diary Yomiuri Online*  
<http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/dy/national/T100928004811.htm> (27<sup>th</sup> September 2010).

China brought it to completion albeit with the interruption of the Cultural Revolution; finally, it is considered to be an important tourist resource that has the potential to attract both Russian and Japanese tourists.

**Photo 23:** Cemetery of Soviet Martyrs



**Map 3:** Map of the Cemetery of Soviet Martyrs



Foreigners had long been unable to approach Lüshun because it was among the most important and therefore restricted naval bases in China. In 1996, the north area, including 203 Highland and the Remains of the Navy’s Meeting Place, was partially opened, which made it possible for Japanese tourists to finally visit some of the sightseeing spots that had been denied to them since 1945. The tone of the tours since 1996 has been quite different from that of the 1930s tours, for Japanese visitors must now contend with the bitter associations of military defeat now connected with the site. They have inevitably served as witness to the widespread movement of the ‘Patriotic Education Campaign’.

In 2010, the Chinese Government opened the whole of Lüshun with exception of the military area. Finally, Japanese tourists could visit the former Lüshun Yamato Hotel<sup>22</sup> and Lüshun Museum, which until then had been prohibited to foreigners. Numerous travel agencies in Japan have since organised tours. Driving much of the increase in Japanese tourism to the area is the popularity of NHK drama *Clouds Above the Hill*, written by the famous Japanese historical novelist, Shiba Ryotaro. Serialised in *Sankei Shinbun* from 1968 to 1972, the novel has enjoyed numerous reprints and continues to be chosen by Japanese businessmen as one of their favourite books. It describes

<sup>22</sup> Lüshun Yamato Hotel was kept by the South Manchuria Railway Company, which had managed luxury hotels in main cities along the railroad lines from 1907 to 1945. In 1907, the South Manchuria Railway Company opened Dalian Yamato Hotel as the first and chief of the related hotels in Dalian, Liaoning Province. It was shifted to the Great Square in central Dalian for total reconstruction in 1914. Lüshun Yamato Hotel, originally built by Imperial Russia, started to manage in 1908 and after the withdrawal of the Japanese Army, and it was used as a Liberation Army hotel.

the Meiji Period (1868-1912) through the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War. However, it has been criticised for being a dramatisation that ignores historical facts and glorifies the Meiji Government. Since its broadcast, it continues to evoke glorious memories of the Russo-Japanese War and inspire its audience to seek out the locations it references, namely, Matsuyama in Ehime Prefecture, the former naval academy in Kure in Hiroshima Prefecture, and Lüshun in China.

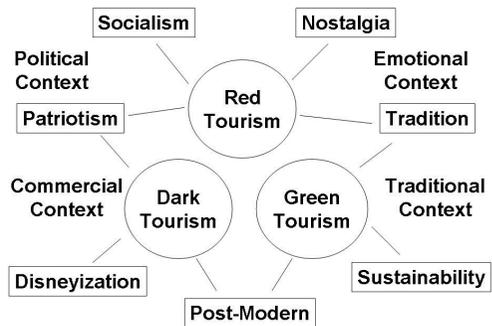
**Conclusion**

Red Tourism is characterised by many complex phases, politically, commercially, emotionally, and traditionally (figure 1).

Red Tourism is viewed as a pragmatic compromise between politics and commercialism. It is obvious that the Chinese Government is eager to promote the Patriotic Education Campaign; however, it is equally evident that the current content of Red Tourism has failed to attract the interest of the younger Chinese generation.

Consequently, the government has had to conform to the changing tastes of contemporary society by making new displays less political and more Disney-like. Considering that theming and branding is the most obvious dimension of Disneyization,<sup>23</sup> Red Tourism is influenced both by the contextualising revolutionary narrative in a way of theming and by visualising it in a way that will have sensational appeal. For some tourists, Red Tourism is about nothing more than finding pleasure in the visually sophisticated exhibitions and in purchasing souvenirs. The latter often include postcards, key-rings, T-shirts, and playing cards, all of which proudly display the iconography and designs used in the nation’s ‘glorious’ past. Currently, propaganda posters made during the Cultural Revolution are used as revenue-generating commodities after being stripped of any remaining political connotations and the revival of Mao Zedong.

The characteristics of political tourism chiefly result in two phenomena. The first is political corruption. It is quite possible for some corrupt officers to use Red Tourism as a convenient way to go on personal sightseeing trips at public expense. The CCP promptly dealt with this ironical problem by prohibiting the use of public funds for activities in the name of Red Tourism.<sup>24</sup> The second is related to the interpretations made by the visitors. In Dark Tourism, interpretation ‘provides the link between an attraction and its visitors; it is the process by which a place, an event, a history, a building, a collection of items or, more generally, what may be referred to as “heritage”



**Figure 1:** Diagram of Three Kinds of Tourism

<sup>23</sup> Bryman, p. 15.

<sup>24</sup> Li Yipin and Hu Zhuyi, ‘Red Tourism in China’, *Journal of China Tourism Research* vol. 4 (2008), p. 162

is accorded meaning which is then communicated by one means or another to the visitor.<sup>25</sup> The direction of interpretation is tightly controlled and limited in Red Tourism, because the themes are authorised by the CCP. Visitors to Red Tourist sites in China are expected to accept and absorb the state-approved interpretations on offer. To begin this, each message is carefully selected and crafted in all the exhibitions. For example, Red Tourism displays routinely fail to mention the famine which occurred after the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution.

An important development to highlight in the evolution of Red Tourism is the rise of nostalgia in recent years. Today, as new research indicates, the revival of Mao Zedong as a popular figure has taken place against a backdrop of people who are disgusted by the economic disparities which have come about as a result of the rapid economic development and widespread corruption. For many, it is comforting to wallow in nostalgia for the so-called good old days of the early CCP. Looking back, it is evident that the CCP in Jinggangshan and Yan'an from the 1920s to the 1940s did not have enough power to gain supremacy, but the people nevertheless believed at the time in the bright future that the party might bring about. Barmé writes that totalitarian nostalgia is a phenomenon that first appeared in post-Soviet countries and China in the 1990s, the time at which socialist ideology began to vacillate after the introduction of market economies and in some cases, the death of charismatic leaders, for people faced the necessity of keeping the balance individually and socially. As the word 'nostalgia' originates from *nostos*, or 'return home', and *algia*, or 'pain', totalitarian nostalgia has two aspects: utopian nostalgia which is reconstructive and totalising and ironic nostalgia which is inconclusive and fragmentary. These two types, as Barmé points out, are increasingly complementary.<sup>26</sup> In this sense, Red Tourism is not necessarily sentimental reminiscence. As with Japanese tourists who visit Lüshun without sore feelings, Red Tourists passively experience some pain in remembering the past.

The visitors' views of Jinggangshan and Yan'an largely reflect a propensity to appreciate nature in traditional China. Since ancient times, nature has been seen as *Shanshui*, which originates in the geographical features of China, composed of alluvial plains and mountains, the horizontal and the vertical. Prominent sightseeing places, such as Huangshan, Guilin, and Wulingyuan, have this feature. In this respect, Green Tourism or eco-tourism in China is predicated on a traditional appreciation of *Shanshui*, and differs from Western eco-tourism, which emphasises unspoiled wilderness untouched by humans. As paintings of *Shanshui* often show, artificial structures like

**Photo 24:** Wulingyuan



<sup>25</sup> Richard Sharpley and Phillip R. Stone, '(Re)presenting the Macabre: Interpretation, Kitschfication and Authenticity', in Richard Sharpley and Philip R. Stone (eds.), *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 113.

<sup>26</sup> Geremie R. Barmé, *In the Red: On Contemporary Chinese Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 316-317, 344.

hermitages and sometimes an immortal Taoist mountain wizard or hermit, arbor-shaped buildings, and safe, convenient stairs are newly erected to create a more *Shanshui*-picturesque atmosphere, corresponding to Chinese visitors' tastes, and to which foreign visitors who have Western ideas of nature conservation sometimes have an aversion. Often, images and photos of Jinggangshan and Yan'an are composed with a bird's-eye view in the style of paintings of *Shanshui*, with hazy, steep, rocky mountains and serpentine pine trees (photo 24) (figure 1).

In summary, several cultural values coexist in Red Tourism. Although any one of these might gain prominence depending on the circumstances, in general, they go along with the phenomenon of nostalgia, maintaining a complementary balance.