

研究論文

消逝的「電子紀念碑」： 毛澤東追悼會的圖像生產與當代中國記憶 體制的變遷

李紅濤

摘要

媒介事件是「歷史的現場直播」，但並不是所有媒介事件都能夠進入集體記憶，成為「電子紀念碑」。1976年9月9日，毛澤東逝世。九天後，天安門廣場上舉行百萬人追悼會，實況轉播讓「哀樂聲傳遍祖國城鄉」。然而，這樁規模空前的媒介事件卻在接下來的四十年間消逝了。本文將毛澤東追悼會的生命歷程視為集體記憶的建構過程，通過分析官方圖像的(再)生產與流通，考察電子紀念碑的生成和消逝。本文發現，20世紀70年代以偉大領袖和效忠關係為核心的記憶體制形塑著媒介事件的展演，也令四人幫被打倒後相關圖像被強制擦除；而改革年代側重中共歷史功績和當下合法性的記憶體制則導致華國鋒的圖像和「宣誓」符號消失，其背後的「繼續革命」腳本瓦解。毛澤東的逝後加冕

李紅濤，福建師範大學傳播學院「閩江學者」講座教授，浙江大學傳媒與國際文化學院教授。研究興趣：媒介社會學、媒體與集體記憶。電郵：lihongtao@zju.edu.cn

論文投稿日期：2019年3月5日。論文接受日期：2019年11月25日。

《傳播與社會學刊》，(總)第58期(2021)

禮不再是「全民癡狂」的國家儀式，而是被重構為中國走出低谷的轉折點；過往也從舉足輕重的事件變為遙不可及的「異邦」。

關鍵詞：毛澤東追悼會、媒介事件、圖像再生產、視覺記憶、記憶體制

Research Article

The Fading of an Electronic Monument: Visual Productions of Mao Zedong’s Funeral and Shifting Memory Regimes in Contemporary China

Hongtao LI

Abstract

Media events are a “live broadcasting of history,” but not all media events etch themselves into the collective memory and become “electronic monuments.” Mao Zedong died on 9 September 1976. Nine days later, a grand state memorial involving one million people was held in Tiananmen Square, which was broadcast live across the country. This national mourning ceremony, however, gradually faded in the following decades. By conceptualizing the life cycle of the media event as collective remembering, this paper analyzes the (re) production and circulation of images associated with Mao Zedong’s death to explore shifting memory regimes in contemporary China and their effects on the making and fading of an electronic monument. We contend that the memory regime in the 1970s centered on the allegiance to a supreme leader, which shaped the performance of the media event and led to the suppressive erasure of the images of the Gang of Four after they were removed from power. In the reform era, a new dominant memory regime was formed based on the historical achievements of the Communist Party of China and its current concern regarding legitimacy. In the process of rewriting the historical script of the recent past,

Hongtao LI (Minjiang Guest Professor). School of Communication, Fujian Normal University; Professor, College of Media and International Culture, Zhejiang University. Research interests: media sociology, media and collective memory.

Hua Guofeng vanished, and the iconic images of “taking oath” and the underlying script of “continuous revolution” also collapsed. Since then, the unprecedented state ceremony has been reconfigured as a historical turning point in recent Chinese history, and a decisive event in the past has also been rewritten as having occurred in a “foreign country.”

Keywords: Mao Zedong’s funeral, media events, visual reproduction, visual memory, memory regime

Citation of this article: Li, H. (2021). The fading of an electronic monument: Visual productions of Mao Zedong’s funeral and shifting memory regimes in contemporary China. *Communication and Society*, 58, 61–97.

致謝

本文初稿曾在「媒介、歷史與記憶」工作坊（2018年11月24日至25日）和「傳播與中國論壇」（2018年11月29日至12月1日）宣讀，感謝單凌博士、黃旦教授、夏倩芳教授、孫五三研究員的評議。感謝楊國斌教授在選題階段的指點，感謝潘忠黨教授對論文初稿的點撥和過去數年間的悉心指教。感謝《傳播與社會學刊》評審建設性的意見。感謝香港中文大學出版社授權免費使用《紅色新聞兵》中收錄的圖片，感謝新影集團授權使用紀錄片截圖圖片。

本文受到教育部人文社會科學研究規劃基金項目「媒介事件的公共記憶及其機制研究」（項目號：20YJA860005）資助。