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THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations -----	4
Introduction -----	5
Chapter 1: Censorship, cinema and ideological control -----	8
1.1 Silencing cinema: a passed or an ongoing issue? -----	8
1.2 Censorship and film censorship -----	11
1.2.1 Defining censorship-----	11
1.2.2 Classifying censorship-----	11
1.2.3 Censorship in cinema-----	12
1.2.4 Film censorship as ideological control-----	13
Chapter 2: Film censorship and ideology in different historical cases -----	14
2.1 Comparing film censorship and ideology in non-democratic regimes -----	14
2.1.1 Soviet Union-----	14
2.1.2 Authoritarian South Korean-----	18
2.1.3 Fascist Italy-----	21
2.2 The linkage between ideology and film censorship -----	25
2.2.1 The presence of ideological control-----	25
2.2.2 How film censorship relates to ideology-----	25
2.2.3 The level of ideology and the strictness of film censorship-----	26
2.3 The higher the level of ideology, the stricter the film censorship? -----	27
Chapter 3: The relationship between ideology and film censorship in China -----	31
3.1 Film censorship in a communist China: ideology as a driving force -----	31
3.2 Political transformation and film censorship's development in China -----	32
3.2.1 Pre-Communist era: before 1949-----	33
3.2.2 Communist era-----	33
a) A New China: 1949-1966	
b) Cultural revolution: 1966-1976	
3.2.3 Reform era: post-1978-----	38

3.2.4 Contemporary era: 2001-present-----	39
3.2.5 Summarizing the development of film censorship and ideology-----	40
3.3 The politics of Chinese film censorship-----	49
3.3.1 The functions of ideology through film censorship-----	49
3.3.2 How film censorship complies with the ideology, an existence of ideological control?----	49
3.3.3 Controversies on this political film censorship -----	51
3.4 Examine the dynamics relationship between ideology and film censorship-----	53
3.4.1 Communist era under the totalitarian regime-----	53
a) A New China	
b) Cultural Revolution	
3.4.2 Contemporary era under the authoritarian regime-----	58
3.4.3 Summary of the relations across time -----	61
3.5 Predicting the future of Chinese film censorship: a choice between repression and freedom?-----	52
Conclusion-----	63
Bibliography-----	65
Appendix-----	78
Acknowledgments-----	94
Abstract-Risssunto in italiano-----	95

Abbreviations

Abbreviations

Definitions

CPD	Central Propaganda Department
CCP	China's Communist Party
CFA	China Film Administration
CRC	Commission for Cinematographic Revision
CCC	Catholic Cinematographic Center
Glavlit	Main Administration for Literary and Publishing Affairs
UCPC	Cinema Central Office
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
MRFT	Ministry of Radio, Film and Television
MPPC	The Motion Picture Corporation
MCM	Media Consolidation Measure
NAAC	National Arthouse Alliance of Cinemas
PRC	People Republic of China
SARFT	State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television
The Law	Film Industry Promotion Law
The regulations	Film Management Regulations

Introduction

“Film as a form of popular culture, an art, filled with creativity and inspiration deeply intertwines with politics (Combs, 1993).”

Ongoing debates of the censorship system widely concern with its objection to the principle of free expression (Suedfeld et al.,1994), while increasing controversies of censorship emerged as restricting free expression, hinder artistic creation, and lack of tolerance of pluralism, excessive political mobilization. Censorship exists in every aspect and can be divided into film censorship, media censorship, internet censorship, etc. The common is that they restrict free production and publication. Further, it has been proposed that film censorship is far more complex than cutting the unpreferred bits out of movies. It affects the quality of art and free expression. All of these are related to the subjective matter of the narrative and the creation. However, the anti-censorship that used to be the essence of a libertarian view turns out to be a broad critique nowadays. Film critics and filmmakers question whether such an ideological overtones system exists as film censorship usually results in the film, and even the director and cast, being banned from the public, hindering the film industry. However, despite being controversial, the art of film censorship can be found in the non-democratic regimes as an important political tool for Party and government propaganda, functioning in ideological control. Combs (1993, p.9) argued that the politics of film could be examined by analyzing the political ideology, the “superstructure “of society. The dynamic relation between politics and movies is connected to the system of ideas that undergirded the ruler’s actual base-the superstructure. Inevitably, popular culture embodied ideology (Storey, 2015). Film as a mass culture product functions in political communication and manipulation (Adorno,1979).

Film censorship is a political outcome of policymaking, civic education, and propaganda consideration, which is important for both government and its citizens. Films are not merely a form of popular culture that delivers avant-garde ideas but also reflects social constructions. How the overarching political structure deeply intertwined the film, and its functions in communication politically and culturally became my research focus. To what extent an avant-garde movie can be permitted to screen and play its role of enlightenment in a country largely depends on its domestic

copyright. Existing scholarship in Chinese film censorship has focused on ideological control over the film (Clark 1987; Zhu 2003; Johnson 2012), and it is viewed that film creation is the subject to ideology. Most scholars argue that film censorship is a means of ideology control. Our concern is whether the ideology doctrine is a matter of fact; how has it been related to film censorship under authoritarian/totalitarian regimes? Political science scholars take the lens to the general analysis of censorship and have developed qualitative analytical methods and quantitative analytical models based on textual analysis and questionnaire surveys. Pan and Roberts (2013) studied the censorship in social media in China; Gläsel et al. (2020) studied the relationship between censorship and political stability in Germany. While Ververis et al. (2020) investigated the key driving forces in internet censorship comparing across countries. Cultural and political variables are waiting to be analyzed. The main focus is on the internet and media censorship, while how film censorship is conducted and why films are censored have not been noticed yet. Therefore, I propose the below research question to address the following tasks and fill the cross-country film censorship study gap.

The main research question of this thesis is, what is the relationship between ideology and film censorship, and how it developed in China? It aims to investigate the relationship between ideology and film censorship from a comparative perspective in different political regimes, including the totalitarian regime and authoritarian regime with different levels of ideology. Our hypothesis is that the higher the ideology structured, the stricter the film censorship is. Namely, the higher the level of ideology, the stricter the film censorship exercised. Ideology refers to political ideology, the ideological control from a party/government under a specific political system. The political system will be narrowed down the focus to the regime's features to clarify the ideological structure, such as the degree of free speech, tolerance of pluralism, and level of mobilization. This thesis adopted a standard Political Science approach to examine the hypothesis of the relationship between ideology and film censorship through literature review. To ensure the analysis and results to be scientific and reliable, I will review sources like academic papers, journals, and credible online recourses in both Political Science and Cinema studies and incorporate some empirical studies.

Meanwhile, I will build a comparative analysis framework on ideology and censorship

mechanisms to investigate their dynamic relationship by comparing across countries, identify the differences and commons, and reaching a conclusion upon the relationship of the level of ideology and strictness of film censorship. It contains two folds, first, in terms of film censorship, the analysis will cover the mechanism of the film censorship, censor authority, and legal bases; if necessary, censored film cases would also be considered in our analytical frame. Second, in terms of ideology, analysis of regime and ideology structure would be contained. The answer to this research question will be developed critically by comparing the Chinese film censorship within a different time frame. To effectively examine the hypothesis, I will set a logical analysis outline to explore the relationship between ideology and film censorship. Thus, the thesis is structured into the following three chapters. Chapter 1 will introduce the relevant of ideology and film censorship and layout the overall picture of film censorship. The second chapter will frame my specific case of China regarding the general research question by reviewing the different historical cases of the relationship between ideology and film censorship in the Soviet Union, Authoritarian South Korea, Fascist Italy. Finally, Chapter 3 will get into our specific case, China. By analyzing the development of ideology and film censorship according to the regime changes to identify their similarities and differences(features) and examine the politics of film censorship of China to propose the current controversy of film censorship under ideology control. Further, alongside the research question, we will critically analyze the dynamic relationship between ideology and film censorship, combing the literature review and empirical evidence to identify the relationship between ideology and film censorship. Then to carry out the test to the hypothesis "the higher the ideology structured, the stricter the film censorship is." Through the case study of censored(banned) film and filmmakers, and to demonstrate the censoring policy and censored film in these countries, identify the evidence related to ideological control. Afterward, a prediction of the dynamics of ideology and film censorship in China will be made to propose a future vision for its film censorship. In conclusion, I will summarize how film censorship relates to the ideology of the Soviet Union, Fascist Italy, Military authoritative South Korea. Concluding the general relationship between the ideology and film censorship in the non-democratic regime to answer the research question. Finally, I will conclude the dynamic relationship between ideology and film censorship in the specific case of China and its development.

Chapter 1: Censorship, cinema and ideological control

1.1 Silencing cinema: a passed or an ongoing issue?

Generally speaking, one must find it hard to believe that cinema as a successful form of popular culture today suffered from being silent by the political repression related to ideological control in some non-democratic regimes, specifically the authoritarian/totalitarian one.

Throughout the dark history of censorship in cinema in the 1990's where hundreds of films banned and cut, it is argued that the film censorship that erupts like the World Wars' outbreak, lead to a large number of films been censored due to ideological issue whereby caused severe consequences. Talented filmmakers suffered the same; among them was the famous Russian director and scriptwriter Aleksandr Avdeenko (1907-1979).

A sensation ideologically censored episode occurred in the Soviet Union under Stalin's dictatorship is Aleksandr Avdeenko and Boris Ivanov's film *The law of life* (1940), scripted by Aleksandr Avdeenko. It features the moral confrontation between Ognerubov, the secretary of the Komsomol regional committee, and Paromov, the Komsomol leader in a Medical College (MUBI, 2020). In August 1940, the Soviet Union's Central Committee banned *The law of life*. Merely after a month, Stalin called Avdeenko and others to the Kremlin to explain why the film failed. Kenez (2001), a historian specializing in Russian history, politics, further emphasized in his paper about the soviet cinema that this film was retracted from cinemas after ten days, the reason why it had been banned was due to its negative portrayal of a Komsomol leader by depicting him as hypocritical and abusing his power. Even after Stalin organized a military tribunal that castigated Aleksandr Avdeenko, accusing him of inaccurate representations of Soviet reality. As Stalin reportedly said, it was the screen writ that has to be responsible for the film's flaws as his literature constructs the core of a film (Beumers, 2016).

Further on, traces entailing that cinema had been ideologically censored in specific countries under an authoritarian/totalitarian regime can be found in some scholarly publications like the book *Silencing Cinema: Film Censorship around the World* that published in 2013, which elected leading film historians' paper focusing the lens to the ideological controlled film censorship in

Fascist Italy, Soviet Union, and Nazi German.

Surprisingly, such a phenomenon is still being played out in China in the 21st century. Lately, according to *Variety* (2021), an industry-renowned film magazine, the 93rd Oscar winner *Nomadland* (2020) directed by the Chinese American filmmaker Chloe Zhao was censored by China after the Patriots boycott and soon removed from the cinemas in mainland China (Davis, 2021). It was caused by her remarks "critical" of the motherland-China, in a film magazine interview. The wave of this ideological-orientated censorship of *Nomadland* was initially fermented on the Internet in the first week of March 2021, the film posters vanished from Douban (an online art and film platform popular among the urban youth) in the wee hours of the morning. Shortly, its listed China premiere suddenly disappeared. Several articles about Zhao's *Nomadland* releasing news and even the upcoming Oscars award ceremony from some well-known "self-media"-the WeChat accounts-were wiped. WeChat's official reason was a violation of Development and Management Rules for Public Information Services on Instant Messaging Platforms and accordingly had been deleted. Film poster, as well as information relevant to its China release and Oscar award, were all wiped from important online platforms like Douban and Weibo. The censored reason was further dug up by major media, that an interview Zhao gave to *Filmmaker Magazine* in 2013, where she talked that she was drawn to her early subjects about the American "heartland", upbringing in China and "being in a place where there are lies everywhere (Davis, 2021). However, this Australian site deleted the section in mid-February, days before the *Nomadland* China release was permitted by the China film administration, which was originally introduced in China with the help National Arthouse Alliance of Cinemas (NAAC). This incident that allegedly a public opposition to Chinese ideology finally resulted in the withdrawn of this film. Soon, China's vital online ticketors, Maoyan, and Tao Piaopiao, moved to remove the April 23 release date from their listings. According to some industry insiders, Zhao was accused of insulting China, which was recognized as contrary to Chinese ideology. In order to avoid the increasingly complicated political risks, Chinese cinemas had no choice but to remove the film from the schedule one after another. At the same time, facing the domestic public opinion pressure, film

distributions were also fear the negative influence on the quotas¹ of introducing the foreign films brought by radical patriots on the Internet (Nytimes, 2021).

Besides, more conclusive evidence related to ideological censorship can be found in the Freemuse (2017) annual statistics on censorship and attacks on artistic freedom. Its investigation upon China found that the separatism considered in opposition “One China” policy is not allowed, such as those supporting the Free Tibet, Hongkong, and Taiwan independence. This ideological censorship is widespread given the objectionable content, including controversial historical details, sensitive political events, domestic politics (the Chinese president, the CCP, and the party’s leaders), and those allegedly anti-ideological topics. Statistic (2017) indicates that China carried out 20 acts of censorship and for a total of 34 violations on artistic freedom of expression within five major art forms includes film; among the registered cases, 20 of them were censored, even worse, there are 14 imprisoned cases (see chart below). The embodied political control is what filmmakers have to face, often at the expense of their artistic freedom.



Accordingly, the above evidential matters imply that an ideological film censorship imbedded the regime’s authority in film production by dominate ideology, which mainly consisted by regimes’ ideology, party’s doctrine and top leader’s thought. The allegedly anti-ideological content will thus trigger the censoring mechanism, as argued by Cawelti (1976), when the narrative contains the reveal ideas that oppositional or subversive ideology and theme, it would be subject to be censored by the authority in power.

¹ CFA will approve limited numbers of quotas per year to cinema releasing toward films, both domestic and foreign produced. In contrast, the quotas for the introduction of foreign films usually are lesser than the domestic films. After gaining the quota and approval of the censor, the CFA would issue the “Dragon label” (Longbiao, 龙标), the permission for public screening, to a film, then it is legitimate to be screened.

1.2 Censorship and film censorship

Having overviewed the relationship between ideology and film censorship, we are landing on to provide a conceptual introduction of censorship before examining the dynamic of their relationship.

1.2.1 Defining censorship

The word censor, both a verb and noun and its various derivative censorship, censorious, censure, comes from the Latin *censura*, meant to "declare formally" (Green, 2005). By the English definition, censorship is the "supervision and control of the information and ideas circulated among the people within a society" (Funk & Wagnalls New World Encyclopedia, 2015). To introduce, in contemporary, censorship occurs when films, television, radio programs, news reports, script, and other communication media for the purpose of altering or suppressing parts thought to be objectionable or offensive by the people in power. It contains the official prohibition or restriction of any type of expression believed to threaten the political, social, or moral order. To indicate, it may be imposed by a governmental authority, local or national, by a religious body, or occasionally by a powerful private group.

1.2.2 Classifying censorship

Censorship can be classified into (i) direct and indirect censorship, which is conducted by the governmental authority, and (ii) self-censorship, which is conducted by the individual. Moreover, there are types of censorship given the difference in their nature, such as political censorship, social and cultural censorship (moral censorship). First of all, political censorship is defined as the suppression of information made by the government to conceal the truth from the public or to cover something that is against the ruling party, government or the dominate ideology, which is often used as a way to contrast the political opposition. A further subdivision to this political censorship, there would be ideological censorship that mainly concerning the censor of ideology

issue and that turns out to be our focus. Secondly, moral censorship instead consists of banning the unsuitable content to protect minors, such as violence and sexual content that cannot be released to the public. An example of this kind of censorship is the prohibition of pornographic and violent materials. In addition to these two important types, some countries also exist the religious censorship that church act as the censor.

1.2.3 Censorship in cinema

When it comes to cinema, as a form of popular culture functions in culture communication, it is the fungibility between culture and ideology that extends its critical function of the cultural landscape to the political sphere, such as political communication, manipulation. (pp.2-3). For this reason, film censorship as a product of policymaking has delivered similar functions upon referencing the idea of Adorno and Horkheimer (1944/1979), which plays a significant role in ideology communication, even political manipulation, to a large extent. Censorship itself is neutral; Yet, Green (2005) argues that it represents the downsides of power due to the negative consequences of the use of ideology control. Sociologists argue that the cinematic has deeply intertwined with the political structure. In this context, identifying the relationship between film and politics becomes vital to explore the hidden political message in this inspiring art. Further, film censorship can be conducted by the government, including government-authorized entities, private institutions, and other controlling bodies, even individuals. Film censorship is exercised before a film is made public, known as prior restraint by the government, in the form of requirements such as licensing and prior review. Such regulative censorship has often been carried out by individuals or committees appointed by political authorities. Still, it can also be carried out by individual filmmakers or the film company. The term has been expanded to include 1) self-censorship, in which one does not express something, or cut some plots for fear of the consequences or to meet the public released requirement, and 2) market censorship, in which suppression of film screening is caused by the refusal/removal of film distribution to distribute it into the public due to political reason (Laursen, 2018).

1.2.4 Film censorship as ideological control

However, film censorship under democratic and non-democratic regimes has different characteristics and operates in different ways. Most democracies already have a relatively systematic and scientific censorship system with transparency, such as the British film classification. Accordingly, our task is to analyze how strict regulative censorship is developed in non-democratic regimes and the relationship between film censorship and the ideology structure, thus examining its limitations toward cinematic free expression more scientifically. This thesis will focus on analyzing film censorship in a non-democratic regime in terms of a political dimension to explore the dynamic relationship between politics and movies in the following sections. Still, we will also touch on the social and cultural dimensions to provide a comprehensive and scientific analysis of the film censorship topic as far as possible. As ideological control carried out by the ruler can extend to cultural products and the mass media in order to manipulate its population that under this context, by and large, we treat film censorship, which is in relation to the ideological structure of the specific regime, as the attempt to hinder or limit the free expression, creation, production, distribution, exhibition, and reception of the films (Biltreyst et al., 2013).

According to Scherzinger (2017, pp. 91), censorship is construed as a legally sanctioned public ban, namely, political control over cultural content. This is saying that censorship is the suppression and political control of speech and public communication, which has imposed the restriction on the cultural content and subject of this work, even caused severe sanctions to individual. As a matter of fact, the film and filmmaker are both to be the subject of film censorship. To specify, film censorship is an examination of the film, both domestic and foreign, resulting in various censoring consequences. It includes a film or filmmaker banned to the public, content cut, withdrawal from the public screening, and quotas; these above are to be operated differentiated by each country that complies with their regime doctrines through the domestic censoring mechanism (Biltreyst et al., 2013). In addition, the nature of censorship can be classified by direct and indirect film censorship. As part of state control, the former is more straightforward to combat film creation than the indirect result. Direct film censorship refers to movies, and their auteur is banned or removed from the public, the legal sanction (Lessing, 2005). Whilst the indirect one contains the

content cut and modification of the original film script or re-editing of the finished movie. These censor criteria(standards) and results can be ranked in the hierarchy, reflecting the degree of the strictness of the film censorship under specific ideological control that often considers as the evidence for examining the relationship between film censorship and ideology.

After elaborating, we have naturally narrowed the scope of the discussion to censorship as political control. To be more precise, a political tool functions in ideological control and manipulation imposed by the specific political regimes, particularly the countries with a high and totalizing ideology, where the ideological constraints are structured in both government and society. Therefore, we will focus on three countries that once had a high ideology, Soviet Union, Fascist Italy, and Authoritarian South Korea, to deliver a comparative analysis to purposing a general theory.

Chapter 2: Film censorship and ideology in different historical cases

2.1 Comparing film censorship and ideology in non-democratic regimes

This section will frame our particular case regarding a general research question to review the ideology and film censorship in different territories, some countries, during specific periods such as totalitarian/authoritarian regimes that implemented strict film censorship controlling film industry and ideology. The sense of strictness can be understood as excluded the film contents regardless of domestically produced or foreign-produced, even the filmmakers to produce the film-against the ideology and the rule of the regimes, little tolerance of pluralism, and limit or even lack of free expression. These periods specifically define as the Soviet Union, Authoritarian South Korea, and Fascist Italy. In addition to the analysis of the development of film censorship and the dominant ideology, we will examine the relation of ideology and film censorship's strictness case by case.

2.1.1 Soviet Union

General speaking, film censorship in the Soviet Union as propaganda tools controlling mass media, particularly the film content—themes of anti-Westernization and nationalism depicted socialist realism in films by negatively portraying elements of capitalist countries while positively depicting the USSR. Elements of anti-Westernization included censoring religion and technological superiority. Meanwhile, the sign of negative portrayals in the Soviet military-like lost battles or frightened soldiers were expurgated to further nationalistic goals. Most scholars (Levaco, 1984; Goldstein, 1989, Martin, 2002; Richard, 2013) studying the domain of Russian/Soviet Union censorship unanimously argue USSR's film censorship to be highly related to the Soviet ideology. Film censorship was commonplace since the Soviet Union's inception state, which can be said to have begun in November 1917, one month after establishing the Soviet state, with the creation of the People's Commissariat of Education, Narkompros (Levaco, 1984). It is generally accepted that the Soviet type of censorship was always a powerful means to control the society and ensuring the predominance of the Communist Party and, in particular, its top leader at any specific time, whether Lenin or Stalin (Martin, 2002). The former was the head of the Bolshevik Party, who successfully lead the Russian October Revolution. The Bolsheviks later became the Communist Party under Lenin's leadership and started this Leninist communism ideology. However, the latter is always criticized due to its dictatorship and its highly centralized political and economic institution.

Shortly after the October Revolution of 1917, "the incoming Bolsheviks issued the Decree on the Pres argued that stringent measures were necessary to combat counter-revolutionary activity." The Cinema Committee of the recently established Narkompros issued the first of many lists of films deemed unsuitable for the repertoire and therefore had to be removed from Soviet screens forthwith. Some of the films on this list were pre-revolutionary domestic products, while some were imported (Kolpakidi, 2002). Meanwhile, the first steps were being taken to exclude politically undesirable people from participation in the cultural organs of the new ideological state with the existence of a high-level ideology-oriented of the communist party's regime (Richard, 2013). As the symposium of the Institute for the Study of the USSR had also emphasized the Soviet

film censorship should not be understood in isolation; rather, it should be seen as a crucial part of the Soviet regime in toto (Kim, 2020).

Regarding the relationship between ideology and film in Lenin's period, Levaco (1984) emphasized in the paper, *Censorship, ideology, and style in Soviet cinema*, the censorship objectives of Bolsheviks were twofold. First, the elimination of anti-Bolshevik and anti-revolutionary films. Second, the encouraging of producing and exhibition of films that furthered the courses of the October Revolution. It is necessary to have censorship comply with Lenin's concern, in other words, Lenin's ideology, even suspending artistic creation whatever it takes. Therefore, under Lenin's communist regime, film censorship is not as terrible as a punishment; its strictness, little tolerance to any film that counter-revolutionary. It aims to comply with a high ideology structure rather than severe political sanction as an inherent feature in a well-ordered socialized life of a communist ideal to maintain political stability.

From the mid-1920s, it is reviewed that cinema began to fall under a strengthened control with state apparatus of film censorship and Bolshevik party institutions (Richard, 2013). Strict censorship is mainly achieved by controlling the film content and can also be achieved by broad monitoring reinforced by financial controls of the filming program. It is worth mentioning that the Agitprop (acronym for agitation and propaganda) Department was set up under the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party in 1920 and concerned itself with direct ideological control over the media and other sociopolitical activities (Harding, 1983)

After Lenin's death, the 1930s was a crucial transformation for both Soviet cinema and its film censorship as it was in this time that the general structures of the industry and of its control, were firmly established. It is from this period that the regular late-night screenings for Stalin gave him the soubriquet "the Kremlin censor" date (Richard, 2014). Richard (2014) further mentions that Stalin's only writings that could be found for inclusion in the volume were his notes and comments scrawled across film scripts in their various drafts. Many in-depth comments were also made in one-to-one telephone calls from the Great Leader of the World Proletariat and asides following the Kremlin screenings. It seems that scholarly sources about censored films from the "dictatorship" period are hard to find. Most evidence is anecdotal; the actual reasons why a film had been censored during this Stalin's centralization seems ambiguous.

However, it is necessary to emphasize that Film censorship reached its peak during the rule of Stalin, from 1941 to 1953. He has the ultimate censor power. Acting as the top censor for films, Stalin demanded meticulous revisions in a way befitting his interpretation. Stalin made specific recommendations on the film that what should be included, edited, or deleted entirely. This recommendation is mainly related to his ideas and the party's doctrine. If Stalin's note is ignored by the filmmaker, the censored consequences such as banned and removed from the public release were to meet out. A case in point was the movie, *The Great Citizen* (1938), a well-known letter that Stalin wrote to Alexander Dovzhenko mentioned in *The Great Citizen*, a film about the Purge Trials. It is argued that Stalin's letters made several intrusive revisions on the characters, film props, and essential scenes that the whole film needed to restructure (Kenez, 2001). Another sensational censored case is *The Law of Life* (1940) that causes severe political sanction due to its violation of Stalin's idea toward its director and screenplay². In addition, the filmmaker is not spared from strict film censorship. For instance, the film *Father and Son* by a female director Margarita Barskaia was removed by Stalin, which tells a story about a factory director who prioritizes his work over educating his son, Boris. The film critic pointed out that due to the unsuitable portrayal of an unhappy child and the father, who is a war hero, as a slothful parent was regarded as slanderous. Even worse, after her movie was removed from cinemas, she was arrested and died in the gulag (Kenez, 2001).

As far as strict film censorship is concerned, the increasing difficulty of gaining approval for film scripts and their ensuing projects, the second half of the 1940s has become known as the *malokartin'e* (film famine). Elizarov (1961) investigated that "in 1941, 64 feature films had been released, in 1945 this number was down to 19, in 1948 to 17, in 1950 to 13, and in 1951 to a mere nine." Therefore, it can reach an agreement that Stalin controlled the film industry through strict film censorship where a film (including the director) has to comply and respect his ideas, the principle of a one-party totalitarian police state, social realism, so-called Stalinism (Fitzpatrick, 2000). The Soviet ideology, particularly Stalinism, has a vital feature in mobilization through mass media, that imposing ideology constraints on production, inducing the film production (Dobrenk et al., 2002). A Stalinist ideology contains the radical thought of mobilizing and the police state,

² We have introduced this case at the very beginning.

the secret police, demonstrating a high authority of the party. Under Stalin's totalitarianism, it is not hard to find party's give little tolerance on the opposite voice to social realism, no to speak about the pluralism and freedom of filming as artistic creation; any violation would eventually lead to a ban causes severe political sanctions.

Apart from the Stalin's censor, the Glavlit, also act as a censor. It was a censorship organ established in 1922 under the name "Main Administration for Literary and Publishing Affairs at the Narkompro, abbreviated as Glavlit) The famous filmmakers, such as Igor Yeltsin and Anatoly Kuzentsov have shared their private narratives, emphasizing how they had been experiencing unofficial censorship by studio director and officials, that is the State Committee for Cinematography and Glavlit, to censor sensitive political and military contents, portrait of the Stalin, or positive or sympathetic representation of America (Dewhirst and Farrell, 1973)

As a result, the feature of the film censorship under Stalin's totalitarian regime is its extreme strictness and concentrated. Moreover, a relationship between high ideology and extreme strict film censorship existed in this period.

Nevertheless, the centrality of Stalin in film censorship did not come to an end until he died in 1953, but the strictness. Knight (2018) introduced the late Stalin era constitutes the most overlooked period of Soviet cinema history due to his high concentration for extreme censorship on films and resulting artistic stagnation. Finally, in the June of 1990, the USSR Supreme Soviet passed the law "On the Press and Other Media of Mass Information," and the statement of "censorship of mass information is not permitted" was announced unambiguously (Richard, 2013). Film censorship in Soviet finally came to an end.

However, to our surprise, the current Russia cinema covers the creation, production and distribution side enjoy a fully freedom on the content that has been censored in strict sense, such as the sexuality and messages of freedom.

2.1.2 Authoritarian South Korean

Early Korea's film history lay the foundation of film censorship that can date back to the colonial period. The movie was first introduced to Korea in 1903, "which meant an encounter with Western cultures with all the connotations of their economic prosperity and technological progress" (Paquet, 2007). The development of the South Korean film industry in the 20th century is along with the Korean war, the Japanese occupation, and U.S. military control. As Lee (2019), concluded, it was inevitable that Korean cinema would suffer from political exploitation from its inception.

To start, the authoritarian period between the 1960s and late 1980s is called a dark age of the Korean film industry. The number of local films produced rapidly decreased from 200s in the late 1960s to around 80 films per year in 1985 (Kim, 2013). Immediately following Park Chung Hee's takeover, Anticommunism ideology was declared in the new state doctrine. And the military disengaged the civilian censorship committee and returned film censorship to the hands of the official administration. Under Park's dictatorship, freedom of speech was severely restricted as official media policies were practically based on the idea that the media, the film, were propaganda and control instruments (Joowon, 2019). The strict film censorship was the political product of such an authoritarian government, where imposed severe restrictions on film production and distribution. There was little room for tolerance of the different political ideas, and free speech was extremely low under such strict censorship. To illustrate, The First Motion Picture Law enacted in 1976 was to increase its control of the film industry further. This law did not allow the industry to freely produce the films if the contents did not meet their criteria. In fact, the Law was made to comply with the Park's primary purpose to safeguard antigovernment issues played and reflected in films. (Park, 2001). More, it legalized the word 'censorship, which was previously euphemistically called 'screening permission' (Joowon, 2019). Afterward, the Korean Performance Ethics Board was established in 1976, and film censorship became more intense and systematic (Park, 2002).

To argue, Park used film as a mechanism to perpetuate Cold War ideology, militarism, and political centralism (Park, 2002). Like other mass media, the cinema had the function of shaping political opinion to favor the centralized government, which in turn could mobilize the people toward designated political and economic goals. The Park government proposed the Fourth Revised Motion Picture Law a few months after the Yushin reforms placed the Korean film industry entirely

under the control of political authorities. Its actual role was to regulate the industry. The Motion Picture Corporation (MPPC) also issued the Film Policy Measure yearly to publicize and push the authorities' goals for the film industry not until 1986(Park, 2002). Article One of the Measure regulated Korean filmmakers had to adhere to several political and social guidelines. Core features of the Fourth Revised Motion Picture Law were (i) the establishment of a licensing system for film production and importation; (ii) regulation of the number of released films through import quotas; and (iii) strict censorship (Park, 2002).

Further, after Park's death, Chun Doo Hwan seized power through another military coup in 1979. Likewise, Chun mobilized the mass media to legitimate his authority and centralized his power, a strict censorship applied to all broadcasts. To impose uniform political opinion, state power silenced antigovernment voices, and the protesters were criticized as the enemies of Korean society and its security. The Chun government increased the control over the media in 1980 by instituting Ollon Tongpyehap, the Media Consolidation Measure (MCM). Film censorship was harsher under Chun's leadership. The government set up guidelines for censorship and appointed civilians to the censorship board, emphasizing that film should portray the bright rather than the dark side of Korean life.

As mentioned, under President Park Chung-hee's control, movie-related laws of the 1970s on censorship of the film industry listed a series of censor standards that related to Park's political ideology (Joowon, 2019). For instance, Article 13 of the Fourth Amendment of the Film Reform Law regulates that a film recognized as one of the following shall not be qualified. It may violate the basic order of the constitution or damage the authority of the state; it may damage the social order international relationship and weaken the national spirit (Hyaе-joon, 2006). The findings of our investigation of the censored films since the 1970s covering the Park's and Chun's authoritarian government demonstrate that enormous films were banned (Appendix to Table 2) because involving political sensitive like the anti-military government content, or moral reasons. For example, a famous American film *Apocalypse Now* was suspended in 1979 from importing and broadcasting due its anti-war theme (IMDb, 2021). In this period, South Korean strict film censorship was related to a high level of ideological control under authoritarian rules; any negative

portrayal of the South Korean president and anti-authority content are forbidden. Hereby, the relationship of a high ideology and strict film censorship is crystalized.

By contrast, recently, Korea Media Rating Board (KMRB) and the Korean Film Council (KOFIC) were launched respectively in 1999 to replace the previous institutions. The film policy was changed under democratic regimes into the promotional model where film censorship was relaxed, and film production gave some autonomy. The South Korean film industry started again to blossom (Kim, 2013). In current, the Promotion of the Motion Pictures and Video Products Act, entered into force in 2011, aims to regulate motion picture funding, production, distribution, screening, classification, etc. It has a profound impact on stimulating the South Korean film industry's development in terms of domestic film creation, production, and distribution. Consequently, after completing a research project on South Korean censorship, we find out film censorship system has been gradually relaxed through the development of Korean society and politics, which promotes the film industry progress providing freedom to creators and audiences. Nevertheless, such freedom is limited by the government's financial involvement in the film industry in the form of indirect censorship through power. A controversial censored case *The Attorney* as the main actor was blacklisted by the former President Park Geun-hye seriously impacted actor/tress's professional development (Joowon, 2019).

2.1.2 Fascist Italy

In recent, the announcement of Cultural Minister Dario Franceschini in April. 6th 2021 of abolishing its longstanding film censorship stirring up the world cinematic. Such a system was dismissed by scrapping legislation that since 1913 has allowed the government to censor movies to control and interfere with artists' and filmmakers' freedom.

However, plenty of European Newsletter and famous film media, such as *Variety* (2021), reports indicating a crucial point that Italy ended up film censorship on moral and religious grounds; while they once had practiced strict political censorship related to ideological reason upon movies and filmmakers, which can be found in Fascist Italy under Mussolini's Totalitarianism regime

throughout the 1950s (Daniela,2013). This is in the time where the cinema was leading by a fascism ideology in terms of a very high level given that the “Italian fascist regime claimed that the theater was an ideal cultural vehicle for disbudding fascist ideology.” Such a high Fascist ideological control can be found in the original of Benito Mussolini rooted in nationalism and expansionism, which features a total mass mobilization. In addition, Berezin (1991) argued that corporativism also an important feature of the Fascist regime, which refers to an amorphous ideology that could accommodate the content and emphasized the individual as part of the moral collectivity-the Fascist state. It focused on social solidarity and public and private behavior. Thus, film censors are bound by such a corporativism idea that it was their duty to behave and put themselves in an appropriate place to implement the censorship concerning what the top leadership has promoted within the fascist regime. More importantly, Ben-Ghiat (2001) pointed out “state has the right and duty to ask that a powerful instrument like cinema respond to fascist political needs. Regarding to the how film censorship is related to fascist ideology, most scholars (Liehm,1984; Talbot, 2007; Lichtner, 201; Guli, 2014) conclude that there the ideological film censorship during Fascism Italy, in a word, a strict political censorship were implemented. To illustrate, during this period, plenty of films were censored or banned to varying degree, which left a tremendous impact on film industry for decades. According to a survey by Cinecensura, a permanent online exhibition promoted by the Italian Culture Ministry, 247 Italian films, 130 American films, and 321 movies from other countries have been banned in Italy since 1944, whist more than 10,000 were modified, cut, or trimmed in some way (Vivarelli, 2021).

The mechanism of film censorship would help to demonstrate how strict the system was and how the censoring authority complies with the ideology to implement such censorship. Guido Bonsaver and Robert Gordon (2005) argue that under Mussolini’s regimes (1922-1945), “a complete, capillary control of culture by state,” took place and fascist censorship become “a well-oiled and sophisticated mechanism” as the new 1923 Law introduced a specific revision procedure for films that were to be distributed abroad. Exportation of films could be prevented in case there were scenes that compromised economic and political interests as well as the “dignity of the nation” and good international relations (Daniela,2013). In terms of the continuation of censorship

between 1923 and postwar legislation were explicitly referring to the new Ufficio centrale per la cinematografia (Cinema Central Office, UCPC), which—according to a new decree passed in 1945—had the power to ban the screening of films and could require to cuts or modify the finished film. “The new law was in the same aim in the 1923 legislation reinforcing the government’s existing power of censorship in the process of assessing new Italian guide and guiding film production following a precise ideological objective”³. The *Commissione per la Revisione Cinematografica* (Commission for Cinematographic Revision, CRC), in fact, had the power to prevent screening of films as well as withdraw the award of the 8 percent artistic quality bonus (Brunetta, 1982). To interpret, if a film script was not approved, the finished film was not permitted to be screened. However, this a means criticized as the government sought to determine the character of film directors’ artistic output where the hinders of the creativity in the film production are inevitable. Such film censorship related to ideological control often prevents the free speech under totalitarianism rule.

Besides, the strictness of censorship was related to the high ideological control exercised by Mussolini or to in accordance with his dictatorship idea. After analyzing the mechanism of fascist Italy's film censorship, Guli (2014) argues that in the Fascist era, the exacerbation of ideological censorship was witnessed. In both domestic, which means that the film censorship could be highly related to the fascist ideology. In this term, both Italian and foreign-produced films, even the minimal existence of ideas held to be subversive, such as antiauthoritarian, revolutionary, pacifist, egalitarian, etc., was constantly censored. To illustrate, most important American cinema had been banned in Italy due to anti-militaristic content. Films about the First-World War, particular. Mussolini himself banned *All Quiet on the Western Front*, directed by Lewis Milestone in 1930, based on Erich Maria Remarque's novel. *La grande illusion*, the pacifist artwork by Renoir, regardless of awarding by the Venice Film Festival, was thus described by Freddi in the report mentioned above: "A political film, expression of that defeatist mentality, apathetic, anti-heroic, which is hung out on the white flag of pacifist" (Guli, 2014). Many other French films were banned

³See Daniela, (2013). p.260, as she quotas the details of film censorship in Law (n. 379). Vitti, A. (1996) *Giuseppe De Santis and Postwar Italian Cinema*. Toronto: University of Torornto Press, p. 98; Farassino, A. (ed) (1989) *Neorealismo—Cinema italiano 1945–1949*. Turin: E.D.T.; Baldi (1994), p. 23

for this ethical reason, especially those belonging to the wave of poetic realism of the time. Even the irreverent satire of the Marx Brothers or Chaplin could render the antiauthoritarian stance tolerable, especially when aggravated by making fun of Mussolini in an explicit way. In this sense, the censorship of *Duck Soup* (1933), which was recognized as its Führer as portrayed by Groucho, seems to have been a prelude to *The Great Dictator* (1940), which was released in most of Europe only after the war and was only given the green light in Italy in 1945. Anti-Semitic criticism had already led to the banning of films such as Lothar Mendes's British *The Jew* (1934) and William Dieterle's American *The Life of Emile Zola* (1937), which dealt with the thorny "Dreyfus Affair." When it comes to anti-socialism, an apparent feature of the Fascist party's doctrine, perhaps, the fear of Communist propaganda blocked the way for all the Soviet cinema masterpieces. This fear of the reigning Fascist regime caused almost all communist, socialist or Russian-made films to be forbidden as there was a lack of room for communist ideology to be spread in fascist Italy. It was proposed by regime censors that the, regarding Soviet cinema, Russian Revolution of 1917 It had been the reason why the movie was banned, the film involved the soviet ideology was the subject of such strict ideological censorship. For instance, biographical films like the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) colossal *Rasputin and the Empress* (1932) could be banned merely for their setting in pre-Revolutionary Russia. Alternatively, the Duce could be alarmed by the mere presence of Russian names in innocuous adventure films. Such as the Italian *La principessa Tarakanova* (*Betrayal*) (1938) or the British *Knight without Armour* (1937). Therefore, one of the important reasons for a film to be censored is primarily related to this anti-ideology issue that oppose to the ideology what the Fascist regime eager to promote, or says, the legalized one.

As a result, the relation between high level of ideology and the strict film censorship can be found in Fascist Italy, while such a relation is dynamic postwar time as it is argued that the film censorship' strictness could also be related to increasing influence of the Church concerning religious censorship postwar time (Daniela,2013; Guli, 2014), where religious censorship had been conducted by the Catholic Cinematographic Center, Centro Cattolico Cinematografico (C.C.C.) founded in 1935. Regardless, the significant meaning to nowadays the film industry of abolishing the film censorship in Italy cannot be understood without considering the Catholic Church's impact.

2.2 The linkage between ideology and film censorship

2.2.1 The presence of ideological control

After discussing the ideology and film censorship in Soviet Union, Fascist Italy, and Authoritarian South Korea, we are about to develop the analytical categories that foster systematic framework to examine the relation between ideology and film censorship in general. Reference an idea from Berezin (1991), that particularly proposed that the features of Italian politics under the Fascist regime are “1) the clarify of the ideological message and 2) the organizational capacities of the state.” Given these two aspects, ideological control of the cultural product, here refers to the cinema, through either practiced by film censorship or the issuance of strict guidelines for what is produced is possible only if a regime has a clear sense of its ideological messages. In this term, we can infer that as long as a party (or government) in power has deliver the ideological messages clearly through either, film censorship, or the strict guidelines, like legal regulation, even a system of ideas rooted in the State and Party’s doctrines. Then, the ideological control would be existed in the system and ideology influence the formulation and implement of film censorship.

2.2.2 How film censorship relates to ideology

Film censorship links to ideology in various ways. Our summary on the relationship between ideology and film censorship in comparing the differences and similarities in Soviet Union, Fascist Italy and Authoritarian South Korea (see table. 3 at the end of chapter 2) film censorship need to comply with the regime’s ideology, a top leader’s thought and party doctrine. In terms of formulation and implementation process, we can identify two major channels would be the censorship’s mechanism and the censor criteria. Initially, the strict censor standards that formulated with clarified ideologically message basing on the regime’s ideology, a top leader’s thought and party doctrine, itself connotes the ideology. In this way, film censorship made to prevent anti-ideology content released, itself would be in consistent to the ideology. Subsequently, it relates to

the ideology through the exercising and the implementation process as the censors and censoring authorities were required to censor a film in accordance with the ideology. In the totalitarian regime, the vital censor could be the top leader who has the ultimate power to censor the film. It is easy to prove that film censorship is highly related to ideology.

2.2.3 The level of ideology and the strictness of film censorship

Having generated an overview of the different features of ideology and film censorship, we can develop a unique definition to the level of ideology and strictness of film censorship.

As the scope of measuring ideology has been narrow down by us, the level of ideology would be examined by the following aspects, a) the degree of free speech, b) tolerance of pluralism⁴, c) level of mobilization, d) the condition of totalizing, like degree of penetration of an ideology in all aspects of society, or says, whether the society is dominated by a specific ideology where ideological restraints existed. Accordingly, a high ideology means that there are little room for free speech, lack of tolerance of pluralism and the opposite idea that featuring in high mobilization and totalizing.

A strict film censorship could be defined as an official censorship accompanied the strict censor standards and regulations that are highly attributed to adherence to a particular ideology or controlled by a long-lasting ideology. Meanwhile, it should involve the serious censored result, where the film and the filmmaker are to be subjects. Besides, the sense of strict also refers to the lack of free expression, little tolerance to pluralism and no room for compromising. As noted in beginning, censor standards and results can be ranked in hierarchy, reflecting the degree of the strictness of the film censorship under specific ideological control that can be considered as the evidence for examining the relationship between film censorship and ideology. In our summary (see table. 3), though the censor content and their standards are various in different regime as they have the different ideologies, the common is that each film censorship has a serve censor result. Most films, whether it's a domestic or foreign film that censored would be banned/forbidden. None of them can escape from the same tragic fate.

⁴ Tolerance of pluralism involves not only tolerance of diverse political ideologies, but also tolerance of opposition parties and opposing ideas.

In fact, we can propose that, in totalitarian/authoritarian regime, a strict film censorship is related to ideology because the former is highly complying to the later; in turn, ideology can influence the film censorship' strictness. However, it is insufficient to test our hypothesis merely know that film censorship is related to ideology. To examine the relationship of ideology and film censorship, it needs to put the general question in a comparison.

2.3 The higher the level of ideology, the stricter the film censorship?

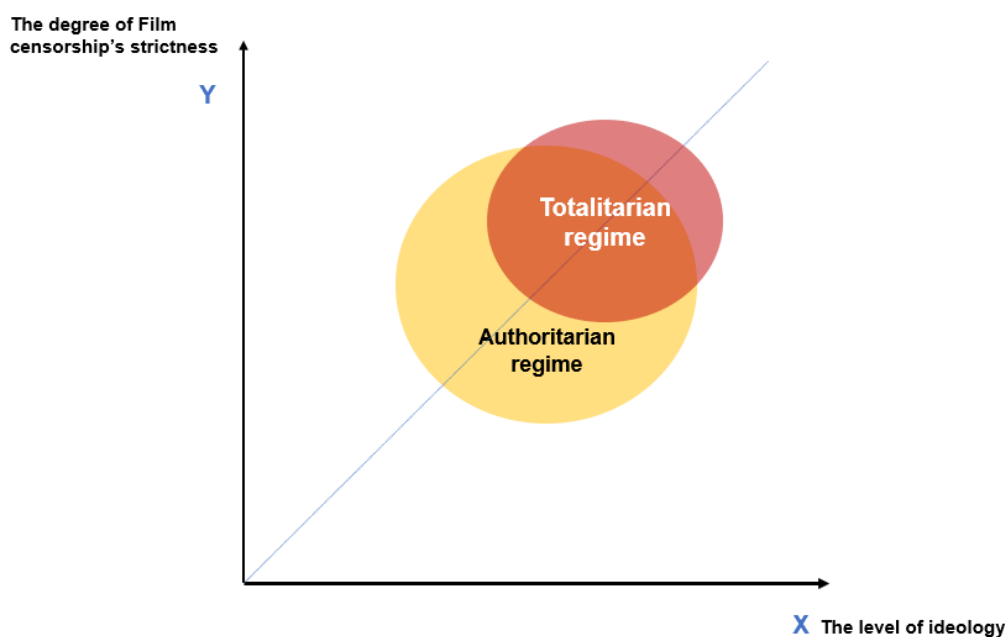
So far, we have demonstrated the existence of ideological control in film censorship, tested the degree of ideology, and pointed out the strictness of the system. It is then possible to correlate the two variables, ideology and film censorship, and summarize their relevance.

After examining the film censorship in a general analysis in the above non-democratic regimes, we can find out the differences and similarities in the Soviet Union, Fascist Italy, and Authoritarian South Korea. See figure. 1 below, in the case of the Authoritarian South Korea, indeed, they have a high ideology. However, compared to the Soviet Union and Fascist Italy, South Korea's ideology is relatively low because of the degree of free speech and mobilization. Also, it could be argued that the film censorship in Lenin's period is not as strict as Stalin's period due to its censor criteria with didactic in nature, and the censoring mechanism still at the local level.

Finally, we can manage to identify the general relationship of ideology and film censorship⁵, The higher the level of ideology, the stricter the film censorship exercised. According to our finding, this relation features an approximate linear correlation, showed in the Figure. 1 below, ideology as independent variable, its level is described by the X-axis; film censorship as dependent variable is hereby described by Y-axis. This possible relationship implies that the stringency of the film censorship varies with the level of ideology. Totalitarian. By this implication, we may venture to infer that the non-democratic regime, as long as it has certain ideology and has the film censorship system, film censorship would relate to ideology, and the higher the level of ideology, the stricter the film censorship.

⁵ As mentioned in the introduction section, we only consider the ideology under the totalitarian/authoritarian regimes, including the one that derived from the leader's thought or party doctrines. Excluded the catholic church religious.

Figure. 1 A possible relationship between ideology and film censorship



Further, in the case of a totalitarian regime, such as the period of Stalin and Mussolini, this rigorous censorship system also has the feature of high centralization. Nevertheless, the relationship between ideology and film censorship's strictness is likely to be dynamic, considering the political transformation as an external factor that changes over time.

In addition to above content, it is necessary to point out the limitation of this analysis that is the sample size is too small, and it may influence the accuracy of the research. Moreover, merely comparing across qualitative evidence is not sufficient to get an accurate result nor can acquire a comprehensive picture to the general question.

Table. 2 A summary on the relationship between ideology and film censorship

Differences and similarities in Soviet Union, Fascist Italy and Authoritarian South Korea

	Regime & Ideology	Film censorship (FS)	The relationship between ideology and FS
Soviet Union	<p>Lenin’s period: Totalitarian regime Communism ideology, War Communism Leninism Features: high mobilization, less tolerance, some free speech</p>	<p>Censor authority: <i>Narkompros</i>, Cinema Committee, Agitprop Censor: Leshchenk Censor criteria: Encourage positive portrayal of October Revolution. No counter-revolutionary content Censor outcome: banned/removed/cut/modified. Feature: initially at local level, strict, highly complies to the ideology</p>	<p>Lenin’s period: High ideology & Strict film censorship</p>
	<p>Stalin’s period: Totalitarian regime (Stalin’s dictatorship), communism ideology Stalinism Features: high mobilization, totalizing ideology, lack of tolerance and free speech</p>	<p>Censor authority: Glavlit Censor: Stalin has ultimate censor power. Censor criteria: no anti Stalin nor the party; no negative portrayal of Stalin, communist party and its league (Komsomol), film content need to obey social realism with a suitable portrayal, unsuitable portrayal of socialist realism was banned. Censor outcome: banned/removed/cut/modified. Feature: highly concentrated, extreme strict, highly complies to the ideology</p>	<p>Stalin’s period: High level of ideology & extremely strict film censorship</p>
Fascist Italy	<p>Mussolini’s period: totalitarian (Mussolini dictatorship) Fascism ideology Features: Total mass mobilization. Nationalism, expansionism,</p>	<p>Censor authority: Cinema Central Office, Commission for Cinematographic Revision Censor: Mussolini, Party’s censor officials Censor criteria: forbidden the film violate economic and political interest & dignity of nation; no antiauthoritarian, revolutionary, pacifist, egalitarian: No anti-militaristic content: No tolerance to any negative portrayal of Mussolini and his dictatorship; Forbid</p>	<p>Mussolini’s period: high ideology & Strict film censorship</p>

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

<p><i>Continue from table above.</i></p> <p>Fascist Italy</p>	<p>Corporativism</p>	<p>Communist; Film script and connect need to complies with the Fascist regime and party's doctrine; disapprove the political sensitive content.</p> <p>Censor outcome: banned/forbidden/removed/cut/ modified.</p> <p>Feature: strict, highly complies to the ideology, various strict censor criteria</p>	<p>*Post wartime: the strictness of film censorship also related to the Catholic Church</p>
<p>Authoritarian South Korean</p>	<p>Park Chung Hee' & Chun Doo Hwan's period</p> <p>Authoritarian regime (dictatorships)</p> <p>Militarism, political centralism</p> <p>Anticommunism ideology</p> <p>Features: lack of tolerance on pluralism, limited free speech, mobilization</p>	<p>Censor authority: Korean Performance Ethics Board, Media Consolidation Measure</p> <p>Censor criteria:</p> <p>Forbid the antigovernment content; no negative portrayal of the president, authoritarian government and the state; forbidden anti-authority content; the negative portrayal of Korean life and political sensitive content (anti-war theme) would be banned.</p> <p>Censor outcome: banned/removed/cut/modified.</p> <p>Feature: concentrated, strict, highly complies to the ideology</p>	<p>Park's and Chun's period:</p> <p>High ideology & Strict film censorship</p>

Chapter 3: The relationship between ideology and film censorship in China

As found a general relationship between ideology and film censorship, that is, the strictness of film censorship varies with the ideology. The level of ideology influences the strictness of film censorship, and strict film censorship relates to the high ideology. However, some question arises, what are the features of the ideology and film censorship in China, and how they have been developed? Does the case of China apply to the general rule consistently? Is there a likewise in the relationship between ideology and film censorship in China? What would be the difference comparing to different periods? Having bare these questions in mind, in this last chapter, we will examine the relationship between ideology and film censorship in China and discuss its dynamics. Before approaching to identify their relationship, it is necessary to provide a general picture of the film censorship and ideology in China.

3.1 Film censorship in a communist China: ideology as a driving force

To maintain the political order and power, the authoritarian government usually concentrates the power by imposing strong regulation in free speech. In this way, film censorship often carries out with the aim of party propaganda and mobilization. It is important to indicate that Chinese film censorship has been guided by the communist party's ideology for decades to fulfill their political goals for governing a state with a vast population with 56 ethnic groups intermingled.

As noted at the beginning, many scholars (Clark 1987; Zhu 2003; Zhang 2004; Zhu and Nakajima 2010; Johnson 2012) argue that the communist party's ideology control has been largely intervened in the film industry in both domestic produced films and foreign imported films. As far as these scholars have criticized, state involvement is always the main characteristic of the Chinese film industry. Calkins defines (1998, p. 275) "Chinese censorship is a process, that embarks upon without the inherent purpose of suppressing or deleting." Nevertheless, film censorship in mainland China involves the ban of auteurs and films deem unsuitable for release, the content related to sensitive political events, or violation of cultural code (Calkins 1998, pp. 274-278). In

some cases, the deliberation of films that deal with sensitive matters such as ethnic minorities, foreign relations, historical events, national interest and political pluralism may also involve experts on a case-by-case basis according to the authority in charge. However, most the censored films are inevitable to being banned or removed. Even if some films involved in these matters have not been the subject of direct film censorship conducted by the government, the market censorship, operated priority to the state censors, is urged the film distribution to withdraw the film from the cinematic screening comply with the guidelines of the CPD. This strict censorship embodied political control is what filmmakers have to face, often at the expense of their artistic freedom. Such regulative censorship is unavoidable. According to the 13th Five-Year Plan, Chinese films should facilitate the construction of socialist spiritual civilization, promoting national culture and spirit, sense of national pride (Gao, 2019). The limited free expression is justified under authoritarianism ideology because it maintains political stability, applies to national development, fulfills patriotic civic education, and builds the national identity. Central Propaganda Department (CPD), as a powerful monitoring authority, coordinates State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television (SARFT) to ensure content promotes party doctrine and harmless to national development (Xu and Albert, 2014). Chinese film censorship is a vital governmental administrative means to control free expression and film content (Bai, 2013). On this basis, we can identify that ideology control performances a crucial driving force of film censorship, where the power in public communication has been concentrated in the CPD of the communist party. State involvement in the film industry witnesses a great effort to maintain the ideology control, which is coherently embodied in film regulations.

3.2 Political transformation and film censorship's development in China.

Having gained a general understanding of Chinese film censorship and its relevant issues, in this section, we will discuss the history and development of film censorship in China organized along a chronological sequence, from the late twentieth century to the contemporary era, along with the regime's changes, so as to provide an overall picture of film censorship. In order to identify the connection between ideology and film censorship, it is crucial to understand each regime and its

features, figuring out how the ruling party's ideology and its power are imposed in the policymaking, thus, influencing film industry regulations. We will attach the importance to comparing the strict film censorship in Mao's period (1949-1979) and the current era. Because in both periods, the ruling party took Communism and Marxism thoughts as a political ideology, but within different regimes, the former is considered a totalitarian regime. The latter is argued as an authoritative one. Afterward, the lens will focus on the current film censorship system to discuss its controversies and provide a critical analysis with practical meaning.

3.2.1 Pre-Communist era:

Throughout the social-political transformation, the Chinese film industry and the evolution of the film censorship apparatus against the backdrop of major political events and regime changes in the last century. Films were introduced into China from the West at the end of the nineteenth century when the old social order, feudalism of the Qing Dynasty, was on the verge of collapse (Cheng, J. et al., 1981). In this context, the history of film censorship in China goes back to the Western imperialist semi-colonial period, following the Japanese invasion and occupation and the civil war between communists and the nationalist. Such a turbulent history has left a profound on both censor standards and the narrative of the Chinese cinema. Now briefly introducing its official film censorship Initially established in 1930 when the legislative branch of the government published, which was the first piece of legislation applying to films that carried legal status (Woodhead, 1969). During the pre-Communist era, the central agenda in the official attempts to regulate cinema was to enlist film in the aim of the national building project. As far as Xiao (2013) was argued, “by taking issue with offensive and racist screen images in foreign films and by promoting ideas and values conducive to China’s modern transformation, successive censorship regimes in the first half of the twentieth century China used film censorship as a vehicle to serve their broader political objectives.”

3.2.2 Communist era

However, it is argued that in the second half of the twentieth century, the establishment of new China in 1949 and Mao Zedong was announced to the inauguration of the president of New China, which laid the political base for CCP's strict film censorship since every sphere of the publication or media communication was controlled by the central government (Kim, 2020). Moreover, one crucial reason could maintain its communist ideology as CCP just defeat the Nationalist troops and drag the republic of China government to Taiwan. The predominant objective of the Communist efforts to control the film industry where the film was used as a political tool to promote the Marxist ideology and ensure its party member's loyalty and prevent the opposite idea appears. (Xiao, 2013; Cheng, 1981).

It is worth mentioning that regarding its political system, a single-party system was established following the leadership of the Chairman of the CCP, Mao Zedong. The CCP considers Mao Zedong Thought to be the ideological guidance for its victory in the Anti-Japanese War, the Nationalist-Communist Civil War, the establishment of the People's Republic of China, and the construction of socialism with a Chinese path. Thus, such significant influence realized the Mao Zedong Thought as the fundamental party's doctrine, which justifies the ideological control for the totalitarian regime constructing strict film censorship aiming at party's stability and ideology communication.

To define the Mao Zedong Thought, whilst the western views as the Monism, it is a system of the political, military, and economic theory proposed by Mao Zedong and other fellows and practiced on a large scale in the 20th century in China's socialist revolution and construction, which Chinese scholars generally consider as a development of Marxism–Leninism from realizing a socialist revolution in a pre-industrial society of the PRC (Lovell, 2019). It is viewed as a power concentrative, from the local to the central government, with a high level of ideology structure. As the significant victory carried Mao, the absolute power, or says, guarantee his dominant ideological influence in the cultural domain. Some of his claims taken as the founding ideology sources brought out great influence in constructing the film policy of PRC and even remained his crucial ideologically impact on the current film censorship, such as "Power comes out of the barrel of a gun," "Literature and art in the service of the proletarian revolution," "Women can hold up half the sky", "Imperialism is a paper tiger" (Lovell, 2019). These claims can reflect the ideology such

as revolutionism, anti-capitalism, and anti-imperialism. In addition to this, the thought of gender equality can be found in Mao's Thought. Other claims like "Patriotism," "Revolutionary Heroism," "ideological Self-Cultivation," and "Thought Work" are recorded in the book of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung* (2013). Accordingly, all these Mao's ideas rooted and developed by Marxism indeed lay the foundation of Chinese ideology structure and have a tremendous influence on cultural policy from 1949-1976, particularly the construction, formulation, and implementation of film censorship.

The Film censorship during the Communist era under Mao Zedong's leadership can be divided into two distinct periods, which correspond to the major shifts and transformation in the political history of from 1949, the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC), to the late twentieth century when Mao dead. In the 1950s, he imposed military discipline on Chinese society to achieve crash-industrialization and finances. He led a revolution in which political violence against "counter-revolutionaries" was perfectly normalized. In this circumstance, there is a high level of ideology control in the totalitarian regime under Mao's leadership, as western scholars criticize it leadership performed as in a dictatorship.

a) A New China: 1949-1966

The first period started at the Chinese Communist party's (CCP) victory in 1949, led by the party's chairman Mao Zedong, and ended up with the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

Soon after the Communist party came into power, the new government once decided to abandon film censorship because many party officials genuinely believed that New China under their rules should be more democratic and liberal. During nationalization, 1949-52, CCP remained the Chinese Nationalist Party's (KMT) film facilities and turned them into three state-run studios, Northeast, Beijing, and Shanghai (Zhang, 2004). However, the reasons that triggered the formation of strict film censorship with the concern of political control was mainly due to the domestic filmmaker take advantage of the absence of film censorship producing the films that tried to test the party officials' tolerance and the subject of most of the films, the narrative, were judged by the

latter as trashy, tasteless, and substandard. Then, externally was due to the Korean War (1950), and later the Chinese people's Volunteer Army was engaged in the battle with UN forces in Korea, this dramatic international front's shift leading to a domestic policy shift. The Party leadership quickly abandoned its liberal guise; instead, it strengthened its control over Chinese society and launched the anti-Western campaign. Under this highly concentrated politics, cinema, including other forms of mediums and arts, was subjected to stringent censorship. Zhang (2014) emphasizes that the CCP, under Mao's leadership, was suspicious of filmmakers' ideological stance and implement unrelenting political interference that in haste to force all private studios to be nationalized by January 1952.

From 1953 to 1965, the phase of Chinese national cinema transformed into socialist realism⁶. The filmmakers were encouraged to produce ideological-favored films to facilitate socialist realism ideas. As the CCP deployed film as an effective propaganda means and expand working within the ideological state organs, filmmakers were tired of cultivating national styles and produce ideologically acceptable themes, particularly the war, ethnic minority, and opera movies.

By the mid-1950s, CCP programmed to nationalize the Chinese economy was completed, and all privately owned and independently operated film studios were merged with the state-control film studio, Shanghai, Beijing, August First, and Changchun as initially four major ones, and with some additional film studios located in other cities-Xi'an, in Shanxi Province; E'mei, in Sichuan province; and Zhujiang, in Guangdong. To this extent, CCP efforts to establish firm central control over the private filmmaking section. As far as the film censorship is concerned, during this very beginning of New China under Mao Zedong's regime, all matters related to film production, distribution, exhibition, and even international exchange, were placed under the supervision of the Film Bureau (the Bureau) under the Ministry of Culture, it was the highest authority in charging of the entire domestic film industry. Film censorship was notionally the responsibility of the Film Bureau. In theory, the Bureau had the ultimate authority, where the power is concentrated to issue or withhold

⁶ Russian Socialist realism demands “a true, historical, and concrete depiction of reality in its revolutionary development, the realism and historical concreteness of the artistic rendering of realists must be tied to the ideological -education and training of workers in the spirit of socialism.” Despite being art style, Socialist Realism in China marks the principle of the aesthetic conception to revolutionary politics. Zhou yang repudiates that there is a direct correspondence between artworks and ideological convictions. This idea also lay the ground of a socialist ideology within the Chinese political transformations. See Wang, B., 2010. 6. Socialist Realism. In *Words and Their Stories*, pp. 101-118.

the seal of approval for any movies. Yet, in practice, the personal opinions of high-ranking officials in the party hierarchy usually function in trumpeting the decisions made by the Bureau. Xiao (2013) argues that "the crackdown on intellectual and artistic freedom culminated in the Anti-Rightist Campaign of 1957 during which an estimated half a million people were sent to a labor camp for voicing their views of the Party, disapproved by the authorities."

A hierarchical procedure binds the mechanism of such strict film censorship. To illustrate, without giving up the central government's final authority to decide which film can be produced and shown, the Communist regime delegated part of the responsibility for film censorship to the studio level. Party cells at each film studio functioned as the first line of defense. Every film script had to be approved by the studio's party leader before production could begin. After the filming was finished and edited, the film would be sent to the Film Bureau in Beijing for another round of official review before national distribution. "Viewed from the perspective of administrative hierarchy, the Film Bureau falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture, which parallels the Ministry of Propaganda in standing" (Xiao, 2013).

b) Cultural revolution: 1966-1976

The second period covers the turbulent years of the Cultural Revolution until President Mao Zedong died in 1976. Generally speaking, the Cultural Revolution represents the darkness for culture development and freedom of speech in modern China, where heated discussion of the consequences on the cinema of such a catastrophic political event. Maoist radicals seizing power and their ultra-leftist ideology dominating the discourse, the tyranny of official censorship of any domestic cultural products, including films, thoroughly reached an unprecedented level. As Calkins (1998) argues, Chinese filmmakers were stripped of their creation and expression autonomy when Mao carried his ideas to an oppressive extreme during the Cultural Revolution, spanned the time between 1966-76. Individual filmmakers who alike expressed their ideas, even the artistic ones, were condemned as bourgeois and anti-revolutionary. In addition, the Maoist leftists executed their political and ideological control over the film industry by abusing censorship

in various ways, and I will further analyze it through literature review within limited sources when discussing the relationship between ideology and film censorship in the third chapter.

In terms of the film censorship system under this period, it is characterized by the so-called "three-layer" mechanism. Operationally, the formal reviewing process of a given film initially started at the local level, in other words, the provincial level, which has a committee specifically in charge of cultural affairs. To be more precise, as Professor Chaoguang (2004) from the Chinese Academy of Sciences concluded in his paper *Censorship, Control and Guidance* after studying the Shanghai Film Censorship Committee, that the provincial level here refers to the committee in Beijing and Shanghai, municipal. And the final decision power is thus concentrated on a Film censorship committee at the central level. Then, given Local- Central structure, a power hierarchy existed in the film censorship system, the film and the committee's opinions would be forwarded to the next higher level of review by the "cultural group." Furthermore, this CCP's high apparatus is headed by Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, in the central government, who conferred the power to censor a film where it complies with Mao's political thoughts at that time. Finally, the film would be sent to the Political Bureau, which is the highest authority within the party hierarchy, for its ultimate decision to either approve or disapprove the public screening of a film" (Zhai, 2000). Thus, this direct involvement of the party leaders and officials at the highest level in film censorship reflects the emphasis the Cultural Revolution authorities placed on the power of culture in general and films in particular, that precisely the ideological principle is spreading from the political ideology of the totalitarian regime.

However, officially, there is little written information about the content of the film censorship, which means that it is challenging to obtain first-hand resources. Domestic and foreign film industry scholars have apparently studied the film censorship during the Cultural Revolution as the Cultural Revolution itself is a sensitive political topic that has been banned in Mainland China given the fact that it is the historical event where the wrongness of Mao exposed; so much so that later in the 21st century after the Reform and Opening, domestic filmmaking regarding this catastrophic event is still banned.

3.2.3 Reform era: post-1978

The reemergence of Deng as the paramount leader of the Communist party in the post-Mao era and the reorientation of government policy toward economic developments ushered in what historians refer to as "the reform era". This market-oriented economy under Deng's reforming ideology allowing a degree of liberalization in the cultural industry. Nevertheless, Communist ideology continues to influence policymaking. The year 1978 can be considered a significant turning point of film censorship. Given the relatively relaxed political environment, filmmakers began to take this advantage to explore the social and historical issues from a humanistic perspective. It shows some pluralism in this form of media that has been monopolized by a high ideology structure for decades, giving rise to the "new wave" filmmaking. By 1987 the central government decided to merge the Film Bureau into the renamed Ministry of Radio, Film, and Television(MRFT). Following the merge and responding to a relaxed political environment with some pluralism, the MRFT promulgated a series of new regulations to govern the film industry.

3.2.4 Contemporary era: 2001-present

The fact that an authoritarian rule has legitimized since the middle of the 1990s along the way reform and the development of the socialist state. Although existing scholars (Guo,1995) questioned whether China remained a totalitarian regime, it is inclined that the regime of China is between totalitarian and authoritarian after studying Linz's research (1975). Here we assume the current PRC is an authoritarian regime with some totalitarian features.

The political ideology derived from the CCP's political and ruling ideas forms the basis of China's political theory and policy, which abides by the ideology structure of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and extends to the cultural governance domain. Such an apparent ideological interference refers to the "Thought Work." Marxism and Mao's thoughts have developed the ideology structure since the last century. According to the Constitution of the CCP (2017) that partially amended by the 19th National Congress of the CCP, adopted on October 24, 2017, the CCP takes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong's Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Important Thought of the Three Represents, the Scientific Outlook on Development, and Xi Jinping's Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era as its guide to action. In its

constitution, the party officially proclaims the "realization of communism" to be its "highest ideal and ultimate goal." These superstructures constitute the PRC's ideology.

The Constitution of the PRC states that "the political party system China has adopted is multi-party cooperation, and political consultation under the leadership of the Communist Party of China shall continue to exist and develop for a long time to come, which is different from both the two-party or multi-party competition systems of Western countries and the one-party system practiced in some other countries" (Gov. 2019). It is a fundamental political system that suits the conditions of China. It is a socialist political party system with Chinese characteristics and a key component of China's socialist democratic politics. While the CCP is the ruling party that exercised political power and delivered President Xi Jinping's (he is also the chairman of CCP) ideas to develop important national plans and guidelines in all domains, democratic parties can only offer advice for governing the state have no actual political powers. And this is an unwritten rule for Chinese domestic politics and bureaucracy.

Figure. 3 PRC's leading Political institution



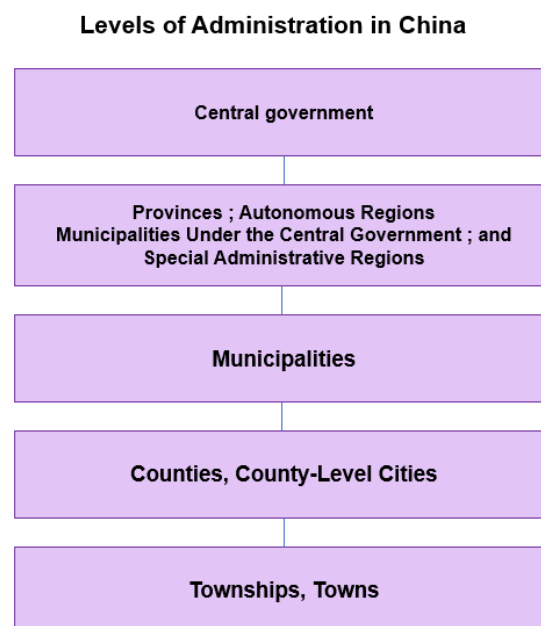
Source: CRS research.

Besides, having an overview of China's political institution reflects on a power structure showed in the Figure. 4, the CCP dominates China's political system in a leading position in practice. To

this extent, PRC has employed a single-party system. Unlike western politics, the feature of Chinese politics is highly related to the CCP that is the party as the government. Thus, under the leadership of the Communist Party, all sections of China follow the ruling idea of the CCP.

Article 3 of the constitution (2019) regulates that all administrative organs of the state shall be created by the People's Congresses and shall be responsible to them and subject to their oversight. The division of functions and powers between the central and local state institutions shall honor the principle of giving full play to the initiative and motivation of local authorities under the unified leadership of the central authorities. To emphasize, as indicated in Figure. 4, the power is concentrated in the central government. This local and central power structure is the same as the ideology structure, where the central government first introduces specific political ideas and policies that guide the CCP. Then the local government will implement the policies. At the same time, a similar logic structure exercises film censorship following the idea of CCP's where a high level of ideology existed.

Figure. 4 Power hierarchy in China's political system



Moving the lens toward the contemporary era, film censorship in mainland China involves the ban of auteurs and films deemed unsuitable for release, the content related to sensitive political events, or violation of cultural code (Calkins 1998, pp. 274-278). Comparing to the totalitarian regime (1949-1976), the nature of film censorship in the present authoritarian regime is rather than a rigid one.

Regarding the current film censorship system, the primary film censorship law in force is the Film Industry Promotion Law of the PRC (referred to as 'the Law') enforced in 2017 issued by the State Council in 2016. It applies to film activities such as film development, production, distribution, and release within the PRC. Films are censored by the SARFT under the CPD in accordance with the provisions of the Law. It is worth stressing that one of the legislative purposes is to promote core socialist values; such values will be embedded in the censor standard (the Law, Arts 1&16). The previous film censorship regulation, the Film Management Regulations issued in December 2001, entails the state applied a film censorship system. There is a whole chapter regulating the mechanism and content of film censorship. Article 24 strictly regulates that, without the State Council's administrative department of radio, film, and television film censorship agencies (hereinafter referred to as film censorship agency), film censorship shall not be distributed, screened, imported, exported.

Article 26 of the Regulations entails SARFT is entitled to censor the completed scripts of all films to be produced, regardless of the topic, where the broadly censor standards listed in article 25 are mostly related to film content, and national ideology, such as a film, cannot harm national unity and interest. For an instant, a film is forbidden as long as it falls in a very general censor standard, a) endangering national unity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity; b) leaking state secrets, endangering national security or damaging national honor and interests; c) inciting ethnic hatred, ethnic discrimination, undermining ethnic unity, or infringing on ethnic customs or habits; d) disturbing social order and undermining social stability. Moreover, there is an additional requirement that the technical quality of the film should comply with national standards. It means the SARFT had the right to ban a film due to its technical quality and later become a frequent censor excuse for the film that violates the ideology.

Further, any film production company/institute in accordance with the provisions of the preceding

paragraph of the film script review of its preparation for shooting shall be reported to the film censorship agencies for the record; film censorship agency can be reported for the record of the film script review, found to have the content of Article 25 of the Regulations prohibit, shall promptly notify the film production units shall not be shoot, specific measures to be formulated by the State Council administrative department of radio, film, and television. Technically, those specific measures imply a political message that a movie, domestically produced or foreign imported, would be banned as long as the State Council once disproved, no matter for what reasons.

As has been written in the previous regulation, the Law (2016) remains the most censor standards and rewrite them more specified. However, the film censoring chapter is replaced by the two following chapters, i) filming and production, ii) film screening and distribution. According to Article 16 of the Law (2016), films must not contain the following content and any content involve is forbidden:

(1) violations of the basic principles of the Constitution, incitement of resistance to or undermining of implementation of the Constitution, laws, or administrative regulations;(2) Content endangering national unity, sovereignty, or territorial integrity; leaking state secrets; endangering national security; harming national dignity, honor, or interests; or advocating terrorism or extremism;(3) Belittling exceptional ethnic cultural traditions, incitement of ethnic hatred or ethnic discrimination, violations of ethnic customs, distortion of ethnic history or ethnic historical figures, injuring ethnic sentiments or undermining national unity;(4) Inciting the undermining of national religious policy, advocating cults or superstitions;(5) endangerment of social morality, disturbing social order, undermining social stability; promoting pornography, gambling, drug use, violence, or terror; instigation of crimes or imparting criminal methods;(6) Violations of the lawful rights and interests of minors or harming the physical and psychological health of minors;(7) insults of defamation of others, or spreading others' private information and infringement of others' lawful rights and interests;(8) other content prohibited by laws or administrative regulations.

Although there are some amendments of film censorship and its standards, film production, distribution and screening, and any film activity are still subject to rigid censorship. The

ideological restriction is imposed on script content and theme, and this rigid film censorship binds the Chinese film industry.

In March 2018, the Program for Deepening the Reform of Party and State Institutions issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China stated, "the CPD unifies the management of film work. To better play the special and essential role of films in propaganda and cultural entertainment, and to develop and prosper the film industry, the film management responsibilities of the former SARFT will be transferred to the CPD externally hangs the China Film Administration(CFA)国家电影局. The first meeting of the 13th National People's Congress adopted the Decision of the First Session of the 13th National People's Congress on the Institutional Reform Program of the State Council, approving the Institutional Reform Program of the State Council. The program provides for the establishment of the State Administration of Radio and Television on the basis of the radio and television management responsibilities of the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, and Television, as an agency directly under the State Council, and no longer retains SARFT. A month later, the CFA was officially launched that to be responsible for managing film administrative affairs, guide and supervise film production, distribution, and projection, organize the censorship of film content; guide, and coordinate major national film activities, undertake international cooperation and exchange of foreign co-productions and imported and exported films, etc.

Besides, according to the Law (2016), the current film censor procedure would be explained as follow: the finished film should be sent to the film department of the State Council, that is, the CFA, or the film authorities of the government of the province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the Central Government for censoring. Moreover, a re-evaluation can be organized with a group of experts if the filmmakers/agencies disagree with the initial censored result. Experts' review opinions should be used as an important basis for making the final censor decision. Still, the method of expert selection and review shall be formulated by the CFA.

3.2.5 Summarizing the development of film censorship and ideology

Table. 5 The development of film censorship along the transformation of regime and

ideology

Table. 6 Features of ideology and film censorship in different period

Film censorship's development

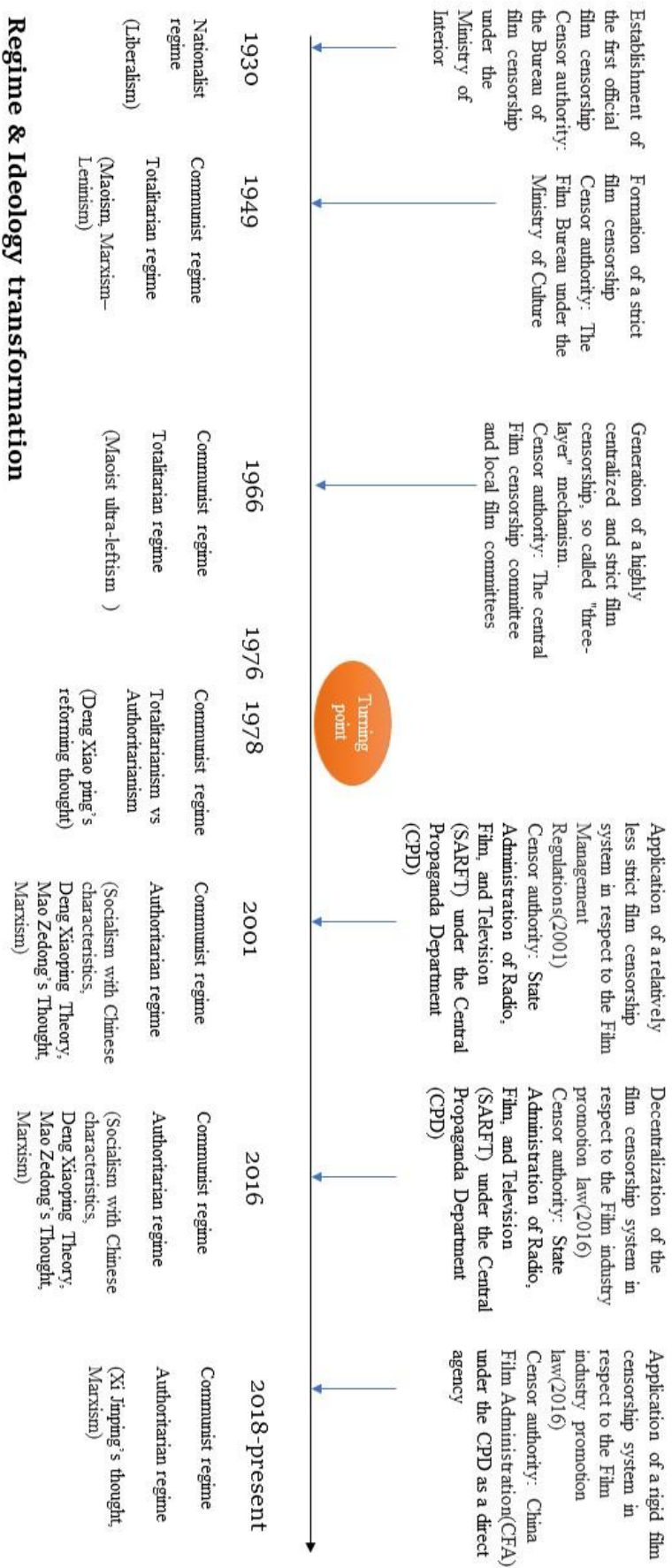


Table. 5

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

	Ideology	Film censorship
<p>New China 1949-1966</p>	<p>Totalizing ideology, high level, Monism Only CCP able to mobilize citizens CCP inspired by Leninist Marxism's political ideology and developed as an exclusive ideology Strong Mass Mobilization for political, social and cultural ends Punishment of heterodoxy (anti-Communist forces)</p>	<p>Strict; Centralizing The Film Bureau had ultimate authority. Censorship was implemented in an administrative hierarchical procedure following Leninist Marxism's ideology and Maoist Thought. Delegated part of the responsible of exercising censor power to film studios. Practically, CCP's high-ranking officials' can interfere the censor decision</p>
<p>Culture revolution 1966-1976</p>	<p>Totalizing ideology, high level, Monism Only CCP able to mobilize citizens Maoist ultra-leftists' political ideology provides the legitimacy to the cultural revolution mission on its leadership Control of collateral institutions Strong Mass Mobilization for political, social and cultural ends Punishment of heterodoxy (anti-Maoist ultra-leftists)</p>	<p>Extremely strict; Highly centralized Formally the Central Film Committee is fully responsible for censoring. Practically, a power hierarchy existed: The Film Committee, the Cultural Group, the Political Bureau. Following a Maoist ultra-leftists' ideology. The ultimate authority was concentrated in the hand of Political Bureau.</p>
<p>Reform and Opening (1978)</p>		
<p>Contemporary era 2001- present</p>	<p>Less totalizing ideology, level declined, with more integration and pluralism Integrates the socialist core values Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era as state ideology “Thought Working” as the means to realize ideology Limited pluralism in politics, cultural and society Mass mobilization for political, social and cultural ends</p>	<p>Relaxed the strictness, but rigid; Decentralized Film censorship has reformed where supporting legal regulations developed SARFT/CFA (2018) is authorized to conduct the film censorship Censorship was implemented direct by the film censor authority following state's ideology, Xi Jinping Thought. State's council can interfere the censor procedure and the final decision stage. Adopted a prior reviewing system, film script has to sent to the censor authority for reviewing</p>

Table. 6

As presented in the above two tables, i) The development of film censorship along with the transformation of regime and ideology, and ii) Feature of ideology and film censorship in different periods. China's political transformation in the last three decades has led to relatively relaxed film censorship that respects the rule of law. In this sense, film censorship has reformed where supporting legal regulations developed. Yet, a communist ideology orientated policy-making feature never changed as ideology matters more in China than many other political systems, which is a distinct feature rooted in its political culture since the establishment of a New China. Another feature has to mention is a constant communism's ideology integration. As studied the China's political system, Lawrence (2013) believes that the CCP has sought to allow the change to meet the necessity for its survival without changing its ideology so much as to undermine further its already tenuous justifications for maintaining a permanent monopoly on power.

The period of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) had a higher ideology level compared to the New China period (1949-1966) under the totalitarian regime, though both periods enjoyed a totaling ideology where CCP is the only party that can mobilize citizens through media monopoly. Given the former features with a stringent and highly centralized film censorship following the Maoist ultra-leftists' political ideology that provides the legitimacy to the cultural revolution mission on its leadership.

After Deng's economic reform of 1978, the transformation from totalitarian to a likely authoritarian regime, for which the economic part of Mao Zedong's thought is currently not in use since the reform and opening up, while its political, cultural, and ideological aspects still exist in mainland Chinese society. The film censorship alongside such political changes has gradually decentralized. Given that China's overall national agenda of the last three decades has been the reform, it is not surprising that film censorship has relaxed its strictness in the contemporary era. In contrast, the current film censorship features a rigid one because of its numerous restrictive censor standards.

The development of a multi-party cooperation and political consultation political system of PRC indeed give some tolerance when censoring a film; films are not bound by a solid mass mobilization tool, which loosens a degree of ideological restraint. Adopted a prior-reviewing system, film script has to send to the censoring authority for reviewing where a re-evaluation of unsatisfied censor results can be organized with film experts' team. As a result, ideology is less

totalizing with more integration and pluralism.

The ultimate authority is not concentrated to the central film censoring agency; instead, it can be delivered in the hand of either the CFA direct under the State's Council or the film authorities of the local government. Nevertheless, the State's council can cause interference with the censoring procedure, and the final decision stage consist of the state ideology,

In summary, throughout the political transformation, the Communist ideology has lasting its influence on the Chinese film industry, and ideological control continues to be the main theme of film censorship; it remained constant.

3.3 The politics of Chinese film censorship

3.3.1 The functions of ideology through film censorship

After evaluating the development of film censorship and the regime's transformation and summarizing the features of the film censorship ideology in different periods, we can find that the functions of ideology are various, mainly to fulfill the political ends of the ruling party and leadership. In terms of political domain, ideology functions as a political tool to control its citizens, maintain political stability, mobilization, and propaganda, particularly in a totalitarian regime. Even can contribute to guarantee the national interest in the contemporary era. In the cultural domain, the functions ideology is achieved by implementing particular policy through formulating ideological orientated policy that controls the mass media and the media industry. In addition, ideology can even deliver political manipulations through cultural products, movies, and any form of art, thus mobilizing and controlling the citizens. Film censorship here is performance as the critical vehicle and a controlling method to realize these political needs. Nevertheless, mistaken ideology can harm political stability and the progress of the film industry as a whole.

3.3.2 How film censorship complies with the ideology, an existence of ideological control?

Having analyzed the history of film censorship in China, Xiao (2013) concludes that the key

feature of Chinese film censorship is that the strong state involvement in shaping film censorship and relevant institutions. The film screening, creation, and exhibition were regulated in this way. The communist ideology has dramatically influenced the policy-makings of film.

As mentioned above, film censorship complies with both communist ideology and national development plans. To this extent, the importance of ideology under the Chinese political system has extended the scope of applying communist ideology from the political sector in the cultural sector. Considering film censorship as a policy is formulated, implemented, and examined under the communist ideology that literally dominates every aspect of Chinese society, especially in the cultural industry.

On the one hand, the compliance is conducted through the state involvement, or says, the party's involvement in the film censor procedure, implying an ideological control from the CCP/communist government with a local-central administrative hierarchy. In this case, a film would be censored inconsistently with the ideology to ensure the script and content is related to the party's doctrines, even the thought of top leadership (Chinese president). By following their political ideology throughout the decades, China has followed the Marxism ideology that society has both an economic basis and a "superstructure." The superstructure includes entertainment, education, the mass media, and anything directly related to "thought." The CPD, together with all lower levels of film authorities, is responsible for developing and maintaining the "superstructure" of society.

On the other hand, film censorship complied with the ideology as responding to meet the political needs in respecting the legal regulation drafted by the SARFT voted by the National People's Congress and eventually launched by State. The political needs of CCP would probably be identified as maintaining political stability and its authority, mobilizing and educating its citizens, party's propaganda. The censor criteria and standards were made to comply with the state ideology and a communist ideology. As any film content that violates censor criteria and standards written in the Law would be banned, including the filmmaker produce the forbidden content in this case. The violation of film censorship is the violation of ideology. Moreover, the censoring authority, no matter which level, is bound to be responsible for preventing any films, including filmmakers, festivals, and film activity, that opposed to or do not conform to the ideology rising up in the public

sphere. As thus, anti-ideological films had been forbidden to be released in public.

In consequence, the censoring authority under the State Council has to respect the censor standers related to maintain the communist ideology written in the Law and comply with the state ideology and CCP's idea when censoring a film. Film censorship is shadowed by the high ideological control where the CCP plays a vital role in dominant supervision. And, combing our analysis toward the development of film censorship, it is not surprising that ideological control still existed in the current film industry.

3.3.3 Controversies on this political film censorship

The decentralization of Chinese film censorship in a recent development has eased film censorship requirements regarding script content that only for films involving sensitive topics would be filed to be censored (Zhang, 2017). Though some amendments on film censorship promote the film industry, the new Law keeps the rigid censorship and remains censor standards where ideologically oriented censor focus remains. It would affect creators freely expressing themselves concerning political and historical events or public sensitivities, and to what extend a film can be allowed remains ambiguous. Therefore, the controversy regarding the ideology control on the political film censorship does not unleash creativity at all, and the system allows limited free expression.

Other controversies of the current rigid film censorship are as follows. The restrictive censor criteria would raise fears; the opaque censored information can bring vicious variables to filmmaking. Initially, the ideological control is likely to cause fear to both the production and distribution sides. The violating of censor standards that comply with ideology may not be in purpose as the censor criteria are restrictive. However, this unintentional act will trigger severe sanctions that would damage an individual's career, such as the ban of a film from public screening and the ban of the filmmaker. The Law (2016) regulates homosexuality, sexual liberation, cultural revolution, sensitive socio-political events, social movements that violate the national ideology are prohibited in film. It imposes objection to pluralism in film content. For instance, Lou Ye's film *Summer Palace* was banned because it involves sexual liberation and Tian' an men movement. Both Lou and his producer were banned from making films for five years. Severe sanctions upon

famous filmmakers may increase young creators' fear of integrating avant-garde ideas within narratives. Restrictive censor criteria would even cause unreasonable self-censor in film creation, hindering creativity and criticality.

Subsequently, due to ideological control, censored information involving the above sensitive contents, particularly the cultural revolution, is usually opaque as the censoring authority actually will not clarify the ban's reason to avoid approving the precedent for producing an anti-ideology film. Sometimes, they use the "technically reason" as an excuse instead of telling the truth to filmmakers and the audience so as to maintain its authority in ideology purpose. This matter will influence creator's judgment to censorship and may discourage creative passion. Article 20 of the Law entails that films that have not obtained a release permit must not be distributed or screened, except where the state has other provisions, those provisions control. The clause does not interpret "other provisions," nor does it clarify the trigger conditions. Therefore, only at the last moment before the screening, producers know whether their movie is allowed. Most of them are to be subject to cut, withdrawal, or probably banned. Opaque censor provision thus brings vicious variables to film creation.

Admittedly, rigid censorship complies with both communist ideology and national development plans. Nevertheless, it imposes negative influences on film creation. The adoption of a prior review by the system may negatively influence film narratives. The Law (2016) regulates that entities that plan to produce films should file the script outlines with the SARFT for the record before shooting. As noted, censorship embarks upon without the inherent purpose of suppressing or deleting. However, political pressure under ideological control remains variable for filmmakers, even resulting in the castration of their work. Toynbee emphasizes (2006, p.83-85) narrative is the key source of pleasure and satisfaction, engaging the audience in emotional, visceral, and spiritual ways. To aesthetics of film narratives, removing a sequence or plot heavily affects the narrative integrity and the precision of the *mise-en-scène*; disrupts the coherence of emotional expression and causality. In turn, it influences the audience's experience.

Therefore, film censorship is essential to political considerations and maintain the ideology. However, art can incense us, make us think, open perspective (Scherzinger 2015, pp.106). Films themselves are dynamic-more an arena of the ideological mixture than a mere conduit of agreed-

upon values (Combs, 1993, p.11). The huge inclusivity embedded in films provides us a broad context to explore the world's diversity. Relax the film censorship would boom the film industry within more freedom and autonomy for creating. As far as creativity is concerned, the effects of film censorship are open to question. Avant-grade and critical films would help to nourish one's perspective and ideas. Collecting and developing our ideas upon specific social and political issues may constitute a comprehensive ideology.

3.4 Examine the dynamics relationship between ideology and film censorship

With the help of a comprehensive analysis of ideology and the development of film censorship in China and the summary completed in the above sections, as well as to combine the literature review and some empirical evidence, we can finally come to identify the relationship between ideology and film censorship in each period in this section.

3.4.1 Communist era under the totalitarian regime

a) A New China

During 1949-1966, as noted in the first chapter, the Communist ideology contains Mao's Thought, the basic are proletariat revolutionism, anti-capitalism, and anti-imperialism. Zhang (2004) argues that in this communist totalitarian era, "cinema is a sprawling bureaucracy" and that cinema was no longer a matter of art but rather a severe political operation subject to strict censorship.

On the one hand, the CCP controls Chinese cinema by centralizing and implementing strict film censorship. An important strategy employed by the Communist censors was to concentrate the power of censoring films in one authority, rather than having several government organs sharing the responsibilities. Because the Communist government was a totalitarian regime with monopoly control over the society and media with totalizing ideology, including all the film studios (Xiao, 2013), there was no incentive and dare to challenge the authority or attempt to allow the filmmakers to produce films with Avant-grade ideas and critical thought. Given that this kind of

film would be assessed as anti-ideological, so-called politically incorrect in China.

On the other hand, as reviewed in the first part, the "Film Bureau falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture, which parallels the Ministry of Propaganda in standing". However, since CCP'S top officials in charge of the Ministry of Propaganda usually held critical positions in the Political Bureau, the highest authority within the party apparatus, the Ministry of Propaganda, had more power and influence than the Ministry of Culture in deciding the fate of individual films. This is to say, the ultimate authority to permit or reject a film for public release was often in the hands of the party ideologues (Xiao, 2013).

The ideologically censored reason can illustrate how censor criteria related to ideology. A famous case, the Chinese film *The Unfinished Comedy* (1957), had been banned due to undermine the socialist morality and use satire to attack the Party (Clark, 1987). This film is about two nationally renowned comedians who visited Changchun Film Studio to study and watch three satirical comedies. The first vignette satirizes a good-for-nothing extravagance and wastes CCP's official, Manager Zhu, and a slithering, flattering Secretary Yang (Douban, 2021). It was its controversial subject matter and satire sensed by the censors, as the negative portrayal of party's officials, leading to the movie not been permitted to screen to the public. Even worse, it caused Lü Ba, the director of this comedy, banned from future filmmaking until his death two decades later (Bao, 2008). Clark (1987) also mentioned that CCP's bourgeois sentimentalism and the absence of a portal of the party leadership role in scientific endeavors provided the reason for a film to be banned. As thus, the party leadership was sensitive to the artistic and director for criticism. More, the American film *Ben-Hur* was banned in 1959 to contain the propaganda of superstitious beliefs, namely Christianity, which Mao Zedong considered as the western feudal order (Parker, 2015). Consequently, these censored films and ideologically censored reasons reflect that the strict film censorship is highly related to the communist ideology in New China; ideological control largely influences the construction, formulation, and implementation of film censorship. In most cases, CCP and its top leader have the right to explain the censoring criteria in compliance with a communist ideology.

However, the internal conflicts of assessment within the Communist Party also led to complexities

and ambiguities in film censorship when censoring a film, whether it contains anti-ideological content. Nevertheless, as the top leader, Mao has the ultimate authority to censor a film, including the right to explain the censoring criteria in his mind that made such an ideologically censor criteria ambiguous. Mao Zedong's thought ranked higher than communist ideology. Only to comply with Mao's ideas would be considered political correctness only if the politically correct films were spared the ban's encounter, also recognized as political correctness. An important case related to this ideological issue is *The Life of Wu Xun* (1951), produced by Sun Yu, initially released in Shanghai in 1951 and brought to print in Beijing one month later. He self-censored his film before sending the print, that he cut a one-part version of lesser than 3 hours and screened it to a group of special audiences, including Premier Zhou Enlai and about a hundred CCP leaders. This film is about the life story of Wu Xun, a poverty-stricken villager in the Qing dynasty who raise money offering schools for poor children (IMDb, 2021)

Image. 1 The poster of The life of Wu Xun



Life of Wun Xun (1951)

Given that 1950 was just one year after establishing a New China, political correctness became director Sun's primary concern, even more about his film than his director status. In terms of the synopsis, the storyline came across the feudal Qing dynasty to the liberation, there could be a danger of being censored. As any slightest deviation from the communist ideology would arouse the censor's suspicion of his political correctness. Being both the scriptwriter and director, Sun, so

that decided to accommodate a critical from a post-liberation perspective, and we can find that the film ends with a female teacher lecturing to a child in front of Xun's tomb in December 1949 (see image. 2). As far as the narrative style is concerned, the film actually complies with Mao's thought of promoting the idea of representing social realism. In terms of role-setting, the female role had been set as an educated teacher, which indeed affirmed the role of women in labor.

Image.2 The ending scene of The Life of Wu Xun



However, Chairman Mao Zedong, according to Zhang's (2004) narration, Mao was not present at the screening. However, he watched the film soon after and detected a serious problem with the film content. Despite the fact that the Beijing releasing won the praised positive review from other Communist Party high officials, Mao was angered about these praises and wrote an editorial and let the "People's Daily"(人民日报) publish it on May.20th, 1951. His editorial criticized the film for "insanely promoting a feudal culture," "distorting peasants" revolutionary struggles and misrepresenting Chinese history" (Sun, 1990). To argue that, among these issues, it is the Party⁷, not the filmmakers, had the right to justify what is a correct historical representation and what form of images of peasants could take on-screen. As a result, this film becomes the first banned

⁷ In this case, it could be the top leader of a state as Mao is both the Chairman and the President.

film in New China, which lay the ideological censor criteria, apart from the forbidden of anti-communist content, also in relation to many other aspects, the majors could the forbidden of promoting feudalism, the distorting peasants' revolutionary struggles, capitalism, negative portrayal of proletariat revolution and the liberation.

It is worth stating that although Sun Yu and Zhao Dan were subjected to tremendous political pressure during the movement, no political conclusions or organizational treatments were made for them, nor were they stopped for working on other films afterward. This result is quite different from what was done in the later literary criticism movement, especially during the Cultural Revolution (Lin, 2009).

In short, we can identify a relationship between the high ideology and strict film censorship in New China (1949-1966) under Mao's leadership because of ideologically censored criteria reasons. The ideological control can largely influence the stages of film censorship. Such strict film censorship is due to the communist totalitarian regime for its power centralizing. Being politically correct would be the only outlet for making the talented filmmakers who were constantly working to bring the films to screen in public.

b) Cultural Revolution

Moving the lens to cultural revolution (1966-1976), as mentioned above that, the Maoist leftists processed their ideological control over the film industry in several ways. In the primary, they banned all films produced in the pre-1949 period as these films involved erroneous ideological orientations, namely opposed to Maoist leftist ideology and the majority of the films produced after 1949 due to being insufficiently revolutionary, undermining class struggle, glorifying bourgeoisie individualism, and opposing Mao's thought. Secondly, unlike the censors in the past communist era (1949-1966) who focused on problematic films, the Cultural Revolution authorities actively pursued and persecuted filmmakers of allegedly politically incorrect films. Sometimes, the authorities would subject the film once deemed politically incorrect to vicious attacks in the news and media with negative reviews and criticism to manufacture a highly hostile environment

of opinion against the film in question. For instance, the Italian film director, Michelangelo Antonioni, invited by the Chinese government's invitation to film a documentary *Chung Kuo, Cina* (1972) about life in New China. However, the Chinese officials considered Antonioni's portrayal of China less than flattering and were disappointed. Then, China's official news media all-out attack on this film and denunciations of Antonioni and shortly banned this documentary due to "anti-Chinese". As thus, many scriptwriters, directors, actors, and technicians were subjected to detention and persecution in their profession during this decade. This is to say, all of them are subject to this stringent censorship. Thirdly, in the late Cultural Revolution, the authorities start to directly engage in producing movies that had produced a number of feature films by 1973(Li, 2006).

Therefore, we can directly identify that the stringent censorship is highly related to such a radical Maoist leftists' ideology in the Cultural revolution (1966-1976). This high level of ideology caused extreme strict film censorship in China in this period.

3.4.2 Contemporary era under the authoritarian regime

As analyzed in the contemporary era, the censor criteria that written by the Law (2016) reflect that current film censorship is still related to ideological control, but there is a lower degree of ideology and relaxed film censorship. Under the authoritarian regime, Chinese film censorship has relaxed and decentralized. Under an authoritarian regime, the condition of ideology is less totalizing in Chinese society than in the totalitarian period. There is an integration of ideas with limited political pluralism. Nevertheless, the major function is ideology to fulfill the political ends of the CPP and its leadership through mobilizing the citizen. Given the state's involvement in the cultural industry, film censorship is still the subject of communist ideology, which recently developed into the Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era as state ideology (Gov.cn. 2019).

Apart from the dominant communist ideology, film censorship also relates to social and moral principles. A mixture of values existed in contemporary Chinese society, where the totalizing of political ideology is lesser than in the post-communist era.

Besides, rather than high ideology and film censorship, there is a robust ideological control of this rigid film censorship system⁸, given the complexity of a mixture of political and moral reasons. The censor standard also relates to moral reasons, such as forbidden sexual and violent content to protect children.

However, after investigating the censored films in China from the 1990s to the present (see appendix, table. 3), there are a large number of banned, withdraw(removed) and cut films due to film censorship. The majority of them are censored because of politically sensitive reasons, including i) touches Tiananmen movement⁹, ii) cultural revolution, iii) and the publicizing of separatism ideas, e.g., the Tibet issue and Hong Kong issue. Most banned or removed foreign-produced films (and filmmakers) are mainly due to anti-Chinese government and insulting Chinese content. Having identified these implicit ideologically censor standards rooted in political correctness, we can confirm that the current film censorship complies with the ideology tightly. Admittedly, less serious cases (when a film script does not deal too much with sensitive historical and political events) will generally be returned for modification or content cut. If approved by CFA, then it would be permitted to screen while its fortune is pessimistic. For example, the film *When We Were Young* (2016), a story set in the autumn of 1982, a small town in the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau. Teenagers are close friends who went through the turbid Cultural Revolution era and grew up together (IMDb, 2006). It took the state censor authority two years before they approve this film because it touches on the Cultural Revolution, the major event that the state censor considered as politically sensitive content. Yet, merely two weeks after the premiere on the 15th of April 2016, it was withdrawn from most of Chinese cinemas for lack of support from their operators (OU, 2016).

Furthermore, most filmmakers are still facing a dilemma of being banned due to Chinese film censorship. Such as Director Lou ye that noted, his film *Summer Palace* has still been banned in Mainland China. *Summer Palace*. Another censored case toward famous Chinese director, Zhang

⁸ Rigid film censorship refers to official film censorship with lengthy codified regulations that are highly restrictive, may be attributed to adherence to a particular ideology or controlled by a long-lasting ideology; with limited pluralism and free expression, lower flexibility, but the actual censoring reason are often vague.

⁹ See Zhao, D. (2001). *The power of Tiananmen: State-society relations and the 1989 Beijing student movement*. University of Chicago Press, p XI. So called Tiananmen Square protests, and student lead prodemocracy movement happened in 1989, Beijing.

Yimou's *One second* is withdrawn from the Berlin Film Festival's main competition just days before its premiere due to "technical reasons" because it has involved the cultural revolution, which remains a highly sensitive subject. The official explanation is that "technical difficulties encountered during post-production", critics questioned its politically motivated censorship implies a tightened ideological oversight (Frater, 2019). Although it was finally released in China in November 2020, the direct and sharp reflection of the Cultural Revolution was cut. Without narrative pleasure, unsatisfied audiences criticized its effect on the whole storyline (MUBI, 2020). Therefore, the dilemma faced by Chinese filmmakers are ideologically and variable since the final say rests with the government (Frater 2019). Because China has kept a tight grip on films involves the Cultural Revolution, fearing that a further discussion of the political upheaval with noticing the previous party's mistaken leading would erode the legitimacy of the CCP. However, the content cut would seriously hinder the creator's self-expression, unable audiences to appreciate the unabridged film narrative triggering criticism of their artistic attainments.

Moreover, independent filmmakers' survival becomes tougher because their films are treated by an increased tensioned censor regulation (Leung and lee, 2019). To illustrate, Hu bo, auteur of *An Elephant Sitting Still*, committed suicide due to conflict with his producer on trimming two hours of content (Mike, 2019). Censorship causes an unreasonable cut, which completely deviates from auteur's original narrative and philosophical ideas. Despite such a tragic experience, Hu's film is banned due to the insightful reflection of social reality, even though this the film theme once had been promoted by the communist party.

In short, given the great deal of politically censored films case, it is hard to define the current film censorship whether strict or not. But we can confirm that this restrictive film censorship tightly relates to the ideology in contemporary era. Having featured as a rigid system, there are many restrictive censor standards¹⁰ and its main censor criteria could be summarized as forbidden the cultural revolution, Tiananmen movement and any other political sensitive events. While the censored information involving the sensitive content is sometimes opaque. Further, to criticize, the negative impacts of current system on the auteur's self-expression and narrative are percussive,

¹⁰ see the article 26 of the Law (2016), all censor standard has been listed in the corresponding contemporary era. There are eight sections, each sections contains specific forbidden contents.

hindering the critically and communication of Chinese cinema.

3.4.3 Summary of the relations across time

To sum up, in a totalitarian regime, a) during New China (1949-1966) under Mao's leadership, there is a relationship between the high ideology and strict film censorship; b) during the Cultural revolution (1966-1976) under Maoist leftists' leadership, stringent censorship largely relates to high ideology, which is the time that ideology level and film censorship' strictness is the highest among these periods. Hence, the film censorship's strictness is related to the high ideology during the totalitarian period. By contrast, in an authoritarian regime, the restrictive film censorship tightly relates to the ideology. Obviously, a higher level of ideology existed in totalitarian regimes, compared to the authoritarian regime for its totalizing ideology, strong mass mobilization, little tolerance to pluralism (basically, any anti-ideological or opposite voice were forbidden by the Maoist leftists' leadership), and no room for the free speech.

As a result, the relationship between the above two variables can be tested as the higher the ideology, the stricter the film censorship. The validity of our hypothesis is further be confirmed in the case of China. Besides, we can find that, although film censorship has been relaxed over time, there is always a tight relationship between ideology and film censorship. Namely, ideology can influence the construction of Chinese film censorship. In turn, this censorship system complies with ideological control to a large extent. Further, given the time changes as an external factor, the relationship between ideology and film censorship characteristic in dynamic development.

Though there might be a lack of scientific as the general model developed is based on a small sample size, our finding is convincing.

3.5 Predicting the future of Chinese film censorship: a choice between repression and freedom.

The prediction of the future of Chinese film censorship is based on the following two folds.

First, predicting the dynamics of the Chinese film censorship may relay to our analysis of a general

relationship between ideology and film censorship, which is an approximate correlation relationship indicating the strictness of film censorship is related to the level of ideology, and ideology can influence the censorship. In this term, if the degree of communist ideology continues to increase, more strict censorship can be.

Besides, given the fact that the trending film censorship is likely to be more concentrated than before, as the establishment of CFA that direct under State Council demonstrating that CCP may strengthen the control over the film industry through film censorship, including the production, distribution, and exhibition. They aim to prevent anti-ideological films from being released to the public to maintain their ideology. In turn, we may infer that the ideology would be higher than the past decade or so. Assuming future China could still lead by an authoritarian government (Xi Jinping is likely to stay on for a second term as President), CCP's leadership hardly can be overturned; then the film censorship might remain strict.

Secondly, upon rethinking the dynamics of film censorship, it is, in fact, a matter of choice between control and freedom. To what extent the film censorship would relax its strictness would be regarded to its long-term strategy. In a research paper titled China's Strategic Censorship, Lorentzen (2013) proposes a more complex mathematic model to determine optimal censorship for authoritarian regimes, stating that the optimal media policy is not a constant policy for this typical regime permitting some contents while forbidding others. "Rather, it must adjust how much news it permits to be reported depending on the underlying level of discontent." The practical implication of his model is that when discontent is relatively low, it can allow more free speech and tolerance. However, when discontent increased, it must rein in the media. Referencing this optimal censorship model, in terms of the CCP's political needs, we can propose that future China better not choose freedom, instead, to remain the controlled film policy despite coming at the cost of limiting free expression and cinematic development. Despite the persistent domestic discontent with the Chinese film censorship, authoritarian China under CCP's leadership constantly benefit from such a control strategy to maintain its authority. In this sense that CCP is unlikely to delegate neither autonomy nor complete freedom in cinema in the future. In considering another vital external factor, the internet. In the post-epidemic era of online streaming, films are not confined

to physical limitations; the mushrooming of online film festivals has forced the Chinese government to make a more cautious choice.

Consequently, it is reasonable to believe that the choice that a Communist China will make is definitely not "freedom." Having been pessimistic, film censorship in China is likely to maintain its restrictive nature in the future.

Conclusion:

Overall, although the ideology structure and film censorship are various in the Soviet Union, Fascist Italy, and Authoritarian South Korea, the common is that there is a strict film censorship compliance with a high ideology, which regulates the film production and distribution to a large extent. This comparative analysis examines that the higher the ideology structured, the stricter the film censorship exercised. Meanwhile, we find that in totalitarian/authoritarian regimes, the general relation between ideology and film censorship is an approximately linear correlation, which implies that the stringency of film censorship varies with the level of ideology. It may be inferred that in non-democratic regimes, particularly the totalitarian regime, if there is the presence of ideology in power and film censorship system so that, strict film censorship would relate to high ideology. Besides, considering the political transformation as an external factor that changes over time, the relationship between ideology and film censorship's strictness is likely to be dynamic. In the case of China, along with the political transformation from the establishment of the New China, cultural revolution, reform era, until nowadays socialist era, the strictness of the Chinese film censorship has been relaxed and the administration decentralized. However, ideology control as the driving force permanently embeds in the Chinese film censorship system, which tightly complies with the Communist ideology (party's doctrines and top leader's thoughts) developed by Marxism-Leninism. However, there are two opposing voices to such a restrictive system: discontents criticize that film censorship obstacle the Chinese film industry in terms of the restriction to free expression, which hinders creativity, as censor criteria negatively affect the narrative as well as the integration of Avant-grade ideas. Contrary to this, those who supported it

emphasize that film censorships as a political tool contributes to maintaining political stability for authoritarian regimes and guarantee national interest. As examined, there is indeed a tight relationship between ideology and film censorship, and the higher the level of ideology structured, the stricter the film censorship exercised. While this relation is developed dynamically, compared to the present authoritarian regime, a higher level of ideology and stricter film censorship existed in a previous totalitarian regime (1949-1966). Furthermore, the implications of the general relation between two variables provide food of thought to predict the future picture of Chinese film censorship that Communist China will remain its restrictiveness as to the CCP unlikely to delegate the freedom in the mass media.

In summary, the answer to the initial question, there is a tight relationship between ideology and film censorship. The latter is highly related to the political ideology in a non-democratic regime (the authoritarian and totalitarian regimes); its strictness relates to the ideology level. As a result, the higher the level of ideology, the stricter the film censorship. Meanwhile, ideology could influence the construction, formulation, and implementation of film censorship that ideologically control is imposed.

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APPENDIX:

Table.1 Censored films since the 1970s in South Korea

(An incomplete investigation, non-official)

CENSORED FILMS				
Year	Name	Censored outcome	Censored reason	Type of censorship
1971	A Clockwork Orange	Banned	Banned due to depictions of violence and gang rape.	Moral censorship
1972	Ultimo tango a Parigi	Banned	Banned for lots of erotic scenes.	Moral censorship
1973	Last Tango in Paris	Banned	Banned for its strong sexual content.	Moral censorship
1976	I-eoh Island	Cut	Cut for sex scenes.	Moral censorship
1979	Apocalypse Now	Banned	Banned under South Korean President Park Chung-hee's regime, the importation of the film was on hold because of its anti-war	Political censorship

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

			theme.	
1982	Pink Floyd: The Wall	Banned	Banned for imagery of mental isolation, drug use, war, fascism, dark or disturbing animated sequences, sexual situations, violence and gore.	Political and moral censorship
1989	Guro Aryrang	Cut	Cut for showing the contradiction between labor and management and the strike of workers.	Political censorship
1991	The Doors	Banned	Banned for violence scenes.	Moral censorship
1992	Braindead	Banned	Banned for gory violence.	Moral censorship
1992	Twin Peaks: Fire Walk with Me	Banned	Banned for nudity, language and violence.	Moral censorship
1992	Romper Stomper	Banned	Banned for violence scenes.	Moral censorship
1992	Reservoir Dogs	Banned	Banned for violence scenes including slicing off his (a policeman) ear.	Moral censorship

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

1993	Falling Down	Banned	Banned due to its negative portrayal of Koreans.	Political censorship
1995	The Basketball Diaries	Banned	Banned for violence scenes.	Moral censorship
1995	The Doom Generation	Banned	Banned for sex and violence scenes.	Moral censorship
1996	Scream	Banned	Banned for violence scenes including the gutting death of Steve Orth.	Moral censorship
1996	Crash	Banned	Banned for sex and violence scenes.	Moral censorship
1997	Boogie Nights - L'altra Hollywood	Banned	Banned for sex scenes.	Moral censorship
1997	Perdita Durango	Banned	Banned for sex and violence scenes.	Moral censorship
1997	Happy Together	Banned	Banned for sex scenes.	Moral censorship

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

1998	L'ennui	Banned	Banned for numerous sex scenes with full nudity.	Moral censorship
1998	Idioti	Banned	Banned for sex scenes including all shots of male genitals and penetration.	Moral censorship
1999	Eyes Wide Shut	Banned	Banned for several sexually explicit scenes.	Moral censorship
1999	Lies	Cut	Cut for some lewd language between two high school girls.	Moral censorship
1999	Yellow Hair	Cut	Cut for a sex scene between two women and one man.	Moral censorship
2001	Hannibal	Banned	Banned for violence scenes.	Moral censorship
2002	Too Young To Die	Banned	Banned for some problematic sex scenes.	Moral censorship
2010	A Serbian Film	Banned	Banned for having extreme violence.	Moral censorship
2014	The Interview	Banned	Banned for describing the attempt to criticize and assassinate North Korea's	Political censorship

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

			leader, Kim Jong-un.	
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Source: IMDb, WIKI, sfpl.bibliocommons.com, Academic papers

Table. 2 Censored films in Italy since 1930s

(An incomplete investigation, non-official)

CENSORED FILMS				
Year	Name	Censored outcome	Censored reason	Type of censorship
1933– 1945	Duck Soup	Banned	Banned under the regime of Benito Mussolini for poking fun at dictators and war	Political censorship
1937– 1945	La Grande Illusion	Banned	Banned under the regime of Benito Mussolini for its anti-war message	Political censorship
1955	Totò and Carolina	Banned	Banned on its initial release for poking fun at the police.	Political censorship
1962	Jules and Jim	Banned	Banned initially for its sexual attitudes, but after protest this ban was quickly lifted.	Moral censorship

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

1972– 1986	Last Tango in Paris	Banned	Banned for being "obscene"	Political censorship
1982– 2009	Lion of the Desert	Banned	Banned as it was considered damaging to the honor of the Italian Army	Political censorship
1999	Li chiamaron o... briganti!	Banned	Banned from theatrical release and still not available on VHS and DVD, because of its critical viewpoint about the Italian unification	Political censorship

Source: IMDb, WIKI

Table.3 Censored films since the 1949 in China

(An incomplete investigation, non-official)

CENSORED FILMS				
Year	Name	Censored outcome	Censored reason	Type of censorship
1959	The Life of Wu Xun	Banned	Banned due to editorial that criticized the film as "fanatically promoting feudal culture" and for its "tolerance for slandering the peasant revolutionary" and described the	Political

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

			lead character as "reactionary feudalist ruler". The filmmaker isn't the subject of censorship	
1957	The Unfinished Comedy	Banned	Banned for undermining socialist morality and attacking the Party	Political
1959	Ben-Hur	Banned	Banned under the regime of Mao Zedong for containing "propaganda of superstitious beliefs, namely Christianity."	Political
1972	Chung Kuo(Cina)	Banned	Banned for 32 years because the CCP leader dislike the portrayal of New China	Political
1986	The Horse Thief	Withdrawn	The film waited eight months for approval for public release. Ultimately, director Tian Zhuangzhuang told officials that he would re-edit the film to their specifications, and he worked under the close supervision of two censors to cut footage, including portions of a sky burial. Tian felt the process was an "insult" and turned temporarily to commercial filmmaking out of frustration with the censors. The released film was later withdrawn.	Political censorship

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

1993	Beijing Bastards	Banned	Banned due to subjects involving homosexuality and alienated young people	Political
1993	Farewell My Concubine	Removed, cut	The film was objected to for its portrayal of homosexuality, suicide, and violence perpetrated under Mao Zedong's Communist government during the Cultural Revolution. It premiered in Shanghai in July 1993 but was removed from theatres after two weeks for further censorial review and subsequently banned in August. Because the film won the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival, the ban was met with international outcry. Feeling there was "no choice" and fearing it hurt China's bid for the 2000 Summer Olympics, officials allowed the film to resume public showings in September. This release featured a censored version; scenes dealing with the Cultural Revolution and homosexuality were cut, and the final scene was revised to "soften the blow of the suicide".	Political censorship and moral
1993	To live	Banned	Banned due to its critical portrayal of various policies and campaigns of the Communist government. In addition, its director Zhang Yimou was banned from filmmaking for two years. Ban was removed	Political

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

			after Zhang directed the 2008 Olympics opening ceremony.	
1994	The Square	Banned	Due to political sensitive content, Director Zhang yuan was banned on all filmmaking earlier in the yea	Political
1996	Father	Banned	Banned for unclear reason	
1996	The Emperor's Shadow	Banned	The film, which depicts the relationship between the government and the arts through a fictionalized relationship of China's first emperor and a court musician, was banned without stated reason after initial release. The film was allowed to show again eight months later	Political
1997	Kundun	Banned	The film was banned for depicting China negatively in relation to its incorporation of Tibet into China. The Dalai Lama is considered by China a separatist leader and a threat to Chinese control on the Himalayan region, and officials objected to a positive portrayal of the Dalai Lama. ban ended in 1999	Political
1997	East Palace,	Banned	Banned due to subjects involving	Political

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

	West Palace		homosexuality and alienated young people.	and moral
1997	Red Corner	Banned	The film, about an American man in China falsely accused of murder by corrupt police and facing an unjust judicial system, was banned for an anti-China bias	Political
1997	Seven Years in Tibet	Banned	The film was banned for depicting China negatively in relation to its incorporation of Tibet into China	Political
1998	Xiu Xiu: The Sent Down Girl	Banned	Banned due to criticizing the Cultural Revolution.	Political
2000	Devils on the Doorstep	Banned	Banned partly due to an unpatriotic portrayal of the Chinese in the Second Sino-Japanese War.	political
2000	Suzhou River	Banned, but released	Director Lou Ye let his 2000 film screen in International Film Festival Rotterdam without official approval and received a two-year ban	political
2001	Lan Yu	Banned	The film was banned for homosexuality, references to the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, and depiction of corruption in	Political and Moral censorship

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

			Beijing entrepreneurs	
2001	Shaolin Soccer	Banned	Banned after the Hong Kong partners in the joint production reportedly opened it in HK without permission from mainland officials	Moral censorship
2003	Lara Croft Tomb Raider: The Cradle of Life	Banned	The film was banned for its unflattering depiction of China, which was felt to suggest the country had an absent government and was controlled by secret societies	Moral censorship
2005	Brokeback Mountain	Banned	The film was banned for homosexuality	Moral censorship
2005	King and the Clown	Banned	The film was not shown in theaters due to "subtle gay themes" and sexually explicit language. It was given permission for distribution on DVD	Moral censorship
2006	Summer Palace	Banned	The film was banned for sexually explicit scenes and for depicting the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests. Director Lou Ye and producer Nai An received five-year bans.	Political censorship
2006	The Da	Withdrawn	It was withdrawn from cinemas even though	Political

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

	Vinci Code		it had been on release for three weeks. Some said it was because of political reasons, for example, upsetting Catholics in China. The direct-to-video somehow got approval	ensorship
2006	V for Vendetta	Removed	Starting in Aug 2020, the movie has been removed from China's major online video platforms, such as iQiyi, Tencent Video, Sohu, Douban, and Maoyan, because of anti-government themes.	Political censorship
2006	Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest	Banned	Banned in China because it had spirits swarming around as well as depictions of cannibalism	Moral censorship
2007	Lost in BeiJing	Cut and banned,	A heavily edited version of the film began showing in China. Fifteen minutes of content was removed because censors felt that dirty streets, prostitutes, and gambling portrayed China as plagued by greed and sexual temptation. Cuts were made shortly before the Berlin Film Festival, too late for the version to be subtitled in German and English, and an unauthorized version screened instead. As a result, the film was banned in China and the writer-producer Fang Li and	Moral censorship

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

			the production company Beijing Laurel Films were banned from filmmaking for two years.	
2008	The Dark Knight	Banned	Warner Bros. did not submit the film to censors for approval, citing "pre-release conditions" and "cultural sensitivities"	Political censorship
2009	Petition	Banned	The documentary depicts brutalization, harassment, and arrest of people who travel to Beijing to ask that wrongdoing by local officials be amended. The film was banned in China immediately following its premiere at the Cannes Film Festival	Political
2009	Shinjuku Incident	Banned	Banned for being "too violent" when director Derek Yee refused to edit this content down.	Moral
2009	Spring Fever	Banned	Banned of portrays a gay romance, explicit sexual scenes and full-frontal nudit	Moral
2013	A Touch of Sin	Modified	The film depicts "shocking" violence in China caused by economic inequality and political corruption, including the shooting of local official. Censors did recommend Jia decrease the number of killings but allowed it when Jia refused. The film was cleared for	Political and moral

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

			foreign distribution and showed at international festivals. Although the film was initially cleared for local distribution, the film did not open in China on its release date and a directive was given telling journalists not to write about the film.	
2013	Captain Phillips	Banned	In hacked emails, Rory Bruer, president of worldwide distribution at Sony Pictures, wrote that the plot of American military saving Chinese citizen would make Chinese censor uncomfortable. The direct-to-video somehow got approval	Political and moral
2015	Under the Dome	Removed	First allowed but then removed per order from Publicity Department of the Communist Party of China An employee of China Business News may have been fired for leaking the order.	Political
2015	Mad Max: Fury Road	Rejected	Submitted and rejected by censors, possibly due to its dystopian themes. The direct-to-video somehow got approval	Political
2015	Ten Years	Banned	Depicting a bleak future for Hong Kong under Beijing's control, the film's makers have never sought distribution in Mainland China. The broadcast of the 35th Hong	Political

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

			Kong Film Award, in which this film was honored for best film, was banned	
2016	Deadpool	Banned but released	The film was banned due to violence, nudity, and graphic language. Officials determined that it was not possible to remove the content without affecting the plot. It was finally shown uncensored with the full 108-min runtime in seven screenings in June 2017 during the 20th Shanghai International Film Festival	Moral
2017	Call me by your name	Banned but released	Due to homosexuality, the film was pulled from the Beijing International Film Festival.	Moral
2018	Christopher Robin	banned	While no official reason was given for denying the film's release, images of Winnie-the-Pooh were previously censored and banned since 2017 after social media users compared Pooh to Chinese leader Xi Jinping, causing the character to become associated with political resistance. However, an alternative theory suggested the film was denied because a number of Hollywood tentpole films were competing for space in the limited foreign film quota	
2019	Berlin, I	Banned	Ai Weiwei claimed that the producers were	Political

THE POLITICS OF FILM CENSORSHIP:
Ideology and film censorship, with a focus on the Chinese case

	Love You		politically pressured to cut the segment he directed because distributors fears his involvement would hurt the film in China. He directed the segment remotely while under house arrest in China for his political activism	
2020	Monster Hunter	Removed	Soon after the release in China on Dec 3, the film was pulled from theaters because a scene featuring a banter between MC Jin's character and his military comrade was considered racially offensive by local audience, despite the Chinese subtitles interpreted it differently.	Political
2020	Nomaland	Banned	The censorship efforts appear linked to comments made by Chloé Zhao in 2013 interview with Filmmaker magazine, in which she described being a teenager in China as a “a place where there are lies everywhere”. Later in the day, certain key search topics related the film were blocked on China’s Twitter-like Weibo platform. Searches for the hashtags “#Nomadland” and “#Nomadland Release Date” currently yield the message that “The topic’s page cannot be shown due to related laws, regulations and policies.	Political

Source: IMDb, WIKI, VARIETY, Academic papers

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Abstract-Risssunto in italiano

I dibattiti in corso sul sistema della censura riguardano ampiamente la sua obiezione al principio della libera espressione (Suedfeld et al., 1994), mentre le polemiche crescenti sulla censura sono emerse come limitazione della libera espressione, ostacolo alla creazione artistica, mancanza di tolleranza del pluralismo ed eccessiva mobilitazione politica. La censura esiste in ogni aspetto e può essere divisa in censura cinematografica, censura mediatica, censura di internet, ecc. In comune hanno la limitazione della libera produzione e pubblicazione. La censura cinematografica è molto più complessa del semplice tagliare le parti non gradite dei film in quanto colpisce la qualità dell'arte e della libera espressione, dunque tutto ciò che è legato alla materia soggettiva della narrazione e della creazione. L'anticensura, che rappresenta l'essenza della visione libertaria, è correntemente soggetta a numerose critiche. I critici cinematografici e i registi si interrogano sull'esistenza di un tale sistema ideologico, dato che la censura cinematografica di solito ha come risultato che il film, e persino il regista e il cast, vengano banditi dal pubblico, ostacolando così l'industria cinematografica. Tuttavia, nonostante sia controversa, l'arte della censura cinematografica è utilizzata nei regimi non democratici come un importante strumento di propaganda politica, in quanto ha un ruolo importante nel controllo ideologico di coloro che ne sono soggetti. Come sostenuto da Combs (1993, p.9), la politica dei film può essere esaminata analizzando l'ideologia politica e la "sovrastuttura" della società. La relazione dinamica tra politica e film è connessa al sistema di idee che sta alla base della sovrastuttura.

Inevitabilmente, la cultura popolare incarna l'ideologia (Storey, 2015). Il film è un prodotto della cultura di massa utile nella comunicazione e manipolazione politica (Adorno, 1979). La censura cinematografica si presenta come risultato del sistema politico, dell'educazione civica e della propaganda, importante sia per il governo che per i suoi cittadini. I film non sono semplicemente una forma di cultura popolare che fornisce idee d'avanguardia, ma riflettono anche le costruzioni sociali. Il modo in cui la struttura politica generale ha profondamente intrecciato il film e le sue funzioni nella comunicazione politica e culturale è diventato il focus della mia ricerca. Il limite entro il quale un film d'avanguardia può essere autorizzato ad essere proiettato e a svolgere il suo

ruolo di illuminare un paese dipende in gran parte dalla sua censura interna. Gli studi esistenti sulla censura cinematografica cinese si sono concentrati sul controllo ideologico del film (Clark 1987; Zhu 2003; Johnson 2012). Si ritiene che la creazione del film sia soggetta all'ideologia. La maggior parte degli studiosi sostiene che la censura cinematografica è un mezzo di controllo ideologico. La nostra argomentazione è la seguente: la dottrina dell'ideologia è davvero un dato di fatto? Come è stata collegata alla censura cinematografica sotto i regimi autoritari/totalitari? Gli studiosi di scienze politiche si pongono come obiettivo l'analisi generale della censura ed hanno sviluppato metodi analitici qualitativi e modelli analitici quantitativi basati sull'analisi testuale e sulle indagini con questionari. Pan e Roberts (2013) hanno studiato il focus della censura nei social media in Cina; Gläbel et al. (2020) hanno studiato la relazione tra censura e stabilità politica in Germania. Ververis et al. (2020) hanno studiato le forze chiave che guidano la censura su Internet, confrontando i vari paesi. Le variabili culturali e politiche aspettano ancora di essere analizzate. L'attenzione principale si concentra su internet e sulla censura dei media, mentre come la censura cinematografica è condotta e perché i film sono censurati non è stato ancora analizzato. Propongo la seguente domanda di ricerca per analizzare l'argomento non ancora affrontato e per colmare la lacuna dello studio della censura cinematografica nei vari paesi.

La principale domanda di ricerca di questa tesi è: Qual è la relazione tra ideologia e censura cinematografica, e come si è sviluppata in Cina? – questa domanda mira a indagare la relazione tra ideologia e censura cinematografica in una prospettiva comparativa nei diversi regimi politici, tra cui il regime totalitario, il regime autoritario, e il regime ibrido, i quali presentano diversi livelli di ideologia. Ipotizzo che più alta è l'ideologia strutturata, più severa sarà la censura cinematografica. Vale a dire che più alto è il livello di controllo dell'ideologia, più severa sarà la censura cinematografica esercitata. L'ideologia si riferisce all'ideologia politica, cioè al controllo ideologico di un partito/governo sotto un certo sistema politico. Il sistema politico sarà ristretto l'attenzione alle caratteristiche del regime per chiarire la struttura ideologica, come il grado di libertà di parola, la tolleranza del pluralismo, ed il livello di mobilitazione. Il metodo di questa tesi si basa sull'analisi del contenuto e sull'analisi del testo. Si adotterà un approccio standard di Scienze Politiche per esaminare l'ipotesi della relazione tra ideologia e censura cinematografica

attraverso la revisione della letteratura. Per garantire che l'analisi e i risultati siano scientifici e affidabili, passerò in rassegna fonti come testi accademici, riviste e siti web attendibili che riguarderanno sia le scienze politiche che gli studi cinematografici. Inoltre, incorporerò alcuni studi empirici.

Costruirò un quadro di analisi comparativa sull'ideologia e sui meccanismi di censura per indagare la loro relazione dinamica attraverso il confronto tra diversi paesi con l'obiettivo di identificare differenze e punti in comune per trarre delle conclusioni riguardanti la relazione tra il livello di ideologia ed il rigore della censura cinematografica. In primo luogo, l'analisi si concentrerà sulla censura cinematografica; questa analisi riguarderà il meccanismo della censura cinematografica, l'autorità censoria e le basi legali. Se necessario, alcuni casi di film censurati verranno considerati nel nostro quadro analitico. In secondo luogo, l'attenzione si concentrerà sull'ideologia, sull'analisi del regime e della sua struttura ideologica.

La risposta alla domanda della ricerca sarà sviluppata criticamente confrontando la censura cinematografica cinese in un diverso arco temporale. Costruirò un quadro di analisi comparativa dell'ideologia e dei meccanismi di censura per indagare la loro relazione dinamica anche attraverso il confronto tra diversi paesi con l'obiettivo di identificare le differenze e i punti in comune, e raggiungere una conclusione sulla relazione tra il livello di ideologia ed il rigore della censura cinematografica. Inizierò analizzando l'argomento in termini di censura cinematografica; questa analisi riguarderà il meccanismo della censura cinematografica, l'autorità e le basi legali e, se necessario, alcuni casi di film censurati saranno anche considerati nel nostro quadro analitico. Seguirò analizzando l'argomento dal punto di vista ideologico attraverso l'analisi del regime e della struttura della sua ideologia.

La risposta a questa domanda di ricerca sarà sviluppata criticamente confrontando la censura cinematografica cinese in un diverso arco temporale.

Per esaminare efficacemente l'ipotesi, fisserò uno schema di analisi logica per esplorare la relazione tra ideologia e censura cinematografica. La tesi è strutturata nei seguenti tre capitoli. Nel capitolo 1, esporrò il quadro generale della censura cinematografica prendendo la Cina come caso, introducendo il suo sviluppo e la sua evoluzione ideologica durante i cambiamenti di regime per costruire una connessione tra la censura cinematografica e l'ideologia e per identificare le

somiglianze e le differenze tra un regime totalitario ed un regime autoritario per poter esaminare la politica della censura cinematografica della Cina e per proporre l'attuale controversia della censura cinematografica sotto controllo ideologico. Il secondo capitolo inquadrerà il mio caso specifico della Cina rispetto alla domanda di ricerca generale, passando in rassegna gli scenari globali del rapporto tra ideologia e censura cinematografica in Unione Sovietica, Corea del Sud autoritaria ed Italia fascista. Il terzo capitolo analizzerò un caso specifico ponendomi l'obiettivo di analizzare criticamente la relazione dinamica tra ideologia e censura cinematografica poi passerò al setaccio il riassunto del capitolo 1 e la revisione della letteratura per identificare la relazione tra ideologia e censura cinematografica infine testerò la mia ipotesi attraverso lo studio di casi di film/filmmaker censurati dimostrando la politica di censura ed i film censurati in entrambi i paesi. Identifierò le prove relative al controllo ideologico e, in seguito, farò una previsione delle dinamiche dell'ideologia e della censura cinematografica in Cina per proporre una visione futura della censura cinematografica in questo paese. Nella conclusione, riassumerò i punti in comune e le differenze tra la censura cinematografica in Cina, l'Unione Sovietica, l'Italia fascista e la Corea del Sud autoritaria e militare, così come lo sviluppo dell'ideologia e della censura cinematografica per poter rispondere alle domande di ricerca. Concluderò parlando del rapporto tra l'ideologia e la censura cinematografica in generale e, nel mio caso specifico della censura cinematografica in Cina per dimostrare come si è sviluppata.