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The Treatment of China in American Comparative Education, 1911-1970

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THE TREATMENT OF CHINA IN AMERICAN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, 1911-1970

by
Kuo Jow Lee

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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VITA

The author, William Kuo-jow Lee, was born October 29, 1930, in Ning Yuan, Hunan, China. He moved to Taiwan in 1950.

His elementary education was obtained in the public schools of Ning Yuan, and secondary education at the Liang-Hsi middle school, Tao Chu, Hunan, where he was graduated in 1949.

He attended the Government Finance School from 1954 to 1955, and the Language School from 1959 to 1960. He was awarded a diploma from each school. In September, 1964, he entered the Tamkiang College of Arts and Sciences, Taiwan, and in June, 1969, received the degree of Bachelor of Science with a major in business administration. In September, 1969, he studied business administration in the Graduate School of Atlanta University, Georgia. In February, 1970, he entered Loyola University of Chicago, Illinois. In February, 1972, he was awarded the Master of Education in Guidance and Counseling. While attending Loyola University, he was granted a graduate assistantship in education from September, 1970 to June, 1975, and the Loyola Fellowship during 1975-76 academic year. He was elected a member of Phi Delta Kappa in March, 1976.

He had been a teacher of Hsian Moo Middle School, Taiwan from 1955 to 1959. He was selected as a member of the Chinese Delegation to European countries and the United States under the sponsorship of Moral Re-armament International in 1961. He was a youth counselor, China Youth Corps, from 1962 to 1969.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

At the beginning of this dissertation, a brief introduction to the history of Chinese education is helpful to understand its development and improvement. Particularly, the cultural interchange between the West and China will be examined to determine when and how Chinese education had been treated by Western educators, especially by American comparative educators. Education in China, properly to say, is as old as the Chinese history. Modern education, however, was known to the Chinese people before the end of the nineteenth century and the new school system was simply the creature of the twentieth century. Chinese education experienced a series of changes and reforms after the Manchu Government was overthrown in 1911 and Republic of China was established in 1912. Prior to the Republic, the traditional Chinese education, largely based upon Confucian philosophy, was used by the Chinese scholars as the only avenue to enter official life for power and prestige. Through the doors of the ancient civil service examinations, undoubtedly many capable government leaders were selected by the rulers of the Chinese empire.
Chinese education and culture have been long admired by the scholars and officials of other nations. This was particularly true in Asia. China was regarded as the center of learning for nearly two thousand years. The rulers of Japan, Korea, and somewhat later the kingdoms of South Asia sent their learned men to China to borrow from that ancient culture. They brought back the educational system and the wisdom of Confucius and other sages. Curricula based on the Confucian canon of classical works provided the major part of the formal education of upper-class boys in all East Asia until well into the nineteenth century. Students from Southeast Asia who came to China to study, returned to their own countries with respect for Chinese education. These Chinese theories were then put into operation in other countries.

In the Western World, China was not well known to the great masses, even to the government officials. For the Chinese people, during the imperial period, had little contact with the West until the seventeenth century when Jesuit missionaries came to China and brought with them not only their religion but also the knowledge of the Western sciences such as astronomy, architecture, calendar, geography, and mathematics to the Chinese people. Western science then began to impress the Chinese public and the government, and of

course these missionaries were admired and respected by the Chinese scholars and officials. Their pioneering works in China, needless to say, were the important beginning in the field of cultural interflow between China and the West. In the mid-nineteenth century when China opened her door to the Western culture, Western learning gradually became of more interest to Chinese scholars together with the traditional Chinese classical studies. Unfortunately, the government had no intention to reform the old educational system and practice though many officials were aware of the necessity of the reform of the traditional humanistic education.

After a few disastrous brushes with Western soldiers on the battlefield all but the most recalcitrant Chinese officials realized that great changes must be wrought if China were to take its proper place in the family of nations.\(^2\) The final pressure for modern education, however, came from the end of the first Sino-Japanese War in 1895. China was decisively defeated by Japan which formerly had respected China as the giant of great learning and had sent students to China for education. China was now considered inferior to Japan. This unprecedented event eventually led to the initiation of a modern school system mainly equipped with the new Western educational ideas. A sustained contact with foreign countries with modern education resulted in borrowing

\(^2\) Ibid., p.273.
by China. Which educational system in the world would be best for China became a question for the Chinese government officials and the educational reformers. China since 1895 had patterned her modern educational system on first Japan, later Germany, and then from France. After the establishment of the Republic in 1912, however, the Chinese school system mainly followed the American model. In 1949, when the National Government was moved to Taiwan, the American type of school system in the Republic of China was not changed.

A very important influential force in the development of modern education in China could be attributed to the pioneer work of the Christian educational institutions and the missionary educators. A great deal of Chinese modern education and knowledge of Western science has been introduced through the Christian schools. These schools have furnished inspiration and stimulated the development of the public and private schools throughout the land. "Western subjects" in all the schools, public and private were greatly emphasized. 3

As a member of democratic society and as an educational partner of the United States, China has drawn increasing attention from educators, public and private, in the Western world and particularly in the United States. To American scholars in the comparative education field, their interests in Chinese culture and education was stimulated by their desire

to achieve a true understanding of human culture and civilization. Without a study of Chinese education, a comprehensive comparative study in world education would be incomplete.

The object of this study is to examine the relationship between the treatment of Chinese education in American comparative education texts and the political development and social changes in China. This study holds that the attitudes of the American comparative educators toward education in China at a given period were influenced by political and social change in China. It was true, however, during the sixty years from 1911 to 1970, that China had experienced a series of events which interrupted the effort of reform in education as well as in other fields. Firstly, China suffered from the internal warfare among the Northern Warlords who struggled to control the central government from 1912 to 1927. When Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek defeated the warlords and unified the nation in 1928, progress in education and in other fields proceeded markedly. The second misfortune followed from the Japanese aggression in 1937. The newly unified but still weak young Republic could not defeat but struggled hard to resist the strong militarist Japan. It is a fact that all national modernization programs including education were damaged by the War. After World War II, at the time when the Chinese government began to rehabilitate her education, the third and also the most dangerous crisis came from the civil
war, a total nation-wide military conflict between the National Government and the Communist forces. This broke out almost immediately following the victory over Japan in 1945. The nation's wounds were getting worse and worse, and finally in 1949, China was divided into two parts, one under the Nationalist government in Taiwan, which firmly stands in the democratic world and the other under the Communist government on the mainland which falls into the Communist bloc. Because of these unfortunate and unnecessary crises which befell China, the effort favoring modern education, if not completely destroyed, certainly was greatly reduced, and progress was definitely damaged and delayed.

The purpose of this study is therefore to identify, analyze, and criticize the attitude of American comparative educators concerning education in China during the period from 1911 to 1970. The books collected on Chinese education in comparative education will be thoroughly studied, and the emphasis of the writings reflected by their authors will be carefully investigated, analyzed, and presented in this dissertation. However, modern education in Taiwan paralleled by the communistic education based on Marxist-Leninist ideas in mainland China today constitutes a particular phenomenon in the modern history of Chinese education. This unusual situation not only forced the Chinese people on both sides to receive a completely different education but also puzzled the
Western scholars in their vigorous and continuous studies on China.

The modern educational system in China has been under a constant influence of political and social changes which obviously have a close relationship with and a powerful effect on Chinese education. Naturally changes in educational purpose, system, administration, curricula, and textbooks have occurred in one administration after another. How keenly the American comparative educators observed China and how fairly they treated Chinese education in their writings in each particular period are the foci of this study.

The significance of this study is reflected by its being the first attempt at a comprehensive investigation of attitudes of American comparative educators to China. So far, no such work exists in either English or Chinese. This study, as stated above, presents a thorough evaluation and careful analysis of the comparative education texts available in the selected university libraries which were published chronologically from 1911 to 1970, and attempts to examine the attitude of the comparative educators in their treatment of China. This, in this author's opinion, will be helpful for a better understanding of Chinese education as described by various writers. It may also offer useful suggestions both to the American and Chinese educators as well as the graduate students of education in their future research in Chinese
education. Education in China both under the Nationalist and the Communist government described by the educators in their books will be discussed in each chapter.

The terminal dates of this study from 1911 to 1970 were selected for several reasons. The year of 1911 was the birth of the Republic of China, which was to be a democracy modeled closely on the United States, and for the first time in Chinese history proclaimed equal opportunity of education for all the Chinese people. The year 1970 was the sixtieth anniversary of the Republic which had undergone drastic changes politically, socially, economically, and educationally. The last six strenuous decades, according to the modern Chinese history, have been generally broken into four periods for political reasons and social significance. From 1911 to 1937, the establishment of the Republic and the unification of China to the outbreak of Sino-Japanese War; 1937 to 1945, the Sino-Japanese War and World War II; 1945-1949, China's Civil War; and after 1949, the transfer of the National Government to Taiwan and the communist seizure of power on the mainland. These four periods compose the chapters two to four of this study. The whole sixty years should have provided a sufficient time for an historical study of the attitude of the American writers on China in the comparative education field.

The scope of this study has been strictly limited
to the materials collected from certain selected university libraries. The needed materials have been surveyed and selected through those listed in the *Education Index* under the title of comparative education; comparative education in the *Sources in Educational Research*; Comparative Education Through the Literature, a bibliographic guide; yearbooks; and the university library catalogs. The primary comparative educational textbooks which were selected and surveyed from the above resources for this study were secured from the libraries of Loyola University of Chicago, University of Chicago, Northwestern University, University of Illinois, Columbia University, Harvard University, Stanford University, and University of California, Berkeley. The books assembled here, as far as possible for the period of study, have been carefully identified as source material and suitable for analysis and criticism in this study.

Research on over one hundred books in comparative education from 1911 to 1970 was conducted. Among them thirty-five books pertinent to the purpose of this study have been classified in chronological order following each particular period studied. Eight books regarding Chinese education were written before 1937 to form the core of study for the second chapter, six were after 1937 and before 1949 for chapter three, and twenty-one were after 1949 and before 1970 for the fourth chapter. These publications provided a broad horizon for investigation and criticism. Articles, case-studies,
reports on Chinese education in the related educational periodicals, and general works on the history on philosophy of Chinese education, were not included in this study.

For each chapter, in addition to the work of research, a brief introduction of the general background of China in relation to education will be presented and remarks on the findings in that particular period studied will receive comment.

The basic method employed throughout this study is the historical and documentary approach, which requires surveying, identifying, selecting, classifying, evaluating, and analyzing the books which are available. A systematic study and evaluation of the content in the exploratory readings of the collected books has been done very patiently. The evidence of the books and the findings through the readings were briefly but clearly recorded and summarized for analysis and criticism in the subsequent chapters.
CHAPTER II

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO THE OUTBREAK OF SINO-JAPANESE WAR, 1911-1937

Historical Background

Prior to discussing the treatment of the various writers concerning Chinese education in their books written during the years from the founding of the Republic in 1912 to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, it would be helpful to present a brief review of this turbulent period in the modern history of China and the philosophy of education based on Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People". These "Principles" provided the fundamental guidelines for all education in the Republic.

Since the Opium War of 1840 with England which forced China to open her gates commercially, China's woes followed one after another in quick succession throughout the nineteenth century. The old Cathay was repeatedly defeated by foreign powers and forced to sign unequal treaties with them. The weakness and incompetence of the Manchu government, plus the example of the Meiji reformation in Japan stimulated many thinking Chinese to action. An unsuccessful reform movement was initiated in 1898. Those who had played leading roles in the shortlived movement were either executed or
driven into exile. Popular discontent with internal misgovernment and anti-foreign sentiments aroused by the unequal treaties caused the Boxer Uprising in 1900. This tragic event led to the storming of Peking by the combined forces of eight foreign powers and the signing of the Treaty of Peking the following year. Under the treaty terms, China was disarmed and forced to pay large indemnities. This was regarded as the most humiliating of the unequal treaties. The indemnity paid to the United States by China was then used by the United States to help the Chinese Republic to improve education and to assist the Chinese students who were studying in this country. This was mentioned by some writers and will receive a proper discussion and evaluation later.

After decades of painful experience and frustration, the Chinese people were completely disillusioned with the Manchu government, and began to take a keen interest in the revolutionary movement of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. With intense revolutionary fervor, Dr. Sun's followers raised the standard of revolt at Wuchang, the largest city in central China on October 10, 1911. Immediately the whole nation rallied around the revolutionaries and the Manchu government was soon overthrown. The Republic of China was officially established on January 1, 1912, and Dr. Sun was elected
as the first president of the Republic.

In February the Manchu ruler abdicated, and in order to unite all China Dr. Sun yielded his presidency to Yuan Shih-kai who had been Prime Minister under the Empire. Yuan later betrayed his trust and tried to become emperor. Then began a series of complicated intrigues, rebellions and civil wars, usually fought not for principle but for the personal power of some warlord.¹ Since the establishment of the Republic with the capital at Peking in 1912, the work of national reconstruction in China met with a series of reverses as briefly mentioned above and also stated in the introduction. Generally speaking, during the period of 1912 to 1927, there were few political accomplishments. Undoubtedly the reform of Chinese education made little progress because of the unstable political situation. Kandel provided more information about the situation in China during that period:

Within this period, divided China, after hard struggles, has become united. China during the first half of the period was in a most chaotic condition. The Peking Government failed to command even the respect of northern provinces and territories, and the Canton Government established by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1923 was not powerful enough to control all the southern provinces.

The year 1927 saw the turning point in the tide, when the Nanking Government became a reality, though not without stubborn opposition. The reorganization of the Kuomintang, or the Nationalist Party, which was responsible for the establishment of the Nanking Government, took

place in 1923 after the fashion of the Soviet organization, though The Three Principles of the People of Dr. Sun were quite different from the principles of the Communists.

The friendship of the Soviet Republic was sought because she denounced imperialistic aggression, and Russian advisers were employed in the party organization, but were expelled as soon as it was discovered that they were commissioned by the Third International to spread Communism. Some of their ardent followers with a handful of soldiers left the party and began to attack the government forces. At first, the Nanking Government was too busy with the task of unification of China to take them seriously. Unfortunately they grew in strength, with the result that their influence spread in many parts of central China.

The Government forces were then directed by General Chiang Kai-shek to fight them from all sides. After four years of hard fighting, their sphere of influence has been greatly reduced. Suddenly in September, 1931, fresh trouble broke out in the Northeast. The Japanese invasion, followed by the formation of a puppet empire, took China and the whole world by surprise.

In spite of investigation and intervention by the League of Nations and strong protests from China and other nations, Japan not only refused to retrace her steps, but threatened to attack Nanking directly. An undeclared war took place in Shanghai and its vicinity before the very eyes of many foreign nationals in the Settlements early in 1932. It is needless to recount what great damage the Japanese invasion did to China.

Such has been the difficult situation faced by the present Government and the Party behind it, yet China is determined to make progress in the midst of troubles and handicaps. Ever since the central Government began to function at Nanking, constructive work has been under way. As China is a vast country, almost a continent by herself, progress is necessarily slow. But since the country is united, the road to progress is opened and the foundation for reconstruction is laid. It seems reasonable to hope that if there is no outside aggression and interruption, a new China, strong and modern, will be born in due time. 2

From the brief account of China's internal struggles and external interruptions, it is not difficult for the readers to realize that China had few days of peace from the founding of the Republic in 1912 to the outbreak of war against Japan's invasion in 1937. However, after the establishment of the National Government at Nanking in 1927, the Chinese Republic, for all its trials, was still able to start a national program of reconstruction. Education was given a very important place in the total program of reconstruction and modernization even though the entire nation was engulfed in a series of internal and external difficulties. As a matter of fact, Chinese education, preceding the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, was marked by growth, expansion and greater government effort.

Selected Books

Eight books, as mentioned in the introduction, were considered in this period. The authors are listed alphabetically as follows:


The publication of these books indicated a trend that American educators, through the years in this period, gradually became more interested in the research of Chinese culture and education. Although the path of progress in research was rather slow, it seemed steady.

It was of interest of note that four of the five writers were faculty members of Teachers College, Columbia University. They were obviously the forerunners in this country in treating Chinese education in the comparative education texts. Their works provided a comprehensive and scholarly study of education in China. As a matter of fact, two of the writers (Paul Monroe and Carleton Washburne) had visited China in the early 1920's.

Dr. Monroe was actually the head of "The Association of the Chinese Educational Survey." He greatly inspired the Chinese educators in developing "Democratic Education" in China. Monroe's visit to China resulted in the formation of a foundation called "The Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture", composed of ten Chinese and five Americans to direct the use of the American portion of the Boxer indemnity, a sum of $12,545,438.67 gold ... for educational and cultural purposes. Therefore, both of their writings were based

primarily on their own observations and experiences in China and on their interviews with prominent Chinese educators and educational officials.

Besides Monroe and Nashburne, some other well known American educators such as John Dewey, Bertrand Russel, and Von Driesch etc. also visited China at the end of 1910's and in the early of 1920's. Although none of them had treatment on Chinese education after their return to the United States. All of them, however, had exerted influence upon Chinese thought and education. Especially Dr. Dewey's pragmatic philosophy of education had been one of the guiding principles in the reforms of China's elementary education.4

The treatment of Chinese education in these texts can be generally summarized and classified into several areas or categories: China's history, early Chinese education, transition to modern education, reorganization of education with the founding of the Republic, educational reforms and the Chinese Renaissance, the government in its relation to education, Christian education in China, the attitude of Chinese educators toward modern education, and China's educational problems.

The methodology of the treatments employed by the

4. Ibid., p.102.
authors were generally descriptive. "The total approach" in comparison was used in Cloyd's *Modern Education in Europe and Orient*, Nonroe's *Essays in Comparative Education*, Washburne's *Remakers of Mankind*, and Kandel's *Educational Yearbook* of 1924 and 1936. The authors attempted to provide a comprehensive presentation of the Chinese education and bring all elements and problems together for a broad study and discussion. Kandel also used "The Problem Approach" in his *Educational Yearbook* of 1932 and 1933. So was Lewis in her *The Education of Girls in China*, 1919. Kandel devoted a special effort to the study of missionary education in China, which constituted a small part but a relatively important aspect of modern education in China. Lewis detailed the Chinese education for girls before and after the establishment of the Republic in 1911. A further evaluation and analysis of each author's treatment will follow the foregoing mentioned specific classifications.

**China's History**: The most elaborative description of Chinese history among the texts was Cloyd's *Modern Education in Europe and Orient*, 1917. It was published six years after the birth of the Republic in 1912. He offered his readers an account which began with the Chinese legendary traditions dating back to 2852 B.C.; then the early historical period and feudalism which had its origin from the Chou dynasty (1122 B.C.); then the establishment of the permanent empire
Tsin (255-206 B.C.) which united, consolidated, and expanded Chinese territory, and established the real foundation of the political China of today; and at last the modern Manchu dynasty, the most tragic period in China's history.

Cloyd especially was interested in and emphasized the modern Manchu's struggle from "non-intercourse" to world commerce, and China's present problems - "resistance and reconstruction". In Cloyd's words:

The modern era in Chinese history began with the Tatsing, or "Great Pure", dynasty in 1644, when a Manchu prince from the north established himself as emperor... The Manchu dynasty remained continuously on the throne 267 years, or until their overthrow, in 1911, by the establishment of the Republic. The most significant events in these two and three quarters' centuries of China's modern history have grown out of her attempts at mingling with other nations, whose people and civilizations were so radically different from her own. This led to her policy of non-intercourse, a narrow and exclusive policy, intended to protect China from the aggressions of the foreigners. This struggle reached a climax in China's trade relations with British India, in which the opium traffic was deeply involved.

The last fifty years of China's history can be written around her commercial treaties with foreign countries... The final breaking down of Chinese isolation came in 1873, when the imperial ruler admitted to his audience envoys from other countries, thereby recognizing the great powers of Europe and American as the equals of China...

The war of 1894-95 with Japan showed a weakness in Chinese government that surprised the world and alarmed China... The political result of this series of embarrassing events has been the division of China's leaders into two rival factions, upon the subject and method of resistance and reconstruction. The Boxer outrages of 1900-01, and other similar movements, were expressions of this political rupture in China... The next ten years
of internal strife and political and commercial aggressions from without brought the downfall of the monarchy and the inauguration of a republic.5

Cloyd's treatment of the Chinese history was though brief, relatively comprehensive. He gave a clear picture to the readers what China was centuries ago and what was going on in that country recently. He shows how these events happened to China in the nineteenth century and finally affected her national policy both at home and with the outside world. Through his excellent treatment it would not be difficult for the readers to grasp the reasons why the Chinese people struggled so hard to overthrow the Manchu dynasty and establish the Republic; why their efforts were so strong in favor of the reconstruction and modernization of China.

The rest of the writers did not treat Chinese history with a unique separate chapter, but they did mention it very briefly in their treatment of early Chinese education in their texts in one way or another. Let us now proceed to the early Chinese education and see how these writers conceived it.

Early Chinese Education: In the writers’ eyes, the traditional Chinese philosophy, essentially Confucian thought, was a unique force which bound family and nation together, and brought private life and public life into a harmonious

whole. Education was regarded as a function of the state, harmoniously going along with the process of acculturation. Although the importance of education to the whole of Chinese society can not be accurately assessed, however the fact was that, for many centuries, perhaps from the very beginning of Chinese recorded history, the objective of the students in entering the ranks of scholars was for political power, high status, and personal wealth. These writers left no doubt that Chinese education was as old as China's long history. They also commonly regarded the traditional examination system as actually as integral part of the Chinese ancient educational structure.

Cloyd pointed out that education in China can be traced back to the middle of the twenty-fourth century B.C., though with but little authentic data with which to establish any definite theory of its principles and practice. It appears that, in this early period, the state even then recognized education as a function of the state, to be cared for by the educational officers of the state. An examination system for graduation and promotion from one school to another, from the lowest to the highest, was evidently in existence during the early part of this period, possible five hundred years before the birth of Confucius. Cloyd further summarized the significance of this system, in substance, as follows: (1) it shows that the system was democratic, as it was open to all who
possessed the necessary qualifications; (2) it shows that the educational system, like the system of the government, had a high degree of centralization; (3) it indicates clearly that the tests to which the candidate was put were based on real ability and moral character, and not merely literary skill, as in the system of later generations; and finally (4) it reveals the fact that all officers were chosen from the colleges, thus giving the school system a prominent place in the life of the nation. 6

Whether Cloyd's conclusion on this system is adequate or not, it is, however, commonly known to the world that the application of the civil examination in China had been employed for centuries. It had been sustained parallel with the education of one generation after another, and never failed the aim of education both for the individual and the nation throughout the imperial centuries.

Monroe, in his sketch of the development of the ancient education and culture of China, stated that an elaborate educational system existed in China from the twelfth to the sixth century before Christ. During the time Confucius and his disciples, chiefly Mencius, systematized the ancient learning and moral teachings into the classical writings which soon became the basis of the culture and of the social

6. Ibid., pp.397-400.
order of the Chinese. For many centuries this classical literature furnished the substance of their formal education. During this time also the examination system was perfected, which originated in the earlier period and survived until 1905. 7 The highest efficiency of the early Chinese educational system existed and flourished during this period. In Monroe's opinion: "the educational institutions records of no other country except Egypt antedate those of China; and what is most significant, this education is still a living influence and it has been continuous". 8

A more remote account on the beginning of the Chinese education was given by Kandel. He even traced the date as far back as the very beginning of China's civilization, five thousand years ago. 9 Despite the fact that the dates of origin of early Chinese education differed among the writers, this should not minimize the significance of their research in China's education. Even the Chinese educators could not tell their students exactly when formal education began to function in China.

It is often heard that there were many defects in the early Chinese education. Everyone would agree that education


8. Ibid.

in China was simply a training of reading and writing the letters, and memorizing the subject matter. It was extremely "bookish". School work was confined within the school building and the school had no concern with the conditions of society; students were not taught how to make a living; the educational process was mainly "giving" and "receiving" and students were passively given the materials needed; lecture was the sole teaching method and students were discouraged from displaying initiative and creativity. Also, as a matter of fact, the old formal education in China did not reach the masses; the result was that education produced mainly a governing class, an unproductive clique, a social elite, and an intelligentsia group. This educational practice existed in the Republic during the period under study.

With their keen observation, careful analysis and emphatic criticism on the traditional Chinese education, the writers made the following judgments: The schools were largely private and voluntary, poor and not well attended; a system of competitive examinations by the state was the controlling factor in all grades of education, and seemed to be only an avenue to official positions, not a need of society; the subject matter taught in the schools consisted of six books of characters, proverbs, axioms, and ethical precepts, the Four books and the five classics, which were literally memorized; the Chinese method of teaching was purely a method of memory and
and imitation, of the kind that kills originality and creative power; all in all, the system, subject matter, and method did for China what was intended, and, in this respect, was an unquestioned success. It made society stable and in conformity with the past. But its weakness lay in making no attempt to reveal the individual unto himself and to make of himself a creative force for the improvement of his own condition and for the betterment of the world. A wide hiatus often developed between the actual needs of society and the content of this formal education. In recent times, as China has come into direct contact with the West, the inadequacy of this ancient literary education became obvious to all.

Against the background of the traditional teaching and learning in China, the writers, disregarding the many defects of Chinese ancient education, undoubtedly recognized that the ancient Chinese education and culture presented not only the living antiquities but also the richest resources of human progress in the world. They deserve to be explored and shared with other peoples.

**Transition to Modern Education:** It is not an exaggeration to say that the twentieth century has been marked with changes. It is also safe to say that nowhere else in the world were these changes so drastic as in China. The longest

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and richest culture in human history had changed very little over several centuries. Beginning with the nineteenth century, China was forced by foreign powers to open her ports for trade and commerce. Communication with the world of commerce and affairs, as Cloyd told his readers, created at once a demand for modern linguists, scientists, diplomats, and officers, for the training of which China was compelled to build a new type of school. This was the entering wedge that finally burst asunder the wall of Chinese conservatism and cleared the path of progress.\(^{12}\) The modern public educational system in China, as Monroe wrote, dates from 1898, when the Emperor Kwang Hsu, under the influence of a group of reformers, issued his famous edicts. These included the modification of the old examination system and the establishment of a complete system of schools.\(^{13}\)

From their treatments of the critical transitional period from the last century up to the dawn of this century, readers are able to see that China finally came to realize her incompetent position in the total international family. Without reformation and modernization, China could be cut into pieces by the ambitious foreign powers. After the defeat of China by Japan in 1895 the tide turned in favor of educational reform. Government edicts of 1901 and 1905

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abolished civil examinations; a Ministry of Education was created in 1906; modern school systems were planned for the nation; western science was to be introduced into the curriculum, and selected capable students were sent abroad for modern education. This wide educational awakening was considered by the American writers to be one of the important causes in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the founding of the Republic.

During the transitional period and later in the early years of the Republic, China was earnestly searching for new institutions which could combine her great pride in tradition with fascinating modernization. Seeing the tremendous effort being made for reformation and modernization, the American writers observed several questions facing China: How much of the ancient culture should be preserved? How much of the Western culture should be added to it? Can these two elements be given through the native language? Can they be united into a homogeneous structure? Can the ancient language be simplified so as to make a general education of the masses of the people possible?14

In answering these questions, many Chinese educators suggested the principle: "Western learning in application and Chinese learning in substance". However, this principle

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has not proved a satisfactory answer. These questions have been the central arguments of educational reform among scholars, educators, and students for many years. No adequate solutions have ever been reached.

From the texts under study, it is evident that the American writers had realized that beginning with the end of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 to the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, the world had seen the abolition of the Chinese traditional education together with the ancient examination system, and the establishment of a new school system. However, the efforts of the government in the last century for modern educational reform were obviously in response to the foreign powers' military threat. China was aware of the urgent need of modern knowledge; new schools were therefore established for teaching military science and other Western subjects. It was not mentioned that these early schools were not effectively coordinated to form a well organized system, such as we can find in the Western world.

Reorganization of Education with The Founding of The Republic: Following the establishment of the Republic in 1912, the Ministry of Education was soon reorganized. It consisted of one general council and three bureaus, (1) general education, (2) technical education, and (3) social education. The bureau of social education was a new departure and had for its function the wide advancement
of education through all forms of extension methods, such as lecturing, the press etc. 15

One of the foremost tasks that confronted the Ministry was to re-define the aim of education and reorganize the educational system. The educational aim, of course, had to be in harmony with the spirit and ideals of the Republic. The new government then issued a dispatch to the local authorities indicating the policy of the Republic toward schools. The most important educational changes recommended by the new government, according to Cloyd, 16 followed six important lines: (1) the plan of administration had been simplified and somewhat decentralized; (2) the Chinese classics had been almost entirely eliminated from the course of study; (3) several new subjects of social and industrial significance had been introduced; (4) the over crowded program had been relieved by the shortening of courses and elimination of subjects; (5) the lower schools had been made co-educational; and (6) the aim of education had been modified.

Monroe 17 also pointed out that five educational changes were involved: (1) The alteration of the curriculum so as to encourage the spirit of democracy instead of that of reverence to the old Manchu authorities; (2) the enlargement

15. Cloyd, p.414.
16. Ibid., pp.413-414.
of school facilities by the opening of large numbers of new schools, especially primary ones; (3) the increase of emphasis upon handicraft work and physical exercise; (4) the introduction of co-education in the primary schools; and (5) the elimination of the ancient classics from the lower schools.

From the above statements, the writers plainly informed their readers that the deep interest of the new government in education had been witnessed following the founding of the Republic in 1912. The educational authority was eager to infuse new ideas into the old traditional culture. At the same time, it was significant that the importance of social education for the illiterate masses was stressed, and coeducation was introduced by the government for the first time in China's history.

The traditional education for girls in China, in Lewis' words, meant "obedience to older members of the family and self-training to compliance in all request". They learnt "to spin linen from flax and silk from cocoons, to weave cotton, to make garments for every member of the family, to supply hats for the men and shoes for all, to cook food with a stubble fire, to manage a family of six on an income below a living wage. There was little time, little thought, and no opportunity for learning to read".18

Since the Revolution in 1911, The Republican government

proclaimed equal opportunity of education for girls and boys. There had been a gradual rise in number of girls attending schools. In spite of this fact, as Lewis further observed that it was probably "fewer than ten in one thousand girls" who were admitted to school in the early years of the Republic before 1919. However, their education was generally no more than high school education. They were of course "a very high selected class" at that time. The progress of education for girls in the following years will be comprehensively examined in the later chapters.

The new government was directing education under quite a different aim from that of the preceding monarchy. Cloyd wrote:

This new aim makes education a means of cultivating virtuous or moral character, which is defined by the Minister of Education to be that which instills into the minds of the people the right knowledge of liberty, equality, and fraternity. This moral and ethical training is to be combined with military and industrial education for the purpose of securing adaptation to environment and of fitting the people for citizenship in a democracy.

The new aims clearly illustrated several changes in education. Western sciences were introduced and emphasized. In the Republic, education had no aim to promote loyalty or respect for the Emperor. In keeping with the spirit of religious liberty, Confucianism was no longer made a state

19. Ibid., p.85.
religion in China. Chinese classics were no longer emphasized in schools. More important, equal opportunity of education was provided for all races and sexes in China.

The reorganized school system under the Republic before 1922, as described in Cloy's\(^{21}\) and Monroe's\(^{22}\) texts, can be generally identified as follows: (1) Compulsory education was established in the four years of the lower primary school. Following the lower primary was the three year higher primary school, paralleled occasionally by a higher primary industrial school. Kindergartens in cities were mostly private in nature. (2) The middle school course was four years, and such schools were provided for girls on the same basis as for boys. This level was paralleled occasionally by an industrial school with a course of the same length or shorter, and by the normal schools. (3) Social education was doing a great deal through quasi-educational institutions, such as the press, art galleries, theaters, museums, libraries, etc., to popularize education. (4) The institutions of higher learning included universities, colleges, higher normal schools, and technical schools of collegiate or university grade. These were in operation as national institutions with a four-year course for the first degree. The funds for the support of the institution were allotted

\(^{21}\) Ibid., pp. 413-418.

\(^{22}\) Monroe, pp. 56-62.
directly from the central government. The postgraduate course was left indefinite in length. However, the faculty of classics was dropped from the university entirely.

Since interest in education was widespread in China, professional interest on the part of the teacher was keen and the interest of the modern press in education was widespread and sustained. Owing to these various factors, reform movements in education were numerous. A reformed public school system patterned after the American school system was therefore adopted in 1922. The new system of education, in Kandel's text, consisted of several major features. They may be summarized as follows:

(1) Kindergarten education was formally given a place in the new system, and admitted children under six years old.

(2) Attendance at the elementary school was reduced from seven to six years; the elementary school was divided into the lower primary of four years, and higher primary grades of two years; compulsory education was temporarily limited to four years.

(3) Attendance at the middle school was extended from four to six years, three years each for the junior middle


24. I. L. Kandel, Educational Yearbook of The International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University (New York, Teachers College, 1924), pp.112-143.
school and the senior middle school. In the secondary schools the credit system was first adopted.

(4) Vocational education had been given a very important place in the new system of education. Three stages of vocational education were worked out: First, vocational courses for graduates of the four year lower primary school; Second, courses for graduates of the six-year elementary school; Third, courses for graduates of the junior middle school. Vocational schools for girls were also established.

(5) In regard to the training of teachers in the new system of education, attendance at the normal schools was limited to six years. Teachers for primary schools were supplied. For the training of secondary school teachers there were normal colleges at which attendance was limited to four years.

(6) According to the new system of education, the institution of higher learning may consist of several colleges or only one college. Attendance at the college or university was limited to four to six years. At the top there was a postgraduate school which was a school of research for college graduates and others with similar preparation.

(7) Mass illiteracy presented a unique problem in China. There were about 200 million illiterates, a big problem for popular education to solve. A National Association for The Promotion of Popular Education was organized in
1923. It offered the famous four readers based on a vocabulary of about 1200 of the most common Chinese characters. An average illiterate can complete the four readers in four months by studying them one hour a day. At the end of four months he should be able to read newspapers, pamphlets, books, and correspondence. These books were used in the People’s school, the People’s Reading Circle, and the People’s Question Station, etc.

In the historical background of this chapter, it has been pointed out that the political and military disturbances had been continued from about 1916 to 1927. Educational reforms were made one after another, but education did not receive proper attention from the military warlords. A warlord was only temporarily in power; he could not make any long-range educational plans. In this situation, no national policy for educational development could be carried out effectively; no government support for schools could be assured; teachers were inadequately prepared and poorly paid; and school buildings and facilities were poorly equipped. Academic achievements were generally low.

Washburne described the physical conditions of the Nankai University in northern China, where he visited in the 1920’s. At the time President Chang had a bad cold, verging on influenza. Washburne observed: "I did not wonder, for with the temperature down around ten degree Fahrenheit
outside, the school buildings, like all those in China, were unheated. By the time I had given several lectures in the big, cold hall and had sat shivering through interviews and feasts, I, too, had a severe cold". 25

Much of this elaboration of an educational system was an ideal only, giving basis to the criticism frequently expressed that it was merely a paper system. 26 As a matter of fact, most of the schools were loosely managed, being short of funds for equipment and for teachers' salaries. If there had been a stable central government and a strong political leadership, the new educational aims could have been realized, and the reorganized educational system might have advanced positively toward a democratic education.

This was the educational situation treated by the writers prior to 1927, when China was united under the Nationalists, and the National Government was then established. This, certainly was the turning point for China's national reconstruction and her educational development. In 1928, the First National Education conference was called. The educational aims were redefined by this conference in accord with the "Three Principles of the People" as presented by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Founder of the Republic. The educational aims were officially issued in 1929. Kandel quoted:

Based upon The Three Principles of People, education in the Republic of China shall aim to enrich the life of the people, to foster the existence of society, to extend the means of livelihood, and to maintain the continuity of the race, to the end that national independence may be attained, exercise of political rights may be made universal, conditions of livelihood may be developed, and, in so doing, the cause of world peace and brotherhood may be advanced. 27

In view of these aims, the readers are able to realize that the educational implementation under the National Government tended to emphasize education for national regeneration, for practical use, and in harmony with the "Three Principles of the People".

The "Three Principles", as Washburne noted, are: "People's Nationalism, People's Sovereignty, and the People's Livelihood"... That means "a state belonging to all the people; a government controlled by all the people; and rights and benefits for the enjoyment of all people." 28 These principles actually have been the guidelines of the Republic in the national reconstruction politically, economically, socially, and educationally.

The school system first adopted by the National Government in 1927 was similar to that adopted in 1922. But since the promulgation of the school law by the National legislative body and school regulations by the Ministry of Education in 1932 and after, it had been considerably changed

not only in details but also in its general outline. After a comparison between Kandel's treatments in the *Yearbook* of 1924 and 1936, the following significant developments have been identified:

"The Nursery school idea was introduced into China in the early 1930's. There were only a few such schools in big cities prior to 1937.

"A comprehensive plan for the enforcement of compulsory education was laid down by the government in 1930. Education for the first years of the elementary grades were to be made universal in twenty years.

"Continuation schools at the primary level had been started in different places in response to local needs. There was no fixed curriculum for these schools, nor was there an age limit, except that students had to be above twelve years of age and the minimum requirement for admission was the ability to read.

"The Gardening in the elementary school curriculum had been changed to manual work which was much broader in its scope of activities.

"The last statistics taken before the establishment of the National Government in 1927 revealed that 6,601,802 children were then enrolled in elementary schools. In 1933 the number rose to 12,223,066. The number of children enrolled had been doubled in seven years. The number of elementary schools in 1933 was 263,432, compared with 212,607 in 1929.

"In the curricula for the junior middle schools prescribed by the Ministry of Education in 1932, the learning of the Mongolian, Tibetan, Turki, or any other second language was scheduled for those middle schools where local conditions required it.

"In order to insure the quality of the school work while increasing the quantity, the Ministry announced in 1932, a system of external examinations established for primary and middle schools. This system was rigidly put into practice in 1933. Since there were many difficulties, the examination for primary children was abandoned after one year's trial. The examination for middle school
graduates usually took place simultaneously in two or more centers in each province with the same sets of questions marked by the same groups of examiners.

"Four events after 1930 deserved special mention about the emphasis on vocational education. First, the budgets for schools of secondary level allocated not less than thirty-five per cent of the total fund for vocational schools. No private middle schools, unless vocational in nature, were allowed to open. Second, for promoting vocational education, a Department of Vocational Education was established. Third, for showing the achievement of vocational education, an exhibit of products of vocational schools and of manual work of other schools throughout the nation was held in 1934. Fourth, for speeding up the vocational education, a national vocational conference was called by the Ministry of Education, during the time when the exhibit was being held.

"In the school system adopted in 1922 there was no place for independent normal schools. The preparation of teachers received no special attention. The new law governing normal schools was formally promulgated in 1932. Normal schools then became independent and professional in nature. The number of schools increased from 439 in 1930 to 621 in 1933.

"In addition to the system of university districts, the most important reform in higher education after 1928 included registration and strict enforcement of regulations governing private institutions; promulgation of the law governing the organization of universities; restriction of number of students in arts and law faculties; and the establishment of research institutes such as the famous Academia Sinica, The National Peiping Academy, and many other research institutes of universities. The number of universities was increased rapidly from 74 in 1928 to 111 in 1934. The number of college students was steadily increasing from 25,198 in 1928 to 46,758 in 1934. Students studying abroad numbered 1,657 in 1929 and rose to 5,192 in 1934.

"Regulation governing the people's schools for social education were formally promulgated in 1929 and revised in 1932 and 1934. Illiterates or semi-illiterates from sixteen years of age and older were admitted to these school for at least 200 hours of instruction in the Chinese language, arithmetic, singing, and physical
exercise. There were other educational establishments for adult education such as the people's educational centers, consultation bureaus for reading and writing, folk reading centers, popular newspaper centers, libraries, museums, galleries, theaters and so on. The funds allotted for social education rose from $3,623,466 in 1928 to 20,979,026 in 1933. The funds had been vastly increased for mass education."29

After reviewing the above treatments this writer noted that the American writers freely indicated in their texts their beliefs that the National Government, unlike the transient warlords, conceived and pursued a plan of nation building, and that its leaders were aware of the crucial importance of education as an instrument of nation-building. The centralized administration of the national government made it possible to make plans for educational growth in the light of the over-all needs of the whole nation. The writers also keenly observed the trend to the correction of the imbalance in education that resulted from the uncoordinated efforts of the past. Imbalance occurred in areas such as being top heavy at the level of higher education but weak in elementary schools; most secondary schools offering academic courses but few providing vocational training; too many college students in arts, law, and commerce but too few in science and technology. Imbalance was also reflected in school location, most of the higher learning institutions being concentrated in certain big cities such as Peking, Tientsin, Nanking, Shanghai,

Canton, and so on. However, the educational development in the Republic shows that numerous new programs in education were introduced, and considerable progress had been made from the time that the National Government was established in 1927 until the out-break of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937.

**Chinese Renaissance and Educational Reform**: Chinese Renaissance, to the Chinese people, means the New Thought Movement. In the years following the founding of the Republic in 1912, China opened her doors to new thoughts and ideas from foreign states. No school of thought was barred from study. This movement paved the way for free inquiry and intellectual curiosity. Two very important developments, the "Literary Revolution" and the "Student Movement" which greatly affected the Chinese education thereafter, resulted from this movement.

It was truly as Kandel stated in 1924: "of all the forces that are now acting upon Chinese education, the Chinese Renaissance has exerted the most profound influence." The movement began in 1917 as a "Literary Revolution" when Dr. Hu Shih and Mr. Chan Tu-hsiu, the leaders of the movement declared that the classical language had outlived its unsefulness and that the "Pei hua", the vernacular, was its legitimate heir. This rediscovery of a living language for Chinese has enabled China to produce new literature fitted for the new age, revolutionized elementary school reading materials as
well as methods of teaching them, and made it possible for
the popular education movement to go on with its program of
eliminating illiteracy. 30

Kandel's treatment of the "Literary Revolution" gives
his readers a fresh impression that a new vernacular literature
came into existence and quickly gained popularity and was
widely used by the younger generation. The "Literary
Revolution" movement spread so fast that the schools soon
taught students to read the spoken language books and to write
essays in the vernacular. The educational effect of this
movement was certainly enormous.

A crucial point that this writer would like to add
here was the favorable and positive attitude of the National
Government toward the "Literary Revolution" movement. As a
matter of fact, all textbooks in the elementary schools and
the lower secondary schools were written in spoken language
by the government order in 1928. Even in the textbooks for
college students the spoken language was used far more than
the classical tongue. Adult education commonly used nothing
but the spoken language. The National Government actually
popularized the "Literary Revolution" or the "Pai hua"
movement and brought it to an earlier success than was expected
by the leaders of the movement.

The "Student Movement" was the second development of the Chinese Renaissance. It was known to the West as the "May Fourth Movement" because the students went on a strike and gave a series of demonstrations in Peking on May 4, 1919. Students throughout the country responded immediately with the same actions. This was in reaction to the "power politics" at the Paris Peace Conference in April 1919. The Great Powers had sustained the demands of Japan and ignored the hopes and aspirations of the Chinese nation to nullify the notorious Japanese "Twenty-one Demands" and to restore the Japanese occupied territory in China. Students were enraged by the incompetence of their government and its delegates at the Paris Conference. They demanded the dismissal of the pro-Japanese officials, opposed the action of the Paris Conference, and awakened the nation to the peril confronting China's sovereignty.

Consequently, as Monroe wrote, the student body, through public addresses and agitation, through publications, had come to exercise real power. Its opposition had overthrown a ministry; its criticism exercised a restraining power in selfish politicians; its publications were leading factors in the formation of public opinion and in stimulating the discussion of all sorts of questions, political, social, and intellectual. The influence of the student opinion on school life was profound, and had both good and evil effects,......
Frequently, through more formal means, students elected or rejected subjects of study; they forced the resignation of an unpopular teacher; occasionally they controlled the appointment or forced the resignation even of the head of a school. The exercise of all these powers was fraught with danger. On the other hand, the power of the student movement maintained the prestige of the intellectual leaders and at the same time associated the new learning with the course of social progress in a way helpful to both.

Monroe further pointed out that if the student movement had concerned itself with an understanding of the political situation in China, had determined to make known the selfish exploitation by the unfaithful public officials and unscrupulous politicians, and had endeavored through this publicity to hold such men up to higher standards of political obligation, it might have become the redeeming force of modern China. 31

However, the student movement at that time was mainly motivated by patriotism and high idealism. Besides their demands in national and international politics, in social affairs, and in traditional family roles, the students particularly demanded a voice in school affairs and co-education in higher education, refused to study quietly in

31. Monroe, pp.75-76.
the classroom and to give unquestioning obedience to authority; preferred activity to passivity, and wanted freedom from restriction of traditions and independence in the conduct of personal life, and so on. There were two by-products that developed from this movement which were immediately noted by the writers. One was that the movement developed a serious problem of student discipline that confronted the National Government in the late decades under consideration. The other was the strong and active support of the student to the cause of Nationalism, under the banner of which, a highly centralized system of education was therefore built, and the administration of the missionary schools by foreigners was eventually terminated. The former greatly contributed to educational instability. The latter caused the missionary schools to be attacked as cultural imperialism. This development will be given more evaluation in the section on Christian education in China.

The Government in Its Relation to Education: During the warlords' period in the Republic before and during 1920's, the central government was unable to develop a long range plan of national reconstruction that could be carried out effectively. The chaos that resulted from the laissez faire educational policy of the warlords was painfully prolonged in the Republic for more than a decade. Consequently, all the educational reforms and programs recommended by the Ministry
of Education as discussed in this chapter, were delayed in being executed because of the subsequent changes of administration and financial stress. The local educational activities survived only through local support. Thus, democratic and universal education had been merely the ideal of the new Republic, and became an unfulfilled promise.

This situation was correctly explored by Kandel. In his 1924 text, he wrote:

Three years ago the Minister was changed about twice a year. In the last two or three years the position has become even more unstable. This year the Minister has been changed five times. . . . On account of political dissension in the country and the lack of financial support for education, the activities of the Ministry have been so restricted and held back that the office is often spoken of as the Ministry of Pekin schools, and worse still as the Ministry of the Ministry, for the Ministry has even lost control of the Pekin schools and has been sometimes dictated to by them."32

Beginning with the establishment of the National Government in 1927, a centralized system of education was duly instituted. The Ministry of Education was the highest administrative organ. It controlled all levels of education, from primary schools to the university. In describing the educational situation at that time, Monroe gave the following information: From the Ministry of Education emanated the various regulations which controlled to the minutest detail the operation of the local school systems. The curricula,

methods of instruction, the forms of organization, the standards of inspection, had all been determined by the central office. However, the national organization of education did not require that the lower schools should be administered directly by the Ministry. The Ministry appointed the various provincial commissioners of education. It directly controlled the institutions of higher learning, that is, universities and colleges. The administrative heads of these institutions were appointed by the central office and the funds for the support of the institutions were allotted directly to them.\textsuperscript{33} As a matter of fact, each province, county, and district, had its own educational administrative organ. The local authority directly controlled primary and secondary education. The provincial administrations supervised the lower educational units within their own region. However, all these authorities were subject to the direction of the Ministry and merely carried out the orders from above. The ratio of budgetary distribution for education was specified by law by the central government.

This highly centralized administration was considered the quickest way and the most effective means to end the chaotic educational situation then in China. According to Monroe, this highly developed and quite technical administrative scheme probably brought better and quicker results than

\textsuperscript{33} Monroe, pp. 57-58.
would have the introduction of the more democratic experimental or individualistic method familiar to Americans. However, this feature of the system in the successive years provoked more and more adverse criticism from those working in the system. 34

As was expected, some educational problems arose as a result of this system. This writer would like to point out that standardization of curricula meant the killing of electives. All students were required to study the same subjects. The development of the potentialities of the individual was certainly retarded. Education should be flexible and dynamic instead of stereotyped or static and not regimentally regulated for all and every one as was done by the central office. The unique method of instruction, (purely lecturing), certainly paid no attention to the importance of the teaching and learning process familiar to the teachers and students in the United States. These were the problems among many others thirty years ago in China and some still exist in mainland China and in Taiwan. The writers of the texts under study agree that this highly centralized system has, at least partly, tended to prevent China from reaching a democratic and universal education.

34. Ibid., p.57.
Christian Education in China: One of the most significant influences in the development of modern education in China has been that exerted through the schools supported by the various missions, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. The modern educational work of the missions began over a century ago in 1830.35 Whenever talking about modern Chinese education, one should never fail to mention the role of the Christian schools which were established by the Western missionaries. They, as we have pointed out earlier, were the respected pioneers in modern education in China. They were the first to educate the common people, to advocate education for women, to teach English, music, athletics and many other western sciences and to stress the character education of student discipline. Unquestionably, the missionary schools were the outstanding private educational institutions in China.

During the earlier period of the Republic, from 1912 to 1927, religious education was respected and encouraged. China was utilizing private and mission schools and endowments and welcoming the founding of schools and colleges by foreign institutions. There was every where, as Cloyd wrote, in the leading cities of the provinces, a remarkable openness of mind on the part of the Chinese students and official classes

35. Ibid., p.73.
toward Christian teaching. Kandel's and Monroe's texts report the above treatment. In Kandel's words: "From 1901 to 1920 foreign culture was at the height of its popularity in China. "Western subjects" in all the schools, public and private, were greatly emphasized, and the Christian schools were especially popular". An extensive Christian educational system was growing steadily. In 1922, the Protestant forces in China supported about 6,890 primary schools, and a total attendance of 205,000 were in the Protestant schools from Primary to College. The Roman Catholic Church had 3,000 schools, with a total student population of 144,000. Because this growth aroused the suspicion of the Government and the non-Christian public, the question of the relation of the Christian schools to the Government began to assume importance.

Missionary institutions, according to these writers, in spite of their good record and contribution to modern education in China, had come under attack. These institutions were charged with being under foreign control and with giving religious instruction to young children who were not mature enough to make intelligent decisions for themselves. They were suspected of organizing a system of Christian education

38. Monroe, p.73.
parallel to the government system which might in time became an irreconcilable group within the Nation. As a matter of fact the more serious change was that the subjects taught in these institutions were predominantly "foreign language, history and culture". On the contrary, Chinese language, history and culture were neglected. This directly opposed the newly developed national education which was in full accord with the spirit of "Nationalism" following the May Fourth Student Movement in 1919.

In this movement, as we have mentioned above, the "New Thought Tides" were swelling with assertions that all religious belief was obsolete in the West, that missionary efforts were a subtly disguised commercial or political propaganda, that foreign schools were a denationalizing gangrene in the nation's life, and so on. Thus conservative prejudices and radical pronouncements found a common object of disfavor in the mission schools.

These charges and suspicions quickly resulted in government regulations over Christian schools. Particularly, during and after the Nationalist revolution in 1927, missionary schools experienced a difficult time of adjustment. The regulations prescribed that no compulsory Bible study and


chapel attendance be allowed; that all subjects taught had to meet the uniform curriculum for all private and public schools; that Christian schools were required to register with the government; and that schools administrators had to be Chinese. 42

During this critical period of adjustment, according to Kandel, schools were disrupted over wide areas and disconsolate missionaries left China never to return. Others, more fortunate as to geographical location or more able to adjust their policies to shifting conditions, fared better than most government schools which were affected more directly from the political disturbances in finances or in personnel. In short, the past twenty or thirty years which have produced cataclysmic changes throughout the world have had these same effects in China intensified by their impact upon a civilization comparatively static and isolated through centuries. Schools established by foreigners could not but have shared to the full the consequences of all this seething ferment. 43

However, due to the cooperation and willingness of the foreign administrators to relinquish the authority to their Chinese successors, and to register their schools with the government, these missionary institutions surely had plenty of room for distinctive contribution to the total

educational task in China.

**The Attitude of Chinese Educators Toward Modern Education:** The opinion and attitude of Chinese educators played a very important role in modern Chinese education. In our previous discussions, we have noted that during the 1910's and 1920's, educational theories and practices of foreign countries such as Japan, Germany, England, Russia and America have had influence upon the reform of Chinese education. As Kandel pointed out:

At the first China sacrificed everything old for the new. Gradually she came to a realization that the old is not necessarily bad and the new is not necessarily good. The Chinese educators therefore became more cautious and critical. Their reaction now toward new theories and practices is no longer imitative adoption, but questioning, examination, experimentation, and selection. The logical outcome of the attitude tends to work out an education that is best fitted for the need of new China by assimilating what is best in the old and the new, both at home and in other countries".44

This attitude was expressed again and again during Washburne's interviews with the then prominent educators and educational officials in China. Let us summarize and evaluate some general viewpoints on some critical questions regarding modern Chinese education in his text.

In regard to whether Chinese education should be directed toward forming a specific kind of society, answers and opinions of Chinese educators and officials were varied.

The following were the essential viewpoints quoted by Washburne:

"The enormous extent of the Chinese empire, and the difficulty of transportation have always made a laissez faire policy inevitable. So while the Russian idea of making a definitely planned new society through education appeals to us, we doubt its practically in China... Under this circumstances the Hamburg idea of developing each individual full and letting him meet the new conditions and needs would be China's wisest course.

"We want to discard the undesirable elements of the old culture and preserve and adopt the desirable ones. China hasn't a concrete aim in education, although a review of the government's orders would lead you to think that the aim was as definite as Russia's. But practically the people doubt the possibility of carrying out the Russian idea of education, and the government has no adequate or concrete program.

"We do not believe in the development of individuals as the sole aim of education, nor have we an exclusive social aim. Our tradition is somewhat influenced by the Confucian doctrine of the happy medium; we should maintain all the ethical codes of our sages but at the same time we should know current movements of world thought.

"The present China needs the type of citizen who thinks national existence is more important than personal existence. Once the country has acted you must throw your face in with it. The old China put the family first, now the state first.

"From the political point of view, each citizen must obey his own government. But the purpose of education is to find rationality and truth; so, although the citizen should obey his government's order, he should recognize its wrongness, if it is wrong; otherwise he will lose his discrimination between wrong and truth."45

In view of these statements we noted that most of the viewpoints neither rejected entirely the educational ideas of other countries, nor unconditionally adopted them for Chinese

use. Only those ideas that fitted the needs of China would be adopted. As to the freedom of the individual as a goal of education, we cannot but agree with Washburne's comment "China does not have an unified and consistent policy in regard to the relative importance of individual conscience and loyalty to the nation. Those who are influencing Chinese thought differ among themselves". However, the fact was that the majority of the Chinese educators were more interested in the compromise viewpoint of the happy medium than the extreme of individualism or communism.

The next question dealt with freedom of discussion. Communism was not allowed to be discussed in schools after the National Revolution in 1927. Through his interviews Washburne found various opinions on this question among the Chinese educators. Some favored free discussion of all controversial questions; some strongly opposed the discussion of communism, and some maintained a rather discriminating viewpoint.

The last group represented the attitudes of most of the educators Washburne interviewed. They believed that elementary and secondary school students should discuss questions within their grasp. They were probably not qualified to discuss so large a problem as communism because they had no knowledge about its effects. But, in the university, there should be freedom of thought and expression for teachers and students. 46 The attitude of this group seemed to be the

46. Ibid., pp.66-67.
most acceptable one held by the teachers of the nation at that time. However, Washburne's quest was not made out of curiosity but was rather a wise challenge from a visiting American educator interested in modern education in China.

The third question dealt with the reconciliation of nationalism and internationalism. In our previous discussions, we have pointed out that after the establishment of the national system of education in 1927, all textbooks for elementary and secondary education were unified and published by the government. The strong emphasis on nationalism in the textbooks obviously caught Washburne's attention. However, he was given opposing opinions about this point in his interviews.

One group insisted that the nation came first, the world next. A nation must be able to stand on its own feet before it can talk internationalism. Who actually believes in internationalism anyway, except a few idealists? The other group, however, maintained a more liberal view and considered that China would be better off if she understood other nations better and realized that her problems were bound up with international problems. They said it was erroneous to hold that for China to think internationally would be like a lamb trying to be friendly with a lion. That is short-sighted, while in education we must be long-sighted and do

47. Ibid., p.68.
away with hate and conceit since a nationalistic child inflamed is a savage and a menace. Our new textbooks are terrible. They inflame hatred and blind the child to the good in other countries. We should train children to find the good in every nation.48

Theoretically the viewpoint of the last group has universal truth and practical application which most Chinese educators even including the first group would accept without argument. As a matter of fact, the viewpoint of the first group was the dominant philosophy of Chinese education during the period under study. This was because the majority of the Chinese people, particularly the leaders of the nation, felt that China had been abused by big powers who took China's sovereignty by force and got all the rights and privileges as well as extraterritoriality in China through unequal treaties. These were, without question, the direct factors that contributed to the development of strong nationalism.

The fourth question was concerning the conflict that existed in America between child-centered education and education scientifically organized to meet adult social needs. It was surprising to note that all the Chinese educators Washburne interviewed were not disturbed about the conflict. They held the same opinion and viewpoint, that "Give the

48. Ibid., p.70.
child freedom to have his own activities, and through these develop the traits which the adult needs. Analyze the needs of society, and if children's freely chosen activities fail to prepare them for some of these, modify the activities so that they will."

The last question was in regard to the function of the school in moral and emotional training. All those interviewed by Washburne agreed that certain desirable attitudes should be inculcated, but apparently none of the people had given the matter much thought. Some said that the moral aspects of all subjects should be taught, rather than separate morality; since all motives are emotional, we should learn how to develop and direct children's emotions; some doubted the value of teaching abstract things except through the concrete, and were opposed to utilizing children's unformed mentalities to impose dubious dogmas, though certain attitudes cannot help being taught; some felt that education should aim at some form of intellectual direction of conduct, to coordinate the emotions under the guidance of intelligence, and believed in freer play of emotions, but also in their coordination and integration. 49

With the foregoing treatments in mind, despite their varieties of viewpoint the Chinese educators commonly felt

49. Ibid., p.72.
that a new society must be built in China. "This society is to retain the best of the culture and wisdom of ancient China, but is to adopt the efficiency and democracy of the Western world". 50 Education is, therefore, viewed as the bridge to bring the society from the old tradition to modernization. To develop "a sense of National cohesion", nationalism must be planted in the mind of each student through education. Internationalism will be considered when China stands with others on the same "position of equality and dignity in the world community". 51 The child centered curriculum should be adopted in Chinese schools. "The child's needs must be considered, of course, and he should get far more freedom to select his activities than is allowed in traditional schools". 52 The attitude of the educators and educational officials certainly has had definite influence on the development of education in China. If we look at the history of China from the establishment of the Republic in 1912 to the out-break of Sino-Japanese war in 1937, we note that China did not achieve her unity through education as Japan did to obtain her extreme of nationalism, nor as Russia did for building a specific society, "but as a nation with great depths to draw upon, with high ideals toward which it

50. Ibid., p.73.
51. Ibid., p.74.
52. Ibid.
is striving, and with educational leaders conscious of their responsibility, earnest, thoughtful, and hard at work".  

Moreover, the nation was officially unified under the National Government which had a strong leadership to build China an independent and democratic state.

**China’s Educational Problems:** The Chinese educational problems in the decades preceding the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 have been expressed in the foregoing discussions. Moreover, some of the more important problems regarding education in the texts under study can be summarized and evaluated as follows:

**Educational Finance:** During the early years of the Republic and the “warlords’ period before 1927, there was no assurance of government financial support for schools. In Cloyd’s text that sudden change in China, from a private to a state system of schools, with an attempt at compulsory education for the masses presented to her a staggering financial problem. Furthermore, the new government shouldered a debt greater than that of the United States, with an income of only about one fourth that of the United States. The educational work was only one of the many social demands made upon a country’s finances.  

53. Ibid., p. 75.
54. Cloyd, p. 429.
In China, roughly speaking, there were three grades of education supported by three sets of funds. Higher education was mainly supported by the national fund; secondary education by the provincial fund; and elementary education by the local fund. Due to political instability and huge military expenditures, schools at all levels experienced a serious financial uncertainty for more than one decade and they had to struggle for their own survival using the means and ways available to achieve the maximum of educational results. Fortunately, however, following the establishment of the National Government in 1927, for the first time, the Republic had a stable government committed to long range planning for modern education and it pledged financial support to public education.

Modern Teacher: A new teaching staff was badly needed in the new Republic particularly during the early years. According to Cloyd's estimate, on the basis of the percentage of school population in the United States, which was about one sixty of the entire population, China would have over 55,000,000 school children. For these, on the basis of 35 pupils to the teacher, she would have needed 1,500,000 teachers. She had fewer than 100,000; she needed 1,400,000 more teachers. To meet the urgent need, China saw the

56. Cloyd, p.431.
necessity of training her own teachers. However, under the difficult financial situation of the government as a whole, the problem of teacher shortage had been constantly a serious one, and a satisfactory solution was continuously under study but was never attained throughout the period under study.

Language Problem: Before the Chinese Renaissance in 1919, it was true that China did not have a common language, both spoken and written. This was once the most serious problem for popular education in China. During and after the "Literary Revolution", as mentioned above, the spoken language and the vernacular style of writing were generally promoted and officially adopted. This revolutionary reformation, made popular education and the elimination of illiteracy possible.

New Curriculum and New Methods of Education: Educational leaders of the new Republic saw that an education, purely literary and philosophical, was not sufficient to preserve the moral integrity and national prominence of a people. New ideals, new subject matter, new methods, and new motives were necessary to educate and train people for life and service in the Republic. Traditional authority and books must be integrated with observation, experimentation, science, and laboratories. 57 This drastic transformation from old to

57. Ibid., pp. 433-434.
modern was a painful process in the Republic, particularly the traditional teaching method characterized by pure lecturing which is still alive in the Republic today.

An Emancipated Womanhood and Coeducation: One of the most vital changes in the Republic was the new education for Chinese girls and women. Their past education was mainly moral and domestic. Now, education was open to them from primary schools to colleges. As Cloyd noted: "the social adjustment became the most difficult problem both for the girls and boys. A new moral consciousness is needed and this will require time and trying experiences for its development". Moreover, the attitudes of parents and conservative educators were not without opposition to this unprecedented change. Particularly they strongly opposed coeducation in the secondary schools, where the premature romances usually develop.

The Problem of New Philosophy: For more than two thousand years the Chinese mind had been shaped and controlled by the philosophy of Confucius, which is a materialistic, superstitious theory of ethics based on the paternalistic conception of society and the state. Under the Republic, China needed to be shaken up mentally, with a new psychology, to free her mind of superstitions: a new philosophy, to turn

58. Ibid., p.436.
her mind away from sages to the throne of reason and into the literature of modern thought. Therefore the retention of the best of Confucianism and the adoption of the new ideas of the Western philosophers caused constant argument between the conservatives and reformers in the Republic until 1927, when Dr. Sun Yat-sen's doctrines were unanimously adopted by the National Government as the guidelines, politically, socially and educationally.

Religious Education: As has been indicated, missionary education once became an unfortunate target to be constantly attacked by the non-Christian public and educational officials, from the Chinese Renaissance in 1919 to the registration of Christian schools with the government after 1927. However, their continuous contribution to modern Chinese education in the Republic in Taiwan and their entire elimination from Chinese education in mainland China will be evaluated and discussed in the following chapters.

Student Discipline and Youth Problems: The relaxation of student discipline after the May Fourth Movement in 1919, as mentioned above, caused a serious youth problem to the National Government. This situation was keenly observed by the writers. The government faced with the need of imposing order and stability, began to stress student discipline

59. Ibid., p.437.
rather than active participation in politics. Therefore, restlessness and frustration once more prevailed and continued throughout the period under study without a satisfactory solution.

**Education for Mass Illiteracy:** Mass illiteracy presented a unique problem in China. According to Kandel: "there were about 200 million illiterates in 1924 among the total population of 450 million in China. It was a problem for popular education to solve". The educational authorities, in an attempt to eliminate illiteracy, were not only using schools but also a variety of media outside the schools to teach the masses reading, writing and the rudiments of knowledge. The task was difficult, but the decision and action of the government and educators was positive and definite. It invited every effort the nation could afford.

The problems cited in the texts under study brought China to make great efforts to find their solutions. It called for the exercise of the highest spirit of cooperation among educational officials, educators and students, and needed the positive educational policy of the government. Some of the problems, as it has been observed, were gradually solved with hardship throughout the past years, some need more time and patience for their future solutions.

60. Kandel, p.142.
By way of summary, after we considered the treatments relating to the Chinese education in the American comparative texts, we realized that the writers unanimously reached a general conclusion that the basic thread of Chinese educational history since the founding of the Republic in 1912 to the outbreak of Sino-Japanese War in 1937 was the search for new educational institutions, a new philosophy of education, a new school curriculum, and a new method of teaching. The progress toward a modern democratic education was made under extremely chaotic conditions of "internal worries" and "external threats". Traditional learning was discarded and fundamental changes in Chinese education have been made. Widespread interest, great efforts of the government, close cooperation of the educators, expansion of equal opportunity, growth of schools and students, heavy influence of Western science, and at the same time student unrest and public uncertainty in education characterized the decades under study.

The Republic had not had a stable central government committed to long-range educational planning before 1927 when the National Government was established. A national system of education then evolved. The common aim based upon the "Thress Principles of the People" guided education at all levels both for the private and public schools. The adoption of the vernacular contributed to unify Chinese culture and national education. Compulsory education was made possible
for the lower grades. Great efforts were made to eliminate mass illiteracy. Western science was greatly emphasized in the school curriculum. In spite of inadequate funds, poor school facilities, serious shortages of modern teachers and trained school administrators, educational progress during this period was substantial and marked with growth and expansion.

All the aspects of traditional education in China, all the efforts provided for modern democratic education, and all the difficulties and problems in Chinese educational reform and development were examined in the authors' writings through their keen observation, realistic and objective analysis and evaluation. Frequently, as we read from the texts, it is not difficult for the readers to discover that some writers dealt in one way or another with respect to political-education linkage; some discussed special topics, and some tended to present descriptive accounts of the national system of education. On the whole, as we compare the texts from the earliest issue to the subsequent issues, it gives the readers an opportunity to estimate and figure out the changes that occurred and the progress made in Chinese education during the years within the last decades.

Finally, we have to point out again that Chinese education did not receive as much attention as many European countries did in the American comparative education texts in the period 1910 to 1930. From the research of the texts
published during these years, however, a trend showed that more American educators gradually became interested in Chinese education and culture. The early publications, without doubt, paved the way for later American educators for newer adventures in the virgin land of modern education in China.
CHAPTER III

THE WAR PERIOD, 1937-1949

Historical Background

In the previous chapter, we saw how American comparative educators treated the unification of China in 1927 after the power of the warlords was broken by the National Government. The work of national reconstruction based on Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principles now began in earnest throughout the country. In the years preceding the outbreak of Sino-Japanese War in 1937, a modern system of national education was established; great effort and substantial progress in expanding education were being made; the annual national budget for educational purpose was regularly allotted to the various educational institutions; Christian and private schools were registered with the government and cooperated with the national educational program; mass education was being enthusiastically carried out with tremendous public and private support; illiteracy though was still high but gradually reduced; teachers, students, and the masses were truly entertaining high hopes for the future of modern universal education in their country.
Unfortunately but not unexpectedly, Japanese aggressors, fearful that a unified China, with its vast manpower and natural resources, would be an insurmountable obstacle to Japan's Asian ambition engineered the Mukden Incident of September 19, 1931 and forcibly occupied Manchuria. Further Japanese aggressive actions directed against China one after another, finally led to the outbreak of an all-out war between China and Japan which exploded in the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of July 7, 1937.

The undeclared war, like a great earthquake, shook the structure of the young unified Republic's very inadequate foundations socially, economically, politically and educationally. It left China cracked almost beyond repair. When the war broke out it could not be confined to a certain area. A few days after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the nation, declared that "once we go to war to save the nation, there is no alternative to victory". True to his words, he decisively led the nation to defeat Japan. To the knowledge of this writer when the Japanese pushed their armed forces to attack Shanghai, the biggest industrial and business city of China, Generalissimo Chiang threw the nation's best troops into the battle. Overnight there was such national unity as had never been seen before in modern Chinese history. Apparently the Japanese had underestimated the degree to which the spirit
of nationalism had permeated the country through education during the last decade since the national system of education was established in 1927.

Let us now turn our attention to the general situation of wartime education in China. The Japanese intended and planned on destroying or transforming Chinese schools particularly the colleges and universities, which were considered to be hotbeds of nationalist and anti-Japanese sentiment. It was true that modern schools in China did play a very important role in developing national unity and rearing a vigorous nationalism. The educational institutions therefore became the major targets to be destroyed by the Japanese as soon as the war broke out. In the occupied areas, the Japanese immediately re-organized the schools in an attempt to suit their own aggressive purpose. For instance, the Japanese immediately substituted English with Japanese as the second language taught in their reorganized schools. This was clearly a very ambitious attempt to Japanize Chinese eventually by first forcing the Chinese young generation to learn the Japanese language. The school curriculum was totally revised so as to make it favorable to Japan.

In order to escape Japanese control, colleges and universities in the coastal provinces moved their sites to the interior and the vast western areas, beyond the Japanese zone. Teachers and students along with millions of refugees,
with the encouragement and support of the Chinese government, made their way out of the occupied areas and into the interior. In spite of the advance of Japan on her soil and the exhaustion of prolonged war, China still made progress in all directions, particularly in education.

Since the Sino-Japanese war was a life and death struggle for the Chinese people, it was of course of major importance and had tremendous effects on China's external and internal developments in the following years. For example, the war paved the way for the Chinese Civil War between the Nationalists and the Communists, which broke out immediately after the victory over Japan in 1945. It was comprehensible that China, after eight years of war with Japan, desperately needed every minute and every bit of effort for her national reconstruction and recovery. The Civil War deeply widened the wounds of the nation, killed the dream of unification of the nation, destroyed the hope of the people toward a peaceful, modernized democratic country, and finally divided the country into two parts in 1949. The National Government was then forced to move its seat to Taiwan, an island province of China, and the Communists took control of the mainland. This was the dark age of China and fatal moment for modern Chinese education.

Selected Books

Of the treatment written by American comparative
educators of the period (1937-1949), these books were most significant. They were Chinese Education in the War, 1940, by Hubert Freyn; Education in China Today by C. O. Arndt and his associates. Arndt was the chief of Far and Near Eastern Section, U. S. Office of Education, Washington from 1942 to 1946. During that period, Education in China Today under his authorship was published in 1944; Rural Society and Rural Education in Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, 1938 by I. L. Kandel, the long-time professor of the Teachers College, Columbia University and a pioneer of comparative education in the United State; and Education in China in the Comparative Education, 1941 by Henry L. Smith, a professor of education of Indiana University from 1916 to 1949. He also headed the World Federation of Education Association from 1927 to 1947. During this period, his Comparative Education was published. There are two other books which described the Chinese education under the Civil War years from 1945 to 1949. They will be evaluated in the second part of this chapter.

From the publication of these books, compared with numbers of the publication of Chinese education before 1937, it was evident that fewer American educators in comparative education were doing research on Chinese education during the Sino-Japanese War years. Many reasons could have contributed to this effect. However, it can be assumed that
few American educators in the comparative education field ever seriously conducted constant and systematic study of Chinese education. This was especially true during World War II which have an unfavorable result on those students who were interested in studying Chinese education.

The treatment of education in China in *Comparative Education* by Henry L. Smith published in 1941, four years after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, was mainly a background presentation about the China's people, geography, history, government, philosophy, culture, education, and development. Smith also examined the educational organization, administration, finance, and school systems of China before the war in 1937. The treatments of these above stated aspects were similar to those texts that were evaluated and analyzed in chapter II. However, Smith also briefly treated war time education in China in his text.

Kandel's "Rural Education in China" in the *Educational Yearbook*, 1938, published one year after the war began discussed Chinese social and cultural conditions in relation to the theory and practice of rural education. Kandel also examined the essential knowledge and information for eliminating illiteracy in China. His treatment, however, touched some fundamental problems of mass illiteracy in China and indicated the major effort of the Chinese government in trying to educate the illiterate masses in an attempt to unite them
through education to resist Japanese aggression.

The Chinese Education in the War published in 1940, Shanghai, China. Hubert Freyn, the author particularly mentioned the objectives of wartime education; emphasized the wartime educational programme and the tremendous efforts of the administrators, professors, and students moving their colleges and universities from the war zone to the safer areas in the west region during the early years, 1937 to 1939, of the war. The author, however, did not give details about the school works and activities at the elementary and secondary levels at that time.

Arndt and his associates' Education in China Today published in 1944 by the Division of Comparative Education, U. S. Office of Education, provided the most comprehensive descriptions that showed how Chinese education was caring on despite the constant destruction of the Japanese aggressors; how the Chinese teachers and educators rendered their superb services in resisting the enemy; and how the national cultural heritage was conserved through extremely difficult situations under the war threat. Arndt's book was, in this writer's opinion, the most scholarly and valuable American source of wartime education in China.

The method used by the authors of these books were primarily descriptive. The treatments of Chinese education in these texts can be generally summarized and classified.
into three categories: The conditions of rural society; a general view of rural education; and war time education in China. A further evaluation and analysis of each text will be based upon the above specifications.

The Pre-War Conditions of Rural Society

Kandel's treatment of the conditions of the Chinese rural society was the most comprehensive one. It examined broadly the very basic fundational unit of the Chinese village, population, land problem and land policy, usury and cooperatives, disease and health care, famine and the control of nature, external aggression and united resistance and so on. His writing on Chinese rural conditions provided the most informed source in this regard not only for students but also for educators for their professional use. Now, let us examine in more detail each aspect of the rural society upon which China greatly depended for her life and death struggle with Japan in World War II.

Chinese Village Conditions: In describing the Chinese village conditions, Kandel reported that it had been estimated that China had a million villages with an average of four hundred persons for every village. The villages differed very widely in their composition and manner of living as may be seen along the Amur, the Yangtze, the Yellow, and the Pearl Rivers, or the Plateaus of the Northwest and the plains of North China. Some of the villages consisted of
families descended from the same ancestor; others were of a mixed composition. In many villages a tea-house usually served as a center for public opinion. An occasional grocery store supplied salt, vegetable oil, paper, gasoline, and other necessities to the villagers. With the exception of a few landlords, most of the villagers lived by farming.\(^1\) Smith's text concerned with Kandel's view and stated that China was largely an agricultural nation, with about three-fourths of the population living on farms. From the distant past farming had been a highly venerated vocation. An annual tax was paid on the land.\(^2\)

Kandel and Smith's treatments were unbiased, giving their readers a background presentation of the past rural conditions, under which the Chinese people lived generation after generation. The traditional stable but backward agrarian society, without question, had contributed to the age long conditions of poverty in China. Eventually the major world powers ambitiously took advantage of China's weakness, launching aggressive actions upon her soil one after another, from the nineteenth century to the Sino-Japanese War.

**China's Population**: According to Kandel, of China's population 12 per cent were living in towns of 10,000 or more.

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and 80 per cent of the 450,000,000 people were living in the villages. He further pointed out that out of the yearly increase of 4,000,000 people an increase of at least 3,000,000 might be expected in the villages. In addition, the slow development of Chinese national industries, handicapped by foreign competition and without any protection by means of tariff, had not been an adequate outlet for the surplus peasant population. However, China's newly established mill and factories of the western type were totally under the danger of destruction by the War. From their treatments, it is clear that the war naturally increased the hardship of Chinese people and destroyed their hopes for an early industrialization of their poverty-stricken nation.

**Land Problem:** The unequal distribution of land, the small size of farms, rent, and the increase of landless farmers had constituted a serious land problem in China. As a matter of fact, most of the rural population were either part owners or tenant farmers. In realizing the seriousness of the situation, according to Kandel, the government enacted a land law as early as in 1930, which provided that, if the landlord was absent from the locality where his land was situated, the tenant might proceed to acquire the land under certain legal conditions after he operated it for ten years.

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Rent should not be more than 37.5 per cent of the main produce from the land; the rate of taxation of improved farm land should be one per cent of its value; and of course there were many other provisions in favor of farmers. All these practices by the government were intended to improve rural conditions, stimulate farm production, and provide farmers with a decent livelihood. However, without a sound land reform program to solve the land problem permanently, the poverty of the rural country remained serious and constant prior to the end of the civil war in 1949.

Usury and cooperatives: Indebtedness was an additional problem of the farming population. It unquestionably made worse the already poor situation of the peasant family. Statistical information in Kandel's text indicated that, 50 per cent of the farmers were in debt and 48 per cent of them borrowed grain for food. On more than 90 per cent of the loans the interest was higher than 20 per cent per annum; on nearly 24 per cent of the loans the annual interest was over 40 per cent. Of the loans 95 per cent were borrowed from private groups and only 5 per cent from banks and cooperatives. In order to check usury and to help relieve the peasants, the government placed great emphasis on the cooperatives. The Chinese banks, since the beginning of

the 1930's had invested more and more of their funds on cooperatives. This, of course, had given a kind of relief to the farmers. Had there been a healthy banking system in China, the farming industry and the national economic situation might have been helped.

**Diseases and Health Care:** Diseases were like nightmares to the Chinese people throughout the country before and during the war. As this writer can recall, there were many deaths everywhere, everyday. The rural population suffered much more from the diseases than the urban. Kandel pointed out that the most prevailing diseases in the villages were malaria, consumption, and eye, teeth, and skin troubles. Casualties due to childbirth and infantile mortality were also high in the rural areas because of lack of medical care and health information. Contagious diseases, such as smallpox, often levied a high toll upon the village people. The government, through an independent National Health Administration, systematically established a medical administration office, hygiene laboratory and hospital in each province, and attempted to install health centers, health stations and clinics in towns and villages. All these things were done by the government in a nation-wide effort to combat


disease, as it was understood. But far from being sufficient for the overwhelming demands, these efforts also were seriously retarded by the war. This left the Chinese people confronting two battle lines in their life and death struggle, fighting disease and resisting the enemy.

Famine: Famine was a frequent visitor to China, and it was again the rural people who suffered most from it. Among the causes of famine, Kandel cites deforestation, lack of irrigation, inadequacy of river control, primitive farming methods, decline of agricultural production as a result of the increase of large landholding, and the diminution of the size of farms. These conditions combined to produce the floods and drought that had often reduced the people to starvation. Further, owing to the lack of means of communication it was difficult to transport food from one region to another. 8 Although, to our knowledge, great efforts were made by the government to reduce famine before the war in such works as building dams, planting tress, adopting scientific agriculture, and improving animal husbandry, famine remained a serious problem in China. Therefore, anti-famine became one of the powerful Communist slogans against the National Government in the civil war. It was true that, as the American writers observed, China had all the hunger problems

8. Ibid., p.109.
as mentioned above associated with any poor and backward country magnified by the numbers involved.

**External Aggression:** External aggression gravely increased the hardships in the poverty-stricken and disease-ridden nation. Kandel reminded his readers that the century-old aggression from the outside had reduced China to a semi-colonial status. The aggression of Japan in 1937 was threatening China's national existence. Since "divide and conquer" had been the policy of Japanese aggression, the only way to liberty for the Chinese was to "unite and resist." The farmers therefore became the mass base for the Chinese invisible army that decisively made it difficult for the invaders to secure permanent occupation of the country. 9 As the war went on and expanded to the interior of China the peasants' farm land then became the battle field, their harvest became the target to be seized as rations and the peasants became the victims to be captured by the enemy and then used as the manpower for transportation. Here again the rural people were the ones who suffered most. The foundations of the rural society were dangerously damaged by the war.

Almost unbelievable conditions existed in Chinese rural society, the foundation of the nation before and during

the war. It is described by the pens of American educators. You can not doubt that was exactly the picture of China. The real rural situation in some parts in China was probably even more serious than that in the texts under consideration.

**A General View of Rural Education**

As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, in spite of the progress in education that as a whole was being made before the war with Japan, illiteracy, though gradually reduced, still remained high and constituted a very difficult educational problem requiring great public and private efforts for its solution. According to Kandel "illiteracy" ordinarily meant the inability to read and write. In this sense, China by 1938 had about 120,000,000 people who could be classified as "literate" and the rest, numbering about 330,000,000 could be called "illiterate". The percentage of illiteracy was much higher in the villages than in the cities. Literacy being such an important means to further one's own education, mass illiteracy among the Chinese peasants had to be solved in order to help them to achieve greater progress. Smith's viewpoint was that the great percentage of illiterates in China made social education a different problem from that in other countries. With better education for adults increased education for children was

also expected. 11

Formal education, as we noted, had been following the American school system at various levels beginning from elementary to graduate education since 1922. According to Kandel, however, different types of elementary schools still existed, together with the reformed modern six-year elementary schools. These schools included the four year lower primary schools in small towns and certain villages, the one-year course and the old-fashioned private schools in the countryside. 12 These schools were the main educational institutions for educating small town and village children. They were usually of small size with one or two classes. The continuous existence of these lower level schools was obviously for the main purpose of providing some kind of education for the country people and to eliminate illiteracy. They were, of course, not equal to the modern six-year elementary school.

A very ambitious twenty-year plan for universalized education in China which was adopted as early as 1930 was treated in both Kandel's and Smith's writings. In 1935 the Provisional Outline for Enforcing Compulsory Education provided that between August 1935, and July, 1940, all

11. Smith, p.349.
illiterate adults and children of school age must attend the one-year primary school; between August, 1940, and July, 1944, the two-year course; and from August, 1944 onward, four-years of education had to be compulsory. More than that, a most notable feature of the School Law of 1936 was that adult education was to be made universal within six years. 5,500,000 copies of textbooks had therefore been distributed to adults, in 1937 alone, the very year the war broke out with Japan. Large numbers of radios were also distributed to enrich the educational program. 13 According to the reports for 1936-37 it was expected that accommodations for 6,000,000 pupils would be provided by 46,000 short-term schools and 3,000 ordinary schools operating in shifts. Continuation of the program had led to the belief that, with similar progress, by 1942 there would be no illiterates below the age of 45. 14 With this analysis in mind, if war had not broken out in 1937, it is possible that these programs might have eliminated illiteracy from China as the government predicted.

In order to make village education successful, training of village teachers became the foremost task for the government. China is a big country, and the promotion of village education in such a huge territory naturally needed thousands of specially trained village teachers.

13. Ibid., p.112 and Smith, pp.337-38.
Regarding the training program, Kandel made the following observations: Prospective teachers were expected to be trained in a village environment and required to spend some time in living among the peasants, learning from them, and sharing their joys as well as their sorrows. He further stated that the training of village teachers was planned in several ways: First, the normal schools admitted junior high school graduates and offered a course of three years; second, the special normal course admitted senior high school graduates to a one year course; third, the short-course normal schools admitted higher primary school graduates and offered a four-year course; fourth, the short-course normal classes, attached to normal or high schools, admitted junior high school graduates to a one-year course. The subjects of instruction in the village normal schools included citizenship, physical training, military training for boys, military nursing and domestic science for girls, hygiene, Chinese, mathematics, geography, history, biology, chemistry, physics, logic, manual and fine arts, music, agricultural theory and practice, village economy and cooperatives, irrigation, introduction to education, educational psychology, primary school subjects, educational methods and administration, tests and statistics, village education, practice teaching, extracurricular athletics, and so on. The program called for 60 hours a week, 36 hours for classwork and practice teaching.
and 24 hours for athletics and private study. The American educators did not comment on the teacher training curriculum and program. Again, how successfully this program was carried out, for example, how many village teachers had been trained throughout these years and how many village students in turn received this kind of education, is impossible to state. The texts provided little information on these questions.

To speed up village education, a People's Education Movement or Mass Education Movement was created to promote village education. A system of relay teachers, little teachers, and new scripts was adopted and employed for mass education, and public places such as temples and tea houses were used in this movement. From Kandel's writings, we learn that after a class was dismissed each pupil himself became a "relay" teacher and every home a center of learning. In addition to the "relay teachers", there were the "little teachers", school children who at the end of the school day returned to their homes and taught their relatives and neighbors. Grandparents and grandchildren played and taught and learned together. "Little teachers" helped to disseminate education in China. Chinese spoken language, as we noted before, was commonly used at schools of all levels since the Chinese Renaissance in 1919. Here in this movement a new script for the Chinese spoken language was enthusiastically promoted. The scripts for various dialects had been worked

out. They treated the Chinese spoken language as a polysyllabic language and in so doing had succeeded in eliminating the intricate differences among the different dialects. With the new script peasants in different localities, by devoting an hour a day to it, could learn to read and write letters in their dialect in one month. 16

Since money, as indicated earlier, was not available for expanding formal education on a great scale, the gigantic task for eliminating mass illiteracy relied upon village education. As discussed and noted above, with relay teachers, little teachers, the new script and society as the school, farmers were enabled to provide an education by and for themselves. 17 All the attempts and efforts to eliminate illiteracy both by the government and privately were highly praiseworthy. Nevertheless, in such a large country as China, lack of adequate funds, sufficient facilities, educated manpower, and proper communication and transportation, plus the furious destruction by Japanese aggression, retarded the well designed educational plans for the masses. The texts under study were unable to provide further information concerning the achievement, but, we may be sure that more and more peasants had the opportunity to learn to read and

16. Ibid., pp.116-117.
17. Ibid., p.117.
write in one way or another. Literates without doubt were increased day by day.

Wartime Education in China

Sino-Japanese War and World War II, 1937 - 1945:

According to Freyn's text, the immediate objectives and emphasizes of the wartime educational program, as outlined by the Ministry of Education, can be seen in these words:

When the whole nation is mobilized for the war and when hostilities have disrupted the normal education system of the nation, the demands for an emergency educational programme contain many new problems which were absent during peace-time... Since the war, all able-bodied youths have been ordered to receive military training, thus bringing them to the full realization that one of the aims of education is to serve the country.

All youths, irrespective of their qualifications, have to take rigid army training and to join the nation's huge war machinery... During the period of the war, the students cannot discard their studies and their training in this crucial period.

All institutions of higher learning in coastal territories and near the fronts to move into the interior in order to avoid undue risk from ruthless enemy destruction... High schools and primary schools in the lost territories being too numerous to effect a wholesale removal into the interior, the Ministry, among its various measures of relief, has opened eight national middle schools.

Meanwhile, the Ministry aims at closer co-ordination between the schools and the students' home so that the students as well as their families may be educated. This move raises the general educational level of different localities, and helps to unite home education, adult education, school education, and child education into one. 18

Various measures concerning school education, mass

18. Hubert Freyn, Chinese Education in the War (Shanghai, China: Kelly and Walsh Limited, 1940), pp.89-91.
education to eliminate illiteracy, the establishment of national middle schools for refugee students, and wartime serves corps, etc. were adopted. These will be discussed individual in the following evaluations.

During the war years, the intended and planned destruction of Chinese educational institutions by the Japanese aggressors not only worried the Chinese people but also aroused the deep concern of the people around the world on the fate of Chinese schools and the future of Chinese education and culture. The conditions under which Chinese schools from the elementary to the university level were carrying on in war time China were almost unbelievable to the Americans as Hubert Freyn, and C. O. Arndt and his associates stated in their writings. Because of frequent moving, occasioned by bombings, fire, and retreat, most of the materials of instruction, such as books and experimental equipment, had been destroyed. The teachers therefore had to improvise learning activities, and in so doing relied in considerable measure upon life, rather than book experiences as the media of instruction. As to the school life of the students and the learning process in the classroom, these writers further informed us that classes were frequently held in scarred buildings, temples, or even out of doors. Students were, as a rule, inadequately nourished and clothed, thus further complicating the problem of instruction. The fight to live
and learn despite these physical and mental handicaps continued unabated in China. 19

The special situation of war time education, definitely needed extraordinary measures to utilize educational manpower and facilities available to their utmost in continuing educational activities. As thousands of teachers and students carrying their teaching materials and books with them among the stream of refugees escaped from the war zones and rushed to the interior and the west, it immediately, without doubt, constituted an emergent problem for the government and the people in the unoccupied areas. To cope with this situation, according to Smith, various relief measures had been taken for teachers of schools affected by the war. The registration of those formerly in colleges was undertaken in 1938 and the teachers had been assigned to various tasks. The establishment of national middle schools and intermediate classes since 1937 had utilized many teachers. Service corps were absorbing others. The chief tasks other than formal teaching were mass education, compilation of texts, editing of popular reading material, and educating orphans. 20

Relating how the Chinese government utilized the educational personnel from the war zones and the Japanese

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occupied areas, Smith stated that elementary and secondary teachers from the war zones were organized into service corps, under regulations of the Ministry of Education in March, 1938. The Ministry financed the corps, and local educational organizations might supplement the income if they were able. A corps might be attached to national middle schools. A Corps executive Committee had general charge of the operation; to it members reported their work. The committee consisted of five functional divisions: (1) The general division which had charge of such activities as purchasing and correspondence which were not the duties of other sections. (2) The obligatory division which had charge of the one- and two-year elementary schools, training of teachers of the old tutorial schools, itinerant teaching, and education for children from war zones, as well as various types of experimental work. (3) The mass education division which had charge of schools and classes for the adult, first-aid for the soldiers and care of refugees, information about aerial and gas attacks, improvement of village self government, and improvement of social conditions. (4) The secondary school division that was occupied with student camps for those who could not be accommodated in national middle schools and who were willing to do social work in villages, and with classes for those junior and senior students who did not meet the standards of the national middle schools. (5) The division
of compilation which collected instructional materials for use of compulsory and mass education as well as in elementary and secondary schools. Members of the service corps were trained by specialists before beginning work. 21

From these briefly described situations and the special measures taken for the war time education in China, two opposing forces can be identified: the destructive forces of Japan and constructive force of China competing with each other. The Japanese aggressors were trying to destroy Chinese educational institutions and cultural centers, and the Chinese people were struggling to protect them as much as they could. The American educators had unmistakably detected the constructive force that was so dedicated regardless of the difficulties, to continue education for the Chinese youths, the hopes and treasures of the future both for the nation and family. That also indicated why under the direction of the war slogan "armed resistance and national reconstruction", the Chinese government never failed to support both public and private schools and to keep education functioning. Chinese teachers and students themselves always kept classes alive everywhere and at anytime they felt safe from the enemy's attack and bombardment. That also demonstrated that teachers and students were quickly adjusting themselves to the unusual

21. Ibid., p.333.
conditions and contributing their talents to the urgent needs of the nation during war. It would not be an exaggeration to say that this was a time of nation wide intellectual advance and stimulation. The whole country was greatly strengthened spiritually and psychologically because of the war.

From these texts, one thing that especially surprised the writer was the increase in the numbers of students from primary schools to universities during the war years. Let us now examine the elementary schools to see what was really going on and how the American educators viewed them.

**Elementary Education.** Previous to the war in 1937, the Chinese government launched a plan which was, as we noted before, designed gradually to achieve universal school attendance for all children of elementary school age. The outbreak of the war largely thwarted the execution of this plan. Despite the difficulty which obtained, however, the enrollment of children in elementary schools continued to be stressed. According to the published figures of the government there were 22,424,884 pupils in 232,145 schools in China in 1942. This figures compared with 12,383,479 pupils in 259,095 elementary schools in 1935. The number of students enrolled in 1942 was almost twice that of 1935.

22. Arndt, p.5.

23. Smith, p.337.
Nevertheless, the number of schools on the contrary were 27,950 schools fewer than in 1935. A sharp decline in schools was evident. Therefore, an upward trend clearly indicated that the enrollment of pupils in elementary schools was positively increasing during the years of war although many schools had been destroyed by the Japanese.

While the number of students had increased, the quality had declined. As we observed before, there were certain standards of excellence established for the schools before the war. It was naturally difficult for the schools to maintain the same level of standards in war time. The lowering of standards meant a deterioration of quality which received no comments in the texts.

**Secondary Education:** According to the Chinese school system as mentioned before, secondary education included normal, vocational, junior and senior high schools. These schools might be public or private, except for the normal schools which were public. A unique feature of geographical imbalance of the secondary schools as in the case of higher education, had greatly surprised those educators who were interested in Chinese education. The secondary educational institutions, as Arndt wrote, had been permitted to develop in areas which were best able to support them, without consideration of geographical location. Since the wealthy trade centers of China were largely situated on the coast.
or along navigable water routes these areas quickly developed secondary schools, while the inland provinces with which communication was difficult, failed to build such schools in large numbers. He further stated that the National Government had attempted to remedy this situation and established the principle of dividing provinces into secondary school districts based upon such criteria as population, transportation facilities, financial resources, and local culture status. These principles had also become operative in inland provinces which were off the beaten path, but it was not too successful. Since 1937, the war drove millions of people inland and caused the interior provinces to assume a new importance in the life of China. Due to the war, as it was expected, the traditional neglect of geographical distribution of educational facilities in the interior provinces was soon removed and corrected. The imbalance of school location certainly caught the attention of the American educators. As we have viewed above, they noted that certain regions in China had a suitable proportion of high schools while other sections had only a few.

Generally speaking, the school system was normally maintained in those provinces which were not affected by the war. However, in meeting with the urgent needs under the war time conditions, since 1938, according to Arndt, the

government had established 18 national secondary schools in "Free China", with an average enrollment of 1,000 to 1,500 students. The total number of national secondary schools until 1943 was 56. These included 25 national secondary schools, 15 national normal schools, and 16 national vocational schools.25 These schools, as it was known, were aiming at providing teaching and learning for teachers and students of provincial, city and private schools from the war zones. Nevertheless, the texts under study provided little information about the total number of students in these national secondary schools in the same year of 1943.

As to the organization and administration of these national secondary schools Smith observed that a school committee of seven to eleven members in each of these schools, appointed by the government, had legislative powers. One principal from among the members executed all school business. Under him there was a general business division with four sections and an instructional and guidance division with three sections. Each division was headed by a director selected by the principal on approval of the Ministry of Education. Each section had one chief and many officers. All teachers, officers, and clerks employed, Smith further pointed out, were those from war zones. In each grade,

one head and several tutorial teachers were appointed from among the staff, with the aim of training students in good habits and moral conduct. The curricula of these national secondary schools included spiritual, physical, academic, productive and manual training, and training for special teaching and wartime service. Academic training was held in the morning, spiritual and physical training at noon and in the afternoon, and the rest in the afternoon. In general the various standard curricula for high schools were followed. The establishment of the national secondary schools was one of the various government relief measures for those students from the war zones. Smith stated in his text that the establishment of these schools was in 1937. Arndt and his associates on the other hand told their readers it was after 1938. Although they gave a different date for the establishment of these schools, they did unanimously recognize the significance of their existence in modern education in war time China.

Teacher Education: Teacher training had been greatly emphasized since 1927, when the national system of education was adopted. The education of teachers in war time was as usual confined to institutions which were controlled and supported by the government, either local or national.

According to Arndt's writing, there were four types of normal schools in 1944 in China, namely rural normal schools, normal schools, higher normal schools, and normal colleges and teacher colleges. There were nine national normal colleges reported in the same year. The normal colleges were, as it was known, responsible for training teachers for secondary schools, the high normal schools for junior high schools, and the rest were chiefly for elementary schools. In addition to the standard curriculum, military drill had also been, as in the high schools, scheduled for these normal schools. 27

Smith further informed his readers that teaching in China was considered an honorable profession, because for centuries the people had reverenced learning. Nevertheless, the teachers were poorly paid. 28 Although the American educators had little criticism about the teacher's pay, that was, as a matter of fact, a very influential factor affecting the morale of teachers. However, it was encouraging to note that the Chinese government, as Arndt indicated, had taken steps to better the position of all levels of teachers before and during the war. One of the more important innovations was the improvement in treatment of teachers in normal education. They were actually given government support in full, 29 although the government was forced to provide more

27. Arndt, p. 8.
and more money for war expenditure in fighting with Japan. The government also supported normal schools, as Smith wrote, but they suffered because of insufficient numbers of schools and funds. The increase in enrollments in teacher training institutions was not so great as that in other fields.  

**Vocational Education:** Vocational education had been often linked with industrial development ever since the founding of the Republic of China in 1912. It was greatly emphasized and vastly expanded in the following decades as we have previously noted. An upward trend in vocational education was well described in Arndt's text. He informed his readers that with the adoption in November 1922 of the new educational system with 6 years of primary school, 6 years of middle school, and 4 years of college, vocational schools ranked with middle schools. Above the vocational school there were technical colleges. Up to 1929, 219 vocational schools had been established on the new basis. They had 26,609 students. Prior to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War on July 7, 1937, the number of vocational schools in China had been increased to 494 with 56,822 students.  

This demonstrated that for the purpose of China's industrialization and modernization, vocational and technical education were becoming the fundamental and essential aids on which

30. Smith, p.343.
the nation depended. It also showed that western applied sciences were widely adopted in the traditional literary dominated curriculum.

When the Japanese were fighting upon Chinese soil and the war was raging fiercely around the Chinese people, the nation needed large numbers of engineers, technicians, and skilled workers to support the war effort in resisting the enemy. Arndt stated that many trade schools were destroyed by the Japanese, but the government took energetic measures to develop new schools in "Free China". In 1938-39, 256 vocational schools with a total enrollment of 31,897 students were reported; two years later, the number had increased to 332 schools with a total enrollment of 47,503. In 1938 the government divided "Free China" into three districts for purposes of vocational education. In each of these districts at least one national technical college was established as a center for the development of technical education. Factories, farms, and cooperatives were set up to provide direct experience for students. Junior vocational schools under the direction of local education authorities had been developed in interior cities. These had been supplemented by many short courses often given in factories and business establishments by the regular staffs of these establishments. The training of engineers and other technicians continued to be carried out by engineering and technical colleges. China
had 25 engineering colleges established either in her universities or as independent institutions. In these colleges there was a total of 22 departments of architecture, 11 departments of mechanical engineering, 12 departments of electrical engineering, 10 departments of chemical engineering, 3 departments of construction, 3 departments of river conservancy, 3 departments of aviation, 7 departments of mining, 1 department of surveying, 2 departments of textiles, 1 department of machinery and electricity, and 1 department of agricultural irrigation. These aggregated 76 vocational and technical departments.  

These developments clearly indicated a tendency in war time China to go into intensely practical studies in order to bring about a quick industrialization and modernization. This tendency attracted and required more students to enter engineering schools and to study engineering and allied subjects for the purpose of national defense and industrialization. This also meant that pure science, such as physics and chemistry, were sacrificed for the practical studies. The stress on vocational and technical education and the desire of speeding industrialization for national defense by the Chinese government was encouraged due to the war.

32. Ibid.
Higher Education: The most fascinating and significant chapter of war time education in China was her higher education. As was known to the educational world, the Chinese higher educational institutions had demonstrated remarkable fortitude and unshakeable confidence in operating in the face of all possible dangers and risks under the wanton destruction and deliberate attacks by the enemy. The hardships and handicaps of the colleges and universities in the years of war, however, was illustrated in the writings of American educators in many ways.

As in the case of secondary schools, the colleges and universities of China as treated in Arndt's writing, had developed largely in the cities of the coast and the Yangtze River valley. The Nanking - Shanghai area, for example, housed about one-third of the higher institutions of learning prior to the outbreak of the war in 1937. Since the Japanese plan of invasion was pointed toward the systematic occupation of precisely these rich centers, the higher educational institutions of the country suffered a crippling blow. Buildings, libraries, and equipment were largely wiped out. Of the 108 colleges and universities which were in operation in 1937 all but 12 were forced to move their sites inland. Some had moved several times. But move they did, and despite this fact their numbers increased to 132 by 1942. The student bodies, too grew from 41,609 in 1936
to 57,832 in 1942. 33

In regard to the general conditions of higher education in China, Smith, like Arndt, also told his readers that because of the congestion of schools along the east coast approximately 70 institutions were in the war zone. Many had been abolished or closed. Others had merged equipment and moved westward to interior centers. Temporary university districts had been established in the northwest and central areas, while students and faculties were also being transferred to west and southwest institutions. Great hardships were experienced through loss of books and equipment and through poor living conditions. The problem of transportation to the new areas was often solved by walking. 34

The vitality of the colleges and universities was evident from the significant fact that when these higher educational institutions were bombed out of or destroyed in one place, they just moved on to another. With the hope of ultimate victory over Japan and unshakeable faith in keeping their work going on for educating the future leaders of China, the spirit of teaching and learning was always as high and vigorous as before. That was why, as observed in these texts, that the number of higher educational institutions and college students in China had rapidly increased.

33. Ibid., pp.11-12.
increased, instead of decreased, in the years of the war.

Several other noteworthy special features and developments of the higher educational institutions were also clearly stated in these writings. They certainly deserve more evaluation and discussion: (1) Regarding the curriculum of the colleges and universities in the war time, Smith stated: as yet no curricular changes had been specified by the Ministry of Education, although some institutions had received permission to inaugurate some. 35 Arndt's text supported this point by stating that colleges were offering many short service courses in preparation for work in industry and the professions. The curriculum of the regular students, too, was being modified as the war continued, to the end that immediate needs be served. Information on the precise nature of these changes though was not readily available. 36 These treatments suggested that the American educators had duly observed the changes in the curriculum of the colleges and universities during the war years although it had no official declaration from the Chinese government to what extent the curriculum changes had been made.

(2) A loan system had been established for college students in war areas. According to Smith, there were over 6,000 college students who received loans from the government.

35. Ibid., p.348.
36. Arndt, p.11.
in 1939. Nevertheless, there was no further information in the texts about how many refugee college students had received government financial aid and support throughout the war period, and how much money the government had spent for this program. But it was evident that government financial aid did enable those qualified students to continue their study without interruption by the war.

(3) A relatively liberal action by the Selective Draft system was taken especially for the colleges students. Under the National Conscription Law, as Arndt stated, all male citizens between the ages of 18 and 45 were subject to military service. There was a proviso, however, in reference to college students to the effect that students under 25 might delay their services as long as they remained in college. He further pointed out that a special program of educational service was required of these students. This service included cooperative efforts in mass education, relief work, and other forms of social work either with the Army or with the civilian population. The special proviso that freed from military service the college students in war time, was evidently intended to supply higher educated leaders for the immediate war needs and provide the needed personnel for reconstruction.

37. Smith, p. 348.
38. Arndt, p. 11.
of the nation at the end of the war. This was certainly in complete accord with the nation's policy toward modernization, independence, and democracy through reconstruction. Without well-trained leaders, neither resistance nor reconstruction could be achieved.

(4) About 1939, normal colleges, formerly part of the education departments of universities, were established as an independent system to train more elementary and secondary school teachers.39 This clearly indicated the effort and determination of the government to train more qualified teachers at both levels in order to speed up universal education despite the handicaps of the war.

(5) A unified entrance examination system was set up in government universities and schools in 1938, with exemption provided for honor graduates of government secondary schools.40 The purpose of this practice, though without mention in the texts, was not difficult to detect in terms of quality education which was one of the expectations ever since the national system of education was established in 1927. This also showed the intention to maintain as a high academic standard as possible.

(6) The general rule of some years' standing, that one of the three colleges necessary to constitute a university must be a college of science, continued to be enforced. Thus,

40. Ibid., p.346.
apparently, a study of scientific subjects was being accorded systematic emphasis in war time China. The constant emphasis on the study of scientific subjects, as we evaluated before, was an effort directed to balance and correct the traditional exclusive study of the humanities in Chinese education. This also suggested that the social reconstruction and the physical reconstruction were both weighted and regarded important to the war torn country.

Higher education in war time China, as a matter of fact, continued to grow rapidly. Arthur H. Moehlman in his Comparative Education, 1952, provides recent statistical data that shows the increase in numbers of students and universities. At the end of World War II, he reported that China had a total of 145 institutions of higher learning of various types as compared with 108 in 1937. Enrollment in these institutions increased from 41,922 in 1937 to 69,959 in 1945. He also commented that no doubt a good deal of this expansion was brought about at the expense of quality. Without libraries and laboratory facilities, refugee institutions in the interior barely managed to keep classwork going and to avoid a complete educational blackout. The economic poverty of teachers and students did not help to produce an intellectual atmosphere. There was therefore a noticeable let-down in academic standards.

41. Arndt, p. 11.
43. Ibid.
The statistical data and his comments given in his text were actually a comprehensive view of war time higher education in China.

As is revealed in the above discussions we may draw our conclusion that during the entire war period, there were fewer writings and publications about Chinese education in the American comparative education field. This was not an encouraging tendency for a systematic study in international and comparative education. However, the researched texts for this study provided adequate information to evaluate and analyse the education being carried on in war time China.

The American educators were not only impressed by China's effort to eliminate mass illiteracy and progress made in education before and during the war time period, but also noted her poor conditions and backwardness compared to the outside world. Nevertheless, their views of Chinese education were generally favorable; their attitude toward China was friendly; their treatment of China was frank, impersonal, objective and uncritical; and their texts obviously constituted an important new dimension of intellectual understanding. The American educators actually shared their sympathy with China on her national reconstruction and resistance to the Japanese under extremely difficulties. This friendly attitude could have been influenced partly by the close relationship between America and China in World War II, though the authors
did not mention that America was a war time ally with China in their texts.

The rural conditions before and during the war were not favorable and healthy for the national reconstruction and the resistance to the outside invaders. The whole situation under the pens of American educators presented certain distinctive characteristics: China's largest population was found in the countryside villages. The rural society throughout the nation had the highest illiteracy, the most primitive livelihood and the lowest living standards. Farming was the major resource on which the villagers greatly depended. The unequal distribution of land and landless farmers combined to create a serious land problem. Usury deepened the poverty of the rural people. Disease and famine plus bad communication and transportation increased the hardships and even brought death to the country people. Worse than that, the invasion from Japan almost destroyed the hope of national reconstruction and broke the dream of the people toward an industrial and modernized country. This was the picture of the entire rural society in China during the war with Japan. This was the very foundation on which the Chinese government totally relied in her decisive and brave resistance to the enemy. The American educators never failed to tell the truth to their readers, how poor conditions were in China, and how difficult the situation
was for the Chinese people forced to fight against their ambitious invaders who were equipped with powerful modern weapons.

The primary objective of the Chinese government and educators was first to dispel China's mass illiteracy via mass education. Compulsory education in China was then extended to the rural areas, but due to financial difficulty and inadequate school facilities and teachers, the elimination of illiteracy remained an unfulfilled task, and the equal educational opportunity to all became a distant ideal goal. For the purpose of speeding up mass education we also saw the various measures taken by the government such as extensively using different types of short elementary courses, relay teachers, little teachers, new script, and late Service Corps of refugee teachers and students from the war zone and so on. Again the Chinese government in 1935 set up a Provisional Outline for Enforcing Compulsory Education as the guideline for gradually achieving the long dreamed universal education for all children of school age by 1944. All these measures adopted and guidelines established for eliminating mass illiteracy and enforcing compulsory education, were, as the American educators told us, retarded by the Japanese invasion.

The struggle and achievement of Chinese education during the war 1937 to 1945 constituted a significant and
praiseworthy chapter in the history of Chinese education. The number of students from the elementary school to the university were greatly increased. It is especially interesting to note that China had even more colleges and universities at the end of the war than before. The increase of "quantity", as some American educators pointed out was at the expense of "quality". This was of course an unquestionable fact which was shared by Chinese educators and students. The most essential fact of the war time education was the dedication of the Chinese government under extremely difficult financial circumstances. It initiated a series of emergency relief programs for refugee teachers and students such as the establishment of service corps, national high schools, student loans, special provisions for college students free from military service and free tuition and board for teacher college students, etc. Moreover, the teachers and students were proceeding with their classes under the threat of death either by enemy fire or bombardment as well as from hunger and diseases. The great concern of the Chinese government for education and the unconquerable will of educators and students to teach and learn combined to write a glorious page in human civilization for pursuing knowledge and preserving culture.

One thing particularly significant to the Chinese culture this writer would like to mention here was that an
unexpected and extraordinary by-product of the war in building a true national culture resulted. When the teachers, students and millions of refugees poured from the war zones into the vast west and southwest region, a concentration of major educational institutions therefore emerged in that part of China. The west area used to be backward in many ways educationally, economically and socially. The migration of refugees from the advance coast provinces soon brought cultural and social changes to that area. As the people from different provinces mingled together for the common cause to resist Japan and to save their country, they talked in a national language and acted in a common way by learning from each other. Provincialism was supplanted by the spirit of nationalism. A more truly national culture was gradually achieved. This could be the only reward, if there was any, of the dark side of the war.

Civil War Years, 1945-1949: The victory over Japan did not bring joys and peace to China. More sorrows, distresses, and hardships borne by the Chinese people came after the war. As mentioned earlier, the overall military conflict between the National Government and the Communist forces broke out almost immediately at the defeat of Japan. The turmoil of Civil War was prolonged for another four years. It resulted in the final division of China.
However, at the surrender of Japan on September 1, 1945, it was a surprise to the educational world that China had more students than ever before on all levels in educational institutions. She had more colleges and universities than before the war with Japan. Unfortunately, the conditions after the war did not create a favorable development for the nation. The economic depression, the uncontrollable inflation, the threat of hunger, the increase of disease, and the unsolvable conflict between the government and the communists combined with many other dissatisfactions to develop a new common psychology among the people with frustrations about the status quo. Therefore, new educational problems, like everything else in China, immediately and ruthlessly confronted the National Government. Although there was no publication about Chinese education during the civil war from 1945 to 1949 in American comparative education texts in this country, it was not difficult, however, to find clues from other sources available in the libraries of universities. For our purpose of study the article "Civil Conflict and politicizing of College Youth, 1945-1948" in the China and The Christian Colleges 1850-1950 by Jessie G. Lutz, 1971, and an article entitled "The Educational Crisis in China" in Educational Administration and Supervision, by Theodore Chen, 1948, have been selected to support our discussion on the status of Chinese education.
during this particular period.

Lutz in his writing stated that though the end of World War II had long been dreamed of, the Japanese surrender on September 1, 1945 caught many Chinese by surprise. Neither students nor faculty in colleges and universities had detailed plans for the immediate postwar period. Like many other Chinese, they at first anticipated a prompt return to normalcy. They were eager to forget the hardships of the war years and the social disintegration of almost half a century of revolution. They wanted peace and quiet; they hoped for prosperity and the opportunity to fulfill personal and institutional goals; national and international events had dominated individual lives long enough. They thought now they could go home; now they could see their parents; now they could live in peace at last. Many students were ready to pack their belongings and start eastward immediately. An idealized picture of China before 1937 captured the imagination of college personnel. Morale, educational standards, living conditions, all would be different as they returned to the handsome and spacious campuses in the east. Lutz's treatment has clearly illustrated the psychological reactions of college students and other persons to the end of the war. It strongly reflected the desires and expectations of the Chinese people who wanted no war but peace, harmony, and prosperity. The higher they

hoped the more they demanded. That was almost a common tendency of the Chinese people particularly the students at the postwar time toward their government. This was of course a natural development psychologically. It is not difficult for us to understand that throughout the war the Chinese people were buoyed up by hoping for a return of a better day and a peaceful life; dreaming of an unified and modernized nation; and expecting a rapid recovery of the war damaged economy and social stability. The obstacles to the fulfillment of these dreams were formidable.

Regarding the postwar reconstruction and rehabilitation, Lutz further stated: The price of decades of war and revolution could not be so easily discounted. Even the simplest tasks presented time-consuming difficulties. Return to the home campus involved numerous delays and complex planning. Inflation made the rehabilitation of college buildings, libraries, and laboratories almost impossible. As political and economic disintegration gathered momentum, the daily problems of holding together an academic institution seemed to occupy every hour. At the same time, national politics became increasingly difficult to ignore. A political or military settlement of the dispute between the National Government and the communists seemed a prerequisite to rehabilitation in all realms. Plans for expanding curricula, campaigns for increased local support, student demands for
larger rice subsidies, all acquired a political orientation. Normalcy, it appeared, would remain an ever receding dream. Among students in particular, there was a growing preoccupation with politics and the civil war. By 1947 student demonstrations and strikes in the Shanghai and Peiping areas were occurring with such frequency that college administrators could scarcely maintain a functioning academic program. The outcome of the struggle between the Chinese Communist Party and the National Government became the only issue that mattered, and the students often seemed to understand this sooner than the educators. 45

To the overall situation of postwar students' activities and their consequences on Chinese education, Lutz's comment was that the student's politicization was accompanied by their loss of faith in the ability of the National Government to guide China's modernization. The first student protests in the immediate postwar years had emphasized specific demands to be met by the Government, but the character of campaigns soon changed. The students began making such far-reaching demands and sweeping condemnations that their purpose seemed to be the embarrassment of the regime rather than the attainment of definite requests. Here, Lutz unhesitatingly pointed out that an undercover factor was behind the student

45. Ibid., p. 397.
protests and demonstrations. It was the leftist organizations that deliberately used the student protests, so that participation in them contributed to polarization. He also predicted, if the students were barometers of public opinion in urban China, then their mood in 1948 clearly indicated that the Mandate of Heaven was passing from the Nationalists to the Chinese communists, for the alienation from the Nationalist party was attained by a readiness to acknowledge the legitimacy of communist rule. Student campaigns between 1946 and 1949 helped create the impression of general disaffection from the Nationalist government, and then leftist students helped ease the transition to the communist rule. 46

The immediate postwar years, Lutz concluded, had been characterized by the growing impingement of national affairs on the life of academic institutions and individual students. Though some students had remained aloof from politics, inflation and civil war had forced most of the academic world to give attention to national concerns. By 1948 the atmosphere on many campuses was revolutionary and intensely political. This impingement of politics on academic life was to be a continuing theme after the communist victory, but the political demands and the doctrinal guidelines henceforth would come directly from the ruling party rather

46. Ibid., pp.397-98.
than from student organizations or competing political organizations. Few Chinese in 1948-1949 understood the thoroughness with which education would be subordinated to national and party politics during the coming decade. 47

In his analysis of the student strikes and protests Theodore Chen told his readers in the same manner that the frequent interruption of educational work by student strikes and disturbances constituted one of the most serious problems of education in China and one of the most obstinate obstacles in the way of constructive educational rehabilitation. He further suggested: To understand the psychology of students, it was important to realize that the students joined in strikes for a variety of reasons and motives. Many students were enthusiastic patriotic young people who were eager to see their nation strong and who had become impatient at the slow progress being made. They were greatly troubled by economic problems and they felt keenly about political issues. When they were told that strikes and demonstrations might bring remedial measures, they joined without hesitancy. Among the leaders who organized the strikes and instigated the disturbances, there were good-intentioned persons who sincerely felt that they were serving the public cause. On the other hand, there were also ambitious individuals

47. Ibid., p.444.
who took advantage of such opportunities to gain positions of leadership and power and perhaps to give expression to an unconscious urge to exercise dominance over other people. At the same time, we must not ignore the fact that there were amidst students of schools and colleges young men and women, who were connected with political parties and who were political agents in disguise, directed by their parties to engage in political propaganda and intrigue in educational institutions. There were right-wing agents as well as left-wing agent. Standing in between was the majority of students inclined toward liberalism and radicalism, sincere in their patriotic motives, but puzzled as to what was the best course to take.

This was the picture of academic and student life as well as the most frustrated situation that confronted the National Government during the civil war years in China. The American educators like Lutz and Theodore Chen, were not confused with the truth about the disturbed student demonstrations and protests and the political agitation forces among and behind the student groups. The development of the Chinese student strikes and protests and the use and abuse of strikes by political agents were not stated in their texts. However, Lutz and Theodore Chen's treatments on the general disturbances of Chinese educational work in the post Sino-Japanese War

period led us to the belief that Chinese educational institutions, particularly colleges and universities became the direct battlefields of political warfare between the government and the Communist; strikes and demonstrations became the only school work of the day. Students, mostly college students, were used by political agents and agitators. They helped to speed up the separation of the nation, and ultimately became the victims of the Civil War. This was a bitter lesson to the Chinese educators and students. Their aimless and hopeless strikes and disturbances during the Civil War years helped the final division of their motherland in 1949. Should this history be repeated in China again, would the students wisely recognize the importance of their role in the educational and other developments which closely relate to the future of their country and proceed carefully in action? The answer would be mostly positive. The Civil War was a tragic and fatal moment for the nation. It resulted in the disappearance of modern democratic education from the mainland in 1949. Its impact on Chinese education obviously constituted an empty chapter in comparative education which educators have not completed.

The year of 1949 opened a new chapter of Chinese education. As pointed out in chapter one, modern education for the Chinese students in Taiwan is very much similar as the students in the Western world and particularly as those
in the United States; on the mainland China today, however, students are receiving a communistic education based entirely on Marxist-Leninist ideas. How this unusual phenomenon is viewed by the American educators in their texts will be carefully and faithfully examined in the next chapter.
CHAPTER IV

NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT TRANSFER TO TAIWAN AND
THE COMMUNIST GAINED POWER ON THE MAINLAND, 1949-1970

Historical Background:

As revealed in the previous chapters, the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949 resulted in the division of China into two parts; the National Government of the Republic of China was forced to move its seat to Taiwan and the Communists gained power of the mainland now known as the People's Republic. The Chinese long dream of universal education for the school age children and the well planned mass educational program for adult education were first seriously damaged by the war with Japan, and subsequently retarded by the great conflict among the Chinese themselves.

Officially, Taiwan still is at war with the Communist Chinese on the mainland a hundred miles away. Both segments of Chinese vow to liberate the other's territory as soon as possible.¹ Since the National Government left the mainland in 1949, everything in China has been changed drastically. However, the basic structure of the national system of

education which has been examined in Chapter II, is still existing and flourishing in Taiwan. The over-all situation of modern Chinese education on both sides during the last decades from 1949 to 1970 has been fairly treated in the writings of American educators in the comparative education field.

Due to the hard work of the Chinese people in Taiwan and the rapid growth of national economy, education has, as a matter of fact, made spectacular headway in that part of China. A record event in the history of Chinese education was made in 1968 when the Government proclaimed that the period of free education was extended from six to nine years. This newly developed feature of modern Chinese education has not yet received proper treatment in the texts under study.

On the mainland, under the direction of the new regime with the dominant leadership of the Communist Party behind it, "the Chinese educational system has undergone a number of major reorganizations and reorientations which have affected not only the administration and curriculum but the basic principles of education as well. The basic educational reform of the new regime was adopted by the Administrative Council of the Chinese People's Republic of August 10, 1951. It provided for the types of schools, the length of the various courses, age limits, and requirements; however, for the most part, the system retained the structure that the
Nationalists had given it. Most of the difference was in the approach and in the philosophy."² All the educational developments and reforms on both side will receive proper evaluation and analysis hereafter.

Selected Books:


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The publication of these books during this period (1949-1970) has clearly shown that more and more American educators were doing research on China. The increase of volumes regarding Chinese education published in the comparative education field could be stimulated by the breakdown of the traditional Confucianism-oriented Chinese society that suddenly emerged as an international communist giant in Asia in 1949. The tremendous social and political changes in China not only resulted in the disappearance of the peaceful Confucian way of life from the mainland but also astonished and stunned the Western world by the drastic
changes in China. The world began to watch China closely and carefully.

The evidence in the United States shows that many China study centers or Asian research institutes had been created in the colleges or universities during the last decades. Chinese education which used to play a key role in Chinese political and social life, became a favorite field to be studied by the American educators. Judging from the upward trend of publications of articles, papers, and books regarding China in this country since the end of Chinese Civil War in 1949 to the early 1970's, it can be reasonably assumed that American scholars and educators were beginning in earnest to do systematic studies and research on Chinese educational and cultural changes as well as in the other fields such as in the economy, political and social sciences and so on. No matter what kind of motivation has contributed to the development of interest in China study in this country, a systematic study of any member in the world family, in terms of international understanding, is always necessary and vital to the order of the world community.

In the treatment of Chinese education in *Education and Modernization in Asia*, 1970, by Don Adams, the author first gave a brief general view of China's social and religious traditions; Chinese tradition of orthodox scholarship; cultural
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and educational contact with the West; and educational change under the Republic from 1911 to 1949. These treatments were purely a historical background presentation. Then, the author devoted his major effort to discussing the Communist educational system; the structure and function of the Communist Chinese educational system; educational output; and education, manpower, and national production. Nothing is mentioned in the text about Chinese education in Taiwan where the Chinese national system of education reformed and adopted in 1928, is still operating and functioning in that part of China.

J. C. Aggarwal in his An Introduction to World Education, 1965, presented the main features of the educational systems of both Nationalist China in Taiwan and Communist China on the mainland. The major topic in his text includes education and culture as stipulated in the Constitution of the Republic of China; the school system under both the Nationalist and Communist governments; and the Ministry of Education and the Communist Party. The author gave no comment on either side but the bare facts of Chinese education as it functioned in Taiwan and on the mainland today.

John F. Cramer's Contemporary Education, A Comparative Study of National Systems, 1956 was mainly a treatment of the schools of Communist China. The author, however, provided a few short paragraphs to describe the five thousand years of
old Cathay's history, geography, races, population, language, and the establishment of the Republic in 1911 and its transfer to Taiwan after the Civil War in 1949. In the treatment of the Chinese education under the Communists the author traced the Communist philosophy of education; the role of the Communist government, the Communist Party, the regional subdivisions and the local agencies in education; finance and organization of Chinese education; education and status of teachers; productive labor; youth organization; and problems of Chinese Communist education. The author tried to provide a bird's-eye view of Chinese education on mainland China. Cramer's book covered much useful information for those who are interested in Communist education.

Nicholas Hans in *Comparative Education, A Study of Educational Factors and Traditions*, 1964 particularly cites the Chinese language as presenting a unique educational problem absent anywhere else in the world. Although China, after the "Literary Revolution" in 1919 as discussed in Chapter II, Officially declared in 1920 that Pai Hua, the vernacular used as the national language, has been commonly adopted by the schools. Hans, however, pointed out that the following difficulties still remain: (1) the literate Chinese farmer has to remember by heart one thousand characters, which can hardly promote universal literacy; (2) the Pai Hua reader cannot read the classical literature
in the original, as the thousand selected symbols do not cover all the 23,000 meanings of the classical Chinese. In order to render them adequately Pai Hua has to use sometimes as many as twelve symbols to represent one classical symbol. It is therefore much clumsier and more unwieldy than the classical language; (3) based on the Mandarin (Pekingese) dialect, Pai Hua still remains a foreign language to the Cantonese, and can be understood only by silent reading.

Hans further commented that what the final solution of all these difficulties will be a foreigner can hardly predict. He is certainly right. Chinese educators of the Republic before 1949 and today in Taiwan and the mainland have been concerned with language reform during the last decades; however no satisfactory solution has yet been reached.

R. J. Havighurst's Comparative Perspectives on Education, 1968, discussed the "Middle-School Education in Communist China" by Evelyn L. Harner and "Education in a Chinese village" by Jan Myrdal. Harner told her readers that there are "excellent reasons for giving special attention to a study of middle-school education in Communist China. This level of education is presently of first importance to the Party as it fosters in coordination with scholarship

the ideological development of those to whom will be passed
the responsibility for continuing the Communist revolution. All the aspects at this level of education in Communist China
will be comprehensively evaluated later.

A. M. Kazamias and B. G. Massialas in the *Tradition and Change in Education, A Comparative Study*, 1965, discussed
the education and problems of political culture. The authors
particularly cited Communist China as one of the illustrations.
In Communist China, all human activity is carefully scrutinized
and directed by the state; even family and strictly personal
matters can be discussed only within an officially sanctioned
framework. Political subjects such as dialectical materialism
and the history of the Chinese Revolution are discussed not
only in formal courses in the schools, but also in youth
organizations such as the Young Pioneers and the Communist
Youth League. The main concern of the state is the ideological
reconditioning of the people. Education must serve politics;
it must promote production; and under the guidance of the
Party, it must serve the ends of proletarian society. In
comment on the theory and practice of the Communist education
in China today the authors observed that there is speculation
that the program of ideological reconditioning in Red China
has not been very effective in view of the recent mass exodus.

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of Red Chinese to Hong Kong. More details regarding the ideological education in Communist China will be discussed later.

School in Transition, Essays in Comparative Education, 1968, edited by A. N. Kazamias and E. H. Epstein contained the "Educational Themes in China's Changing Culture" by Richard H. Solomon. The author used the Chinese children's readers as one view of cultural changes in China. He detailed the new aspects of social authority such as the new status of the family and of women; the family and the Party; and motivation and social change, etc.

In the contrast of attitudes toward the traditional culture between the Chinese Nationalists and the Communists, these authors wrote:

Nationalist leaders tend to come to power with a vague commitment to restore the values of the traditional society in a modern context; yet a good deal of their energy in the early years of nation-building is expended trying to relate cherished cultural doctrines to the often incompatible demands of modernisation. The Communists, in contrast, take power with a relatively well-developed image of the new social roles and structures required of a nation "building socialism". They make no bones about their intention to demolish much of the old tradition, and encourage the development of a new socialist culture to guide the people along the road of Communism.6


The assessment on this point provided a clear picture to the readers as to how Chinese traditional culture is viewed and treated by the two different types of Chinese, and how the Chinese Communists purposely induced and used culture change to attain their goal of Communism.

Edmund King, in his *World Perspective in Education*, 1962, described Communist China's progress during the first decade since 1949. In education, it was faster than that of India in the same period. The reason of the faster progress, as King indicated was "because China is not a democracy and reforms are pushed ahead ruthlessly". He also considered that Red China has been "totally mobilized". It has been put under "a system of the tightest rationing of resources and endeavour. China is increasing her productivity three times as fast as India. These achievements are, however, possible only under a kind of martial law, within which education plays the role of grand strategy". The price for the progress, in King's words, was that "hordes of students manhandle heavy freight needed for construction. Thousands of them with picks, shovels, and baskets work long hours on irrigation canals, waterways, railway embankments and the like. The system is undoubtedly one of regimentation, fatigue and occasional boredom with the ever-recurring political sermons. China's total mobilization in the industrial and technical fields is based
upon education which had almost to start from scratch. Industrial and technical education as evaluated in chapter two and three, had been emphasized and occupied a very important part in curriculum both at secondary and higher education in the Republic before the Communists came to power in 1949. The basic foundation was certainly laid for the future development of industrial and technical education in China. Now industrial and technical education is carried on in the mainland will be discussed in more detail.

"Education in China" in *Formation of Education Policies, A Comparative Analysis*, 1968, by Pao-king Li, a faculty member of New York State University College at New Paltz, covered the treatment of Chinese traditional educational system, the beginning of a modern educational system, and the educational system under the Nationalist Government on the mainland before 1949. The descriptions on these aspects of Chinese education were very similar to those made by other American educators in their texts as evaluated and analyzed in the previous chapters. The author then proceeds with the reform of Chinese education under the Communists in the early years since they gained power on the mainland in 1949.

All accounts of changes wrought by the Communists were

covered in the text. These are valuable sources to the readers.

The *Comparative Education* edited in 1952 by Arthur H. Moehlman, a professor of history and philosophy of education of the State University of Iowa, and Joseph S. Roucek, Chairman, Departments of Sociology and Political Science of the University of Bridgeport, Contained "Education in China" by Theodore Chen. The editors cited "three major culture areas (India, China, and Japan) of the Far East for analysis in the *Comparative Education*. Each of these presented a basic variation in the over-all problem of understanding education as an instrument in cultural change". In the editors' opinion the great Chinese culture has been moving in "the direction of a great economic, political, and educational revolution. The educational story can be divided into two major phases: "before and after 1911". They observed 1911 as the landmark between the ancient education and modern education in China. In viewing the educational heritage and the rise of modern schools before and after the Chinese National Revolution in 1911 as noted in chapter two, their observation of 1911 as the turning point from traditional education to modern education is certainly significant.

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Theodore Chen, the writer of "Education in China", broadly covered Chinese education from Confucius to the Communists in his writing. It is one of the most comprehensive descriptions of Chinese education.

Arthur H. Moehlman in the *Comparative Educational System*, 1963, particularly picked out China as a major nation in Asian culture areas offering "special opportunities for the study of educational strategy and national style". The treatment of the Chinese educational system from the ancient to the twentieth century in his text will be evaluated together with other authors' writings.

L. Mukherjee in the *Comparative Education, For Students and Educationalists*, 1964, suggested that the educational organization of China has to be studied according to three stages. The first begins from ancient times and ends with 1911. The second extends from 1911 to 1949 and third, the present organization, is produced out of the direct impact of the two, modified by Communist ideologies, and it is therefore desirable to study all of them. Mukherjee's division of time period in studying Chinese modern education was obviously based upon the consideration of political

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change in China. However, he made it clear that in studying Chinese education, both Taiwan and the mainland should be covered as a whole.

H. A. Noah and M. A. Eckstein, in the Toward a Science of Comparative Education, 1969 quoted some early travelers' tales about China. The observations and impressions about Chinese society and education in the descriptions among the travelers were varied. Two opposite writings about China were, however, revealed. One view about Chinese was as follows:

The natives... are men of peaceful character... They know nothing of handling arms, and keep none in their houses. You hear of no feuds or noisy quarrels or dissensions of any kind among them. Both in their commercial dealings and in their manufactures they are thoroughly honest and truthful, and there is such a degree of good will and neighborly attachment among both men and women that you would take the people who live in the same street to be one family... Much of this is attributable to their education in the classics... 11

On the contrary, as the authors pointed out, some Western commentators were less impressed with the virtues of Chinese society. One of them had this to say about China:

They are vile and polluted in a shocking degree; their conversation is full of filthy expressions and their lives of impure acts...... Their disregard of truth has perhaps done more to lower their character than any other fault... the universal practice of lying and dishonest dealings; the unblushing lewdness of old and young; harsh cruelty toward prisoners...... all form a full unchecked torrent of human depravity.12

12. Ibid., p.11
No matter what and how the early travelers observed and wrote about China, one thing, however, was evident: China had been long an object of Western curiosity.

Cyrus H. Peake in the *Nationalism and Education in Modern China*, 1970, contains mainly the descriptions of the Chinese modern education and its aims of the later period of Manchu dynasty; modern education after the establishment of the Republic in 1911; nationalism and the textbooks; and the Literary Revolution, nationalism and modern education. These were the essential features and developments of modern education in China before 1930. The adoption, reorganization, and the establishment of the modern educational system under the Republican in 1927 as well as the Literary Revolution or Language reform in 1919 were the similar topics as discussed in chapter II. However, Peake's emphasis in the text was the nationalism and the Chinese modern education. As previous disclosed, education was used to promoting nationalism after the national system of education adopted in 1928. The fact was that modern nationalistic education in China as Peake pointed out, was far from achieving the goal of a unified, centralized sovereign Republic. 13 This modern educational system did not effectively spread the spirit of nationalism through education as the Chinese leaders expected.

T. L. Reller's and E. L. Morphet's *Comparative Educational Administration*, 1962, covered the educational administration in "Communist China", which was originally prepared by K. E. Priestley, professor of education, university of Hong Kong. He was an Oxford graduate; Head of the UNESCO Mission to Laos; and had been a guest of the Chinese Governments both in Taiwan and on the mainland. The author carefully treated the machinery of joint administration by state and Party; educational administrators in a communist society; democratic centralization; financing of education; and the nature and purpose of education in Communist China. This was a very comprehensive treatment about Red China's educational administration during its first decade of the Communist regime.

M. T. Sasnett of University of Southern California in his *Educational Systems of The World*, 1952, divided his study of education in China into two main parts. He first detailed the Chinese national system of education from kindergarten to higher education; the curriculum for each level of education; and technical, vocational, and teacher training before 1949 in China. The author then briefly stated the state and party controlled education under the

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Chinese Communists. His writing on the Chinese education was faithful and objective.

R. E. Stout's *Comparative Education, A Study of Selected National Systems*, was published in 1967. The author visited Taiwan in the middle of the 1960's and conducted field research on Chinese education there. With this background he was able to give all the details regarding the educational system, the legal basis of education, administration and finance, academic and cultural research, the national educational materials center, adult education, youth activities, curriculum and methodology, and status of teachers. This was a very valuable text in the comparative education field that gave a full treatment of Chinese education in Taiwan. This book undoubtedly provides the necessary information to those who are interested in Chinese education in both Taiwan and mainland China.

R. D. Strom of the School of Education, University of Connecticut, in the *Education the World Over*, 1963, gave a very objective analysis and description about the role of the schools; forces influencing organization and administration; opportunity; and curriculum and its relevancy in Communist China. The author had these words in referring to the study of Chinese education in the mainland China today:

In evaluating Chinese education, it is necessary to take into account the variation in the use of
terminology. College or university education may not resemble Western standards in the least... Observers of their system are aware of progress despite the discrepancies in statistics and claims... noting the obedience, posture, precise penmanship and fanatic dedication of the pupils and compliance to norms and rules as leaving little room for creativity and initiative.15

Strom obviously noted the variations when he compared the education in Communist China with other nations particularly in the Western world. His writings are certainly significant for the readers and researchers whenever they conduct studies on the Communist education in China.

I. N. Thut, professor of education of the University of Connecticut, and Don Adams, associate professor of education at Syracuse University in their Educational Patterns in Contemporary Societies, 1964, provided a broad treatment of Chinese education beginning with scholastic traditions; education and schools in early China; challenges and supplements to Confucianism; renaissance in learning; civil service examinations; Christian and Western influences; language and scholarship; the beginnings of a modern system; education under the Republic; early progress and problems; and education under the Communist Chinese. The authors tried to describe all the above stated areas as faithfully and comprehensively as possible. If they could provide more information covering

the Chinese education during the period of the Sino-Japanese War and Chinese Civil War as well as in Taiwan today, their work would be more valuable.

J. Vaizey in the *Education in The Modern World*, 1967, indicated that the purpose of this book is "to explore the reasons for the process of change and to get at some of the underlying trends in education". His argument was "based on an analysis of facts and figures from all over the world". In the treatment of Chinese education the author illustrated that illiteracy in mainland China was still high, over 50 per cent of the population, and copies of newspapers were bought by no more than 4 per cent of the population. In Britain and Sweden, it was almost 25 times as high as in Red China. He further stated that China has sought its own path. The school administrators, teachers and students are all disciplined, rigorous, and profoundly Chinese. However, he also questioned whether that is part of the Chinese future.

The methodology employed by the authors of these books was primarily descriptive. The treatment of Chinese education in the texts during this period were predominantly on the educational theory and practice of the Chinese Communists. A few of them, however, gave a very brief treatment of Chinese education in Taiwan. The contents of these books regarding

the Chinese education can be roughly synthesized and
classified into the following four areas: The Chinese educa-
tional heritage -- traditional education of China; education
and school system under the National Government from 1911 to
1949; Chinese education under the National Government in Taiwan;
and Chinese education under the Communists on mainland China.
Each aspect treated in the books will be examined carefully
and faithfully.

Chinese Educational Heritage

The Chinese educational tradition as discussed in
chapter two, was believed as old as the Chinese history begin-
nning from the legendary time dating back to 2852 B. C. No one,
however, can accurately state when the school system first
became a reality in China. One thing however seemed certain:
"In the age of Confucius, there were schools for the hamlets,
for the villages, and for the feudal state". 19

In discussing the education and schools in early China,
one American educator stated that in the pre-Confucian times,
but in good Confucian tradition, the paternal head of the
nation, the emperor was, in effect, the master teacher and
all his subjects were students. The emperor instructed by
example and through decree; he rewarded the good students
with government posts and punished the recalcitrants by fines

or banishment. Under imperial direction, a knowledge of certain prescribed ancient arts was required of all who sought the badge of the educated man. The ideal state was, in effect, an ideal school.20

Generally speaking, American educators, in their treatment of Chinese traditional education, commonly held that for centuries, Chinese education was primarily based and centered on Confucianism to achieve the quality of humanness and predominantly classical; it was closely linked with the system of civil service examinations, by means of which the Chinese imperial government selected officials for public offices. One author commented that the schools in the pre-modern Chinese educational system were intended for preparing candidates for examinations, not for instruction; they were devoted to the selection of officials, not for educational purposes.21 From these remarks, it is not difficult for the reader to recognize that popular education for general enlightenment as known in the Western world, was evidently neglected in ancient China. Although Confucius urged that all men, irrespective of social status, should have opportunities for learning and advancement, sons of peasants had neither the leisure nor the money for education.22

21. Li, p.163.
The system of education and examinations also had its merits. It was the foundation of China's government by scholars. Her tradition of honoring scholars and civil authorities was far more than recognizing only warriors and administered with a remarkable degree of fairness. Furthermore, the most significant aspect of this system of education and examinations was the cultural unity which it helped to produce and maintain. All over the length and breadth of the country, pupils and scholars were nurtured on the same intellectual diet on which the examinations were based. 23

Confucianism was not without challenges and supplements in China. Nevertheless, few American educators but Thut and Adams so far in this study ever treated this point in their texts. As they pointed out Confucian beliefs were the most pervasive intellectual influences in the history of China, but at no time did they completely usurp the intellectual field. The American authors further illustrated that among the forces that challenged the supremacy of Confucianism, were Taoism, Legalism, and Buddhism. 24 Here, this writer would like to point out that there was another great supplementary element to Confucianism in China. It was the Moist school of thought. Its founder was Motsu. The Moists took

23. Moehlman and Roucek, pp. 531-32.
pity on the miseries of people caused by wars. They wished to put an end to all military conflicts on the earth. They advocated the simple life and peace for the people.

Taoism was the philosophy of a naturalistic worldview. In the description of the Taoist philosophy, Thut and Adams stated that the father of Taoism was Laotsu, a contemporary of Confucius who, like him, believed that the knowledge of the good life was restricted to the very few -- the superior man or sage. However, the Taoists downgraded the value of books, for in their opinion the truly superior man need only use reflection to acquire important knowledge. They had little hope that all men could profit by education, and believed that the common people would be much better off by merely following their natural instincts rather than relying on formal education. Confucianism, on the contrary, observed education as the foundation for individual and social improvement.25

Legalism was referred to in the philosophy of Hsuntsu (300 B.C. - 237 B.C.) by the authors. He was a strong advocate of formal education, and in keeping with the budding Confucian tradition saw the classics as the only appropriate content. Large portions of Hsuntsu's writings were incorporated into the Record of Rituals, one of the famous classics in

25. Ibid., p.264.
China. The term of Legalism, as indicated in the texts, obtained its name, "from the emphasis its advocates placed on law as a means of gaining desired ends. It represented an attempt to justify strong central government controls and give increased, even absolute, power to the ruler. The government promoted by Legalists was totalitarian". For the Confucians, however, an effective administration of the government could be achieved only through people's support and based on the public opinion and desire.

After reviewing the treatment of Legalism, a mistake made in the text was obvious. Legalism, was represented by Hanfeitsu instead of Hsuntsu (or Chuangtsu). The latter actually belonged to the Taoist school of thought, not the Legalist. A correction of the mis-representation of Legalism by Hsuntsu is definitely needed. Both Laotsu and Hsuntsu were believers in naturalism and regarded by the Chinese people as the representatives of Taoists. Their doctrines told the Chinese that once a person conformed himself to nature and followed nature's way, then nothing in his life would cause him worry and no problem could not be solved. The main feature of Taoism familiar to the Chinese was the so called "action through inaction".

26. Ibid.
When comparing the philosophies of the ideal state, contrasting Legalism and Taoism, the authors stated that "Legalists were sometimes linked to the primitive society envisioned by the Taoists, since neither group believed in allowing the citizenry voice or power". The Taoists suggested that the "ills of the state were largely the result of man's meddling and if rulers tampered less with natural processes, life would be easier". On the contrary, the Legalists argued for "more elaborate governmental organization through which totalitarian control could be exercised". Both Legalism and Taoism, in regard to the Confucian idea of a successful government through classical learning, "give a small role to the scholar who spent his life seeking truth from the work of the ancient". 27

Buddhism was not of Chinese origin. It was first introduced into China from India during the Han dynasty (A.D. 100). Large numbers of believers were devoted to the study of the Buddhist ideas from the fourth to the sixth centuries. Buddhism, according to Thut and Adams, offered the Chinese something that had been missing in their existing schools of humanistic thought. In Buddhism, as in Taoism, man's spiritual and aesthetic sides were cared for; so the poor and miserable found solace in the quietude and rituals common to this new faith. The rich and mighty, tiring of pedestrian Confucianism, also in time found it entertaining to become connoisseurs

27. Ibid., pp. 264-66.
of Buddhist art and challenging to seek the sublime truths locked in the elaborate Buddhist metaphysics. This ideas influenced many scholars of the time. They turned their back on the teachings of Confucius and tried to lead a carefree life.

These four schools of thought left their imprint on Confucianism. There was no doubt that Confucianism had been modified and enriched by Taoism, Legalism, and Buddhism as well as by the Moist school of thought. These philosophies greatly influenced Chinese life and conditioned the general attitudes and the minds of Chinese students and scholars in the past centuries. According to the American educators, these philosophies were actually not mutually exclusive or entirely competitive. They supplemented each other.

Thut and Adams emphasized the Chinese educational heritage in their text. They presented the facts and approaches of various leaders and their influence on the Chinese people in different periods. Their text provided valuable information about the heritage of education in ancient China.

All the educational developments and experiences under the National Government before 1949 treated by the American

28. Ibid., p.265.
29. Ibid., p.263.
educators in comparative education field have been discussed and evaluated in the previous Chapters. 1911 was a very significant year in the minds of Chinese people both at home and abroad. It was the final year of the ancient political system and the traditional education following the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty, the last Chinese empire in history. A republican government based on the principle of democracy and a new educational system patterned after the modern Western type were duly established following the birth of the Republic in the same year. The world, thereafter, saw the effort made by the Chinese people to achieve national unity and reconstruction; the conflict among the Chinese themselves; the outside invasion from Japan; the Chinese Civil War; and the final separation of the nation in 1949. During this period, Chinese education underwent a series of reorganizations and reforms, and survived the destruction of war. Generally, progress in education under the Nationalist Government was substantial but the equal opportunity of education was rarely extended to the less privileged people.

The treatment of the Chinese education and school systems under the National Government in the books published between 1949 and 1970 in the comparative education field in the United States provided less detail. It is difficult for the readers to get a complete picture of modern Chinese education in the 20th century without referring to other
sources in this regard.

**Chinese Education Under the National Government in Taiwan**

As revealed in the selected books Ralph E. Stout's *Comparative Education*, 1967, was the only text giving a unique treatment of Chinese education in Taiwan. Some other, however, gave a few short paragraphs to describe the existing school system and the legal basis and aims of Chinese education there. In a general evaluation of the educational development in Taiwan today, Stout had the following account:

Since 1949 and the removal to and stabilization in Formosa, progress had been such that Taiwan today has a high literacy rate for Asia, about 80 per cent. Because of the youthfulness of the population (median age of 17.5; 45 per cent under the age of 14), one out of four inhabitants is a student. In 1964 school enrollment at all levels totaled 2,863,181, including 51,707 in 35 colleges and universities. Primary education is free and compulsory, and enrolls 96.71 per cent of the school age children.30

**Legal Basis of Chinese Education:** Chinese education, according to Aggarwal's and Stout's texts, is stipulated in the Constitution of the Republic of China. Centralization of education is provided for in Article 162, in that all public and private educational institution are declared to be subject to state supervision. Article 163 specified that the state is to assume responsibility for the development of education, taking into account the varying needs of different areas. Article 158 lays down the aims of the nation's educational

30. Stout, p.250.
and cultural program. 31 These stipulations are faithfully followed and pursued by the National Government although the Republic has undergone an internal conflict and was forced to move to Taiwan.

**Aims of Chinese Education**: The chief aims of Chinese education as discussed in chapter two, are to eliminate illiteracy, to diffuse modern scientific knowledge, to raise the standard of living, to foster technical efficiency, and to realize the age old dream of the Chinese people, the whole world is one family. 32 That is the ultimate goal of the "Three Principles of the People", namely Nationalism, Democracy, and People's Welfare. These principles have been the guidelines of all educational programs. The educational institutions of the Republic of China are all required to firmly pursue these aims without alternatives.

At the present stage, anti-communism and restoration to the mainland have been the highest national policies of the Nationalist Government in Taiwan. Any planning for national development socially, politically, economically, educationally and militarily should be in accordance with this policy. The country's effort for educational development, according to Stout, has been made mainly along the following


32. Stout, p.265.
five lines: (1) to develop higher education by providing more equipment and facilities at colleges, universities and research institutions so as to lay a good foundation for advanced academic research; (2) to promote scientific education and simultaneously lay stress on vocational training at schools of every level in order to improve the scientific knowledge and productive skills of the people; (3) to strengthen the training of teachers for the schools and promote community education so as to elevate the cultural levels of its members; (4) to improve methods of discipline in the schools, and emphasize moral teachings so as to nurture a healthy national spirit; and (5) to lay emphasis on international cultural cooperation and to select, through examination, students for further study abroad and to assist them in securing suitable positions upon their return.33 These trends clearly indicated the emphasis of the current educational development toward scientific studies, vocational training, community education, moral teaching and international cultural cooperation. One thing, however, can be detected here that Chinese education in Taiwan today has been broadening the scope of Nationalism to a world-wide view. Educational nationalism as noted in chapter II., used to be criticized as anti-foreign education by scholars and educators in the Western World after the

33. Ibid.
national system of education was established in 1928 following the unification of China in 1927 by the Nationalists.

Educational Administration and Finance: The educational administrative system and functions of the Republic of China in Stout's text were divided into four categories: "central, provincial, county and large city, and town and village authorities", similar in nature as the system functioned in the mainland before 1949 as discussed in the second chapter. Because the centralization of education has been stipulated in the Constitution, "the Ministry of Education is, therefore, the national government's agency for controlling and promoting the education of the whole nation." 34

Each province has a Department of Education and each Special Municipality, a Bureau of Education. "Taiwan is the only actively organized province" and Taipei the only Special Municipality of the Republic of China today. Their educational organs have "administrative control over school systems within the province" 35 or the municipality.

Each county (Hsien) or city of every province has a Division (Bureau) of Education. It has the responsibility for school education and other cultural and social education affairs in the county or city. "The county and city authority

34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
are the basic units operating the public schools. These units make the decisions which determine the size, location, and construction of schools, and the employment of personnel. The educational offices in the small city, town and village serve as branch offices of county educational authorities. Thus the Chinese educational administrative responsibility is, in effect, based on central, provincial and local authorities. Each level of authority has its own responsibilities and specific functions.

The relationship between central, provincial, and local educational authorities and between general administrative and educational authorities is very close. In commenting on the system of educational administration, Stout said that this system represents neither centralization nor decentralization, but is rather a balance or compromise pattern. This is true. In viewing the present practical educational administrative system in action in Taiwan today, no one would disagree with his remarks.

Educational finance has also been provided for in the Chinese Constitution. Both Stout and Aggarwal clearly stated in their texts that Article 164 of the Constitution prescribed that not less than 15 per cent of the total national budget is to be devoted to educational, scientific and cultural

36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., pp. 253-54.
expenditure. In the case of provinces, the figure is 25 per cent of the total provincial budget, and in the counties (Hsiens). 35 per cent. 38 This indicated that the central, provincial and local governments share the responsibility of educational finance. Practically, the stipulated percentage for educational and cultural programs at the present central level may have never met the requirement because military expenditures and national defense have absorbed the major part of the national budget. However, the educational expenditure at the provincial and county levels may have exceeded the stipulated percentage due to the expansion of free education from six to nine years as noted in the foregoing discussions.

**Education and School System:** The educational system under the Nationalist Government in Taiwan today is actually the continuation of the basic organization and structure reformed in 1928 as evaluated and analyzed in the second chapter. The modern school system of the 6-3-3-4 hierarchy with the *Academia Sinica* on the top, the highest academic research organization of the nation, is still in force. This hierarchy consisted "six years of elementary, three years each of junior and senior high schools, and four years of college or university education. Vocational education, adult education,

schools or classes for special types of children and kindergarten are part of the system". 39 Schools from kindergarten to college in the Republic can either be public or private.

In regard to the function of the Academia Sinica, it is charged with "conducting scientific research in its own institutes and aiding and coordinating the efforts of other research institutes and universities in China in their scientific pursuits". 40 For a time, the Master's degree was awarded by the Academy. In Taiwan now, however, the Masters' degrees are awarded by the graduate institutions of the universities and the doctorate is awarded by the Ministry of Education but administered by the universities. The first Ph. D. degree was awarded in 1961. 41

Generally, no substantial changes of this educational system ever occurred except a nine-year free education enforced in the school year of 1968 as pointed out earlier. The first six-year of primary education is compulsory and the next three-year of the lower secondary education is free but not compulsory in nature. There has been another distinctive feature noted in Chinese education during the past decade; a five-year junior college has been added to the educational system. It stands between the secondary

40. Ibid., p.259.
50. Li, p.166.
and college or university education. This will receive a proper evaluation later. However, little effort will be made in regard to numbers of schools and students as well as the contents of curriculum at each level of education in the following discussions.

Elementary Education: The emphasis of school work at each level of school in Taiwan has been fairly treated in Stout's text. Pupils at elementary school learn the "basic knowledge and skill, and develop attitudes, appreciation, and guides to group living". Free and compulsory elementary education, however has insured "a nationwide literacy", and, leads to "the development of morality, mental and physical well-being" of the pupils.

Secondary Education: Secondary school is divided into junior high and senior high, three years of each, "junior high school includes both general and vocational types", which are equivalent to the grades seven through nine in this country. Senior high school includes general, vocational and normal education types", equivalent to the grades ten to twelve. An entrance examination for secondary school, according to the text, was "fit for pupils who have completed the six-year primary course". This practice, however, was terminated since the 9-year free educational program was

42. Stout, p.255.
43. Ibid., pp.256-57.
implemented in 1968. Normally, a certificate is granted to the pupils upon their graduation. Here this writer would remind the readers that since the normal school was changed to junior teachers college in the recent years, normal school education is actually no longer found at the secondary education level.

Higher Education: Higher education in the Republic of China is provided in the universities, independent colleges, graduate schools, junior colleges, technological institutes and other professional schools, and teacher training colleges. The establishment of a university as noted in the second chapter, must have at least three colleges, and an independent college at least two departments. These requirements are still in effect in Taiwan today. A unified college entrance examination, not mentioned in the text, for admitting senior high school graduates is held at the same time in a certain area on the island once a year. This practice has been regarded by some Chinese scholars, educators, and educational officials as a fair competition and an equal opportunity for higher education. Those who failed to pass the examination are doomed to lose the equal opportunity for college education. The motivation of the students for advanced studies in college, no matter how strong it may be, is totally neglected, and

44. Ibid., p. 257.
their potential talents in academic research or professional training, without doubt, are seriously retarded. This system of examination is the only entry for high school students to college education today. Whether it is a fair or effective way to select able students for college or an unfair discrimination of students, the readers may draw their own conclusion.

Junior college, vocational and technical in nature, has emerged in recent years as a result of the fast industrial development in Taiwan. According to Stout, "junior colleges provide two or three years of study in such fields as agricultural education, home economics, and nursing education". 45

To the knowledge of this writer, there are two types of junior college, namely the five-year and three-year junior colleges. The former admits junior high school graduates and gives five years of training in academic subjects and professional courses; the latter admits senior high school graduates and gives three years of training. No degree is awarded at the junior college level. A certificate, however, is granted upon the graduation of the student.

Teacher Education: Elementary school teachers may get their education through a junior teachers college. It admits the graduate of a senior high school and gives two years of professional training with one year of practice

45. Ibid., p.257.
teaching. Secondary school teachers may get their education through normal colleges or universities for a period of four years, plus one more year of practice teaching. The requirement of admittance of students to the four year normal college is the same as that of other colleges or universities. Students of normal colleges, however, are given full scholarships—free tuition, free room and board, and free textbooks. 46

A unique feature in improving elementary teaching in the Republic was the inauguration of "The Taiwan Provincial Elementary School Teachers In-Service Center" in 1956. It lays great emphasis, according to the articles in the text, on the strengthening of education for the national spirit, and the improvement of teaching methods and teaching materials in the public school. It conducts seminars for foreign visitors, workshops for teachers in overseas Chinese schools, and cooperates with other agencies in the compilation of teaching materials. 47 This organization is the first one of the kind in the history of Chinese education. How successful it has been in improving elementary school teaching, and in promoting international understanding in Chinese education is not clear in the text. However, the initiation of this pioneer work is certainly praiseworthy.

Adult Education: Adult education or social education

46. Ibid., pp.258-59.
47. Ibid., p.259
in the treatment by American educators, was a very serious problem confronting the Nationalist Government on the mainland before 1949. Today adult education in Taiwan has actually been incorporated into the regular educational system. The writings in the text indicated that in the Republic of China the term social education is generally applied to programs of study which parallel the regular schools and colleges, and is used in the manner similar to the term adult education in the United States. Colleges and universities offer evening classes for adults who desire additional training in their occupational fields, or who wish to carry on their studies leading to an academic degree. Large city school systems offer a variety of courses such as vocational education, literacy instruction, cultural and technical courses.\footnote{Ibid., p.260} As a matter of fact, adult educational programs along with school education are found everywhere through the Island. It is no longer an un-manageable problem in the Republic. Due to the compulsory primary education and free education in junior high school, it was reported that 98% of school-age children in Nationalist China now attend school and that illiteracy has been practically eliminated.\footnote{Li, p.166}

Curriculum and Methodology: The textbooks used in the elementary and secondary schools are still unified throughout
the country. This can be seen from the writings in the texts that state that the curriculum of the elementary school and secondary school is planned by a curriculum committee which is composed of professors, teachers, specialists and educational administrators under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Education. 50

At the elementary level, though the curriculum is planned, experiments in the activity curriculum and project method are utilized in the lower grades.

At the secondary level, the junior high school curriculum is largely instruction in subject areas required of all pupils; the senior high school is a rather academic program which is designed to prepare students for colleges and is divided into the natural sciences and the social sciences. The curriculum of the vocational schools, in addition to the core subjects such as Chinese, civics, history geography, mathematics, English, and physical education, includes training in agriculture, trade and industrial education, distributive education, home economics, etc. 51

The higher education is commonly four years of undergraduate study in a college or university leading to a B. A. degree or B. S. degree as it does in the Unites States. For the purpose of national defense, military

50. Stout, p.262.
51. Ibid., pp.262-63
education has officially been incorporated into the educational system for senior high school and college students since 1953. This was what the Nationalist Government did during the period of war with Japan, as mentioned in the previous discussions.

The method used in the classroom teaching from primary school to college is still limited to lecture and recitation. However, an encouraging sign in teaching in the recent years is the experiment in life-centered education which has great influence in the schools. Group discussions, interviews, surveys, exhibitions, demonstrations, field trips, and audio-visual teaching aids are commonly regarded helpful and widely utilized. These certainly make teaching more dynamic and closely related to real-life situations.

Status of Teachers: Teachers in public schools and professors in national colleges and universities have the same status as government employees. They enjoy all the privileges of government officials. As previously stated, the teachers are qualified only through professional training in junior teacher colleges and teacher colleges or universities, or pass the qualifying examinations prescribed by the Ministry of Education. Teachers of both public and private schools are appointed by the principal of each school. They receive

52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., p. 264.
an annual increase in pay; and no teacher may be dismissed at any time prior to the expiration of a contract. They may be retired with pension at the age of sixty-five or after teaching twenty years as a full time teacher. 54

Youth Activities: Inter-school student and out-of-school youth activities in summer and winter vacations are unique in the Republic of China. All the activities for the youths are designed by educators, experts and professional youth counselors under the sponsorship of the China Youth Corps, a national youth organization which was established in 1952. According to the text, the programs conducted by the C.Y.C. each year are divided into the following categories of activity: patriotic and anti-communist activities; academic activities; recreational activities; youth welfare; leadership training; and international youth contacts and social activities. These training programs provide Chinese youth with opportunities to study science, to work on actual production, to learning combat techniques, to build up their mental and physical health. 55 All these programs obviously educationally, psychologically, and ideologically oriented toward anti-communism and national recovery.

Problems of Education: Educational problem in the Republic of China today are somewhat different from those

54. Ibid.
55. Ibid., p.260-61
that confronted the Nationalist Government on the mainland before 1949. Due to rapid growth of the national economy and the great expansion of compulsory and free education, certain results, however, are expected by the educational leaders and planners of the nation from now on to 1980. According to the text, the projected rate of population increase is 92 per cent, as compared with a 43 per cent increase during 1950-60. The increase of the ten-year group, five to fourteen years of age, which roughly covers the compulsory age, will be 26.2 per cent. A tremendous increase in pre-primary education occurred in China during 1950-60. Therefore, it will be necessary to expand facilities for primary and lower secondary education by 1980. That means that much money must be spent to meet this requirement.

Because of the increase of student enrollment and the need for replacements, a projected recruitment of teachers between 1961-62 and 1981-82 would require 138,800 at the minimum and 186,500 at the maximum. A long-range plan of education has reportedly been made toward meeting the need. However, the fact is that more qualified teachers are still needed particularly in lower secondary education. The educational development in the Republic today seems to be on the right track if these problems can be well managed.

56. Ibid., p.266.
57. Ibid., p.266-67.
Chinese Education under the Communist on the Mainland

**Historical Background:** After four years of Civil War, the Chinese Communists took over the mainland in 1949. The structures and systems of politics, society, economy, and education in China were rapidly shifted by the Communists. The ancient Chinese civilization and culture known to the Western world for centuries, were totally alien to the nature and ideology of the Communist Chinese. Education, however, has been long regarded by the Communists as a tool of social change, ideological advancement and economic development. They spared no effort to reform the educational system almost immediately after they came to power. As the American educators pointed out, in Communist China, the Party line, expounded by Mao Tse-tung, became the official policy.\(^5\)\(^8\) All education was placed under the state; every program must be in conformity with the Communist philosophy; private education is controlled; and political indoctrination became the main emphasis in schools.\(^5\)\(^9\)

All the changes and reforms of the Communist education in China were closely watched by the outside world and especially by the educators from the United States. During the past twenty years (1950 to 1970), the Communist reform of

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58. Moehlman, p.45.
education treated by the American educators can be roughly divided into the following phases: The consolidation and experimentation period from 1949 to 1953; the first five-year plan for national economic development from 1953-1957; the second five-year plan from 1958 to 1963; and the third five-year plan from 1963 to 1967. It was, however, in the summer of 1966, that the notorious "Culture Revolution" broke out. The whole country was engulfed in political struggles. Millions of students, mainly from high schools and colleges joined the "Red Guards". They, together with workers and other youths, were used by both the radical Communist elements and the Communist bureaucrats as tools for seizing political power. Most schools were closed for the Revolution; drastic changes in school systems were demanded; and the entire educational enterprise was greatly retarded. The impact on Chinese education is certainly unpredictable.

The educational reforms and developments of the Communist China in the texts in this study will be evaluated and analysis following the treatment of the effect of Communist philosophy of education; the goals and functions of education; educational policy and administration; educational finance; changes and structure of education; school life of teachers and students; private and Christian education;

60. Thut and Adams, p.283.
curriculum and instruction; training and status of teachers; youth organizations; and problems of education.

Before proceeding to the discussion on Chinese education under the Communists, the readers have to be reminded that the statistical data on education in Communist China as indicated in the texts by the educators, were seldom up-to-date and complete. Therefore, the statistical information regarding the numbers of schools and students, as well as the details of curriculum at each level of education will not be presented in this study.

**Communist Philosophy of Education:** The philosophical basis of the Chinese Communist education as those in the other Communist countries in the world, is mainly based on the Marxist-Leninist indoctrination. They combined education and productive labor as a whole; regarded education closely relating to national economics and politics; and urged education for serving the Communist revolution. In Communist China, the theory and practice follow Mao Tse-tung, the Communist leader's explanations and interpretations on the Marxist-Leninist ideas of education, plus Mao's own thought. The fundamental principles and policies of education and cultural affairs were noted in the "Common Program" which was initiated and adopted in 1949 when the Communist regime was established.

62. Li, p.171.
The "Common Program" quoted in the texts, contains these provisions:

Article 41. The culture and education of the Chinese People's Republic shall be the culture and education of the new Democracy, that is, nationalistic, scientific, and popular. The cultural and educational work of the People's Government shall deem its principal tasks those of raising the cultural level of the people, training for personnel for national construction, eradication of feudalistic, and facist ideologies, and promotion of the idea of serving the people.

Article 46. The educational method of the Chinese People's Republic shall be to integrate theory and practice. The People's Government shall systematically, and by stages, reform the old educational system, the contents of education, and the methods of pedagogy.

Article 47. It (the People's Government) shall systematically, and by stages, carry out universal education, strengthen secondary education and higher education, emphasize technical education, consolidate the spare-time education of laborers and the education of cadres now on duty, and give revolutionary political education to the young intellectuals and old intellectuals, so as to satisfy the widespread needs of revolutionary work and national construction.

The Communist philosophy of education was basically derived from the revolutionary ideologies and political activities of the Communists. These provisions of the Communist plan for education were obviously directed to serve the Communist revolutionary purpose. The basic principles governing all education in Communist China today can be summarized in these words:

Education must be led by the Communist Party. Every part of the educational process must be controlled by party machinery. Education must serve political ends. Political ideology must take up a great part of the educational program at any level, and Education must be combined with labor.64

The Goals and Functions of Communist Education: Education has long been regarded by the Communists throughout the world as the primary, reliable and powerful weapon to achieve Communism. In Communist China, in the eyes of the American educators, the ultimate goal of education is solely aimed at the eventual realization of Communism. Education, since the Communist came into power in China, has been used to play a decisive role in molding Communist citizenry in the Communist society. As one educator notes:

Education is conceived as a tool serving the purpose of the Party, which of course, is the interpreter of the true Communist way. Education must be as pervasive as the total range of the people's social activities, which include "the class struggle", political life, their work in the fields of science and art. The school, the press, the commercial or industrial concern, and the various youth and adult clubs are all educational institutions and therefore all have political objectives.65

This statement is a clear indication that education in Communist China is for ideological indoctrination, and political propaganda. However, for attaining these goals, the raising of the overall literacy of the mass; the training


of skilled productive workers; and the highly educated individuals for industrialization and modernization were supposedly viewed as the priority to be carried out. However, the political goal is uppermost. The emphasis of "the red and the expert" is therefore considered the desired end-productive of the educational system, the red and expert person or politically reliable Communists.

The main concern of Chinese Communist education as Kazamias and Massialas pointed out in their text, is the ideological reconditioning of the people. Education must serve politics, it must promote production, and under the guidance of the Party, it must serve of proletarian society.

The function of this educational system, guided by the political philosophy of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung, is to serve both politics and production. The realization of their ultimate goal to Communism, in the Chinese Communists' belief, is through "red and expert" education.

**Education Policy and Administration:** Education, like anything else in China, is totally planned, executed and controlled by the Communist Party. In other words, the Party makes the decisions on education for the state, the Party

68. Kazamias and Massialas, p.122.
69. *Strom, p.2.*
members in the state educational organization implement the educational policy of the Party, and the Party again supervises all educational activities from kindergarten to college. This unique machinery of Party-State joint administration and the mono-Party policy-making leaves no room for the voices of the people, students, teachers, and school administrators. To this peculiar relationship between the Party and State in educational policy and administration, the American educators observed:

In Communist China, the Party can never know any quarrel with the state. There is no official constitutional link between state and Party; but the key offices of state and the Party are filled by the same persons...If the state provides the body of Chinese Communist administration, the Communist Party provides the brain. Side by side with the machinery of government erected by the state, the Communist Party has developed its own parallel organization .....Policy is decided in the first place by the Party leaders; who then proceed, by virtue of their other offices held within the state, to translate the policy into action.70

These words clearly indicated how the Party policies were to be carried out throughout the nation and how the Party organs controlled the educational administration. They demonstrated the two in one relationship functioning in Communist China today.

According to the American educators, Article 94 of the Constitution of the people's Republic, Adopted in 1954, stated

70. Reller and Morphet, pp.275-79.
that the state establishes and gradually expands schools of various types and other cultural and educational institutions. Educational power would thus seem to reside in the state. However, as the educators further observed, in reality the Party is of prime importance in the development and implementation of policy. 71 The organization of educational administration in the new regime are divided into three levels—national, provincial, and local. The framework of administration at each level treated by the educators will be identified in the following discussions.

The source of all executive power is the National People's Congress which decides what Ministries or Commissions are to exist. While the Congress is not in session decisions are made by a standing committee. The heads of the Ministries and Commissions are members of the State Council, a governmental administration agency which keeps a firm grasp on the appointment of the high officials of education. 72 A national Ministry of Education was created by the Communist government in 1949. The function of the Ministry and the lower level educational organizations are seen in these writings:

At the national level the Party exerts its control through the Ministry of Education; and in Communist China the administration and organization, curricula, and financing of schools are governed by directives from the Ministry. But the Communists have used even more direct methods to supervise the ideological training of Chinese youth. As

in the Soviet Union, Party branches have been formed in the Chinese colleges and universities for the faculty members or older students, and Communist youth organizations have been organized for students in primary and secondary schools.

Below the national level, in the provinces and municipalities, there exist educational bureaus. In the special districts and counties the basic educational body is the educational and cultural office. The precise function of these lower echelons is not entirely clear although it is known that in most matters of policy they are subordinate both to the people's committees operating at their levels and to the national educational bodies.73

The administrative structure at the national level had been once modified. In the early day of the Communist regime the work of the Ministry was carried on by five major departments; Elementary Education, Secondary Education, Higher education, Social Education, and Supervision. In 1952, a Ministry of Higher Education was created and separated from the Ministry of Education. Its function is to take charge of the training of advanced technical and scientific workers. It initiated important policies concerning finance, curriculum, personnel, and general planning for those institutions of higher education. However, in 1958, the Ministry of Higher education was abolished and its responsibilities were assumed by the Ministry of education.74

This system of educational administration was obviously under strong central control. However, as it was known to the world, in 1958, the "Great Leap Forward" movement was

73. Thut and Adams, pp.287-89.
introduced by the Communist Party in an attempt to speed up national development. During this period, as viewed by some American educators, there was some relaxation of the strong control on education. A decentralization of the educational responsibilities was seen in Communist China. Provincial and local governments, even communes, factories, mines and other enterprises were given more responsibilities to run schools. 75 However, the relaxation of the Party discipline was not intended. To some American educators:

Decentralization was a planned step in the master plan for communization. China's goal, expressed in 1958, of making the commune the basic social organization did not lessen the role of the Party in education. Although local leaders took on more management duties, policy making was largely reserved for the national authorities. The partial failure of the communes has made this doubly true. 76

As a matter of fact, there is no alternatives of the central direction and Party control in education, and particularly in policy-making, ideological reconditioning, and political indoctrination. This system is by no means necessarily efficient. The writings in the texts said that criticism as to inefficiency and faulty planning as well as revelations as to improper coordination of manpower needs, illustrates the fact that a mono-party, all-embracing through informal control of administrative policy-making powers is no

75. Strom, pp.7-8; Thut & Admas, p.289; and Cramer, p.537.
76. Thut & Admas, p.289.
guarantee of an efficient school system, although it is the largest and one of the most impoverished in the world. [77]

Furthermore, let us take a look at the educational administrators in Communist China, so as to find out who they are, where they stand, and what they do. The texts under this study contained these words:

A career in educational administration in Communist China is only to be pursued through membership in the Communist Party... An administrator in Communist China is less concerned to advise his masters at higher levels in the fearless manner of his Western counterpart, but he may be more concerned to carry out his instructions with zest and cheerfulness. He will be less zealous in initiating change, but more earnest in reporting a developing situation to his superiors... He is a leading personality in the political movement of his times... His interest never allows him to divorce himself from politics... He holds office in both Party and state. [78]

This complexity of Party and State structure existed at every level of the educational system in Communist China. The Party makes the decisions on education and the members of the Party exercise the educational leadership in the name of educational administrators.

**Educational Finance:** In Communist China, almost all schools were run by the state and financed by the government. That was to say a portion of the national budget had to be allocated to education. In Chinese Communist terms, education has to be "nationalistic, scientific, and popular". For

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[77] Beck, p. 149.
providing some kind of education to the masses, great demands for school facilities were certainly expected. Due to the shortage of funds, it was difficult for the Peking government to allocate the necessary budget for national education. Therefore, under the policy of decentralization following the "great leap forward" movement in 1958, the responsibilities of school financing and management were left to the local communities including the communes, factories, and farms. Each unit has to support its own schools with its own financial resources.

The most striking and novel feature of Communist educational finance is the use of productive labor. One result of the vast increase of the amount of time which students and teachers must spend in physical labor in periods of economic stress is that, by so doing, they provide funds for their schools. The half-work, half-study schools, particularly in the expensive sphere of secondary education, had become the characteristic feature of Communist education. Like most of the countries in the world, education in Communist China is not free. Almost all students pay a tuition fee, and also pay for their textbooks and materials. Scholarships are, of course, available to some deserving and needy students. 79

However, as a matter of fact, how much money had been

79. Ibid., p.289.
spent for education in Communist China no one would really know in the outside world. Budgetary information on education in Communist China was not sufficiently available in the United States. It was said that an average of 7 per cent of its growing national budget was allocated to education from 1951 to 1956. Since 1957 the figure has increased to about 10 per cent. In the early years, 90 per cent of the financial support of education came from the central government. The Communist government has the profits from all government-owned farms and business enterprises, and collects taxes on grain and business profits directly. The government also raises funds from the sale of bonds, plus Soviet credits, remittances from abroad, and confiscation of private property at home. All of these combined to provide a general picture of financial resources of the Communist government. However, since the "great leap forward" movement in 1958 to the "cultural revolution" in 1966 and after the educational system experienced many changes in Communist China. Most of the financial responsibilities have been assumed by the local units. The actual amount of the proportion of the educational budget of the Peking government and at the lower levels are not stated in the texts under study.

Changes and Structure of Education: Generally, the

80. Li, p.168.
elementary, secondary, and higher educational ladders are still maintained by the Chinese Communists. However, certain changes were made during the early years of the new regime. As pointed out, from 1949 to 1953 was considered by the American educators as a period of Communist consolidation and experimentation. The changes can be traced in these writings:

The 6-3-3 pattern inherited from the Nationalists was suspect, and appropriate modifications were considered. In 1951 the Ministry of Education introduced plans designed to eliminate the dual-track primary system which had typically provided a full six-year school only in the urban areas. The establishment of a unified five-year school was attempted, but shortages of teachers and facilities forced a return to the dual-track system by 1954.82

Turning to their Soviet mentors for guidance and assistance the Chinese introduced...secondary "technicums" and vocational schools paralleling the three-year junior and three-year senior middle schools; technical colleges and professional schools to supplement and soon outnumber "comprehensive universities"; short-term, spare-time, and part-time courses at all levels of education; and adult education as an integral part of the school system.83

In comment on the entire revised educational system, a common viewpoint among the American educators led to the belief that the official educational system introduced in 1951 was not sacrosanct to the Communists. Nor is any subsequent system except insofar as it serves the immediate political and economic goals of the Party. Education can be changed in China according to the needs of the Party. But must further the

82. Thut & Admas, p.283.
83. Havighurst, p.115.
revolutionary development of the masses to the benefit to the Communist regime. Education exists to perpetuate the state and to serve state policy. These are the golden rules of the Communists. They are always pursued without change.

When the Communists launched the first five-year plan for economic development in 1953, they set their targets on education to establish and gradually extend the various types of schools and other cultural educational institutions, so that they could provide some kind of education to the people for ideological remolding. This principle was continuously applied in the second five-year plan from 1958 to 1962. However, an intensified effort had been directed toward the expansion and reform of secondary education since 1957 to 1967, the end of the third five-year plan.

A unique feature of the educational system is found in the variations of each level of education. Particularly when the Party policy "walking on two legs" was adopted during the "great leap forward" movement in the second five-year plan, the Communists employed all available means and various approaches to achieve their education goals set up by the central government and the Party as previously discussed. This policy was especially applicable to education. The following statement justified the implementation of this policy in the

84. Ibid., pp.115-116.
85. Ibid., p.116.
For the implementation of this policy the authorities have instituted a programme placing equal emphasis on schools operated by the state and those operated by factories, mines, enterprises, governmental organs, civic bodies, armed forces, people's communes, cities and street organizations; on full time, part time, and spare time education; on popular education and vocational education; on school education and self-education; and on tuition free and tuition paying education. One of the "legs" on this scheme is the attendance of millions of people at various types of schools on a part time basis, acquiring the rudiment of three "Rs" and the other "leg" of the educational system continues to cater to the more promising urban student.86

The emphasis on these programs reflected the Communist philosophy linking popular education and productive labor in the educational process. It was said that the enrollment in elementary and secondary schools was greatly increased. However, taking account of the variations of programs, courses, curriculum and instruction, background of teachers, materials and facilities, and many other relevant matters of teaching and learning, the quality of education certainly varied among the types of schools. Regarding the quality of Communist education one educator wrote:

In addition to the massive increase in the numbers of people being educated, the policy of simultaneous work and study and the introduction of "people's schools" and "red and expert" universities all contributed to the low quality of instruction. 87

Moreover, political education and education for national reconstruction were the main topics on all levels of

86. Aggarwal, pp.219-220.
87. Li, p.168
education. In the Communist plan, to learn is to accept the basic ideas of Marxism-Leninism; to realize the significance of the proletarian revolution; to appreciate the glory and greatness of the Soviet Union; and to see through the hypocrisy and aggressive design of American imperialism. 88 Above all, the majority of the teachers and instructors were Party members. Their loyalty to the Party was far more important than their educational qualifications as teachers. The effect of the instruction on students is not difficult to understand. A cautious manner, as suggested by many American educators, in judging the academic work of the Communist education in terms of Western standards, seems necessary.

The details of the various types of educational organizations and programs mention above will not be examined in this study because the contemporary educational system in Communist China is still in the stage of experimentation. The following discussion will focus on the three basic levels of education -- primary, secondary and higher education. From these schools operating in China today, the readers will get an insight on how the Communists are trying to achieve their political and production goals through their newly created educational programs. The basic structure of schools under the Chinese Communists in very much like those educational

institutions before they came to power in 1949.

**Preschool Education:** Kindergartens were generally found in large cities before 1949. Kindergartens in Communist China were greatly expanded for working mothers. As an American educator wrote:

> Practically all women are employed outside the home; having small children below school age is no excuse for staying at home.... Most factories, farms, communes, and mills provide kindergartens. 89

It was reported by the Communists that in 1958, the beginning of the "great leap forward" movement, thirty times more children were in kindergartens than in the previous year. By 1959 nearly 68 million children were enrolled in kindergartens. 90 However, observers on the increased numbers of children in kindergartens came to the same conclusion:

> This expansion becomes less impressive when it is realized that only a small percentage of these children received any professional guidance, many of them being cared for by girls too young or women too old for more strenuous works. 91

**Primary Education:** Basically primary schools are divided into two levels, four-year of lower and two-year of higher primary schools. This system was exactly the same as those operated under the Nationalist Government before 1949 as seen in chapter II. As pointed out earlier, the six years primary school was once modified and reduced to a five-year

89. Cramer, p.542.
90. Thut and Adams, p.290.
91. Ibid.
program by the Communists, and then forced to return to its original form. However, various types of schools were merged at this level particularly in the rural areas. These schools are called "people sponsored schools" as distinct from public or state schools. 92 The normal school age for primary schools is started from seven to twelve.

According to the Communist official statement about the enrollment quoted in the texts, the enrollment in primary schools was significant. There were 1,470,000 elementary schools with 118 million pupils in 1958. According to the estimate by the American educators, if these figures were reliable, then all children of elementary age were practically in school. This would of course include all types of regular schools, part-time schools, factory schools and farm schools. 93 This could be the highest enrollment of elementary schools in the world!

Secondary Education: The structure of secondary or middle schools in Communist China are generally following the 3-3 pattern, and classified as general and vocational schools as the Nationalist Government operated them before 1949. The first three years of the general school are junior high schools, comprising grades 7 to 9, and the next 3 years of senior high school are for students from grades 10 to 12.

These are the full-time secondary general schools which mainly prepare students to go to colleges for higher education. In addition to these regular general schools, there are other types of school equal to the secondary education as seen in the texts:

Some of the newer "red and expert" universities might properly qualify only as secondary-level schools, since curricula are designed to include course from elementary through advanced levels.94

The "red and expert" universities will receive more evaluation later in the section on higher education. Parallel to the general schools, there are normal and vocational schools. The nature, status, and function of these schools can be seen in these words:

The specialized secondary schools do not have the prestige of general secondary schools and appear to have had difficulty in getting the caliber of students desired. Certainly this has been true of the normal schools and has caused concern about the quality of the future teachers.95

Specialized schools prepare students for semiskilled positions in industry or agriculture. Some of these schools are attached to and supported by industrial ministries or specific business enterprises.96

Some major changes or experiments have been carried on at the secondary schools since 1960. As seen above, the initiation of full-time, part-time or spare time schools to combine study-labor programs has been widely introduced. The

94. Havighurst, p.119.
95. Thut and Adams, p.292.
establishment of these schools was chiefly for economic reasons. Another feature is a combined 10 years instead of 12 years primary-secondary education cycle that now is still being under experimentation.

As to the productive labor force sought immediately from schools by the Communists, one educator notes:

In Communist China the Party retains all control to itself; in its Chinese counterpart, Taiwan, coordination between education and industry is effected, theoretically at least, not by coercion but by cooperation of the government and the National Committee for Promoting Cooperation between Education and Industry. Education in Communist China is a tool to be used by the Party for its own purpose rather than to foster the pursuit of knowledge, understanding, and excellence *per se.*

Higher Education: Higher education in Communist China received special attention in the writings of the American educators. The Communists took it for granted that all systems practiced and left by the Nationalists to them and the Chinese people were worthless. Everything should be ruthlessly changed. This was particularly true in education, as an American educator observed:

One of the earliest reforms made in higher education by the Communists was to reduce the typical four-to five-year curriculum of the universities to three to four years. This change proved to be premature, and in 1955 the earlier pattern was revived. Some special courses of study continued to require a shorter period of study.

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97. Havighurst, p.11.

The motivation of the Communists to initiate this change was not apparent. One thing seems clear, that the Communists were trying to offer some kind of higher education on a part-time basis. Higher educational institution can be roughly grouped in these classes: those under the Ministry of Education or associated ministries; those under the provincial authorities; and those established by local organizations.\(^99\) It is difficult to appraise higher education and its availability of opportunity in Communist China because the terminology used by the Chinese Communists is somewhat different from that used in the outside world. For example, one educator states:

One plan designed by the Communists to extend the social base of higher education has resulted in the establishment of the "Red and Expert" universities. These institutions ... seek ... to promote technical competency and political orthodoxy ... support of these institutions seems to come primarily from the factories ... or the communes.

Considering the academic background of the students, the qualifications of the teachers, and the level of instruction, the term "universities" is undoubtedly a misnomer. Entering students often have had only a junior high school education, or even less, while the teaching staff has been largely selected from skilled factory workers or farm employees and from the lower Party echelons.\(^100\)

In boasting of the increasing numbers of universities, the Communist officials reported that in one province forty-four "Red and Expert" universities were established through

\(^{99}\). Cramer, p.544.

\(^{100}\). Thut and Adams, p.293.
the cooperative efforts of teachers and students in only two days. The rapid creation of these educational institutions brought a great increase in enrollment. It was again reported that the enrollment figure for higher education rose from 117,000 in 1950 to 810,000 in 1960, and continuously increased to 850,000 by 1962.

In appraising these newly established higher educational institutions, the American educators noted that comprehensive universities require completion of the middle school for entrance, but some of the spare-time and "red and export" universities have no academic requirements for entrance. They were also convinced that with all their limitations, these institutions were intended for some immediate goals, to upgrade the technical level of agricultural and industrial workers and to reinforce political and ideological disciplines. Most of them would not qualify as universities under Western standards.

School Life of Teachers and Students: If student strikes and demonstrations as discussed in chapter III, were the characteristics of the school life in the years of China's Civil War, then the "group meetings and discussion", "political indoctrination", "productive labor", and "collective living"

101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.
103. Cramer, p.545.
would be the unique school traits today under the Communists.

These characteristics of school life in Communist China are vividly expressed in these descriptions:

One of the most important innovations in school life is the emphasis on group participation in the name of democracy. School administration is "democratized" by the organization of administrative councils in which representatives of students and workmen are voting members on an equal plane with faculty representatives. In universities, janitors as well as students are thus given a voice in such major university polices as budget, curriculum, and personnel. The "democratic way" is also expressed in all kinds of meetings and discussion groups... Students not only attend meetings to discuss political topics but are encouraged to study in groups. It is claimed that this practice in collective living will overcome the shortcomings of selfish individualism.105

This typical way of democracy in Communist China is somewhat amazing to the American educators who are familiar with the democratic process in the United States. Under the term of "democratic centralism" the Chinese Communists used the approach of "discussion by the many, decision by the few" in all kinds of group meetings throughout the country. The dictatorial power of the few has, however, over shadowed the creation of "public opinion" through the "semblance of democracy". Above all, the members of the Party or cadres watched the discussion in the meetings, the Party line and official policy must be upheld by majority "vote".106 Moreover, the methods of seeking agreement on official policy always exist, are always known, and are in indeed enforced.107

105. Moehlman and Roucek, p.559.
106. Ibid.
Another use of the group meetings in schools as well as in any other organizations have been employed as a control device by ways of "criticism" and "self-criticism". This method has been used as a means of enforcing discipline since the beginning of the new regime to the present. The group meetings have been regarded as powerful tools to press the individuals to confess their mistakes, wrong doings, imperialistic thinking, feudalistic practices, subervience to the Nationalists, and misguided distrust of the Communist Party, etc. This is the exact process of the "new democracy". It has became an important part of Communist life for everybody including the students.

Engagement in productive activities, based on the Communist philosophy of "glorification of labor", has been emphasized and enforced in the educational system. Production and physical labor have been firmly integrated into the school works at all levels of education since 1958. Schools were instructed to build experimental farms and factories, and students were assigned to work in factories, plants, enterprises and farms. Under the "half-study and half-work" policy, students of all levels, male and female, were required to engage in productive activities. The school life of the

108. Ibid., pp. 559-560.
students is obviously political and production-oriented rather than academic which is known to us in the United States or to the Chinese students in Taiwan.

Private and Christian Education: As indicated in the previous discussions, private and Christian schools had a difficult time to adjust themselves to following the regulations imposed on them after the emphasis on Nationalism in 1927 in China. Due to the cooperation of the Christian leaders and administrators with the National Government, Christian schools and colleges were to extend their contributions to Chinese education in many ways from the late 1920's through the 1940's.

Since the Chinese Communists came to power in 1949, private and Christian schools were placed immediately under strict control by the Communist regime. Although the private educational institutions were allowed to continue their programs along side the state schools at the beginning of the new regime, there never was any doubt that all private schools must assume the full responsibility of political education and ideological indoctrination. 110 The Communist control over the private schools in budget, personnel, administration, and programs was exactly the same as in the state schools. The only exception was that the private schools had to support their schools with their own financial resources.

A comment on the continuation of the private education allowed by the Communists stated that the country was so vast and its educational responsibility so great that the state alone could not manage it. From the financial point of view this assessment seems to have its validity. The later development, however, demonstrated the real intention of the Communists toward private education on mainland China.

As it was shown before, Christian educational institutions were the most popular and important private schools in China. Their affiliation and connection with Western countries was certainly hostile to the Communists. In the middle of 1950, Christian leaders were told to wean themselves from the financial support and nurture of the foreign missions abroad. Financial aid to these institutions was therefore promised by the new regime. This was commonly regarded as the final signal of more rigid control. With the anti-American campaign following the action to freeze the assets of Communist China in America by the U.S. Government, the Chinese Communists decided to freeze the American assets in China in retaliation. The Christian schools and colleges, after their financial sources had been cut off from the outside world, and particularly from the United States, survived only through subsidies from the Communists. The new regime with no

111. Mukherjee, l., p.207.
hesitation moved to take them over as part of the state educational system.\footnote{112}

Christian education in China during the last decades experienced a series of attacks on religious activities, Bible teaching and instruction on foreign ideologies in schools. The anti-Christian attitude in the 1920's seemed unnecessary and unfortunate. However, the relationship between the Christian educational institutions and the national educational system, after a period adjustment, was more close and cooperative. The National Government and the Chinese people since then never questioned the contributions the Christian schools and colleges made to China. Meanwhile many well known Christian educational institutions, following the Nationalist Government, were continously providing modern education to Chinese youth in Taiwan. Nevertheless, the fate of those Christian schools and colleges that remained on mainland China has certainly caused concern in the Western world and especially among American educators.

Curriculum and Instruction: A unique characteristic of the instructional method in Communist China is the integration of theory and practice. This methodology applies to all educational institutions from primary to college. All school activities have to merge with social conditions

\footnote{112. Moehlman and Roucek, pp.562-563.}
and the actual needs of society. Students, male and female, are encouraged and required to engage in productive labor on farms and in factories. The idea of the unity of theory and practice was reflected in Article 46 of the "Common Program" as stated early in the discussions on the Communist philosophy of education. There is certainly no room for any form of "ivory tower" concept of education for the Chinese Communists.\textsuperscript{113} It is a common belief that the Communist concept of instruction consequently has its impact on the changes of curriculum in Communist China today.

The basic curriculum changes in the primary schools according to the writings of American educators, included adding labor to the weekly schedules. Rewriting and standardizing textbooks, and incorporation into the curriculum special political instruction. The learning of Chinese characters still occupies a dominant role in the curriculum, taking approximately one-half of the study time in the first four-year lower grade and one-third in the two-year senior grade.\textsuperscript{114}

Primary school students are of course scheduled doing works on farms and in factories, although it was described that more attention at the primary level is given to inculcation of a right attitude toward labor than to productive

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., p.558.

\textsuperscript{114} Thut and Adams, p.290, and Adams, pp.149-150.
labor itself. Therefore, more and more primary schools are cooperating with farms or factories or are establishing their own small factories or gardens for their students. In doing so, it was believed by the Communists, a collective productive spirit can be trained and created among the young minds.

As to the political instruction at the primary schools, it can either proceed through classroom works or through the Party arranged group meetings. Political and labor education froms the core of the teaching of morality, and illustrates to the children the difference between Communist or public morality and bourgeois or individual morality. It has been universally acknowledged, that the primary schools under the Communists have been the learning, working and indoctrinating centers. The primary education is primarily political, productive and educationally-oriented. The first two are obviously more emphasized.

However, some foreign observers have felt that these programs exploit the children to the detriment of the academic program, and the importance of differences in emotional and social development has diminished because the formality and passivity of the educational process adopted in the curriculum.

Secondary education as viewed by the American educators has been of special importance to the Communist Party and government. The secondary schools foster in coordination with scholarship the ideological development of those to whom will be passed the responsibility for continuing the Communist revolution. Functionally, as already indicated, the secondary schools are roughly classified as general middle schools and specialized middle schools. The professions of the latter were generally classified in 22 categories. The general schools have an academic curriculum, but the stress of political instruction and productive labor at this level of education are seen more likely.

Curriculum changes in the secondary schools have largely paralleled those on the primary level. Six to eight hours of labor have been added to the weekly schedule. Work participated in by students included both unskilled and semiskilled endeavors. Besides production work, political education in the study of Marxism and Leninism, the policies of the Chinese Communist Party, and the writings of Mao Tse-Tung is the explicit political instruction of two to four hours a week for the students. The faith of the new regime

118. Havighurst, p. 118.
119. Ibid., p. 120, and Adams, p. 152.
120. Thut and Adams, p. 292.
in the natural sciences was also seen reflected in the curriculum. Nevertheless, the humanities and traditional social sciences have been neglected in the general middle schools, and virtually eliminated from the specialized middle schools. 121

The time allocation in the secondary schools is also a good indicator of the changes in the curriculum. Students spend 26 weeks a year, six days a week, in regular class work, four weeks for reviews and examinations, and three weeks on a special work project. The students are also expected to work during school vacations. The daily schedule is divided into six to seven 50-minute periods. Military drill is required for boys. 122 All students are required to engage in productive labor and to receive political instruction for a specific period of their school time. The revision of the curriculum has correctly illustrated the Communist policy to combine education with production and indoctrination. Students must be "Red and expert" under the command of the Party leadership.

Higher education for the Chinese people under the Republican period was criticized by the Communists as knowledge for knowledge's sake. The bourgeois practice

121. Adams, p.152.
permitting students to choose their own majors was also condemned, and the lack of centralized planning to coordinate higher education with national development was viewed as anarchical. The Chinese Communists take a different view on higher education. It must be utilitarian and politically-oriented. Their emphasis of changes on instruction can be traced on these descriptions:

The curriculum of the modern Chinese university includes very little that would called "liberal arts". The only such course taught in many institutions is linguistics and phonetics...courses in history, political science, anthropology, sociology, and world literature are taught only in comprehensive universities. All students are required to take the four so-called social science courses; foundations of Marxism-Leninism; political economy; history of Chinese Revolution; and historical and dialectical materialism. Most of the students's time, in addition to the required subjects, is spent in the field of his specialization. It is not only in institutions that are called "red and expert" that the students are expected to be red first and expert second.

The term of "specialization" is by no means used in any sense of the "major field" of college students, as known to us in the United States. The meaning of as speciality as explained in Communist words is that it is intensive training in a particular subject which prepares a man for a specialized profession. Each speciality has a definite educational program fixed by the state according to the needs of national construction. All courses within a speciality are required;

there are no electives. From the foregoing discussions it is evident that
the methodology of instruction, the content of the curriculum,
the political indoctrination, and the student's productive
labor are all under the firm control of the Party and the
state. All curricular changes made are for the nation's needs. Production and vocational training are more emphasized than
the universal education of students.

Training and Status of Teachers: Teacher training
under the Chinese Communists basically follows the patterns
of junior normal school, normal school and normal college or
university. These were the formal educational institutions
to provide education for elementary and secondary teachers
before the Communist regime. However, experiments in
modifying the teacher training organizations were made by the
Communist during the last two decades. The basic Communist
concept on teacher training certainly differs from that of
the Nationalists. The following writings provide valuable
information concerning the Communist concept on teacher
education and the status quo of the teacher's qualifications:

The needs for trained competent teachers are nowhere
felt as strongly as in China today. Yet, in discussing
the production of teachers in the teacher training
establishments to be found in China, it should be noted
that an enormous number of teachers have no professional

training in pedagogy, far less possessing a minimum scholastic record to suit them even for college-level work. The Chinese Communists boast both that trained teachers are not necessary and a true "socialistic consciousness" is more important, and at the same time lament their inability to graduate adequate teachers fast enough from the normal schools.126

Basically, teachers for kindergarten and the first four years lower grade primary schools are trained and recruited from the junior normal schools. Teachers for the primary schools are from the normal schools, and teachers for the secondary schools are from normal college or university. Due to the enormous demand for teachers and the slow production of them through the normal training program for the mass educational system, the Communists made experiments in an attempt to increase the numbers of teachers:

The shortage of secondary teachers has driven the universities to reduce the training course for them to two or three years. Elementary teachers are trained in specialized middle schools, which cover the last three years of the secondary school course, with some course in teacher preparation. In the first years of the regime teachers in part-time schools were often trained, if at all, in special short courses set up by the factory, farm, or commune that operated the schools. Some of these courses have been as short as two weeks.127

There were several major curriculum divisions of the teacher training program in Communist China. They included political education; academic subjects; pedagogy and psychology; practical work and practice teaching. These

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teacher training programs are specially directed to produce "politically loyal and ideologically correct" as well as "competent subject-oriented" teachers for the immediate needs of the Communist Party and Government.

It is not clear about the teacher's obligation to the schools whether they were employed by contract or simply assigned by the state. According to the writings by the American educators, teachers are not well paid, and in some cases must take part or all of their pay in food. It is commonly understood that all teachers must join the Party-organized Teachers' Union. Its purpose is not to improve salaries or working conditions. On the contrary, the function of the Union is to ensure that government policies are carried out faithfully and that political education is extended. These are unique features of teacher education in Communist China.

Youth Organizations: In discussing the political education and ideological indoctrination, we should not fail to mention the youth organizations in Communist China. They played a key role through group youth activities in spreading Communism to the Chinese youth. There are two major young Communist organizations--the Young Pioneers and the Communist

Youth League. The Former is for children of 9 to 15 years old. Much of the political education for children is carried on in these groups. The latter is for students from 14 to 25 years old. These organizations carry on projects and activities to impress the Party line and Communist ideology on the youth of the country. It also has the responsibility to train new numbers for the Party. These organizations are actually an integrated part of the whole educational system though not officially pronounced. They are the dynamic power of Party to conduct mass political activities among the Chinese youth.

Problems of Education: The Communist policy demands the incorporation of education and production at all levels of education; it places the "red" in political command and advocates ideological indoctrination; it tries to provide an universal education for school age children and the illiterate masses; and moreover, it urges the total Party control over people's lives and thinking so as to produce disaffections and problems. The most specific problems facing the Communists treated in the writings by American educators deserve individual examination. Their effect on the Communist education will certainly affect the possible development in the future.

The Decline in Academic Standards: In Communist China today, major attention is toward quantity rather than quality.

130. Ibid.
Education is made more nearly universal than more selective. To meet the government's immediate needs, training courses are usually made as short as a few weeks. In so doing the Communists expect that the needed personnel may be prepared in a few months for political purposes. In many cases more and more revolutionary peasants and workers without adequate academic qualifications are admitted into higher learning institutions. Frequent propaganda campaigns and indoctrination sessions further interrupt the regular study of academic subjects. The overall theory and practice of the Communist education led the American educators to believe that there is little prospect that the lower educational standards will be remedied in the near future. 131

The difficulty of Establishing an Efficient Mass Educational System: Since all the available financial resources are used for national technical development, the central controlled educational system for financial reasons cannot but be forced to throw the burden of educational support back on the local authorities or even on the schools themselves as seen in the foregoing discussions. This indicated that the Peking government is unable to finance the program. Except for a small number of schools where academic standards are maintained, where teachers are good, and facilities are

131. Moehlman & Roucek, pp.563-64.
adequate, results have been part-time education, unqualified teachers, poor facilities, and lowered standards. A nation-wide mass education will of course have impact on the nation's reconstruction. The attempted achievement of a universal literacy for the 70 to 80 million population in China today under the present educational system really has a long way to go.

The Gap Between the Proletariat and Intelligentsia

Class: The Communist slogan to make "every worker an enducted, cultural Communist citizen, and every intellectual a worker" has been the Party's educational theory and practice during the last two decades. The fact is that according to the information in 1956, later figures not available, 80 percent of the college students came from the middle classes. The Communist leaders would be much happier if they could get more students from the peasants' and workers' families. The problem is how to do it.

Traditional Attitudes and Values vis Communist Social Order: The Communist regime is pledged to wipe out the old, traditional loyalties and beliefs, and create a true Communist society based on Marxism. In the early years the Communists impressed their beliefs on the Chinese people by coercive

133. Ibid.
means, but now they are forced to rely more on indoctrination and control of mass communications. Most of the cultural traditions and Chinese ways of life have been changed ruthlessly by the Communists, and substituted with the new tradition the Communists sought from Marx, Lenin and Stalin. This new social order has nothing to do with the humanism of Confucius or the naturalism of Laotsu and Chuangtsu, or any ancient Chinese culture. However, the ironical fact is that millions of the Communist trained youth object to the rigorous assignment of jobs, long hours of work, and constant indoctrination. Thousands of them even take action at the expenses of their lives to flee into Hong Kong or other countries. 134 This has been the rebellious message of the Chinese youth both to the Chinese Communists and the world. They dislike the Communist way of life in China today.

The Paradox of Total Party Control vis individual Creativity: The Communists have based their claim to political legitimacy on their claim of the ability to unify and develop the nation. The exclusiveness of their control is based on their claimed possession of all that is true and on their ability to effectively implement the truth. 135 However, the dissatisfaction and distrust of Chinese intellectuals and students of the Communist regime was constantly expressed

134. Ibid., p.552.
in words and in action during the short lived "one hundred flowers bloom" which was advocated by Mao-Tse-tung in 1957. The design of "open criticism" was purposely to expose the disaffection of professors, teachers and students to the Party line and the rigid government control.

The Communist suppression on the critics was of course ruthless. The critics were then forced to learn Marxist dogma through the preservice and inservice programs of teachers, and to purge their bourgeois ideas through constant criticism and self-criticism. The Communists attempted to break the spirit of the intellectuals and to force full obedience to the Party.\textsuperscript{136} There is no doubt that in the views of American educators, the credibility of the Communists is seriously in question among the Chinese.

The "hundred flowers" plan was totally "instructive". Personal integrity and initiative were denied. The "excessive restriction" upon the Chinese people, particularly to the students resulted in their being turned into robots and educated into "yes-men" who did not dare to express their aspirations.\textsuperscript{137} The mono-leadership of the Chinese Communists has produced disaffection and frustration among the people. The unfavorable impact on education because of the failure of the Party policy to kill individual creativity is beyond doubt.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{136} Thut & Adams, p.186.
  \item \textsuperscript{137} Kazamias, p.91.
\end{itemize}
In general, the writings in comparative education by educators in the United States suggested that fundamental changes in Chinese education under the Communist have been witnessed. All levels of education, school administration and finance, school life of teachers and students, and content of curriculum are totally under firm control of the Party and government. The overriding emphasis on productive labor and political indoctrination in schools have constituted a very difficult problem in carrying on regular school work. Opportunities of education for the masses have been greatly extended. However, the quality of education is generally regarded as low.

Studies of Chinese traditional humanism and liberal education as known in the Western world have been put aside. They have been regarded by the Communists as not essential, being overshadowed by the stress of utilitarian demands in Communist education. The development of the Communist educational institutions is entirely based upon ideas of Marx, Lenin, and Mao. China's educational and cultural heritage has no place in Communist society. The major thrusts of the new education are directed to create a new type of Communist man and woman. They must be "red and expert". The ambition of the Communist is to redefine the attitude and value of the Chinese people toward the Communist state and their place in it. They attempt to reform the Chinese thinking through
intensive and pervasive productive labor and political indoctrination in education.

Some skepticism, however, existed among the American educators. They maintained that at least two major assumptions of Communist educational policy remain to be tested: namely, (1) that the fastest, most efficient route to modernization lies in highly specialized vocational and technological education; and (2) that a rigid, bureaucratic Communism provides sufficient scope and reward for the exercise of human talent.\(^{138}\) The merits or faults of the Communist education in China are not the scope of this study. The readers, with their wise and objective judgement, are advised to draw their own conclusions. The time will of course provide the correct answer.

\(^{138}\) Adams, p.169.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this dissertation was to identify, analyze, and criticize the attitude of American educators concerning Chinese education in their writings during the period of 1911 to 1970. A careful examination on the treatment of Chinese education in American comparative education texts was undertaken. Whether their authors had been influenced by the political and social changes in China in each given period during the past sixty years was objectively evaluated and analyzed. The aspects of the ancient Chinese culture and education in the texts; the emphasis on the development and the influence of Western culture on modern Chinese education under the Republic since 1911; the survival and progress of Chinese education under the destruction of war with Japan from 1937 to 1945; the paralysis of Chinese education and cultural activities under the Chinese Civil War period from 1945 to 1949; the continuation of the Chinese national system of education under the Nationalists in Taiwan; the Communist education on mainland China; and the problems of Chinese education for both educational systems were all faithfully studied and presented in this dissertation.
Thirty-five books pertinent to this study were selected from more than one hundred books in comparative education published during the period from 1911 to 1970, for investigation, interpretation, analysis and criticism. These books were selected through the Education Index; Sources in Educational Research; Comparative Education through the Literature, A Bibliographical Guide; Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College. These books were secured from the libraries in a certain selected universities.

A systematic search for the main features of Chinese education in each book was made throughout the readings. Certain events and subjects repeatedly appeared in different articles by different authors. The emphasis of these events and subjects provided opportunities for the synthesis of the main features in the texts examined and evaluated.

Chapter one of this dissertation presented an introduction to the history of Chinese culture and education and on the cultural interchange between the western world and China; and the western influence on the development of modern Chinese education. An attempt to locate the origin of Chinese education was treated in American comparative education texts. The sixty year period from 1911 to 1970 was chosen for reasons of political and social significance. It was capable of division into the establishment of the Republic of China, the
pre-war period with Japan, the Sino-Japanese War and World War II, the Chinese Civil War, and China's division after World War II. The year 1911 ushered in the first Republic in Asia. A modern educational system was first adopted in China. Equal opportunity of education for all Chinese people was officially proclaimed by the government of the Republic. In the years since the birth of the Republic in 1911, education in China has undergone adaptation, reorganization, and reform.

The presentation of the books by time cycles revealed that the heaviest volume of writings on Chinese education was published in the comparative education field in the United States after the Civil War years, 1949-1970. A steady decline in volume was observed during the Sino-Japanese, 1937-1945, and Civil War years, 1945-1949. The output of the postwar years, 1949-1970, has been mainly on the treatment of Chinese Communist education. Only one out of the twenty-one books studied for this period gave a complete treatment of the Chinese national system of education which was adopted in 1928, and kept continuously active in Taiwan.

Only I. L. Kandel, Don Adams, A. M. Kazamias, and A. H. Moehlman presented Chinese education in their writings covering the entire period. An inconsistency in studying and treating Chinese education in American comparative education field has existed in terms of the complete coverage presented by American scholars.
Chapter II focused on the evaluation of the treatment of Chinese education in the eight selected texts. Such areas as the traditional Chinese education, the transition to modern education, reorganization of education, educational reforms, the Chinese Renaissance, the relationship between the government and educational administration, Christian education in China, the attitude of Chinese educators toward modern education and educational problems were the main areas of investigation and analysis. These categories have been used as headings, for they were considered comprehensive in scope and repeatedly presented in the writings by different authors.

A study of cross references in these classified areas was made. The frequency of reappearance in the treatment was used as an indicator of emphasis. It was found that the articles on the hardship of transition to modern education, the difficulty of educational reforms, and the traditional attitude of Chinese scholars and educators toward modern education frequently and continuously reappeared in the texts. These obviously attracted more attention from the American educators than the other areas.

From the evidence in these writings, modern Chinese education has undergone a period of searching, trying, and adapting the modern educational systems in the Western world. No system really satisfied the need of Chinese society until the national system of education was adopted in 1928. This
system followed the American type of educational structure. It is still active in the Republic on Taiwan.

It was surprising to note that more American educators, such as John Dewey, Paul Monroe, Carleton Washburne and many others, visited China during the first two decades of the Republic, 1911-1930, than in the following years. These visitors were not only conducting field research in Chinese education but also providing valuable suggestions to the Chinese government on the establishment of a modern educational system. Some of them, like Monroe and Washburne, after returning to the United States, truthfully recorded their observations, interviews, impressions, and suggestions in their writings. These American scholars and educators were, without doubt, the forerunners in treating Chinese education in American texts in comparative education. Some distinctive achievements in Chinese education during the pre-war period, prior to 1937 were seen by the American educators. The viewpoints on the educational improvement in China presented in the writings had a common conclusion, that after the unification of the nation under the National government in 1927, the Republic for the first time had a strong central government to commit itself to a long range national plan for education. The great government support to education, the equal opportunity of education for all, the unification of language in instruction, the expansion and growth of education in scope,
the emphasis on technical and science education in schools, the gradual increase of literates among the people, and the favorable attitude of the traditional Chinese scholars toward modern education combined to make education an effective instrument of modernization. The American writers also realized that if China were not so poor and unstable, and if China had not had the war with Japan, universal education and modernization of China could have been attained.

The first part of chapter III presented an analysis of the forces of survival and progress in Chinese education under the threat of war with Japan. Among these forces were the strong motivation of students for study and learning, the unabated determination of teachers and professors to maintain the national cultural heritage and render their superb service in keeping education alive for Chinese youth, the positive policy and the dedication of the government to support education at the war times, and moreover, the unprecedented cooperation and brotherhood among the people of the interior areas and in the war zone. These forces cemented together the cause of resistance to the Japanese invaders and at the same time preserved the Chinese culture and provided education for the students and the masses of the people.

The writings of the American authors revealed that the social foundations and economic conditions of China before and during the war with Japan, 1937-1945, totally unhealthy
for the resistance to the outside invaders and to the
development of universal education. However, the facts were
that there were more higher educational institutions at the
end of the war than before, and that the enrollment of
students at all levels had greatly increased. These increases
of quantity were unquestionably made at the expense of quality.
These forces and the progress of war time education treated by
the authors were evaluated and objectively presented in this
dissertation. Had there been more articles about the war
time Chinese education by the American authors there would
have been more valuable information provided for a further
and deeper analysis.

The writing on war time education in China tended to
describe the great efforts of the teachers and students in
escaping from the war area and moving their schools from
the east coast provinces to the safer areas in the far western
provinces of China, as well as the struggle of the government
to keep education alive for the Chinese youth. The day to
day operation of schools, curriculum and instruction, and
school life occupied less content throughout the readings.

The second part of chapter III presented an analysis
of the emotional factors and psychological reactions of
students and teachers toward the unfavorable economic and
social conditions after the war with Japan, which ended in
1945; the dissatisfaction with the slow return to normal
conditions; the frustration in the Civil War between the National government and the Communists following the victory over Japan; and the changing attitude from supporting the government to opposing it. The combination of these factors led the students to the day-to-day protests on the streets, and strikes in the schools during the Civil War years, 1945-1949.

The treatment on the preoccupation of the students with politics; the inability to maintain a functioning academic program by school administrators; and the growing impingement of national affairs on the life of academic institutions and individual students as well as the agitating forces behind the nation wide student strikes, were all carefully examined and analyzed.

In assessing the impact and influence of the student strikes and protests, a common belief of the American educators was revealed in their writings: the frequent interruption of educational work by students constituted one of the most serious problems of the nation in educational rehabilitation; protests and strikes were seen as the substitutions of school work of the day; and the educational institutions, particularly the colleges and universities in big cities were actually paralyzed throughout the entire Civil War years in China.

Chapter IV presented the examination and analysis of the treatment of Chinese education in the selected twenty-
one books published during the period after 1949. The historical background of the drastic political and social changes in China after the Civil War; the removal and the stabilization of the Nationalist Government in Taiwan; the Communist control over the mainland and the consolidation of their power; the improvement of education and academic progress in Taiwan under the Nationalists; and the devastating changes in Chinese education on the mainland under the Communist were fairly stated in the writings by the American educators. These areas have been carefully evaluated and presented in this study.

There was a strong tendency in these writings to evaluate, analyze, and criticize Communist education on mainland China, today. Nine out of the twenty-one books commented on Chinese Communist education; six of them treated Chinese education from the ancient period to the Communist era and gave more emphasis to the latter; four gave an equal treatment of Chinese education; one evaluated the Nationalism and Chinese education before 1930; and only one of them gave a full treatment of Chinese education in Taiwan.

An effort has been made to examine Communist education in the literature of the texts. The Communist philosophy of education; the educational policy of the regime; the special objectives and the unique function of education; the peculiar Party-state joint administration; the constant reform of
school structure and education; the changes of school life; the stress of the political and productive labor oriented curriculum; the expansion of educational opportunities to the masses through part time, half-study and half-work, and full-time schools as well as "red and expert" universities; the result of lower quality in educational output; and the trends and problems of Communist education were among the topics repeated in the writings. They were regarded by the American educators as the essential areas in studying Communist education, and have been chosen as headings for evaluation and criticism in this dissertation.

The Chinese educational system under the Nationalists in Taiwan has been considered by those who made studies on it as the continuation of the national system of education that operated before 1949 in China. Its legal basis; the principles and aims of education; educational structure; school administration and finance; curriculum and instruction; expansion of free education to junior high schools; student life in and out of schools; and educational problems were the main topics treated in the articles. A comprehensive examination on these points was made and faithfully recorded.

The comparisons on the differing attitudes in dealing with the traditional Chinese culture between the Nationalists and the Communists is seen in the text by A. N. Kazamias. The methods that were sought through the coordination between
education and industry by the Nationalists as presented in R. J. Havighurst's text were valuable interpretations of the philosophical differences between the two major Chinese elements of the twentieth century. These comparisons provided the readers with more understanding of the two Chinese educational systems. It made predictions on the future trends and possible developments of the Chinese education much earlier.

A relevant bibliography has been chronologically collected and finally assembled. As noted, most of the works on Chinese education in American comparative education were published after 1949. The early works were chiefly discussions on the introduction, establishment, and reform of modern education in China. The recent works were essentially the treatment of Communist education.

A valuable contribution of this dissertation has been possibly made, for no such comprehensive study has been made on the treatment of Chinese education in American comparative education texts during the specific period. The essential and available facts on Chinese education treated in the texts at each period have been carefully evaluated and comprehensively presented by this dissertation. A specific conclusion and summary at the end of each chapter of this study was made. For the entire period under consideration some significant findings and trends of Chinese education indicated that:
1. Classical study and traditional education have become minor in Chinese education under the Nationalists; they have been completely wiped out of the curriculum by the Communists.

2. Technical education, science study, and vocational training have been greatly emphasized and occupied a large portion in the curriculum of both educational systems.

3. Educational opportunities have been greatly expanded in mainland China. However, the quality of education has been sacrificed for quantity.

4. Universal education has been effectively achieved in Taiwan. Free education has been extended to junior high schools. Academic achievement is considered important.

5. Mass illiteracy has been gradually reduced on mainland China; literacy in Taiwan is at the highest rate in Asia, about 80 per cent.

6. Equal opportunity of education has been extended to girls. Co-education was first officially introduced to the national educational system after the establishment of the Republic.

7. No political indoctrination or productive labor is required in schools in Taiwan; both of them have been the main concern in the Communist educational system.

8. All schools on mainland China are under the Party-state control; in Taiwan, public and private education have
equal status and privileges.

9. The organizations of educational administration are officially divided into three levels—national, provincial, and local authorities on both educational systems; the Party-state joint administrative machinery is unique on mainland China; the responsibilities of school administration in Taiwan rest on the shoulders of school administrators.

10. The curriculum of the primary and secondary school in Taiwan is planned by a curriculum committee including professors, teachers, specialists and administrators; the textbooks for these two levels are unified; a distinctive feature of the curriculum from primary to college on mainland China is the requirement of students to participate in political instruction and to engage in productive labor on farms and in factories. This curriculum is regarded by the Communists as the integration of theory and practice.

11. All educational programs on mainland China are planned by the Party and state, not by teachers and administrators; in Taiwan, the educational programs are the major functions of schools and colleges.

The literature studied and examined throughout the research indicated that the background, facts, developments and changes of Chinese education stated in the American comparative education texts were realistically treated and
objectively analyzed. From the academic point of view the factor finding attitudes of the American educators in the comparative education field were generally frank, truthful, and respectable.
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APPROVAL SHEET

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 17, 1976
Date

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