A STUDY OF THE RECENT (1958 AND 1960) EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN COMMUNIST CHINA

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

During the past thirteen years, so much has occurred in China so rapidly that it is difficult to keep abreast of the changes, let alone arrive at reasonably sound conclusions through analysis and synthesis. This thesis, therefore, merely represents an attempt at making a critical and fresh summary, analysis, and evaluation of previous works and current publications on the recent (1958 and 1960) Communist China's educational reforms.

It seems altogether fitting and proper to begin with a few general remarks for the purpose of placing what follows in a proper perspective. First of all, one cannot over-emphasize the revolutionary nature of contemporary Chinese society under Communism, which has shaken loose the foundation upon which Chinese society had established and rested itself for thousands of years. Since education forms an integral part of the cultural pattern of a nation, one must bear in mind the larger socio-economic picture that has been unfolding in China. Otherwise, one runs the risk of divorcing educational development from present-day Chinese national life which has been undergoing radical changes at a breathtaking speed. As a Chinese adage has it, "If it takes a decade for a tree to grow to full length, it takes a century to cultivate a new man." The image of a Chinese new man, moulded by the new system of Communism, is only slowly emerging against a rather blurred background; hence at this
stage, one can trace only the general outline rather than the detail.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

In this regard there are problems arising from a plethora of socio-political and ideological factors involved in the present topic and the nature of the sources now at our command. So long as we have no direct access to all the necessary data on the recent educational reforms, nor the opportunity to observe the actual results of the reforms, or their educational reforms in operation, we are entirely dependent upon the controlled flow of source materials from either Communist or Nationalist China and may inadvertently fall victims of their misinformation. A judicious evaluation of Chinese educational reforms requires, therefore, painstaking work in sifting both educational and non-educational materials, in reading between the lines, and, above all, in devising methods for handling information emanating from China.

As the title of this thesis clearly indicates, the main body of this essay lies in the fourth chapter dealing with the 1958 and the 1960 educational reforms together with a rather concise presentation of reforms before 1958. As to the early chapters, care shall be taken not to indulge in too detailed an accounting of these background parts of the thesis. The year of 1921 shall be considered as a demarcation year in the discussion of the second chapter, since on July the first of that year, the Chinese Communist Party (hereafter CCP) was officially formed. In the first part of the third chapter, which bears the sub-title of Past under the general heading of General Philosophical Backgrounds, the traditional Chinese Confucianism shall be discussed. In the second part
of the same chapter, the philosophy of Chinese Communism shall be dwelt upon.

APPROACH AND PROCEDURES

The author would like to deal with this significant topic from a broader perspective, i.e., the approach shall be philosophical and socio-political as well. It is philosophical, because in examining the present Communist Chinese educational conditions, despite its "exogenous factors"—national character, geographic environment, foreign influences, culture and civilization, the sciences, national economy, social stratification, politics, religious, historical past, or "endogenous factors"—those factors emanating from the "inner causality" of a national pattern of education, also called "immanent force," the ideology of Mao Tse-tung always takes the lead. And it is needless to say, one can hardly expect to understand Chinese traditional culture without a basic knowledge of Confucianism. It is socio-political, precisely because all reforms instituted by the Chinese Communist regime ever since its establishment in 1949 have been oriented toward political objectives. It is, therefore, the author's expectation that by using philosophical and socio-political approaches, his attempt might bring about a more penetrating and fruitful analysis.
CHAPTER II
SOCIAL BACKGROUND

TRADITION

The Chinese society which was mainly based upon agriculture rather than trade and governed by landlords and bureaucrats rather than merchants and politicians, was continental and landlocked quite unlike the peninsular and seafaring society of Europe. The Chinese population has long been dense, immobile, tied to the intensive cultivation of small plots of irrigated land by means of the application of large amounts of water and man power. Whereas the European inhabitants until recently remained less numerous and have been more mobile, free to exploit the resources of mountain, forest, and sea. In this contrast, the geographic environment has certainly played its part. The vast alluvial plains of China lend themselves to public undertakings for drainage, irrigation, canal building, and flood control. Such government undertakings in turn force the great mass of the peasantry to live on their fields at the mercy of Heaven and the ruler. Once this adaption of man to nature had become institutionalized under a unified central government of China after 221 B.C., it developed a balance and self-sufficiency which preserved it down to present time.

Chinese society rested upon a peasant class, highly cultured in custom but illiterate and excluded from political life. Their labor in the production of crops, rather than in industry or commerce yielded the surplus upon which the higher civilization of China rested. The literate culture was the concern of the landowning-gentry class, whose offspring had the leisure necessary to master the Chinese literature and so become
scholars. From among these the officials had been selected through civil examination systems. Landlords, scholars and officials formed an upper stratum with a practical monopoly of learning and therefore of official life and leadership. Military power, though fundamental, was in theory and often in practice subordinate to the civilian bureaucracy.

Under such circumstances, merchants have been less powerful than officials. Industrial invention and command over machines have been less profitable than official position and command over land and the man power occupied on it. Individualism in thought has been less prized than mastery of the great classical tradition. Scientific discoveries were made and technology developed, however, until recently, they never became socially institutionalized in a systematic and expanding body of knowledge.

In the social context which had many inventions but no growth of science, there emerged much commerce but no independent capitalism. Investment in large-scale industrial production for a national wider market never became a major economic force. This was partially attributable to the fact the Emperor and his bureaucracy governed in line with the Confucianism on a basis of ethics, out of law, and of personal relations, not legal procedures. The individual in China thus relied upon his personal relationships in a hierarchy of status such as that was taught in the so-called five human relationships in terms of Confucian teaching—the loyal or filial obedience of subject to emperor, son to father, wife to husband, younger brother to elder brother, and friends to friends. In broader sense, Chinese regarded emperor as the head of their big family and friends here refer to "family friends". Nowhere was the individual, in
politics or in industry and trade, protected by a system of law and civil rights. Government being of men, not of laws, was dominated by the bureaucrat and his constituents, the landlords and literati. The entrepreneur could rely only on personal protection and so had no independence.

Another salient characteristic of Chinese society was the lack of nationalism as a motivating force in public life. The individual depended so much upon his family that he hardly functioned as a citizen loyal to the state. On a higher plane than the family, the Emperor was regarded as the father of the people but not their representative, nor their leader. He intervened between them and the forces of nature or Heaven. By his virtue, as manifested in his "right conduct", he set a "correct example" and maintained a "harmony" between the processes of Heaven and of mankind. But the "Son of Heaven" pursued these cosmic functions upon a universal, not national, plane. By the barbarians and the lesser countries round-about he was also recognized as the "Son of Heaven". His authority was unrivalled and supreme. "China was thus a world in itself, not a nation among nations". ¹

In essence, the family system is the fundamental unit in Chinese society from which all social institutions and characteristics derive. And the principle of filiality was considered and practised as the root of all virtues. In religious life, social life, and political life as well, Chinese practised nothing but the extension of filiality in family. For instance, Chinese have long hitherto worshipped their ancestors because they have deemed by so doing they could solve the problem of immortality, be saved, be protected by the supernatural—their ancestors
and thus attain solace.  

MODERNIZATION MOVEMENTS

The Chinese Empire experienced her first miserable defeat in the international conflict when the Opium War broke out in 1840. During 1850 and 1864, the Taiping rebellion devastated practically all the richest centers of culture and learning and much of the Manchus' resources. The disputes with Great Britain and France led to the war of 1860 when the allied troops entered Peking and burned down the Yuan Ming Yuan. As a result, a number of ports and cities were opened to foreign trade with special settlements and consular jurisdiction for foreigners in China. The establishment of a Foreign Office in 1861 marked the beginning of China's formal entry into international life; and in 1867 was founded the T'ung Wen Yuan for training Chinese in foreign languages.

The ruling race—the Manchus lost its original vitality and vigor, and the government was then characterized by corruption. Power was in the hands of the ignorant and intriguing princes, eunuchs and old women. System of public sale of government offices which originated during the Taiping rebellion as a measure for raising revenues was retained when peace had been restored. Public finance went from bad to worse.

It was under such a weakened and demoralized state that China was thrown into the arena of imperialistic competition. The far-sighted leaders of the younger generation became anxious about the future of the country and began to preach words of warning to the government and to the people. Thus, during the last decades of the nineteenth century there appeared a number of political pamphlets usually under some such title as "Warnings", in which political, social, financial, economical, military and other appropriate reforms were
earnestly discussed and advocated. Half-heartedly, the government was forced by the circumstances to put some of those measures into practice. Arsenals were established; a modern navy was in process of construction. Under government and missionary auspices, books on mechanics, physics, chemistry, international law and foreign history and geography began to be rendered into Chinese.

Under the pressure of a keen sense of national humiliation, the fashion on the intellectual world was undergoing a sudden change. Writers began to condemn the works of the Han Huaeh scholars as of no practical value to the country. The great defeat of China in the French War of 1884-5 and the still more crushing defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5 combined to accelerate the realization that adoption of mere external weapons and equipments from the West without a thorough reorganization in the working of the government machinery was insufficient.

Thus, in 1898, the Emperor Kuang Hsu was convinced of the necessity of a radical reform in the national government. He took into his confidence men like Kang Yu-wei, T'ang S'su-tung, and Liang Chi-chao, who had been powerful advocates of the new policy. In the course of a few months a number of important reforms were promulgated. But the reactionaries were greatly alarmed and they rallied around the Empress-Dowager Tsu Hsi, who finally imprisoned the Emperor and put to death six of the leaders of the reform movement. Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao, who succeeded in escaping, left the country in exile.

The reform movement of 1898, short-lived as it was, had its far-reaching effects. During the whole period of three hundred years since
the Tung Lin and Fu She reform groups of the last years of Ming dynasty, no political movement had ever evoked such a nation-wide stir among the Chinese intellectuals. The exiled leaders continued to exert their tremendous influence over the younger generations through their popular writings published in Japan. In 1898, Yen Fu's translation of Huxley's Evolution and Ethics appeared and went through numerous editions. The doctrines of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest caught the imagination of the Chinese literati and soon became proverbial expressions in the mouths of orators and in the writings of journalists. Yen Fu also translated John Stuart Mill's On Liberty and Logic, Spencer's Study of Sociology and Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations. These translations served to introduce China to the modern thought of the West. It was but only a feeble beginning, and these works, save their popular aspects, were little understood by the general public largely because Yen Fu's translation was in old Chinese.

The reactionaries in government, who had been responsible for the coup d'etat of 1898, now wished to clear the country of all occidental influence and to revenge the long series of national humiliations since the Opium War. Thus was enacted the abysmal tragedy of the Boxer War in 1900 under genuine imperial patronage. The result of the Boxer War placed upon the Chinese people the burden of a very heavy indemnity and so disgraced the nation that, for many years since, China was no longer regarded as a civilized member in the family of nations.

The wounds of 1900 had hardly ceased to smart when the Russo-Japanese War broke out 1904. In the complete victory of Japan over Russia was
written the manifest lesson that, by thorough modernization, a small oriental
nation could defeat the aggressive forces of a great European Empire. The
efficacy of modernization was now proved beyond any doubt. Thousands of
Chinese students flocked to the schools of Japan to seek the light that
was hoped to work the similar miracles in China.

The cry for reforms was no longer to be resisted. In 1902, the
government had decreed that "all shih yuan in the provincial capitals to be
changed into college; those in the prefects, into middle schools; and those
in the counties, into primary schools". It had also been decreed in 1902
and 1903 to send students to study abroad. In 1903, the strict form of
"eight-legged" composition hitherto required in all literary examinations
had been replaced by the freer forms of essay writing. At the close of the
Russian Japanese War, the literary examinations were abolished altogether.
In the same year (1905), an imperial commission, composed of princes and
high officials, was sent to study the forms of constitutional governments
in Europe and America. In 1908, the government proclaimed a plan, design-
nating a number of years as a preparatory period for constitutional govern-
ment.

The change was desirable. But it did not come gradually, nor did it
come with conscious planning. For over half a century, there was only
blind and arrogant resistance. Then all of sudden, the attitude of blind
and arrogant resistance was replaced by an attitude of blind and slavish
imitation. Even the advocates of the reforms did not know what the change
really meant, nor did they understand the best way to effect the transition.
Thus, was modernization of China blindly accepted and most superficially
affected. The reformers rightly attacked the uselessness of the Shu yuan, but they failed to appreciate the importance of the spirit and method of self-study that was the chief characteristic of the best academies. In their blindness, they thought that a Shu yuan was after all a Shu yuan but not a school which the Japanese had translated as gakkō and which was supposed to consist in crowded classrooms where the teacher writes on the blackboard and the pupils learn in well-arranged rows of benches. So all Shu yuan was abolished in favor of this type of gakkō. Again the reformers rightly attacked the abuses of the system of literary examinations, but they failed to realize the permanent value of this idea that public offices must be held by men whose general fitness has been tested in examinations. In their blindness, they overthrew the system of examinations for civil service, at the very time when the whole civilized world was trying hard to extend it as far as possible.

Let these stand as two concrete examples of the so-called modernization of China in the first decade of the new century. Needless to say, such a superficial change brought China no nearer to her salvation. The ministries in the government bore new names, but the personnel remained the same. The literary examinations were held no more, but public sale of offices went on and the men who had paid for their offices remained in power. New schools increased in quantity, yet there was not a single center for advanced scientific and cultural education; no institution for training new leaders. The old scholars, who had come to recognize the superior utility of the applied sciences and political organization, were still totally ignorant of the intellectual background, as well as the finer and deeper
aspects of the Western civilization. The young men sent to study abroad came back almost completely "denationalized" or so narrowly specialized in technical training that they were barely helpful in influencing the thought of the nation. In short, the separation of the old from the new was complete. Superficial difference were seized upon, while all basic unity, all common ground was blindly ignored. All blind imitation, and no rational appraisal and critical judgment. Modernization had come to the externals and nonessentials, but the finer phases of modern civilization remained a closed book to the Chinese public, and the thought and beliefs of the nation were still fundamentally unchanged after fifty years of national catastrophe and twenty years of intellectual unrest and agitation.

Three things conspired to make possible a new period of Chinese Renaissance. The first was the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the second was the return of the American portion of the Boxer indemnity and its exclusive use for educating Chinese students in the United States and the third was the World War I. The success of the 1911 revolution gave the Chinese a sense of self-confidence, while its failures in the political aspects forced a number of leaders to turn attentions to social and intellectual problems. The return of the American indemnity enabled to bring a large number of young Chinese into direct contact with scientific, social, and historical background of modern civilization. The World War I furnished China with a period of breathing space during which native industries were gradually developed, relative prosperity was restored in spite of political disturbances, and many social and intellectual problems hitherto untouched were one by one brought to the front. The most important phase of this new
period of Renaissance was the discussion and reappraisal of the more basic aspects of the Chinese culture, including literature, philosophy and education.

In late 1910s, a few Chinese students in the United States were carrying on a serious controversy on the problem of the Chinese language and literature. On the first day of the year 1917, there appeared the first declaration of what might be called the Chinese Literary Modernization. It consisted of an article by Hu Shih entitled "Some Suggestions for the Reform of Chinese Literature," which was followed by an article on "Revolution in Literature," by Chen Tu-shiu⁴, the prominent early Communist leader and editor of The Youth, a monthly in which both articles were published. In both articles, the classical language was declared to have outlived its usefulness and have caused the poverty of literary masterpieces during the past twenty centuries. In both, the pei hua, or spoken language was shown to be the legitimate heir to the classical language; and a few great writers who had the inspiration to produce their works in the pei hua, but whose works, despite the immense popularity, had long been ignored by the literate, were re-evaluated and ranked higher above the aristocratic literature written in the old style of the "dead" classical language.

Thus was started the Chinese Literary Revolution. The movement, however was not only confined to the literary reforms. Its scope gradually extended till it included all shades of radicalism, inter alia Communism, all forms of faddism, and all kinds of "experiments in the new life". In literature, realism, naturalism, symbolism, and neo-romanticism all find enthusiastic advocates. In philosophy, while the pragmatism of the Dewey
school seemed to have exerted greater influence in educational institutions, Russell, Bergson, Bucken, Marx and other contemporary philosophers were also read and accepted in certain quarters. In politics, one finds admirers of USSR, moderate Socialists, Anarchists, as well as the liberals who call themselves Binarchists (a word of Hu Shih's coinage, meaning advocates of the principle of good government). Of social movements, one may mention the revolt against the old family system, the emancipation of women, the rebellion against the old procedure of betrothal and marriage, and the advocacies of free love. In education, there had grown up a number of experimental schools in which new educational theories were being tested and reforms were tried. In the field of scholarly endeavor, one finds two distinct tendencies: on one hand, there was a conscious effort to introduce into China Western science, philosophy and literary masterpieces. On the other hand, there were scholars seeking to apply the modern scientific methods of research to the work of systematizing the old learning of China. 

This latter phase of the movement, now known as the work of "Systematization of the National Heritage" is a revival or rebirth of that spirit of criticism and research which animated the works of the Han Hsueh scholars of the last three centuries.

Multifarious as these movements may seem, one may discern certain general characteristics which permeate and unite them into one great national movement. This general movement has been variously termed; it is sometimes called "The New Culture Movement" after a recent fashion among Japanese intellectuals in speculating about "kultur" and its philosophy; by others it is labeled, "The New Thought Movement," because of the divergent
types of philosophical influence that entered into its formation. In late
Hsi Shih's opinion, it seemed best characterized in the words of Nietzsche
as a movement for "a transvaluation of all values." All transitional values were
now being critically judged from a new standpoint and with new criteria.
From the small feet of concubinage to Confucianism and Christianity,
nothing is free from this new process of transvaluation. Some of the
judgments may be too subjective or too superficial; others may be too hard
or unhistorical. All the same, the existence of the evaluating attitude
cannot be denied.

Many critics have pointed to the anti-Christian and anti-religion
movements of 1922 as evidences of superficiality of the young leaders of
China. It is true that much of the criticism uttered of the time was
guilty of lacking historical perspective; yet it may be asked, has
Christianity ever been so seriously discussed and examined by the Chinese
intellectual-class during the whole period of three hundred years of its
introduction into China?

During 1920s, the whole movement was still in the stage of largely
destructive criticism. Tradition is often thrown overboard, authority
is cast aside, old beliefs are being undermined. The young generation are
suffering bitterly in the age of rapid transition. Gropping in the dark for
some light that would lead them to their heart's desire, they only find
obstruction from all sources and no general formula that would serve as
panaceas for all distressing problems. Many fly from their homes in the
hope to rid themselves of the oppression, burdens of family or ties of
undesired marriage.
In education, which the new spirit manifested itself in numerous experimental schools and in the serious introduction of new educational theories and practices, the general tendency to revolt and criticism has also caused no small trouble to incompetent teachers and administrators.

Of the constructive phases of the movements, very little can be mentioned. The time had been too short and the outbreak so sudden for any tangible results to be safely estimated. All one may remark is that there was a Chinese Renaissance and that a new China was born. There was no longer mere modernization of externals and non essentials but a great change was coming over the whole fabric of national life. The attitude of criticism undermined all old beliefs and ideas and new ideas were flooding in for comparison and selection. Old institutions were critically examined and antiquity and authority are no longer sufficient justifications for the existence of any custom or institution. The vast amount of old tradition and learning was systematically worked over with modern methodology of historical research. The history of thought was being rewritten and Confucianism was then recognized as only one of the numerous schools of thought and not the all-embracing religion as the Chinese were formerly made to believe. The history of languages and literatures were also studied anew with a new ideological viewpoint and criteria.

It was during this period of philosophical vacuum and critical re-evaluation and introduction of various schools of thoughts; old and new, native and alien that Marxism-Leninism was introduced into China.
EVOLUTION OF CHINESE COMMUNISM

As already mentioned, during 1910s, the Chinese intellectuals enthusiastically participated in the Renaissance Movement in the hope that China might become a modernized and strong nation. Three periodicals played a very important role during the Movement. They were The New Youth, The Weekly Review, and The Renaissance. Of these three, Chen Tu-shiu edited and started the The New Youth in 1915 and The Weekly Review in 1918. Among contributors to these periodicals were Li Ta-chao, Hu Shih, Tasi Yuanpei, Fu Ssu-nien, Cho Tso-jen and others prominent in the Movement.

Chen shared with his colleague at Peking, Li Ta-chao (who later accompanied him into the Communist Party of China), the view that Chinese civilization was decadent and Chinese institutions and ideas moribund. Consequently, he turned for inspiration to the Western culture which, he thought, had fully awakened to the possibilities opened up by the growth of science and the spread of democracy. Among those who particularly influenced his thinking were Montesquieu, Rousseau, Adam Smith, August Comte, John Stuart Mill, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and John Dewey. Marx did not attract him until somewhat later. Three features of Western thought particularly attracted him: the concept of "struggle," as compared to the ethical norm of "peace" in the East; the idea of "individualism," as contrasted to the Eastern emphasis on family system and filial piety; and the "practical" outlook of Western society in contrast to the empty "formalism" of oriental civilization, as he saw it.

The Armistice of 1918 and the promulgation of Wilson's Fourteen Points gave the Chinese a high hope in the liberal democratic ideals of the West.
They hoped that foreign domination of their country—especially the encroachments of the Japanese army—would soon be terminated. However their high hope in the West and to certain extent in its democratic ideals as well, was subjected to the cruel disillusionment of the Paris Peace Conference. The Chinese delegation had demanded the abrogation of foreign privileges in China, including the recovery of the former German rights in Shantung Province. But the secret agreement prevailed, and the German rights were granted to Japan. After learning this decision, shortly before May 4, 1919, some five thousand students from Peking University and other Peking institutions held a mass demonstration in strong protest. They burned the house of pro-Japanese cabinet ministers and beat the Chinese minister to Japan. Police attacked the students. They staged a student strike not only in Peking but also in Tientsin, Shanghai, Nanking and other major cities. The campaign of protest was also participated by workers, shopkeepers and other patriotic citizens. Thus the May Fourth Movement became the first major instance of a nation-wide mass movement and more significantly, the first occasion on which Chinese labor had shown its strength in a national and political role.

Within a year after the May Fourth Movement, according to an official source of CCP, Communist groups had been formed in such major cities as Peking, Shanghai, Canton, Hankow, Changsha, Hangchow, Tsinan, and others. But the more exact origin of the Party was to be formed in the Society for the Study of Marxism set up by Chen Tu-shiu and Li Ta-chao in 1918.

Despite the rapid spread of CCP organization, according to Peter S. H. Tang's recent research, CCP movement in China might have remained in
theoretical and academic circles had it not been for the assistance of the Communist International (hereafter Comintern) at that time. Thus with the advice and assistance of the Comintern agents Grizori Voitinsky and Yang Ming-chai, his lieutenant since 1920, CCP formally proclaimed its establishment in Shanghai on July 1, 1921.\(^7\)

It was in this year 1921, several events of grave consequences took place. In August, 1921, the United States proposed to convene a Pacific Conference which was later held in Washington on November the 12th. To contend in rivalry, the USSR declared in August, 1921, to convene an anti-Pacific Conference which was later held in Moscow in that winter proclaiming the conference a herald of the victory of communism in the Far East. It was also in July, 1921, that a puppet regime was created in Outer Mongolia. Viewing these events together with lively activities of Communists in China, Japan, Korea and India, K.H. Chiang, A Chinese then resided in Moscow uttered with sigh:

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The position of Far East becomes important,
As the contrasting new and old powers eye it.
The Capitalist tries the international peace,
The Proletariat tries the international revolutions.
Shall China turn out to be the American Colony,
Or the experimentee of the Soviet system?\(^8\)
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The development of CCP after its formation in 1921 may be divided into four periods.

1. The First Period (1923-1927). At their second National Congress, held in August 1922, CCP decided to maintain a "united front" with the
Kuomintang (hereafter KMT).

In January 1923, Dr. Sun and Adolph Joffe, a Russian envoy, reached an agreement regarding cooperation, whereby the Russian Communists were to extend to Dr. Sun's political party, the Kuomintang, all necessary assistance to unify the country. The Russian Communists were also to instruct the Chinese Communists to join the Kuomintang and accept Dr. Sun's leadership. This marked the beginning of a period of "peaceful coexistence" between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party as well as between China and Soviet Russia.9

Thus, instead of seeking a united front with it as a "bloc without" (i.e., from outside), the CCP, avoiding the rivalry with the KMT, became a "bloc within" by joining KMT's membership while still remaining part of the CCP apparatus. As CCP's dual membership was tolerated by the KMT in January 1923, the race began to see which party apparatus could make more use of the other. As a result, CCP gained many key positions in KMT.

2. The Second Period (1927-1936) The political manipulation of CCP within the KMT organization was so skillful and effective that by 1927 KMT was keenly conscious of the necessity to expel the left KMT and the Communists KMT whose cooperation would have overthrown the right elements of KMT without much difficulties. Thus came the split between the left KMT at Hankow and the right KMT at Nanking (February-April 1927) and then the KMT's expulsion of the CCP-KMT members at Hankow in July 1927. Subsequently, the right KMT head by Chiang Kai-shek continued to carry out the Northward Expedition followed by extermination campaigns of the communists. Meanwhile, convinced that mass revolution in China must be based upon the peasantry, not the proletarians in the city,10 Mao Tse-tung learned from the failure of the Autumn Harvest uprising of 1927, the necessity of combining mass organization with military power. With Ch'u Teh
as military commander, Mao took refuge in the winter of 1927-1928 in the
mountainous Chinkan-shan region on the Hutan-Kiangi border, collecting some
10,000 people with arms for about 2,000. In November 7th, 1931, shortly
after the Japanese encroachment on Manchuria, Mao proclaimed the first
Chinese Soviet Republic at Juichin, Kiangsi as a "democratic dictatorship
of the proletariat and peasantry," using Lenin's formula of 1905 in com-
pletely unlike circumstances. After repulsing Chiang Kai-shek's extermin-
ation campaigns by guerrilla tactics during 1931-1934, over 100,000 CCP
personnel in October 1934 began the well-known Long March arriving in
northern Shensi province in the latter part of 1935 with probably less than
20,000 troops and transferred their Soviet headquarters to Yenan at the end
of 1936.11 Here in the remoted stronghold of CCP, half-way Nanking, the
KMT's capital, to the border of Soviet Outer Mongolia, ushered a new
chapter of a second KMT-CCP marriage of convenience, in a touching slogan
of united resistance against Japan.
3. As a united resistance to Japan would serve a dual purpose, diver-
ting the KMT from exterminating CCP, and Japan from attacking Russia, it is
not surprising that both Yenan and Moscow made the greatest effort to
realize general Chinese resistance from the beginning of August 1935.
On the part of the KMT, it was Chiang's policy to eliminate the CCP before
making a stand against Japan. It is, therefore, no wonder that Chiang
Kai-shek remained deaf to the CCP's proposal of a united resistance against
Japan, until after his dramatic kidnapping at Sian in December 1936 by
Manchurian armies who chafed to fight Japanese invaders, not Chinese
rebels. Thus the united front was born only after the release of Chiang
Kai-shek by his kidnapper Chang Hsueh-liang on the advice of the CCP.12
This period of "United Front" against Japan (1937-1945) indeed gave CCP a golden opportunity to expand and lay ground work to rival with KMT after World War II. Mao Tse-tung, in a speech to the troops in the autumn of 1937, said in part:

The Sino-Japanese War gives us, the Chinese Communists, an excellent opportunity for expansion. Our policy is to devote 70 per cent of our effort to this end, 20 per cent to coping with the Government, and 10 per cent to fighting the Japanese.

This policy is to be carried out in three stages. During the first stage, we are to work with the Kuomintang in order to ensure our existence and growth. During the second stage, we are to achieve parity in strength with the Kuomintang. During the third stage, we are to penetrate deep into parts of Central China to establish bases for counter-attacks against the Kuomintang.¹³

In February 1945, the Yalta Conference was convened in which China's sovereignty in Outer Mongolia and administrative integrity in the Northeast Provinces (Manchuria) were sacrificed in exchange for the USSR's promise to join in the war against Japan. Under such circumstances, the CCP emerged as a strong opponent to the KMT by the end of World War II.

4. The fourth period (1945--) started off with the termination of World War II in 1945. Having devoted 70 per cent of its effort to the party expansion and having created a dynamic centrally-controlled movement in its own areas and having done less of the fighting against Japan than the Nationalist Government and having avoided the burdens of city government and modern services, the CCP was now prepared to bid for power in the rural areas. A mention should be made with regard to the different approaches of the KMT armies and the CCP armies toward the populace.
In this as in other respects it was typical of the Kuomintang that it had modernized its military machine to the point of giving social prestige to a patriotic new officer corps and giving new arms and training to their peasant soldiers, but it had not reached the point of indoctrinating the ordinary rifleman to fraternize with the farmer and fight in his behalf, because this would have been revolutionary. For that very reason Mao and Chu from the beginning had trained their troops to regard themselves as the defenders of the populace. In practice this meant paying for supplies, helping the households on whom they were quartered, and making the Eight Route Army the friend of the people. As the Communists put it, "the soldiers are fish and the people water"—the army depended upon popular support. This slogan is an illuminating contrast to the orthodox statement of the philosopher Hsun-tsu (ca. 300-235 B. C.) that "the people are the water and the ruler is the boat; the water can support the boat but it can also sink it." The Communists, so to speak, by being immersible among the people added a dimension to their movement. 14

The key factor of the CCP's success might be attributed to its winning of the peasants' heart. As the Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) pointed out on the occasion of the CCP's 40th anniversary in its editorial on July 1, 1961:

The victory of the Chinese revolution and construction is the outcome of the heroic struggles of the broad masses of the Chinese people united as one under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "A basic principle of Marxism-Leninism is to enable the masses to know their own interests and united to fight for their own interests." What our Party has done in the past forty years has been to arouse and educate the masses to get united and fight for their own interests. The Communist Party of China has always safeguarded the interests of the masses of the people, unwaveringly relied on their support and regarded the people as the only source of its strength.

Whereas the KMT stressed the importance of cities and tried to include a bloc of four classes (i.e. bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, workers, and peasants) the CCP essentially emphasized the importance of rural areas where over 80 per cent of the Chinese inhabited and 70 per cent of its population were poor peasants and farm laborers. Using the villages to encircle the cities, fighting against the KMT with the USSR's aid specially after the Yalta Conference
and calling for charming "coalition government" slogan in 1945, the CCP finally took over all the mainland China and established the People's Republic of China in October 1949. From 1949 onward, it has been Peking's goal to turn out China from agricultural society into a modernized communist and industrialized society in the possible earliest date. To this end, all political, economic, and educational policies and measures have been oriented.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER II


3. Most sources of this section are based upon Hu Shih’s article, "The Chinese Renaissance," which originally appeared in *Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education Bulletin* (Shanghai, 1923), II, 6, 1-16.

4. Chen Tu-shiu (1879-1942), one of the founders of Chinese Communist Party from Huainan Anhwei, was dean of the college of literature, Peking University at the time of editing *The New Youth* and *The Weekly Review* (1918); however was condemned for "opportunism" in 1927 and 1928 and was expelled from the Communist Party in 1929.


7. Twelve delegates attended: Chang Kuo-tao, Chen Kung-po, Chen Tan-chiu, Chen Wang-tao, Chou Fu-hai, Ho Shu-heng, Li Han-chun, Li Ta, Liu Jen-shing, Mao Tse-tung, Pao Hui-seng, and Tung Pi-wu. Chen Tu-shiu at that time was in Canton. Officers elected: Chen Tu-shiu (Chairman of the Central Committee thereafter CC), Chou Fu-hai (Vice-Chairman of the CC), Chang Kuo-tao (Chairman of Organization), Li Ta (Chairman of Propaganda). Maring (also given as Mahlin) in attendance, representing the Comintern. Nippon gaiji kyokai (Japanese Foreign Affairs Association), comp., *Shina ni okeru kyosan undo* (The Communist movement in China) (Tokyo, 1933), p. 94., cited in Conrad Brandt et al. (eds.) *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 30.


10. There have been hot debates as to whether Mao Tse-tung’s originality in this regard. The central dispute: Is Mao’s emphasis on agricultural movements deviating from Marxism-Leninism? John K. Fairbank, Benjamin Schwartz,

11 Fairbank, 2.234.

12 Brandt et al., p. 240.

13 Chiang Kai-shek, p. 91-92.

14 Fairbank, p. 236.
PAST NATURE OF LEARNER

The traditional Chinese philosophy is predominantly Confucian. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, in his *Three People's Principles* states that his revolutionary philosophy is nothing but a synthesis of Confucianism and the cream of modern Western thinking. Chiang Kai-shek, who is concurrently the honorary president of the Chinese Association for Confucianism, has long been advocating the philosophy of Wang Yang-ming, an influential neo-Confucian of the Ming dynasty. It is, therefore, imperative to know the Confucian philosophical views if one is to appreciate the Chinese culture.

With regard to human nature, Confucian expounded very little, if any. Therefore, he has been usually regarded to view that human nature can be either good or bad. However, the Idealistic wing of his school, usually represented by Mencius maintains that man receives nature from Heaven, and the God-given nature is innately good. Fu Ssu-mien, the founder and editor of *The Renaissance*, and a late chancellor of the University of Taiwan was one of the most enthusiastic exponents of this school. Education is a process of continued unfolding of potential goodness in the nature of learners since "all things are complete within us. There is no greater delight than to realize this through self-cultivation." On the other hand, the Realistic wing of the Confucian school frequently represented by Hsuntzu or Hsun-ching holds that "the nature of man is evil, and his goodness is only acquired training." According to King Chu, Mencius made it clear that the
human nature may be revealed on two levels. On the higher level are included such virtues like Love, Righteousness, Reverence and Wisdom; on the lower level are the desire of the mouth for flavor, or the eyes for color, of the ears for sound, and of the body for comfort, etc. It seems that Hsuntzu recognizes only the lower level. Inasmuch he asserts that "the original nature of man is to seek for gain. If desires are followed, strife and rapacity will result." To which Mencius holds entirely different views. In sharp contrast to Hsuntzu, he seems to recognize only the higher levels of the human nature since he asserts:

No man is devoid of a feeling of commiseration, nor of the feeling of shame and dislike, nor the feeling of modesty and yielding, nor of the feeling plain right and wrong. The feeling of commiseration is the beginning of Love; the feeling of shame and dislike is the beginning of Righteousness; the feeling of modesty is the beginning of Wisdom. Since all have these four foundations of virtue in the soul, let him know how to give them full development and completion.

Mencius and Hsuntzu differ fundamentally in regard to the concept of 'Heaven' and the nature of man. The former conceives 'Heaven' as a personal God, therefore believes the nature endowed by Heaven is innately good. The latter, being a realist, would not venture to speculate on the supernatural, as evidenced by his remark: 'The sage does not seek to know Heaven...instead of obeying Heaven and praising it, why not seize the opportunity to utilize it?" In other words, Hsuntzu does not recognize the goodness of "heavenly-endowed" nature that Mencius so strongly advocates.

AIMS OF EDUCATION

In accordance with Confucianism, the aims of education are concisely outlined in the opening chapter of Ta Hauh (The Great Learning), which
follows:

The teaching of The Great Learning is to manifest one's illustrious virtue, to renovate the people and to abide in the highest good.

The ancients who wished to manifest illustrious virtue through the world, first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their own families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their own selves. Wishing to cultivate their selves, they first rectify their own minds. Wishing to rectify their minds, they first sought for absolute sincerity in their thoughts. Wishing to be absolutely sincere in their thoughts, they first extend their knowledge. The extension of knowledge consisted in the investigation of things.  

Thus the educational aims of the Confucian School can be summarized in the following diagram:

(a) Individual Culture  
(To manifest illustrious virtue)

(1) Investigation of things  
(2) Extension of knowledge  
(3) Being sincere in thoughts  
(4) Rectifying one's mind  
(5) Cultivating one's self  
(6) Regulating the family  
(7) Ordering well the state  

(b) Social Renovation  
(To renovate the people)

(8) Bringing peace and happiness to the world

(The final goal  
(Abiding in the highest good)

(Adapted from Chu, p. 636)

**PROCESS**

To explain the process of attaining the aims of education, one has to turn to the Confucian ancient classics for the authoritative interpretations. For example, to the question how one can attain knowledge through investi-
gation of things, The Doctrine of the Mean (Chung Yung) answers as follow-
ing:

To this attainment there are requisite the extensive study of what is good, accurate inquiry about it, careful reflection on it, the clear discrimination of it, and the earnest practice of it.

The superior man, while there is anything he has not studied, or while in what he has studied there is anything he cannot understand, will not intermit his labor. While there is anything he has not inquired about, or anything in what he has inquired about which he does not know, he will not intermit his labor. While there is anything which he has not reflected on, or anything in what he has reflected on which he does not apprehend, he will not intermit his labor. While there is anything which he has not discriminated, or his discrimination is not clear, he will not intermit his labor. If there be anything which he has not practised, or his practice fails in earnestness, he will not intermit his labor. If another man succeed by one effort, he will use a hundred efforts. If another man succeed by ten efforts, he will use a thousand.

Let a man proceed in this way, and, though dull, he will surely become intelligent; though weak, he will surely become strong.

In the sixth chapter of The Great Learning, one finds explanations making one's thoughts sincere. It reads:

What is meant by "making the thoughts sincere," is the allowing no self-deception, as when we hate a bad smell, and as when we love what is beautiful, This is called self-enjoyment. Therefore, the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone.

There is no evil to which the mean, dwelling retired, will not proceed, but when he sees a superior man, he instantly tries to disguise himself, concealing his evil, and displaying what is good. The other beholds him, as if he saw his heart and reins;—of what use is his disguise? This is an instance of the saying: "What truly is within will be manifested without." Therefore, the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone.

The disciple Tsang said, "What ten eyes behold, what ten hands point to, is to be regarded with reverence!"

Riches adorn a house, and virtue adorns the person. The mind is expanded, and the body is at ease. Therefore, the superior man must make his thoughts sincere.

How can one's mind be rectified? The Confucian Analects (Lun Yu)
Yen Yuan asked about perfect virtue. The master said, "To subdue one's self and return to propriety, is perfect virtue. If a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him. Is the practice of perfect virtue from a man himself, or is it from others?"

Yen Yuan said, "I beg to ask the steps of that process." The Master replied, "Look not at what is contrary to propriety; listen not to what is contrary to propriety; speak not what is contrary to propriety; make no movement which is contrary to propriety." 9

It is also taught in *The Great Learning* that:

What is meant by, "The cultivation of the person depends on rectifying the mind," may be thus illustrated:—If a man be under the influence of passion, he will be incorrect in his conduct. He will be the same, if he is under the influence of terror, or under the influence of fond regard, or under, that of sorrow and distress.

When the mind is not present, we look and do not see; we hear and do not understand; we eat and do not know the taste of what we eat.

This is what is meant by saying that the cultivation of the person depends on the rectifying of the mind. 10

As to cultivating one's self, it is taught:

"A youth, when at home, should be filial, and abroad, respectful to his elders. He should be earnest and truthful. He should overflow in love to all, and cultivate the friendship of the good. When he has time and opportunity, after the performance of these things, he should employ them in polite studies." 11

"When we see men of worth, we should think of equaling them; when we see men of a contrary character we should turn inward and examine ourselves." 12

In regard to regulating the family, it is said:

Kindness in the father, filial piety in the son, gentility in the elder brother, humility and respect in the younger brother, good behaviour in the husband, harmonious response in the wife, benevolence in the elders and respect in the juniors." 13

On ordering well the state, *The Doctrine of the Mean* enumerates nine cardinal directions:
All who have the government of the kingdom with its states and families have nine standard rules to follow;—viz., the cultivation of their own characters; the honoring of men of virtue and talents; affection towards their relatives; respect towards the great ministers; kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers; dealing with the mass of the people as children; encouraging the resort of all classes of artisans; indulgent treatment of men from a distance; and the kindly cherishing of the princes of the states.  

About now one can bring peace and happiness to the world, Li Ki states:

When the Great Tao (or the Golden Rule) shall finally prevail, the world will be the common possession of all (not belonging to any particular ruling family or ruling class). They will elect the virtuous and the able to take charge of public affairs. There will be mutual confidence and the spirit of accord. Therefore, filial devotion will not be confined to one's own parents; and parental affection will also bestowed on children other than one's own. There will be provision for the aged, employment for the adult, and the care for the young. The helpless widows and widowers, the lonely orphans, and the cripples and deformed will all be well taken care of. The men will have proper occupations; and the women, their homes. As to the natural resources, the people will not leave them lying idle or being wasted, though they will not have to keep them for themselves. In the case of service, the people will deprecate the failure of doing one's share, though it will not necessarily bring them a personal profit. Thus the selfish designs will cease to exist, and banditry and rebellion will not rise. As a result, there will be no need to shut one's outer gate, even at night. This will be the age of "Tatung" or the "great commonwealth."  

PRESENT

NATURE OF LEARNER

The present Chinese situation makes one feels ambivalent, sad because a highly totalitarian Chinese Communist regime is in power, exciting because a variety of political movements and anti-Communism are in full sway in Hongkong, Taiwan, and elsewhere. Regrettably it may be, one cannot deny that Communism or Maoism is for the moment one of the main stream of thoughts in China.

It is true that Mao Tse-tung and Khrushchev may differ in their interpretation and emphasis in so far as political and economic theories of Communism are concerned, yet it seems safe to assert that they both maintain the same view in connection with the nature of human beings. Since
The text is a discussion on the concept of human nature and its evolution through history. It emphasizes the importance of understanding human nature in its specific expression in each culture and the role of social structures in shaping human needs and appetites. The text builds on Marx's ideas, particularly how human nature is not an abstract concept but is modified in each historical epoch. It also touches on the differentiation between general human nature and specific expressions in different cultures, highlighting the role of social structures in defining human needs and appetites.
italistic structure of society was illustrated by Marx in the Economic and
Philosophical Manuscripts:

The need for money is therefore the real need created by the modern economy, and the only need which it creates. The quantity of money becomes increasingly its only important quality. Just as it reduces every entity to its abstraction, so it reduces itself in its own development to a quantitative entity. Excess and immoderation become its true standard. This is shown subjectively, partly in the fact that the expansion of production and of needs becomes an ingenious and always calculating subservience to inhuman, depraved, unnatural, and imaginary appetites. 23

In Marx's viewpoint, man's potential is a given one; man is, as it were the human raw material which, as such, cannot be changed, just as the brain structure has remained the same since the dawn of history. However, man does change in the course of history; he develops himself; he transforms himself, he is his own product. History is the history of man's self-realization; it is nothing but the self-creation of man through the process of his work and his production: "the whole of what is called world history is nothing but the creation of man by human labor, and the emergence of nature for man; he therefore has the evident and irrefutable proof of his self-creation, of his own origins." 24

Mao Tse-tung's ideology is rooted in Marxism. 25 Marx's concept of man is derived from Hegel's thinking although different from Hegel.

Hegel claimed that the inner essence of any finite thing turns out to be nothing more than an aspect of the developing being of the Absolute itself.

What Marx did was to substitute the definite term "man," in places where Hegel spoke indefinitely about "finite relative things."

Marx added that, if the Hegelian Absolute is nothing other than the fullest expression of the traditional God, then the antithesis between human integrity and the Absolute extends to God as well. Thus Marx's charge that belief in God is antihumanistic had its basis in his criticism of the Hegelian doctrine on the Absolute.
Both Hegel and Marx held that man is alive only inasmuch as he is productive; he is dead inasmuch as he is not productive, receptive and passive.\textsuperscript{27} Marx's concept of productivity as against that of receptivity can be appreciated more easily from the following passage on love:

Let us assume man to be man, and his relation to the world to be a human one. Then love can only be exchanged for love, trust for who really has a stimulating and encouraging effect upon others. Every one of your relations to man and to nature must be a specific expression corresponding to the object of your will, of your real individual life. If you love without evoking love in return, i.e., if you are not able, by the manifestation of yourself as a loving person, to make yourself a beloved person, then your love is impotent and a misfortune.\textsuperscript{28}

Concerning the significance of love between the opposite sexes, Marx was against a crude communism that proposed the communization of all sexual relation. Marx stated:

In the relationship with woman, as the prey and the handmaid of communal lust, is expressed the infinite degradation in which man exists for himself; for the secret of this relationship finds its unequivocal, incontestable, open and revealed expression in the relation of man to woman and in the way in which the direct and natural species relationship is conceived. The immediate, natural and necessary relation of human being to human being is also the relation of man to woman. In this natural species relationship man's relation to nature is directly his relation to man, and his relation to man is directly his relation to nature, to his own natural function. Thus, in this relation is sensuously revealed, reduced to an observable fact, the extent to which human nature has become nature for man and to which nature has become human nature for him. From this relationship man's whole level of development can be assessed. It follows from the character of this relationship how far man has become, and has understood himself as, a species-being, a human being. The relation of man to woman is the most natural relation of human being to human being. It indicates, therefore, how far man's natural behavior has become human, and how far his human essence has become a natural essence for him, how far his human nature has become nature for him. It also shows how far man's needs have become human needs, and consequently how far the other person, as a person, has become one of his needs, and to what extent he is in his individual existence at the same time a social being.\textsuperscript{29}
In Marx's view, the act of self-creation is the source of independence and freedom. A man is not independent and free unless he is his own master, "and he is only his own master when he owes his existence to himself. A man who lives by the favor of another considers himself a dependent being. But I live completely by another person's favor when I owe to him not only the continuance of my life but also its creation; when he is its source. My life has necessarily such a cause outside itself if it is not my own creation."

"For Marx the aim of socialism was the emancipation of man, and the emancipation of man was the same as his self-realization in the process of productive relatedness and oneness with man and nature." Or put it in different way, the aim of socialism for Marx was the development of the individual personality.

Marx's concept of the self-realization of man can be fully appreciated only in connection with his concept of labor and work. Labor and capital were not at all for Marx only economic categories; they were anthropological categories, imbued with value judgment which is rooted in his humanistic position. "Capital, which is that which is accumulated, represents the past; labor, on the other hand is, or ought to be when it is free, the expression of life."

"Labor is the self-expression of man, an expression of his individual physical and mental powers. In this process of genuine activity man develops himself, becomes himself; work is not only a means to an end—the product—but an end in itself, the meaningful expression of human energy; hence work is enjoyable."
The concept of labor as an expression of man's individuality is succinctly presented in Marx's vision of the complete abolition of the life-long submersion of a man in one occupation when he wrote in *German Ideology* that in all previous societies, man has been "a hunter, a fisherman, a shepherd, or a critical critic, and must remain so if he does not want to lose his means of livelihood; while in communist society, where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, ... just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic."  

It is very important and ironical to note that Mao Tse-tung and the other Chinese Communist leaders have a concept of communism that is entirely different and in radical opposition to that of Marx. While Marx's system of communism aimed at the emancipation and the full development of the individual personality, the Chinese Communists attempt the complete collectivization of individuals to make them indistinguishable members of a collective. They suppress individuality for the sake of society. In his speech delivered at the inauguration of the Central Party School of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Tse-tung stated in February 1942, "Some comrades see only the interests of a part but not those of the whole; they always unduly emphasize the importance of that part of work which is in their charge and wish to subordinate the interests of the whole to those of the part. They do not understand democratic centralism in the Party and do not realize that the Communist Party needs not only democracy but, even more urgently,
They forget democratic centralism which subordinates the minority to the majority, the lower level to the higher level, the part to the whole and the whole Party to the Central Committee."^{35} In the following section, the discussion will be focused upon how this concept of the Chinese Communists is reflected in their aims and policies of education.

AIMS OF EDUCATION

The aims and policies of the Communist China's education may well be summarized as a program of the three P's: education for production, for politics, and for proletarianism.\(^{36}\)

Education for production.—Following Mao Tse-tung's dictum that "A given culture is the ideological reflection of the politics and economy of a given society," and that the new culture is "in the service of new politics and new economy,"\(^{37}\) the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which functioned as a supreme legislative body until the adoption of the present Constitution in 1945, proclaimed in the Common Program that the aim of education is "the raising of the cultural level of the people, the training of personnel for national construction work, the eradicating of feudal, compradore, and fascist ideology, and the developing of the ideology of service to the people." (Article 41). In the spring of 1953, a conference on education was held by the CCP to bring education in line with new social and economic changes in China. As a result, the Central Committee of the CCP and the State Council of the government jointly issued a directive on educational work that spelled out the guiding principles of education for all levels.\(^{38}\) The salient features of the directive are that education must be combined with productive labor, it must serve political objectives, and it must promote the proletarian cause under the leadership of the CCP.
Educational institutions on all levels were ordered to require their students to participate in productive labor as an integral part of their schooling.

Various patterns of work-study combination have been tried by educational institutions, sometimes with a half day for study and a half day for work, other times with certain days or weeks set aside for productive labor. In all cases, emphasis is laid on bringing the gap between knowledge and action, between theory and practice, between mental and physical labor, between intellectuals and the masses, between schools and society.

Among others, the directive of 1958 ordered the educational institutions to set up their own farms, factories, and business enterprises on the one hand, and productive enterprises to set up schools for their workers. In accordance with this policy, factories, communes, and business enterprises have set up complete systems of schools from the nurseries through the universities, while school of all levels have set up all sorts of pertinent productive enterprises ranging from farms and department stores to factories and engineering firms. These enterprises set up by the educational institutions are not only educational workshops where students gain some practical experience as a sort of laboratory of field work, but also are regular production units that take orders and turn out products fast as farms and factories outside the schools do. It is claimed by the Communists that the educational institutions have become centers of production as well as that of academic pursuits.

Education for politics.--As noted in the statement by Mao Tse-tung, the new culture is "in the service of new politics and new economy," the CCP maintain that education has no meaning apart from politics. It must
serve "new politics" consciously and directly. The slogan "Let politics take command" demands that in all educational matters, from the admission of students to the formulation of curriculum and the appointment and promotion of teaching staff, the political consideration must outweigh all other factors. In evaluating the works of students and teachers, the political record of the individual is considered more important than academic achievement. The most important course of study in the entire curriculum of any type of school is "politics." The course includes the current affairs and the on-going programs and major policies of the state in addition to Marxism-Leninism. Its reading materials cover the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse-tung, and official documents such as the constitution of the state, the reports on the 5-year plans and speeches by prominent Communist leaders.

Political education aims at not only the acquisition of political knowledge. It aims at a thorough ideological conversions accompanied by a resolute break the past and a denunciation of any ideas or thought patterns incompatible with the new orthodoxy.

Education for proletarianism.—The third phase of the "Party's educational policy" is the insistence that education must promote the cause of proletarianism under the leadership of CCP. It is not enough for education to be controlled by the state; it must be under the strict direction and close supervision of CCP in order to make sure that the "Party's educational policy" is fully implemented.

In his article entitled "On New Democracy," Mao Tse-tung wrote in January 1949 that, "New-democratic culture belongs to the broad masses,
hence it is democratic. It should be in the service of the toiling masses of workers and peasants who constitute more than 90 per cent of the nation's population, and it should gradually become their culture."39 In June, 1950, Ma Hsu-lun, then Minister of Education declared on the occasion of the First All-China Conference on Higher Education that, "... our institutions of higher education must from now on throw their doors wide open for members of the peasant and working classes, so as to produce for our nation a large group of intellectuals of peasant-worker background."40

To help usher in a proletarian society, education is employed to bend every effort to produce a new type of proletarian intellectuals. It tries to eliminate the barriers between mental and physical labor by requiring intellectuals to engage in labor and by providing laborers the opportunity to attend schools. Another important duty of proletarian education is to cultivate "Communists morality." The essence of this "morality" is the subordination of the individual to the group which is termed as "democratic centralism."41 Since the Party organization is the acme of group life, obedience to CCP become a supreme virtue.

PROCESSES

Three distinct features have been reflected in the processes of education in China. They are a) union of theory and practice, b) thought reform, and c) collectivism.

In July 1937, Mao Tse-tung wrote in an article, "On Practice" that, "Marxism-Leninism has in no way summed up all knowledge of truth, but is ceaselessly opening up, through practice, the road to the knowledge of truth. Our conclusion is for the concrete and historical unity of subjective and the
objective, of theory and practice, and of knowing and doing, and against all incorrect ideologies, whether Right or "Left", which depart from concrete history. 42 Quoting Stalin, Mao also in the same article remarked, "Theory becomes aimless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory." 43 Concluding the article, Mao asserted, "To discover truth through practice, and through practice to verify and develop truth . . . Practice, knowledge, more practice, more knowledge; the cyclical repetition of this pattern to infinity, and with each cycle, the elevation of the content of practice and knowledge to a higher level. Such is the whole of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, and such is the dialectical materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing." 44

Mao's ideology was clearly manifested in 1958 when CCP launched the "Great Leap Forward" in industrial and agricultural production and the transformation of the rural collectives into "People's Commune" to accelerate the pace of national construction. The directive concerning educational activities issued in September 1958 underscored the necessity of combining education with productive labor. All students from the age of nine up were required to spend a certain number of hours of their school time each week working at jobs assigned them by school authorities concerned. In the months following the directive, the elementary schools of Kirin province reportedly established 13,048 "factories" producing steel, metal, tools, tiles, cement, textile, stationery, knitting, and also established orchards, apiaries, and poultry farms. 45 This theoretical knowledge in school and compulsory labor at factories is the concrete expression of the union of
theory and practice and is an effective means to implement education for production.

In order to carry out the policy of education for politics, various forms of thought reform or what is commonly known as "brain-washing" is used. One of the salient features of thought reform is group study or hsueh-huai luai, in which everyone must participate. It is a unique means for achieving critical rejection of old ideas in favor of new ones and an powerful weapon for ideological remolding. Two main lines of experience have gone into group study, one Chinese and the other Communists. During their twenty-odd years as guerrilla fighters, CCP stumbled, through necessity, on one basic element of what is now hsueh-huai luai. In teaching uneducated peasant recruits to use military machines, obey orders, and cooperate, CCP gradually found that small group study were the best way to assure everybody understood how and why. The group study went patiently over all questions, objectives, or counter-suggestions until the best method was acquired and agreed upon. To the peasantry, on whom the army depended for support and cover, the Communist Party explained their rural improvement program, rent reduction, land redistribution, education and public health. Thus, they persuaded the peasants that it was to their advantage to cooperate in resisting Japan or the Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek. The second element of hsueh-huai luai—the study of Marxist theory and the discipline of criticism and self-criticism—has long been standard practice in Communist cell around the world. Out of the gradual fusion of these two tradition—Chinese persuasion and Communist dogma—contemporary group study of hsueh-huai luai has evolved as the ubiquitous working mechanism of thought reform in China.46
Another characteristic of the educational processes in China today is collectivism. Students study together in groups, and teachers prepare for their lessons collectively. Some schools practice the so-called four collectivizations, i.e., collective study, collective labor, collective housing, and collective board. To cultivate the habits of collective living, it is important to start from early childhood and desirable to have the students live in school all the time. CCP leaders have therefore put forth the goal of complete day-and-night care of infants in nurseries and of eventually transforming all elementary schools into boarding schools. This has been stressed by Liu Shao-chi, the present People's Republic Chairman, when he spoke on the importance of the communes as a preparatory stage for communism. Socialized education, or education by society, Liu stated, is more important than the family education according to the report by American Consulate General in Hong Kong, Extracts from China Mainland Magazines, December 1, 1958.

Viewed from what was expounded by Marx in his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, his concept of socialism as the emancipation of man and that man as end in himself, not a means to an end, it is clearly seen that what CCP has been enforcing on China is in radical opposition to what was advocated by Marx. In reality, Leninism, Stalinism, Maoism are all quite different from Marxism. What is Leninism as distinguished from Marxism? It is a doctrine of absolute force and violence as a means of establishing class and a Party dictatorship. Stalinism as distinct from Marxism-Leninism, is the enforcing of Party unity, plus murder of all opposition, which Lenin did not commit. Khrushchev denounced Stalinism, but
held aloft the principles of leninism. Leninism held terror as a necessary measure during the revolutionary period, expecting a classless society soon to emerge; Stalinism held terror as a permanent policy after "Socialism" had been "completed." Another vital difference between Lenin and Stalin: The former killed all his enemies, the latter killed all his friends, as their value of use is finished. Incidentally there is also an interesting difference between Stalin and Al Capone. Both murdered the witnesses of their crimes, however the former went further as to murder his trusted aids (Yagoda, Yezhov), and life-long friends (Yemnikidze, Orjonikidze) which the latter did not commit. In personal dealings, whether Mao will follow the step of Lenin, Al Capone or Stalin remains yet to be seen. In matters of deception and distortion of Marxism, Mao is at least equal to Stalin if not surpassing as seen from how he has tackled with the Chinese and his statement in August 1937: "To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat or the people’s dictatorship is precisely to prepare the conditions for liquidating such a dictatorship and advancing to the higher stage of abolishing all state systems. To establish and develop the Communist Party is precisely to prepare the condition for abolishing the Communist Party and all party systems. To establish the revolutionary army under the leadership of the Communist Party and to carry on the revolutionary war is precisely to prepare the condition for abolishing war for ever. Those contradictory things are at the same time complementary."51

Apart from his concept of human nature, Marx’s theory in economics is by no means flawless; it is erroneous in surreptitiously accepting Malthus’ doctrine of population, which Marx himself and all his disciples repudiate, and in applying Richard’s theory of value at wages, but not at the prices
of manufactural articles.\textsuperscript{52}

Marx's theory was not sound in itself, but the developments and misrepresentation which it underwent under Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse-tung made it much worse. Thus, "the opium of the intellectuals" leads millions of our contemporaries to the illusion.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER III


2Hsuntzu Bk. 23, Section I. cited in Chu ibid.

3Tbid.

4Mencius Bk.IIA Ch. 6: p.4-6, cited in Chu ibid.

5Hsuntzu Bk. 17, Section 19, cited in Chu ibid.

6Chu, "Confucian ..." p. 635.

7James Legge trans. The Four Books (Shanghai, 1936). The Doctrine of the Mean, Ch. 20; p.19-21, pp.26-27.


9Tbid. Confucian Analects, Bk. 12, Ch.1, pp.93-94.

10Tbid., The Great Learning, Ch.7, pp.9-10.

11Tbid., Confucian Analects, Bk.1, Ch.6, pp.2-3.

12Tbid., Bk.4, Ch. 17, p.26.

13Chu, p.637, citing Li Ki, Ch.9:3.

14Legge, The Doctrine of the Mean, Ch.20, p.22.

15Chu, p.637 citing Li Ki, Ch.9:1.

16An ideological term recently coined by Professor Benjamin Schwartz of Harvard University. For detail, see Karl A. Wittfogel, "The Legend of 'Naoism.' China Quarterly I (January, March 1960), p.72-86; II (April, June 1960), 16-34; Benjamin Schwartz, "The Legend of the 'Legend of Maoism,'" China Quarterly II (April June 1960), 35-42.

17Recently Mao Tse-tung's major works have been translated into English and made available in The United States. See Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works 4 Vols. (New York, 1954-56), published by International Publishers Co., Inc.

18Karl Marx, Capital I (Chicago, 1906), 668.

20 In 1961, this important Marx's philosophical works was for the first time made available in U.S.A., in Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man. (New York, Frederick Unger, Publication Co.).

21 Fromm, p.25.


23 Fromm, p.141.

24 K. Marx, Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts trans. T.B. Bottome in Fromm, p. 139.


27 Fromm, p.29-30.


30 K. Marx, Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, trans. T.B. Bottome in Fromm, p. 139.

31 Fromm, p.38.

32 Fromm, p.40.

33 Fromm, pp.41-42.

34 Marx and Engels, p.22.

35 Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works (New York, 1956), IV, 38.


37 Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, IV, 141.
38 Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily), September 20, 1958.
39 Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, III, 155.
40 Jen-min Jih-pao, June 14, 1950.
41 Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, IV, 38.
42 Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, I, 296.
43 Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, I, 293.
44 Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, I, 297.
45 Hungai (Red Flag), November 1, 1958, p. 31.
47 Kuang-Ming Jih-pao (Light Daily), November 6, 1958, reporting collectivization in schools of Honan province.
48 Fromm, pp. 53-54, 102.
51 Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, II, 45.
... REFORMS BEFORE 1957

As early as in 1934, Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the over-all educational and cultural policy was to educate the great laboring masses in the spirit of communism. To them, the educational work is nothing but one of the powerful instruments of the proletariat to reform the old society (i.e., capitalist society) and construct a new communist society. It was explicitly declared by the Communist China's Minister of Education, Yang Hsui-feng on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic of China in phraseology: "... education must render political service to the proletariat, professional pursuits must be combined with political ideology, and we must produce 'red and expert' workers. We make Marxist-Leninist ideological education and the political work of the Party the soul of all activities in schools and let politics take command in all cultural, scientific, and educational endeavors." Mao Tse-tung also stated that, "Any cultural revolution is the ideological reflection of the political revolution and economic revolution and is in their service."2

It should be therefore remembered that all educational reforms in Communist China have been oriented toward political and socioeconomic objectives. For the sake of convenience, one may divide the educational reforms during 1949 and 1957, into two periods.

The first period (1949-1952) may be called the period of reorganization.
At the time when CCP assumed national power in 1949, the school system in China consisted of a 6-year elementary school, followed by a 3-year junior school and a 3-year senior middle school, and topped by a 4-year college or university.³

REASONS

In promulgating the new system in 1951, CCP leaders asserted that the school system of the past was a product of feudal and semi-colonial society. The resolution of the State Council to adopt the new educational system read as follows:

The existing system of schools in our country has many defects. The most important defects are: the schools for worker-peasant cadres and different types of adult schools and training classes are not given their rightful place in the system; the prolongation of elementary education into six years and its division into the two levels of primary education and higher elementary education make it difficult for the children of the broad laboring masses to obtain complete elementary education; and there is no definite system of technical schools to meet the nation’s needs for competent personnel to undertake national construction. These defects must be eliminated.⁴

In further elucidation of the reasons for a new system, the Jen-min Jih-pao (People’s Daily) in an editorial, “Why is a Reform of the School System Necessary?” stated:

A school system is the reflection of the development of production and science in a given society. . . The school system of capitalist states is a reflection of capitalist production and serves the purpose of the monopolistic economy of the capitalist class. The school system of the socialist states, on the other hand, is a reflection of advanced methods of socialist production and meets the needs of the ever-expanding socialist and Communist construction. The school system of old China was an imitation of the system of capitalist states and reflected the reactionary ideology of landlords, bureaucrats, and the comprador class of semi-colonial semi-feudal society. . . The laboring people had no position in the culture and education of old China.⁵

PROPOSED PROGRAMS

The basic educational reform of the Communist regime was adopted on
August 10, 1951. It stipulated the types of schools, the length of the various courses, age limits and requirements. According to Jen-min Chiao-Yu (People's Education) November issue of 1951, Vice Minister of Education Ch'ien Chun-jui summarized it as follows:

1. It clearly and completely guarantees to all the people in the country, first of all the workers and peasants, an opportunity to receive education.

2. It establishes the appropriate position and system of technical schools, specialized schools and colleges, and special courses in order to meet the need for training large numbers of persons for national reconstruction.

3. It guarantees to all young and old-type intellectual elements an opportunity to receive revolutionary political training and to all working cadres an opportunity to receive further education.

4. It correctly integrates uniformity of policy and objectives on the one hand with flexibility of method and procedure on the other.

IMPLEMENTATION

As soon as the Communists assumed national power, the Peking regime started introducing curricular changes. The old "civics" course and the Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations were prohibited as reactionary and replaced by new "political education" courses and by new youth organizations under the direction of CCP. Great emphasis was laid on the inculcating of a new ideology to replace the "feudal ideology" which was said to have dominated education in the "old society." Marxism-Leninism was held up to be the guide not only in the study of history and the social sciences but also in the biological and physical sciences.

New schools were introduced to serve specific purposes. "New-type universities" were set up to "reform" the thinking of intellectuals by means of intensive ideological indoctrination, and to produce a new generation of "proletarian intellectuals" rooted in communism. Among other new
institutional forms were special schools for workers and peasants, short-term courses to rear trained personnel and cadres, or kampu as CCP call, in various fields, and spare-time schools\textsuperscript{6} and classes of various kinds.

The new system was promulgated on October 1, 1951. The relations of the schools to one another are shown in the ext page. Some features may be noted. Nurseries and kindergartens are provided for children under 7. The elementary school is reduced from 6 years to 5. The middle schools are paralleled by a large variety of technicums and vocational schools which are set up to meet the needs of national construction. The institutions of higher learning were reduced from 207 in 1949 to 201 in 1952 as a result of reorganization.\textsuperscript{7} The colleges which formerly constituted an administrative unit within the universities were abolished, and the departments became the basic organizational units. Foreign-supported schools were relinquished through four stages. 1) As soon as the Communist takeover, the Peking regime, under the pretext of strengthening state leadership, introduced Marxism-Leninism and other political courses into the curriculum, and subjected these schools to the regulations adopted by the Ministry of Education. 2) The foreign-supported institutions were asked to sever their financial and other relations with their mother organizations abroad. 3) This stage was characterized by a long succession of anti-American campaign and exhibition on the campuses, thus alienating the students from the administration and certain segments of the faculty. 4) The last process was the abolition of these institutions through reorganization, integration, and absorption. It took about two years, from early 1950 to the fall of 1952, to complete the whole process of elimination.\textsuperscript{8}
**CHART 1. THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF 1951**

Research Institutes (Graduate Schools)

Universities, Institutes, Colleges, and Professional Schools (3-5 year courses) or

Spare-time Colleges and Universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Senior Vocational Schools (Polytechnic, Normal, Agricultural Schools and Others)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Senior Middle School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Middle Middle School (Polytechnic, Normal, Agricultural Schools and Others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Junior Middle School (Polytechnic, Normal, Agricultural Schools and Others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Junior Middle School (Polytechnic, Normal, Agricultural Schools and Others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Middle Middle School (Polytechnic, Normal, Agricultural Schools and Others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Junior Middle School (Polytechnic, Normal, Agricultural Schools and Others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nurseries and Kindergartens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* As promulgated in October 1951. The change from a 6-years elementary school to a 5-year school was not actually effected due to an order from the Ministry of Education for delay in the enforcement in December 1953.

The arrangement of curriculums was much influenced by USSR and the emphasis was laid in labor, discipline, collectivism, and study of current affairs. In the elementary and middle schools level, texts were revised to meet political demand. In college level, the Soviet texts in Chinese were adopted. The Russian language was made the first foreign language and numerous Soviet texts were translated into Chinese for classroom use. As reported by Yang Hsiu-feng, the Minister of Education later, up to 1956, there had been 889 courses offered by the Russian experts and 443 courses directed by the Russian. There had been 629 kinds of teaching material written and 108 kinds published using the Soviet text as blueprint.9

In directives on the reforms of the educational system promulgated in 1951, were provided inter alia: 1) Spare-time Elementary Schools. Workers and other youths and adults may be enrolled and given a spare-time education equivalent to full-time elementary school education. There is no fixed year of residence. Graduates can proceed to a spare-time secondary schools or other secondary schools after they pass the appropriate entrance examinations. 2) Literary Schools. (Winter Schools and Literary Classes) These institutions are created to eradicate illiteracy. There is no fixed length. Lately the term "winter schools" has not been used any more.

3) Spare-time Middle Schools. The middle schools are further divided into junior and senior. Three to four years are required to complete courses at each level. Junior and senior spare-time middle schools may be set up separately. There is no fixed requirements as to entrance age. Graduates of spare-time junior middle schools can advance to ordinary senior middle schools or spare-time senior middle schools or semi-professional schools
of equivalent educational level through examinations. Graduates of spare-time senior middle schools can go on to institutions of higher learning through examinations.\textsuperscript{10}

Since 1952, measures have been taken to simplify the forms of characters and to create phonetic alphabets.\textsuperscript{11}

**IMPLICATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES**

As a result of reorganization, there appeared at the end of 1953 three major types of institutions of higher learning: schools of single specialty, like the Peking Institute of Russian Language and the Peking Institute of Steel Industry; schools of multiple specialty like Tsing Hua University with eight departments, ranging from architecture to hydraulic engineering; and comprehensive universities with multiple specialties in various disciplines, like the Peking University which has faculties in the humanities, sciences, finance and economics, and law and government.

Probably partly for the purpose of tighter political control, and largely inspired by the Soviet model, a separate Ministry of Higher Education was created in December 1952. The reason for the creation of this new ministry and the relationship between the Ministry of Education and the newly created ministry were stated by Chang Hsi-jo, Minister of Education, as follows:

The division between higher education and common education and the establishment of two separate ministries reflect the need for division of labor in our task of educational construction. The Ministry of Higher Education is therefore charged with the mission of training large numbers of technical personnel in order to satisfy the needs of industrialization, while the Ministry of Education undertakes the task of universally raising the cultural level of our people and educating the new generation. The missions of the two ministries are closely related and are thus inter-dependent. Hence, they must develop the sense of
unity between them and together struggle for the completion of the task of education construction.12

Numerous as it may seem, all these educational measures implemented during 1949 and 1952 may fall into three categories in terms of its motivation:

For politics—elimination of the foreign-supported institutions, introduction of new "political education" course, translation of the Soviet teaching materials, and creation of Ministry of Higher Education.

For production—establishment of spare-time schools and decree to shorten from six years to five years in elementary school system.

For proletarianism—simplification of Han characters, setting up of spare-time and literacy schools.

The objectives of these measures may be summarized as follows: 1) cultivation of the ideology of service to the "people"; 2) the training of personnel for national reconstruction; 3) satisfaction of needs of national development, particularly economic development; 4) implementation of scientific and technological education and 5) making the opportunities of education available to peasants and workers.

If these objectives reflect positive nature, there are also goals of negative nature, aimed at the complete negation of principles and practices of education that prevailed prior to the communist accession to power in 1949. Thus the traditional idea of education has been labeled as feudal in that it served the ruling class under the guise of Confucian ethics and through the glorification of the family. Foreign-supported missionary institutions and what they stood for have been condemned as invidious agents of cultural aggression, seeking to subvert Chinese youth through such ideas as liberalism,
individualism, and worship of bourgeois culture.

The second period (1953-1957) may be termed as the period of consolidation. The reasons behind various educational reforms taken during this period is two-fold. The first is to do appropriate disposals of what had been implemented during the previous stage. This action reflects the success and failure of the reforms instituted during 1949 and 1952. The second one is to meet the needs for the First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957) for the development of the national economy.

On the whole, efforts made to control ideology met a strong resistance, if not a complete failure. The evidences were san fan and wu fan movements during January and June in 1952 and "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend!" campaign in 1956. Another concrete example is the abolishment of the Ministry of Higher Education in 1958, which was originally set up for firmer control of the institutions of higher learning in 1952.

In fact, the system officially promulgated in 1951 did not remain stable for long. The regime did not hesitate to change their institutional forms or their methods to meet the so-called objective conditions. The educational system, therefore, has been subjected to constant modification. Although the 5-year unitary elementary school was proposed as more suitable than the 6-year elementary school system, difficulties were encountered in implementation resulting in issuing an order to delay the enforcement by the Ministry of Education in 1953.

The short-term middle school played a prominent role in worker-peasant education and went through a period of rapid growth in early fifties. It enabled thousands of cadres and "advanced workers" of little schooling to pre-
pare themselves for admission into higher institutions within a short time. By 1955, however, the regime decided this unique institution had served its purpose and should begin to dwindle. The order was issued to admit no more students in the short-term middle schools. The reasons given were: 1) the abbreviated courses did not prove to be adequate preparation for higher education, 2) it was thought unwise to have cadres and workers away from production for full-time study, and 3) workers and peasants now had the benefit of expanded facilities of spare-time education extending from elementary schools to universities, and these vailities removed the necessity for any curtailment of regular production activities. Another reason was well pointed out that, "the government had ordered all schools, even the colleges and universities, to consider the production record or "revolutionary experience" of workers, peasants, and cadres as sufficient compensation for any deficiency in academic background."17

During the First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957), spare-time schools as well as full-time ones were charged to carrying out two functions: 1) the training of personnel for economic development, especially the training of technologists and skilled workers; 2) the extension of general education for the purpose of raising people's "cultural standards." They were also charged to fulfill the function of providing refresher courses for cadres, technicians and craftsmen.18

In 1956, the Ministry of Higher Education published directives concerning the intensification of spare-time in-service training of elementary and secondary school teachers, and the Ministry of the Machine Industry promulgated directives on the establishment of spare-time semi-professional schools. These
measures showed that the primary aim of spare-time education beyond secondary school level was the expansion of technical education and teacher training.

In 1956, two decision was made to raise the cultural standard of the workers. One was by the Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Education, and the Trade Union on expenditure for spare-time education for craftsmen. It prescribed that 75 per cent of the amount equivalent to 2 per cent of wages, contributed by employers to the Trade Union be appropriated for spare-time elementary education (including literacy classes), and secondary education. (The percentage changed from 75 to 50 in 1957). The other was by the Central Committee of CCP and the State Council on the eradication of illiteracy. This decision aimed at wiping out illiteracy among workers in five to seven years from 1956.

With regard to spare-time higher education, the Ministry of Higher Education issued a notification for the revision of the curriculum of higher educational institutes in 1957, leading to the 1958 reform.

The important measure taken during the phase of consolidation was the unification of "teaching plans" and the introduction of a uniform curriculum. This implied in a sense an unsatisfactory result of the political and ideological control expressed in the forms of seemingly successful abolition of the foreign-supported missionary schools and introduction of "political education" courses.

As the guiding principle underlying all curriculum and pedagogical reforms was "learning from advanced Soviet experiences," Russian experts appeared on many educational fronts, ranging from advisers to the Ministry of Higher Education to specialists advising Chinese local authorities on how to set
up creches. Besides an increasing number of Chinese educationalists were sent to the USSR to study first-hand Russian theory and practice, and an even larger number sent for their advanced technical training to Soviet institutions. In additions, the regime has made great effort to create an unquestioning faith in Soviet curriculum and pedagogy, as reflected in the statement in the Kuang-ming Daily:

The content of Soviet teaching material is characterized by its strictly scientific system; it is complete and is guided by the viewpoint of dialectic materialism. . . . In the current process of revising and adopting teaching plans, it has become clear that those outlines drawn up on the basis of Soviet blueprints have had the full support of delegates, whereas those deviating from the Soviet example have given rise to serious dissension. The reason is simple. It is because Soviet outlines have come from scores of years of labor and have proved their superiority through practice. What reason is there for us to depart from Soviet blueprints? 20

From the latter part of 1954, the Ministry of Education convened a series of conferences for the discussion, revision, and final adoption of teaching plans or outlines for the various fields of specialization in higher education. By 1957, more than a thousand such plans had been officially adopted, though the total number of courses offered in all institutions of higher learning, according to incomplete statistics, has exceeded three thousand. 21 Certainly, such an enormous task could not be accomplished in short order, nor could it qualitatively meet the real needs of Chinese higher education. The manner in which Soviet teaching methods and materials came to be adopted is perhaps indicative of the sense of urgency with which the Chinese authorities approached this problem. One cannot but interpret that reforms in this regard have been mainly politically inspired.

A policy statement by the University of Shantung on the use of Soviet materials may well be cited here for reference.
Courses for which Chinese translations of Russian textbooks have been made available shall adopt such translations; courses for which lecture notes have been prepared on the basis of Soviet materials shall be further developed with a view to intensifying the use of Soviet material; courses for which no translation has been made available shall be based on Soviet materials which should be translated in the process.

In learning Soviet materials, the following principles must be constantly observed: (1) it must begin with basic courses and progress step by step in conformity with the reality of teaching; (2) it must be done with analytical thoroughness so as to master the viewpoints, the spirit, and the substance contained in Soviet materials; (3) it must use the comparative method to illustrate the superiority of Soviet teaching materials over those of the capitalist countries in Europe and America in order to subject the latter to a critical examination; (4) it must strengthen the study of Marxism-Leninism.

The disruptive effect of such uncritical borrowing and abandonment of long-established traditions and practices of pre-communist days became evident in 1956, when a number of basic problems rose as a consequence. These problems were succinctly summarized in Kuang-ming Jih-pao:

1. The problem of degree of specialization.
2. The problem of arriving at a rational and proportionate differentiation between basic courses and courses of specialization.
3. The problem of whether or not a unified teaching plan is desirable.
4. The problem of period of residence.
5. The problem of teaching methods; the desirability of senior projects, types of examinations, and so on.
6. The problem of whether or not the total class hours should be uniformly determined at 4000 hours.

Another grave problem was that of political indoctrination. Since 1950, all schools of higher education and secondary education, irrespective of the nature of their specialty, were required to offer some political courses on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Due to the great demand made of the students both in time and energy, and in the wake of the "blooming and contending," serious oppositions were raised against these requirements, resulting in many schools reducing number of hours of political courses from 17 to 12. In 1957, however, as the regime decided that public criticism of the government and the Party had...
reached such an intensity that it threatened to negate the very ideological framework, political education were re-emphasized and indoctrination more intensified. 

1958 REFORM REASONS

The salient characteristic of 1958 reform was the introduction of combining education with labor. Official reasons given may well be cited for reference in the following. In his report to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the People's Republic of China, Yang Hsiu-feng, the Minister of Education, stated in part:

In 1958, our people, building on the victory attained in the economic, political, and ideological fronts of the Socialist Revolution... launched the "Big Leap Forward" program for economic development and established people's communes throughout the nation's agricultural areas. Under these new conditions, the workers and farmers made an urgent demand to raise their educational level. To meet this popular demand, to complete basically the Socialist Revolution, to speed up Socialist construction and to carry out step by step the historical responsibility of technical and cultural revolution, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council issued the "Directive concerning education work." The directive sets down the policy that education must fulfill its political role, must serve the cause of the proletariat, must be combined with productive labor, and finally it must be carried out under the leadership of the Party. The directive further emphasizes the need for improving education quantitatively, qualitatively, speedily, and economically and the need for...stimulating and rallying popular support in order to bring about the realization of educational work by the entire Party and by the whole people. 

Lin Feng, Member of the Central Committee of CCP and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, in his report at the National Conference of Outstanding Groups and Individuals in Socialist Construction in Education, Culture, Health, Physical Culture and Journalism, held in Peking, stated in part on June 1, 1960:
In the cultural and educational field, the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung in 1953 at the opportune time projected the great task of cultural revolution and the policy of "education serving proletarian politics and education combined with productive labour," thus directing the cultural and educational work to a new stage of development. Cultural revolution, as explained by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, means the masses of workers and peasants becoming well educated and at the same time intellectuals becoming identical with the working people. Only when the masses of workers and peasants and intellectuals each move towards making up their particular deficiency, will the irrational situation, a legacy from the old society, be completely changed and the backward phenomena which characterize each be eliminated. In other words, the deficiency of the masses of workers and peasants in cultural studies and the bourgeois ideas of the intellectuals will both be eliminated. This is a very profound revolution.25

Expounding the theory of combining education with productive labor from a more theoretical viewpoint with special references to the Chinese traditional concepts on mental and manual labor held by Confucius and Mencius and those of Fourier, Owen, Marx, and Mao was Lu Ting-yi, alternate member of the Political (and concurrently a Vice-Premier of China) Bureau of the Central Committee of CCP, in his book entitled Education Must Be Combined With Productive Labor27, which was written on the basis of the conclusion drawn at a conference of educational work convened by the Central Committee of CCP.

Apart from the theoretical reasons, one of the practical reasons of 1953 educational reform was to meet the needs of People's Commune movement which signalled the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-1962). The regulations of the Weihsing (Sputnik) People's Commune, the China's first people's commune, revealed inter alia: "Apart from economic activities the people's commune undertakes culture and education (running primary, secondary, and technical schools, carrying out scientific research, etc.) so as to make its members people with a high educational level and eliminate gradually the difference between mental and manual labour. The people's commune also carries
out the system of citizen soldiery. . . . In other words the people's commune combines industry (workers), agriculture (peasants), exchange (traders), culture and education (students), and military affairs (militia) into one and takes charge of political, economic, cultural, and military affairs at the same time."

Some more reasons have been pointed out. One was the continuing effort, intensified since the "blooming and contending" campaign to de-emphasize the role and prestige of the intellectuals: "Because of the existence of the two separate classes of brain workers and brawn workers and the antagonisms between mental labor and physical labor, the intellectual elements brought up in the old society generally cannot become laborers while laborers generally are not intellectual elements." Labor is regarded by the regime as an effective means whereby the intellectuals may be taught to honor and respect manual work, as well as to develop the correct attitude toward the proletariat. Another reason pointed out was budgetary. An editorial in a February 1958 issue of the People's Daily, speaking of educational requirements, stated that "the State is in no financial position at present to satisfy fully the needs of the people."

PROPOSED PROGRAMS

These programs can be classified into two kinds, i.e., 1) of policy nature, 2) of concrete measures.

1). Belonging to the policy nature was a program of the combination of education and productive labor and a program of "walking on two legs" laid down by the Central committee of CCP and Mao Tse-tung. The program "walking on two legs" was an important practical rationalization of
many of China's problem. Originated from Communist jibberish and translated into its simplest form, it explained that in their present stage of development they were not able to use the best and most efficient methods of production, and were not able to give the people all they might want in terms of education, service, etc.; it was therefore necessary to strive to attain the goals by a variety of methods and approaches. To carry out this principle, the Communists have attempted to develop backyard furnaces at the same time that they were expanding modern steel plants; they were utilizing the experience of the traditional Chinese medical practitioners while continuing to present Western medical theories in many of the schools; they were using coolie labor to unload ships next to a dock with a modern crane; they were emphasizing science and so-called "scientific methods" among the peasants while attempting to obtain true scientific achievements from a nuclear physicist at an institute of the Academy of Sciences.33

A more lucid example of "walking on two legs" may be found in the fields of education. CCP in its sponsoring periodical, Red Flag (No.3, February 1, 1960), stated the policy in this phraseology:

We are guided by the principle of the coordination of uniformity and diversity, of popularization and acceleration of standard, and of overall planning by the central authorities and delegation of power to the localities. We have put into effect a program with 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.

2). Concrete measures

a). Schools run factories 34
b). Factories run schools\(^{35}\)

c). The establishment of agricultural middle schools\(^{36}\)

**IMPLEMENTATION**

Early in 1954, when the period of economic rehabilitation was over and the First Five-Year Plan already in operation, the Central Committee of CCP raised the question of adding productive labor to the curricula of the educational institutes. However, the proposal encountered obstruction and was not carried through at that time. The Central Committee repeatedly stressed its policy that education must be combined with productive labor—at the national conference on propaganda work in March 1957, in the editorial of *People's Daily* on April 8, 1957 and at the Nanning meeting in January 1958.\(^{37}\)

According to the decision of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League in January 1958, all students were required to perform the following types of labor: 1) farm work; 2) rural subsidiary occupations and handicrafts; 3) capital construction sites and transportation; 4) service labor such as that of barber, shoe-mender, tailor, etc.; 5) industrial labor.\(^{38}\) This decision was confirmed by the Ministry of Education in a directive of February 4, 1958.

In March 1958, the Ministry of Education promulgate a new pedagogic plan providing that as from the new school year, all classes in the secondary schools should introduce productive work courses, i.e., two hours per week, including the handicraft labor and fundamental agricultural knowledge for the junior secondary section, and agricultural and mechanical field work for the senior secondary section. At an education forum on July 8 and 9 in Peking, Kang Sheng, alternate member of the Political Bureau of The CCP Central
Committee, stated "University and secondary specialized schools and even ordinary secondary schools have solved the problem of combining education with productive labor by operating factories. It seems that all the schools have to do the same . . . . All the factories will also run schools in future. This will be the general trend of China's education. It is a good way of making the intellectuals labours, and the labours intellectuals. It will cause the gradual combination of physical labour and mental labour. It gives a concrete way for the Communist society."

It was reported that up to the same month (July) of Kang Sheng's statement, 3,720 factories and workshops had been set up by the 115 institutes of higher learning. By the end of August, the intermediate and small metallurgical installations set up by the 18 institutes of higher learning in Peking, Nanking, Shanghai, Sian, Chunking, Shenyang, Chungsha, Wuhan, Tientsin, Taiyuan and Hopei could produce more than 692,000 tons of steel a year. Some schools like the Sian Aeronautic Mechanics School were striving for self-support in 1958 by relying on income produced by the students in their production practice.

In addition to 227 regular state-operated higher educational institutions where priority in admission was given to applicants of proletarian origin, there were in the summer of 1958, 224 spare-time college for workers and peasants who could not be released from their work. These spare-time college were attached to factories, mines, governmental organizations and colleges, with a total enrollment of 190,160 as of 1959.

A Red and Expert Comprehensive University was set up on May 1, 1958 by China's first people's commune, the Weihsing (Sputnik) People's Commune,
Honan province, with an enrollment of 529 students. The Tientsin No.1 Cotton Mill opened its part-time school for workers on May 27, 1958. The workers were allowed to spend 2 hours of their 8 hours working day at the schools with 75 per cent pay for these 2 hours, and the workers would complete the 6-year middle school courses in 3 and a half years. In summer 1958, the Shanghai No. 17 Cotton Mill set up a spare-time textile engineering institute by which it aimed at turning all its workers into college graduates in six years, instead of the normal eleven years of college and secondary schooling.

Kang Sheng stated on December 2, 1958, at national conference on education that, "Step by step, every workshop construction site and station should become a center for part-time work and part-time study. Universities could be set up on the trains." The conference revealed that there were 2,180 railway schools all over the country with a total enrollment of over 660,000 students, and the number of higher educational institutions had increased from only two (at Tangshan and Peiking) to thirty-three in all. For the crews of more than fifty vessels that sailed on the upper Yantse River in Szechuan province, it was reported on January 15, 1959 that spare-time schools had been set up, one to each vessel, to provide 110 primary and 26 junior secondary school classes, and every sailor was assured of 1½ to 2 hours a day for study. At the conference on factory education during January 6-13, 1959, it was announced that 1,255 schools and colleges had been set up in the enterprises directly under the First Ministry of Machine Building. Over half of the workers were studying in these institutions.

As a result of the establishment of the people's commune all over the
Chinese mainland's spare-time schools and higher educational institutes have been opened by the communes. It was reported in December 1958, that there were over 7,500 students at the "red and expert" schools of Red Banner People's commune in Nanchung, Szechwan province, i.e., about 95 per cent of all able-bodied members of the commune. There were seven main lines of study in the school, each sub-divided into a number of departments making 20 in all. Each department enrolled its students from the various branches of occupation in the commune, and the head of the workshop, or the leader of the production brigade, served as the head of the department. In a tour to Chinshan Red and Expert University, Honan province, where 184 students were organized and undertook production labor along military lines, Kang Sheng said that he thought the universities, middle schools, primary schools and kindergartens in the people's commune "are a new type of comprehensive university which is of vital significance to the enforcement and improvement of education in the rural areas."

These educational institutes set up by the communes followed "four-collectivization" program (i.e., study together, labor together, collective residence and boarding), where students do not have to pay fees, and the communes are responsible for the educational expenses and supply them with food and accommodation. They carry out the policy of "linking theory with practice," and study with physical labor--to study what is done and to do what is studied. The slogan is "production--study--production: from the field to classroom and then back to the field." To train peasants for the rapid economic development program, the communes open technical schools often in cooperation with other organizations. For instance, Hoshan Electrical
Engineering School was set up as a combined effort between the power plant of the Futseling Reservoir and a people's commune in Anhwei. It seems as if the Communists are aiming at merging the factory, the commune and the school all into one. Since the universal establishment of people's communes in the countryside, Peking has claimed that there are schools for every commune throughout China and that the communes are gradually being developed to form an educational system complete in itself.

Probably due to the keen shortage of teaching staff, peasant and workers were not only admitted into schools and universities, but also were invited to join teaching faculties or research staff in appropriate units.

The academic year 1958-1959 saw the promulgation of a directive by CCP Central Committee and State Council urging that "secondary education and higher education should be vigorously developed to achieve the objective of enabling all young people and adults, who are qualified and willing, to receive higher education in about 15 years time." Many institutes were reported to have adopted the program of "half-work and half-study" as from the beginning of 1958-1959 academic year.

The stress on manual labor and production led first to the combination of productive labor and education in secondary vocational schools, then to part-time and spare-time jobs for students, and finally, in 1958, to the "great leap forward" into an almost complete integration of education and production. Whereas in the past it was in most cases a decision of the individual student whether or not he took a job, on March 15, 1958, the Ministry of Education issued an official proclamation stating that the question as to whether a student should seek employment would be decided by the institute in which he was enrolled. The control of forced labor went on tighter.
March 22, 1959, the regime passed at the 86th Plenary Meeting of the State Council, "Regulation concerning Arrangements for Teaching, Labor, and Living Conditions in Full-time Schools," which was subsequently promulgated on May 24 of the same year.  

It was reported on November 1, 1958 that in Tsinghua University students spent one third of a term in productive labor without affecting their fundamental courses. There were 55 factories and workshops, 3 designing companies, and 5 companies for construction work. The 971 teachers and students of the Automobile Department of the Kirin Engineering University were researchers and workers simultaneously in an industrial complex which they had built. The 1,400 teachers and students of the Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute manufactured in November 1958 the "Peking No. 1" an eight-seater passenger plane which possessed the capacity of flying distance 1,072 kilometers, altitude 4,800 meters with 300 kilometer speed per hour. It was reported on November 25 that 151,608 factories and workshops had been set up by 21,122 educational institutes above the levels of secondary schools. By the end of 1958, these factories were expected to have produced 1,580,000 tons of iron and steel, 36,600 machine tools and 1,930,000 tons of fertilizers. On December 9, 1958, it was reported that factories throughout China were running 275,100 spare-time schools of various types and grades, with 13,515,000 students, and 8,450 part-time, part-study schools with 1,242,000 students.  

Even pupils of elementary schools were not spared from performing productive labor. In Suiping, Kirin province, each of the elementary schools were reported in October 1958 to be running 2 factories. Although the first and second graders did not perform regular factory work, the third and fourth
Graders worked 6 hours a week, and fifth and sixth graders 8 hours a week. In general, pupils of the senior classes did 4 hours of manual labor a week; those of the intermediate classes did 2 hours of manual labor a week; those of the junior classes joined in domestic work and any other work beneficial to the public inside and outside their schools. Some schools also operated small farms and vegetable plots within their compounds for productive labor. Many schools kept labor cards to record the attitude and achievements of each pupil in manual work.45

It was now regulated that in full-time schools, the elementary school students from an age of 9 began to take part in labor not exceeding 6 hours a week; the middle school students usually labored 6 hours a week in the junior grades and 8 hours a week in senior grades and not exceeding 10 hours a week; the college students work for a total of 2 to 3 months a year.46 In half-day schools, students study for half-day and work for half-day, or study and work alternate days or weeks.

There were three ways by which students labor: 1) the schools set up factories and farms; 2) the students went to factories and rural areas, or participated in "voluntary work" for benefits of the community; 3) the students of natural sciences and engineering in colleges participated in labor closely connected with their major, while those of social sciences and arts, apart from engaging in work in schools, spent more time in factories and rural areas going manual work and carrying out investigations.47

The subject of productive labor takes about 3 months to teach in a school year and the production tasks chosen by different institutions are in most cases of a nature similar to their fields of specialization. Concrete
provisions have been made for "voluntary labor" in the new pedagogic plan. For instances, the different departments of the Faculty of Arts in the Chinese People's University, Peking Medical College, Peking Institute of Mining, Peking University and Peking Normal University have chosen some factories, people's communes of mines as permanent labor bases. It is reported that a Part-Work and Part-Study University has been set up with its center in Nanchang, Kiangsu province. This university consists of 75 branches and 31,000 students, more than 90 per cent of whom are offsprings of workers and peasants. Arrangements have been made for students to do manual work for 5 months during the first year and 4 months during the other academic years. This university established 37 farms, 141 factories, 17 forest centers, and 51 livestock farms by the end of January 1959.48

The establishment of the agricultural middle school was launched in 1958. It started off on the level of the junior vocational school. Though more and more agricultural senior middle schools are being set up, most of them are of the junior middle school level. In 1958 and 1959, more than 30,000 agricultural middle schools were set up with a total enrollment of about 2,960,000 students consisting 27 per cent of the enrollment of all junior middle schools. In Kiangsu province alone, 6,500 agricultural middle schools were set up in 1958.49

The agricultural middle school is a part-time school. The students divide their time between study and farming. While the length of the course is similar to that of the junior middle school, namely, 3 years, the students study only half of the day or every other day. By dint of labor, they are able to support themselves. Their earnings are used not only for their
living expenses, but also school expenses. Some institutes claim to have surplus funds at the end of the year. 50

The agricultural middle school may be regarded as a product of the movement of People's Communes in China. Its aim is twofold: to give rural youth, hereto unable to attend the junior middle school, further schooling beyond the elementary education, on the one hand, and to train a great number of urgently needed personnel to accelerate the industrialization of agriculture through mechanization and electrification. It is reported that since the diffusion of agricultural middle schools, as many as 90 per cent of the graduates of the elementary school in some regions have been able to attend either the agricultural middle school or the junior middle school. 51

IMPLICATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES

As the result of the policies of combining education with productive labor and "walking on two legs" to meet the national slogan of Great Leap Forward during this period of expansion, the year 1958 saw a surprising increase of factories and various kinds of educational institutions especially agricultural middle schools in terms of quantity. 52 However, there were some serious shortcomings. 1) Coordination of learning and labor could not be adjusted in certain departments. For instance, three hundred of teachers and students of the Faculty of Philosophy, Peking University worked together with the peasants at deep ploughing and harvest in August 1958. Mornings were spent in the field; afternoons in study in the form of summing up work, listening to reports, and discussion. 53 One is hardly to be convinced that there is any connection whatsoever between farming and study of philosophy in academic sense. 2) Quality was generally lowered for quantity's sake. This was
reflected in a passage which appeared in Jen-min Chiao-yu. "The cultural revolution includes both the tasks of universalization and elevation... Presently we are setting up, in great numbers, agricultural middle schools, and also elementary schools and spare-time middle and elementary schools administered by the people. The main purpose of these schools is universalization, and not too much is expected of these schools... First we must energetically complete the universalization process, and immediately afterward, seek to consolidate and elevate." There is some truth in the following comment on the expansion policy, "Face of university, contents of middle school and pedagogy of elementary school." The comment might be too severe, yet it certainly hit some points. 3) Whatever be the merits of combination of education with labor, it is apparent that this program can be used as a means of further regimentating the people and may easily lend itself to exploitation of labor.

While these shortcomings must be kept in mind and the Communist reports of great achievements must be regarded with great and careful reservations, it would be folly to ignore the basic challenge posed by them. Despite the fact that many of the so-called institutions of higher education are little more than vocational schools in contents and the Chinese Communist schools are hardly comparable with these in the Free World as regards their standards and organizations, the Chinese regime had already claimed in 1958 that 93.9 percent of all school-age children on the mainland were enrolled in elementary schools, and that illiteracy was to be eliminated in 5 years. It was also expressed that the swift expansion of education for workers and peasants showed that the national goal of realizing the introduction of
universal higher education in 15 years or so would certainly be attained. 53

On the sociological implication of the developments in Chinese higher education during this period, C.T. Hu wrote well to be quoted in part:

The sociological implication of recent developments in Chinese higher education has been profound and far-reaching. Partly because of ideological conviction in social egalitarianism and partly because of the pressing need that arises with the creation of a modern mass society, the communist leaders have steadfastly pursued the objective of bridging the gulf that used to separate the educated elite from the illiterate masses. Inasmuch as higher education has so long been identified with power, wealth, and social prestige, the current Great Leap Forward in higher education, aside from the training of a technically competent populace, is evidently also designed to alter the social connotation of higher education, otherwise the classification of part-time and Red and Expert colleges as institutions of higher education would indeed make very little sense.

It is, of course, highly debatable whether true equality in the field of higher education is attainable by such means as the creation of Red and Expert colleges. However, the real issue is not one of rectification of names; what this means is simply that along with other fields of national construction, the communist regime has mobilized the entire national resources to provide education on all levels in all parts of the country. While the discrepancy between a full-fledged university and a Red and Expert college operated by a rural commune may be as wide as between heaven and earth, the fact remains that both are giving their students some form of education and technical skill. Therefore, at a time when higher education is still beyond the reach of so many in underdeveloped areas, and when the very term of higher education is intimately associated with the idea of social and personal advancement, the present Chinese experiment, if successful when measured against other goals, such as industrialization, will prove to be a powerful attraction indeed. 59

According to the statistics, up to the end of September 1958, those factories of various types set up by the educational institutions had produced over 36,000 large and small machines of different types, more than 1,930,000 tons of fertilizers, many high-quality scientific products, steel products, aircrafts and automobiles. Over 10,300 farms were run by more than 14,000 schools and the area under cultivation amounted to 2,500,000 mow (1 mow equals about 733 square yards). Undoubtedly considerable profit will
accrue to the regime from the exploitation of the labor of students and teachers. It remains to be observed, however, whether the institutions and ideology of Communist China will eventually succeed in integrating the un­schooled laboring masses with the intellectuals in the years to come. 60

1960: REFORM

REASONS

During the following year of Great Leap Forward (1958), as the policies of combining education with labor and "walking on two legs" were being carried out, articles in the mainland press reflected that there was some concern as to the effects these changes were having on the quality of teaching and learning in the schools. The regime cautioned against an overemphasis on labor, and found it necessary to remind students and teachers that the students were in school primarily to learn. The result of the discussions of the new changes was however, a reaffirmation of the need for productive labor in the educational institutions, an insistence that the innovations had not affected the quality of education where they were correctly carried out, and a questioning of the motives and attitudes of the critics.

At the beginning of 1960 it seemed that though considerable progress had been made in adjusting the educational system to the dictates of the policies of incorporating labor into education and "walking on two legs", the new systems emerging from the 1958 reform had not been fully consolidated. It was in April of 1960 that the regime declared to embark on another major change in its educational system.

The reasons for the intended changes were many sided as revealed from
In his speech at the national conference, Lin Feng, Member of the Central Committee of CCP and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, stated, "The existing primary and middle school system makes the years of schooling too long and the standards of schooling low. If no reform were instituted, this would be quite disadvantageous to national construction and the popularization and elevation of education. We must effect reforms in teaching and studying in the primary and middle schools guided by the principle of appropriately raising standards, of plating a suitable limit on study hours and appropriately increasing time for labour." Lu Ting-yi, Vice-Premier and CCP Director of Propaganda Department indicated at the Second Session of the Second National People's Congress as following. "Why do we advocate 'approximately 10 years'? Because it takes approximately 10 years for children who start schooling at six or seven years of age to grow to the age of 16 or 17, when they will be considered as full manpower units." Lu continued, "...all students in our present senior middle schools now are full manpower units. For this reason, we cannot afford to extend our present senior middle education to too many persons... Should we try to increase we would take away too much manpower from production." An article, appeared in Red Flag (February 1, 1960) contained the following passage. "At present, the full-time schools still follow an old practice of starting the academic year in the fall. We believe this can be changed. The academic year, in fact, can begin both in the spring and fall, and matriculation can take place twice a year. This has to be done to meet the needs of children born in different months, and to make it possible for people of different background to enter
school at any time they want."

The reasons for the 1960 reform can be thus summarized as follows:

1). For production. The natural and human disasters during 1959 and 1960 caused a serious economic and agricultural crisis. To rescue the crisis and fulfill the Second Five-Year Plan, it was logical for the regime to launch the present reform of shortening elementary and secondary school years as an effective measure at the critical juncture.

2). For popularization. As seen from Lin Feng's speech at National Conference of 1960, "An essential condition for accelerating socialist construction and for the future realization of communism is the introduction and elevation of universal education." Such being the reasoning, the target of the regime was "to complete in the main the elimination of illiteracy among the masses of young and middle-age workers and peasants and introduce in the main universal primary school education among school-age children in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan; to introduce in the main universal junior middle school education in the Third Five-Year Plan..." That the 1960 reform aims to accelerate the realization of universal elementary and secondary education is self-evident.

3). For elevation of quality. This purpose was well explained by Lin Feng, Yang Hsien-feng and Lu Ting-yi. As to the methods, it will be discussed in the subsequent section.

Robert D. Barendsen deemed that the basic rational behind the 1960 reform is of economics. His interpretation has its merits, however, it certainly does not expose the whole facets.
PROPOSED PROGRAMS

At the Second Session of the Second National People's Congress, both Lu and Yang revealed that a number of provinces and municipalities had been experimenting since 1953 with various ways of shortening the number of years in the elementary-secondary cycle in full-time schools. A large number of areas were reported to have experimented the substitution of a 5-year unified elementary cycle for the previous two-part 6-year cycle. Several regions had tried out with a 5-year secondary cycle, either unified or divided into a 3-year junior middle and 2-year senior middle school. Peking and Honan province had experimented with a 10-year unified elementary-secondary cycle. It was reported that the Peking Normal University and one province have experimented with a 9-year unified system. All of these various experiments were reported to have proved the feasibility of reducing years of cycle.

Although no firm final among the alternatives was laid down in the speeches by Yang and Lu, yet the Vice-Premier and CCP Director of Propaganda Department expressed that "it is our preliminary intention . . . to reduce the number of years of full-time middle and elementary school education to approximately 10." He continued with a firmer vein by saying that "it is practicable to adopt the 10-year unified middle and elementary school education system"—thereby indicating a preference for a unified cycle and a 10-year system. It appears therefore the regime is planning in terms of a 10-year unified cycle, but is leaving a loophole for some modification if further experiment should show its desirability. 65

As to the level of accomplishment of the graduate of this new shortened cycle, both Yang and Lu were explicit on this point. The Minister of Educa-
tion stated that "all of these experiments and views indicate that the standards of the middle school graduates under the new systems would be raised to the level of present college freshmen." The Vice-Premier expressed that under the proposed new system it would be feasible to elevate "the standard of the graduate to that of freshmen in our colleges." Thus the proposed program is to compress a previous 12-year elementary-secondary system into "approximately 10 years", and simultaneously to incorporate into that period the work heretofore offered in the first year of college.

It is only natural to infer that such compression and elevation of elementary-secondary education would be facilitated by a reduction of the hours of productive labor required and an increase in the time spent in the classroom. But such is not the case in regard to the present reform program. Though there was no indication in either Yang's and Lu's speech of the precise extent to which labor will in increased, both of them called for "suitable increases" in physical labor as part of the new reform.

The ways and means by which the regime will achieve the planned compressing and accelerating of the elementary-secondary cycle have not as yet been spelled out in detail, and will presumably be the subject of continuing experimentation. However, the basic approach to this problem and some interesting particulars were mentioned in the two Congress speeches of Lu and Yang.

Two distinctive features were seen in the speeches of both Lu and Yang in this regard—by pointing out the defects of the present curriculum and teaching methods, and then making specific suggestions for the elimination of these defects. Lu pointed out that since the communist regime had taken over the mainland, "cultural standards have been lowered in some respects, as..."
exemplified by the elimination of analytical geometry from the curricula of senior middle schools and the adoption of lower standards in foreign languages."

Yang criticized that "much of the mathematics, physics, and chemistry now taught in middle schools, in particular, is old stuff from the 19th century which in no way represents the science and technology of today."

The methods by which the regime hopes to eliminate such serious defects were indicated in the guidelines laid down by Yang and in the reports of recent experimentation contained in the two speeches. As a matter of first importance, both Yang and Lu placed great emphasis on a concept of key courses in the curriculum. The key courses were referred to mathematics and languages (both native and foreign). Mastery of key courses was said to make it easier to understand all others.

Some concrete proposals were set forth in accordance with the idea of concentration on mathematics and languages. Yang suggested that this subject should be introduced into the curriculum at an earlier stage and pushed forward at an accelerated rate. All arithmetic and simple algebraic equations currently taught in junior middle schools (7th to 9th grade) should be taught in elementary schools. This suggestion was also endorsed by Lu in his report. All "basic" mathematics currently taught in college should be covered in senior middle schools; analytical geometry as well as differential and integral calculus should be included at this level.

Yang did not make specific proposals regarding the acceleration of language study, but Lu mentioned successful experiments ostensibly proving that the study of the native written language could be introduced in kindergarten and speeded up drastically in the early elementary years.

On science courses at the secondary level, Yang stated that all basic
science now taught in college should be covered in senior middle schools, and that physics courses at that level should have more advanced material in nuclear physics and cover the theory of semi-conductors, and that senior middle chemistry courses should have more advanced material on high molecular compounds and include the study of rare elements.

To devote greater attention to these courses, Yang suggested that less time be spent on courses of lesser importance, and that some subjects be dropped out of the curriculum. He did not list the courses which were slated for elimination. However he stated that they would be mainly in the category of the social sciences by making particular appeals for the merging of all elementary level history, geography, and natural science into one "common knowledge course", the amalgamation of middle school foreign and domestic geography into a single course, and the "streamlining" of middle school history and geography to reduce redundancy.

Further details on the methods whereby the regime hopes to achieve the compression of the elementary-secondary cycle were given in another speech to the Congress by Yeh Sheng-tao, a Vice-Minister of Education. The Vice-Minister held that much of the material in present elementary-level arithmetic and native language texts was pitched at too low a level due to an underrating of the younger children's capacity for learning. He was especially concerned with the time wasted in the overlapping repetitions of such subjects as arithmetic and history. He was even more critical of outdated material in the field of mathematics and science than his superiors, declaring that the "basic contents of mathematical textbooks still remain at the level of the 17th and 18th centuries." Yeh summarized that the mathematics previously studied
in 7 years at elementary and secondary levels could be covered in only 4 years within elementary school, and that a total of more than 1,000 class-hours could be saved in middle schools in the subjects of language, mathematics, history, geography, physics, biology, and chemistry.

Presumably further experimentation will lead to the additional changes needed to complete the curriculum revision. The experimentation will be most probably undertaken in such a way as to be in line with the approach expressed in the speeches by Yang and Lu in the April Congress.

A number of supplementary measures to shorten elementary-secondary cycle were also set forth by Lu and Yang. Foremost among these was the improvement of the teachers training including those for a better network of nurseries and kindergartens. The Vice-Premier and CCP Director of Propaganda Department also stated the need for new facilities, citing audio-visual aids as the main category in this regard. He also called for more dormitories, an appeal apparently aimed at further extending the recent trend toward boarding schools at all levels.

Besides these recommendations, both the Vice-Premier and the Minister of Education called for better "ideological preparations" to facilitate the new reforms. They repeated the trite sermons to all educational personnel to familiarize themselves with the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's ideology, intensify their "Marxist-Leninist ideological and political education" and bitterly condemn the theories of "bourgeois pedagogy."

IMPLEMENTATION

As revealed from the two speeches in April Congress by Lu and Yang, a number of regions have been experimenting since 1958 with various ways of
reducing the years of the elementary-secondary cycle. A large number of areas were encouraged experiments with a 5-year elementary school, followed by a secondary school divided either into two 3-year programs or into a 3-year and a 2-year program. The influential Peking Normal University and a province have conducted a 9-year unified elementary-secondary cycle. A commune in Heilungkiang has experimented with a 3-5-5-3 system (3 years of kindergarten, 5 years of elementary school, 5 years of secondary school, and 3 years of college).

That the regime is already committed to undertaking the radical change in elementary and secondary education is very clearly seen in the two unequivocal speeches of Lu and Yang in 1960 Congress. And the various experimentations have been still carrying on is indisputable. Yet the details of the implementation of this basic decision are still open to discussion.

Both the Vice-Premier and the Minister of Education explicitly stated that the reform plan could be done only gradually over a period of 10 to 20 years. Lu, the Vice-Premier, called for the launching of even larger-scale experiments than those which were made in the past two years, cautioned against "impetuosity", and reminded his audience that "partial and temporary setbacks and even partial failures" could be expected in the course of experiment. He also noted that no official decrees had yet been promulgated on the matter, and that the new system was not yet formally adopted.

So far, from data available at author's command, the trend of experimentation of the new system seems to be in favor. However, in remote area of Yunnan province, 3,000 newly opened elementary schools in 1962 specifically designed for the mountaineers are still adopting 6-year system.
IMPLICATION AND CONSEQUENCES

The proposed reform of elementary and secondary education and measures set forth in explaining and justifying the change have significant implications which throw some light on the pattern of educational development in Communist China.

In the first place, the speeches by Lu and Yang implies some weaknesses existing in the present system of pre-college level education. Yang's statement that much of the mathematics, physics, and chemistry now taught in secondary schools is badly outdated points up a serious problem in a country struggling to reconstruct herself into a modern industrialized nation. The problem is accentuated as one considers that in a short section of his speech devoted to current tasks in the field of higher education, the Minister of Education stated that "we should quickly include the most advanced sciences and technology needed by our country in the curricula of our full-time higher educational institutions." The implication is that the present system is backward in science and technology at the level of higher and secondary education.

Presumably largely due to the policies of education for Production, Proletarianism, and Politics, not only does the backwardness in secondary school mathematics still exist at present, but it has evidently become worse under the rule of new regime. The Vice-Premier admitted this when he referred to that cultural standards had declined since the communists assumed national power, and cited the elimination of analytical geometry from the senior middle school curriculum as a case in point.

In the same tone, the Vice-Premier also acknowledged a lowering of
standards in foreign language training in the secondary schools. This acknowledgment is especially significant since both the Vice-Premier and the Minister of Education refer to mathematics and languages as the key subjects in the elementary and secondary curriculum. It would thus appear that the regime has now confronted a decline in standards in the very courses which it regards as the core-subject. 70

The 1960 reform programs propose the elimination of these shortcomings. However the implementation of the proposed programs will required the solution of many new problems that will arise out of the new system. One serious problem will be the providing of qualified teachers 71 and facilities for the drastically increased numbers of students to study at the upper secondary level. While, full-time senior middle schools are turning out only several hundred thousand graduates annually at present, the proposed reform is seen as being capable to yield several million graduates yearly. Since there will be about ten times as many students at the upper secondary level in full-time schools as there are at present, there will be a need for at least several times as many teachers with the advanced level of training needed to teach at the senior middle school level. If science instruction is to be modernized and its quality to be elevated at that level, a great amount of expensive facilities and equipment, such as laboratories and audio-visual aids, will also have to be provided. This will make a serious demand upon the national budget, even if the burden is to be distributed over a number of years. 72

The major problem that must be solved is that if devising a system in which 12 years work can be successfully compressed into 10 while the student's hours of "productive labor" are increased and his class hours decreased.
according to the two speeches by Lu and Yang in April, some courses will be dropped and other will be extremely consolidated. The two clues to the regime's intentions in this respect are the suggestions by the Minister of Education Yang and the Vice-Minister of Education Ye. The former suggested the "merging" and "streamlining" of courses in the social science field and the latter advocated the revision of the textbooks. An interesting possibility arising out of Yang's suggestion is that the regime may be considering reducing the time allotted to political courses in the full-time school curriculum. Neither the Vice-Premier nor the Minister of Education stress political education courses in the new school system. This omission was rather striking in view of the fact that the documents promulgated at the time of the announcement of the 1958 reform put emphasis on the importance of such courses at all educational levels. It is reasonably conceivable, though subject to future confirmation, that the regime may find secure enough at this juncture to reduce overt political indoctrination in the full-time schools in favor of a more concentrated academic curriculum. It should be noted, however, that in discussing the revision of history textbooks Ye pointed out the failure of some current texts to "use the class viewpoint in the analysis of an historical situation." He continued, "we must use the proletarian standpoint . . . and method in the description of the phenomena of society and the phenomena of nature. Only thus may we . . . augment the political and ideological character of the textbooks."

The compression of 12-year elementary-secondary cycle into 10 or 9-year cycle will also be facilitated if Lu's call for the provision of dormitories for all students is rapidly carried out. In a boarding school circumstance,
it would be much easier for the regime to control an intensified program of supervised self-study, and to provide convenient time-saving arrangements for productive labor.

The proposed new reform has also important implications for the future of higher education though that part of educational system is not directly involved by the reform programs set forth in April. One of the current problems in the field of higher education is a shortage of middle-school graduates qualified to enter the colleges. The new system will turn out several million more senior middle school graduates annually and these graduates will be qualified to seek for college entrance. But how will this large increase be accommodated at the college level when the regime explicitly stated that it planned to enroll only 280,000 in the institutions of higher learning? In his speech, the Vice-Premier expressed that once these erroneous increased numbers of senior middle school graduate were available, the regime would set up a large number of full-time, part-time, and spare-time higher educational institutions throughout the county so that "we shall be able to let all youth above 16 and 17 years receive higher education." But how can the regime allow all the young people of 16 and 17 to continue on into higher education, when the basic reason of compressing the elementary-secondary cycle is to have all young people of that age through with school and ready for employment? Robert D. Barendsen deemed it an apparent contradiction. But it was only a seemingly contradiction. His logical inference without proper documentation that, "the overwhelming majority of the students going on to higher education will take their college work on a spare-time basis, studying after work in a network of spare-time collegiate-level institutions" was correct and could be traced back
to authoritative documentary sources. In his booklet entitled *Education Must Be Combined with Productive Labour* which was based on the conclusion drawn at a conference of educational work convened by the Central Committee of CCP in 1956, Lu ring-yi concluded, "with politics in command, with leadership by the Communist Party, and the rallying of the entire Party and all educational workers who can be rallied to fight against bourgeois educational policy and for the application of the Party's education policy, we can so carry through our cultural revolution that all of our 600 million people are able to do productive work and all are able to study, changing them into new men who are both labourers and intellectuals."75 Quoting Mao Tse-tung's statement that, "We shall emerge in the world as a nation with a high degree of culture", Lin Feng, Member of the Central Committee of CCP and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on June 1, 1960 strongly urged to "carry out the cultural revolution in a big way, help the workers and peasants become well educated and the intellectuals become identical with the working people."76

The 1960 reform in Communist China is also of interest because of the light it throws on current educational thinking in that country as compared with that in the other major power in the communist bloc—the USSR. On the surface, the proposal to reduce the pre-university cycle to approximately 10 year brings China into line with the current Soviet system, which is based on a 10-year period. But it is significant to note that the Communist China is shortening the cycle, while the USSR has moved from 9 to 10 years and are now changing gradually to an 11-year pre-university cycle. Thus the trend in the two Communist major powers appears to be in sharp contrast. It would be of significance and interest to compare the Chinese approach with developments in
the Soviet Union as well as with modern pedagogical ideas in other parts of the world. Needless to say it would be a big topic for a separate monograph.

The 1960 reform may be regarded as the beginning of other period of experimentation. As a consequence of the proposed various programs of experiments, a diversity of system is being tried out. The success of this experimentation, which is to be claimed to bring about higher educational standard and more productivity in a shorter pre-university cycle, will undoubtedly not only accelerate the pace of Chinese industrialization but mostly likely to be patterned after by a number of underdeveloped countries in Asian-African bloc. The failure of the proposed new reform will not only disserve the whole educational establishments but will worsen the whole country agriculturally and economically resulting in slaming of industrialization process and possible chaos in education. As stated by both Lu and Yang the regime planned to implement the proposed reform programs over a period of 10 to 20 years in line with the policy of great caution and gradualism, the success or failure of the present experimentation require some more years at least to be judged.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV


3. This system of education reorganization took place in 1922 modeling after that of the United States.


5. Ibid.


8. For detail see Chiang Shih, Ching-kung ti Kao-teng Chiao-yu (Higher Education under Chinese Communism), (Hong Kong, 1953).


10. Abe, p. 154.

11. Ibid.


San fan, literally means "Three Antis" referring to 1) anti-bureaucracy, 2) anti-corruption, and 3) anti-waste. Wu fan, literally means "Five Antis" referring to 1) anti-bribery, and 2) anti-tax-evasion, in addition to three mentioned above. See The Present Situation On China Mainland (Taipei, 1961), pp. 36-37; Masakuni Hatamoto, From Cold War to Summit Conference (Tokyo, 1960), p.31.


17 Chen, pp.4-5.

18 Abe, p. 152 Until the next note, the sources based in this section will be the same.

19 Hu, p. 164.

20 Kuang-min Jih-pao, September 2, 1954.

21 Hu, p. 165.

22 Kuang-min Jih-pao, April 17, 1954.

23 Kuang-min Jih-pao, December 9, 1956.


28 Foreign Languages Press, People's Communes in China (Peking, 1958), pp.81-82.

29 Leo A. Orleans pointed out three reasons: 1) de-emphasisation of role and prestige of the intellectuals, 2) being utitarian, 3) being budgetary. See Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China (Washington D.C., 1960), pp.18-19. Orleans' first and third reasons were well grounded, however, his second reason appeared rather ambiguous and lacked sound documentary supports. C.H. Hu pointed out the main reason as political inspired. Having cited H. Arthur Steiner's "The Curriculum in Chinese Socialist Education: An Official Bibliography of Maoism," Pacific Affairs, XXXI. 3 (September 1958) in his references, he concluded that the vitriolity of public criticism during
the "blooming and contending" campaign was interpreted by the regime as caused from insufficient understanding of politics rather than from rigidity of thought control. Labor is regarded by the regime as an effective means whereby the intellectuals are taught to honor and respect manual work, as well as to develop the correct attitude toward the peasant-worker class. See his article referred in note 13, pp. 166,168. His reference source is valuable, however, he failed to present more authoritative documents, set forth by the present writer in notes 25 through 28.

30 Jen-min Chiao-yu. April 1, 1958.
33 Orleans, pp. 24-25.
37 Lu Ting-yi, p. 20.
38 Until the next note, the sources will be drawn from J.C. Cheng, "Half-Work and Half-study in Communist China," Pacific Affairs No. 32, (June 1959), pp.187-93. This article was written on the basis of the following sources: New China News Agency (NCNA) January 1958-February 1959; Jen-min Jih-pao; Kuang-ming Jih-pao; Hongqi No. 7. September 1, 1958; Chung Kuo Chin Hien, No. 13, July 1, 1958.
40 Chung Hua Jen Min Kung Ho Kuo Pe Kuei Hui Pien IX, 263-268, cited in School and Society, XXIX, 2194 (Summer 1961), 274-278.
41 Ling, p. 15.
42 Ibid.
43 Cheng, p. 191.
44 Li, pp. 13-14.
Two official speeches in April 1960 at the Second Session of the Second National People's Congress—one by Yang Hui-feng, Minister of Education, one by Lu Ting-yi, Vice-Premier of the regime and concurrently the Director of the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee. Yang's speech appeared in People's Daily of April 9, 1960. Lu's speech was published in the same newspaper on April 10, and later reprinted in Peking Review III, 19 (May 10, 1960) pp. 15-20. Other official documents included speech by Lu Ting-yi, and Lin Feng at National Conference of 1960 on June 1, 1960 and an article Red Flag, an official journal of CCP on February 1, 1960.

National Conference of 1960, p.42.


Robert D. Barendsen, Planned Reforms in the Primary and Secondary School System in Communist China (Washington D.C., 1960), p.5. This pamphlet
was later reprinted in China Quarterly No. 4, October-December issue of 1960 under the title of "The 1960 Education Reform."

65 Barendsen, p. 4.


70 Barendsen, p.9.

71 For a detailed discussion of Teachers Training in China, see Chen, Teachers Training in Communist China.

72 Barendsen, p. 10.


74 Barendsen, p. 11.

75 Lu, p. 30.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Since 1905, there has been a series of educational reforms introduced into China with a western-styled public school system as the herald. In the beginning, it was patterned after Japan, which in turn had imitated the educational practices of the Western powers. In 1922 the school system was revised to model after that of the United States of America. Since the establishment of the Nationalist Government in Nanking 1927, the French system was introduced. The whole country was divided into university districts. In each district, a national university took charge of the administration of public education, but it did not last long. Then the English examination system was introduced into China to unify the standards of secondary schools. After 1943, some German educational practices found their way into the Chinese system. Since the Communists take-over, the educational patterns have been modelled after those of the USSR to a great extent.

All these changes of educational systems reflect the socio-political transformation which was originated as early as in the 1840's. The drastic nature of the transformation since 1949 is due in large part to its over-long procrastination. The history of modern China reveals the refusal of ethnocentric Chinese leaders of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century to learn from the West and to make a fundamental reform. Defeats in two disastrous Anglo-Chinese Wars (1839-1842 and 1858-1860) caused only the conviction that China might wisely borrow and make Western arms and Western steamship. Nothing more was really needed. Anything else that needed attention could be taken care of by a strengthening of the Confucian virtues in the form
of what was termed the Self-Strengthening Movement. The superficiality of any change was reflected in the prevailing doctrine advocated by the Great Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, "Chinese-learning-being-the-structure and Western-science-being-the-function." Thus, fifty-five years of time in which needed and basic adaptation could have been done were lost. Then came the 1890's, a decade of disaster. Within six years (1894-1900), China was defeated by Japan who had learned to modernize. The land and sovereignty of China were invaded by foreign concessions which the Chinese government was powerless to reform. A reform movement initiated by Kan Yia-wie and Liang Chi-chao was opposed by the ignorant and extreme conservative Dowager Empress; and a native anti-foreign movement, the Boxer Uprising, was crushed by the foreign troops of an Allied Expeditionary Force. After series of reactionary resistance, Chinese leaders at last had to give up dreaming about the cultural supremacy of their old culture and accept the necessity for thorough-going change. They came to realize that the machines and arms of Western civilization could not be produced by the political and social institutions of traditional China. Reforms had to affect every aspect of life. The achievement of adequacy implied this type of drastic reforms.

In the sixty-two years since the Boxer War (1900), the Chinese have witnessed at least five unsuccessful attempts at attaining adequacy. These sixty-odds years are studded with failures. The ineffectual Manchu much related reform program of 1901-1911, Sun Yat-sen's All-starred Chinese Republic, Yuan Shih-Kai's abortive attempt to become Emperor, the warlord era, and the hapless Chiang Kai-shek's Government for which war with the Japanese turned out to be a catastrophe. While promising beginning were made in many
fields, the Chiang Kai-shek's regime itself could not do the job required on the
mainland; by 1949 practically every major segment of Chinese society turned to
the Communist regime as the only apparent alternative to failure and chaos.
Traditional ideologies of Confucianism and Taoism had been criticized since
1910's, and the May Fourth Movement of 1919 turned out to be the beginning of
the end of the traditional ideologies and subsequently led to the intrusion
of communism during the vacuum period in China.

Immediately upon assuming national power in 1949, Chinese Communist
leaders revealed in precept and in action the degree to which they meant to
transform China. What features of the political transformation that
followed should be mentioned since education in Communist China was regarded
as a tool in service for Politics, Production, and Proletarianism.

These three distinctive features run through the short history of the
Chinese Communist educational reforms since 1949. During the stage of re-
organization (1949-1952), political factors played more predominantly, essen-
tially because of the regime's attempt to lead the society of feudal and
semi-colonial one to that of new and communistic one. During the period of
consolidation (1953-1957), the emphasis was to appropriately deal with what
the regime had been encountered in the previous phase. Consequently, poli-
tical indoctrination was re-emphasized in the one hand, and educational
establishments were charged to carry out several functions to meet the needs
of the First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957), on the other hand. Among the
functions were: 1) the training of personnel for economic development, especi-
ally the training of technologists and skilled workers; 2) providing refresher
courses for cadres, technicians and craftsmen. This paved the way for the
succeeding phase of expansion which was characterized by the introduction of combining education with productive labor to need the national policy of the Great Leap Forward in 1958 in almost every field. Production was unquestionably the key during this period. A great number of factories was set up by schools and conversely many schools were set up by factories. Agricultural middle schools were introduced to match along the movement of People’s Commune under the slogan of “walking on two legs.” Having suffered a serious setback shortly after the Great Leap Forward, the regime launched into a new era of experimentation with great caution and the policy of gradualism to compress the existing 12 year pre-university cycle into approximately 10 year cycle for Proletarianism, Production and elevation of the educational standard. As has been discussed in the previous chapter the key word during the current phase appears to be Proletarianism though the reasons for 1960 reform were many sided.

Thus, during the last thirteen years, the general driving forces behind the various educational reforms may be interpreted as Politics during the periods of reorganization and consolidation, Production during the succeeding period of expansion and Proletarianism during the current period of experimentation.

Some significant features in educational system since CCP took over China have been noted: 1) complete Party control; 2) rapid expansion of facilities and enrollment; 3) the inferior quality received by the great majority of the people; 4) emphasis on specialization, particularly at the middle and higher educational levels, which was intensified further with the integration of education with labor; and 5) the willingness to use the trial-and-error method.
All educational reforms in China since the turn of this century have been motivated in bringing China an independent, industrialized nation so as to regain her high international prestige once enjoyed by her for a long time. Aside from many educational implications previously dealt with in each pertinent chapter, there are several broader and more general implications worthy to be critically discussed precisely because they are easily overlooked by scholars at large.

They are:

1. If it is true and accurate as reported in United States Foreign Policy prepared under the direction of US Senate Foreign Relations Committee and elsewhere that Communist China has made an impressive progress during the past thirteen years with her heavily human capital fashioned for industrialization, the possibility is great that a number of the underdeveloped countries especially those of Asian-African bloc might follow China's way of reforms, educational as well as social.

2. The problem of elements of conflict and compatibility between Communism and Confucianism. Is Confucianism still a living force under Communists control? In the urban areas the Communists are already succeeding in remoulding the life of the people and exterminating the aged Confucian virtues. The rural areas will be a different and difficult problem, and it remains to be seen whether the passive resistance of the peasants will be able to stand against the rule of Communism. Will the Chinese, with their talent for eclecticism, take Communism and absorb it into Chinese life, and will this "wise, kindly, tolerant people" soften its sharp edges and create a new ideology extracting from these two philosophies suited to their
The problem of independence or satellite. Apart from the hotly debated problem on the originality of Buddhism between Benjamin Schrader, John K. Fairbank, Conrad Brandt of Harvard and Karl A. Wittfogel of the University of Washington, Donald S. Zegoria and Richard Lowenthal have also contributed notable articles on the polemics between Moscow and Peking in the recent issues of China Quarterly.\(^5\) Quoting from the witness in the US Congress by Alexander Kaznacheev, a former Soviet diplomat in Burma who deflected later, Lee Mai-sien of the Nationalist China also admitted a severe dispute between Peking and Moscow.\(^6\) As early as 1951, King Chu, president of Kwanghua University in Communist China, already pointed out that despite the great benefit derived from imitation of the Western practices and system, China needs an indigenous educational system to suit her peculiar circumstance. What this system be? It has been a grave question in the minds of many Chinese educationists.\(^7\)

4. For effective and rapid implementation of planned education and for some other reasons, China has launched a drastic reform of the written language as noted in a preceding chapter. As of January 1958, Premier Cho En-lai reported that a total of 355 simplified characters were adopted by news-
papers and magazines in accordance with the Scheme for Simplifying Chinese Characters published by the State Council in January 1956. This phase of philological reform is as much important as philosophical reform (commonly known as brain-washing) but much less discussed and publicised in the Western countries. Since the regime intends to coin and publish a list of new characters from time to time, linguists and scholars in this line should study and pay close attention to this reform lest they should become ignorant of the new simplified Chinese characters in near future.

5. As pointed out by Eric Fromm in his May Man Prevail? and Marx's Concept of Man, the Chinese leaders have a concept of communism that is in radical opposition to that of Marx. There is no greater misunderstanding or misrepresentation of Marx than that which is to be found, implicitly or explicitly, the thought of the Chinese Communists, Soviet Communists, the reformist socialists, and the capitalist opponents of socialism alike. It must be further pointed out that what has been advocated and propagandised by the Chinese leaders is one thing; and what has been really done is another. In essence, the principle, the ideology or philosophy advocated by the Communist Chinese are nothing but to serve the ruling party, i.e., CCP under the guise of Marxism. It is interesting and significant to observe how long the regime can deceive and control the one-fourth of world population by force and "persuasion".

Each point brought out above seems to merit special discussion in the light of the current international situation. The United States as well as the rest of the free world cannot afford to ignore the rapid transformation in China. If the United States is going to make friend with Communist China,
they must understand each other because the mutual understanding is a solid foundation for everlasting friendship. If the Communist China is going to be a foe of democratic society, we need to study her all the more, because potential enemy like China can be combatted effectively only if she is fully understood. The secret of success in war lies in thorough understanding of an enemy and oneself. Such being the reasoning, the author suggests both educational and governmental institutions to encourage more extensive and intensive studies of the problems mentioned above. Qualified scholars and students should be more encouraged to do research in this field of important and pressing knowledge. Some of the foregoing points brought out in this chapter may well serve the topics for doctoral dissertation, others are perhaps suited only for post-doctoral research.

The recent established US Joint Publications Research Service has contributed to some extent in this area by rendering a few Communist China's documents and articles into English. However, due to very limited circulation, few have access to the publication. It is strongly suggested that the Service widen its scope of circulation by all means. The author has been very surprised that both the Library of International Relations and the Chicago Public Library do not possess this important governmental publication series. The author hopes Loyola University, the Library of International Relations and the Chicago Public Library, among other educational institutions, will subscribe to the Service publications in the near future.
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APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis submitted by Mr. Chii-ming Hwang has been read and approved by Advisory Board of the Department of Education.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to contents, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Mar. 4 1968
Date

Signature of Director