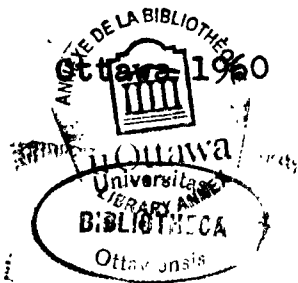


A CRITICAL SURVEY OF HIGHER EDUCATION
IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
DURING THE PERIOD 1949-1957

by
Shiu-Loon Kong

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Kong Shiu-Loon was born on May 1, 1934, in Hong Kong, China. He received his Baccalaureate of Arts degree from the Hua Kiu University, Hong Kong, in 1958. He is the author of 教学漫谈 (Learning from Teaching), H.K., World Publishing House, 1957, iv-106 p. He received his Master of Education degree from the School of Psychology and Education of the University of Ottawa in 1959. The title of his thesis was The History of the Development of the Teaching of English in China during the Ching Dynasty.

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INTRODUCTION

Following the inauguration of the People's Republic in 1949, China entered a new era, beginning with which, basic changes were made in every social sector. Education as one sector of social activity inevitably followed the same pattern of change. This change was so radical and complicated that certain analysis and interpretations are needed before it could be fully understood.

This investigation attempts to present a critical survey of higher education in the People's Republic of China during the period 1949-1957. Specifically, it purports (1) to present a general overall view of the various aspects of higher education, viz. aim, agent, material, and method with appropriate interpretations; (2) to discuss some of the problems arising from the practice of the new educational ideals; (3) to assess the educational achievements during the First Five-Year Plan period on the basis of the official targets; and (4) to point out the actual and possible implications of the new educational policies as well as to propose means for future improvements.

This report should be particularly important from the following points of view: (1) in reviewing the literature, it is found that this particular topic has attracted wide

attention and common interest, but rarely any extensive scientific investigation; (2) in examining the sources concerning this topic, it is found that there exist among them so much discrepancies, confusions, and illusive ideas that certain clarifications, interpretations, and integration are required so that the reality may be properly exposed; and (3) the method of study adopted in this investigation may represent an appropriate method for the study of contemporary Chinese education.

Certain technical difficulties are encountered in this investigation, they mainly concern the collection, analysis, translation, and interpretation of the sources. While the method of analysis of the sources is presented in Chapter I, it seems appropriate to point out here that the bulk of the primary sources are very badly written; they are often full of misused terminology, vague expressions, confusing concepts, and contradictory ideas. In quoting these sources and translating them into English, direct literary translations are often used so as to retain their originality and avoid possible distortions. However, such terminology and expressions are often supplemented by proper interpretations and operational definitions.

The first portion of this thesis is concerned with a description of the problem, the method of study, and the relevant historical backgrounds. The method of study adopted

is the result of the synthesis of the different approaches to this problem found in the literature. The survey of the historical backgrounds is done so that it may furnish bases for the better understanding and criticism of the new educational system.

Following these, the various aspects of the new educational system are presented with proper interpretations and explanations and, in the final chapter, the trial of the new educational ideals is described and the educational achievements of the First Five-Year Plan assessed on the basis of the official targets. A few postulations concerning the appropriateness of the new system to Chinese society and means for future improvements are expressed in the Summary and Conclusions. The implications for subsequent research are also indicated.

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND METHOD OF STUDY

There seems as yet no generally recognized method for educational research that is applicable to all problems. Education is both a Science and an Art. Consequently, educational research calls for the use of a combination of the methods and techniques of both Science and Art. Each problem of education has its complexity that is unique to itself. It therefore calls for a specific approach to lead to its own appropriate solution. Moreover, different research methods may yield quite different conclusions on the same problem. For example, a mere compilation of statistics may well exhibit the great educational 'success' and 'improvement' of a certain country or region, while a close examination on the academic standards of its schools may reveal an altogether different story. Thus, a detailed description of the research method adopted is an imperative necessity to a research report in Education.

In light of the above, this report begins, in this first chapter, with a statement of the specific problem under study, the status of the problem in the literature, the research method employed, and finally, the hypothesis on test.

1. The Problem.

This investigation attempts to present a critical survey of higher education in the People's Republic of China during the period 1949-1957. This problem may be defined as follows.

It is a survey because it purports to present a general overall picture of the different aspects of higher education, viz. aim, agent, method, and material. It is critical for it intends to make a detailed and objective interpretation of the facts, and to a lesser extent, a criticism of some of the problems arising from the practice of the new educational system of China.

Higher education in this study could best be referred to as post-secondary education. It is provided by the various types of schools of higher education. They include in general technical colleges of a two or three-year programme, universities of a three to five years' programme, and special institutes for the training of cadres¹ of worker-peasant origin.

¹ There is no adequate English word to convey the meaning of the Chinese term '幹部'. Even in Chinese, it is being used loosely. It could be expressed as a name given to one who conveys government policy to the people. He may be a Party Member, a civil servant, or a villager chosen to take care of local affairs without receiving a salary. It is now commonly translated as 'cadre'.

The People's Republic of China was formally established on October 1, 1949. It has as its governing body a Central People's Government. It is a government of the people's congress system based on the principle of democratic centralism. It is a government adopting the political form of a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, or in simple terms, a proletarian dictatorship. The Central People's Government has under its rule all the territories of traditional China, with the exception of the Island of Tai Wan and its adjacent islands, which are now occupied and ruled by the Nationalist Government under the title of the Republic of China. The territory of the People's Republic embraces a total area of 9.6 million square kilometres, and according to the official census, its total population was 549 millions in 1949, and 657 millions in 1957.²

The period 1949-1957 is chosen because it covers the transitional period from the old social system to the new 1949-1952, and the period of the First Five-Year Plan 1953-1957. The First is a period of the transformation of the old social

² The State Statistical Bureau, Ten Great Years, Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1960, p. 8.

system to the new socialist system, and a period of the rehabilitation of the national economy which had been seriously damaged by the prolonged wars. The second is a period of national economic reconstruction, and a period of the rectification of the thinking of the people according to the new ideology. Taken together, and educationally speaking, these two periods may well be viewed as the period for the preparation of the social and ideological foundations of the new educational system.

Higher education is specially chosen for investigation for a few reasons: First, it is treated with most attention by the Government for its vital role in the remolding and reconstruction of the country. Secondly, it has gone through the most radical change as compared to the other educational levels. Thirdly, its changes well reflect, and to a certain degree, represent the changes at the other levels of education. Finally, it is felt that the aims and ideals of higher education may serve as a sample of the aims and ideals of other levels of education. Consequently, an interpretation of such aims and ideals may contribute to the understanding of the fundamentals of Education in the People's Republic of China.

2. Review of the Literature.

In reviewing the literature, it is found that this topic has attracted wide attention and common interest, but it has rarely been studied seriously.

Chung³, however, did a study on a similar topic in 1953. He reported that the main concern of his study was "on the reform of higher education in Communist China"⁴. He has as his conclusion,

The Chinese Communists have basically accomplished their reform of higher education according to their pattern. The reform has been very radical, vigorous and systematic.⁵

The author did not, however, attempt to show how this reform came about, nor did he explain the meaning of the conclusion he made.

Apart from the above, other reports, articles, and descriptions of travels which contain lines related to Education in the People's Republic of China are reviewed. This is done because they deal with higher education in China in one way or another. It is done with a more important

3 Chung Shih, Higher Education in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1953, 95 p.

4 Ibid, p. 2.

5 Ibid, p. 87.

purpose, the purpose of finding out the different approaches with which these authors view the educational changes in China. Based on these experiences and views, it is hoped that a better method of approaching the problem under study may be developed.

In the literature, a diversity of approaches to the problem are seen. Grouping them under very broad terms, they may be classified into three basic approaches as specified in the following paragraphs.

First, the impartial compilation of data approach. In this approach, the author usually takes a non-politically biased stand. He merely presents statistics and facts to the reader, with no intention of explaining the underlying meaning of such data. Typical of this approach is Lin⁶, who made it clear in his doctoral thesis dealing with a comparison of the old and new school systems of China, that he was not concerned with making any criticism or evaluation on the subject, but would leave the job to the reader. Following the same approach are the reports by UNESCO⁷ and

6 En-Chin Lin, Educational Changes in China Since the Establishment of the People's Republic, and Some Steps Leading to Them, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1953, 128 p.

7 UNESCO, "People's Republic of China", in World Survey of Education, Paris, 1955, p. 166-169.

J.A. Lauwerys⁸, each of which presented a brief but concise profile of the Chinese educational system as it existed.

The second approach is distinct in that the authors tend to treat the data from a politically-biased viewpoint. This may be for or against the Central People's Government, and consequently praise or attack the new educational system. The degree of bias also varies from author to author. Thus Ming⁹ and a report by an anonymous author,¹⁰ through the use of statistics, effectively showed the progress and impressive developments of education in China since 1949. On the contrary, Chung¹¹, Chen¹², Yen¹³, and Chao¹⁴ attempted to convince that whatever progress was made was accusable, as such progress

8 J.A. Lauwerys, "Education in China", in The Journal of Education, Vol. 90, No. 1064, issue of March 1958, p. 97-98.

9 Ming Fan, "A General View of Education in People's China", in Joint Committee of International Teachers Federation Annual Bulletin, Nos 10-11, issue of July 1957-June 1958, p. 43-45.

10 , Nos progrès dans la culture et l'éducation, Pékin, Editions en langues étrangères, 1954, 116 p.

11 Chung Shih, op. cit.

12 T.A.E. Chen, "Education and Propaganda in Communist China", in Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 277, issue of September 1951, p. 135-145.

13 Maria Yen, The Umbrella Garden; a Picture of Student Life in Red China, N. Y. & London, MacMillan, 1954, 268 p.

14 Chao Chung and Yang I-Fan, Students in Mainland China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1956, v-139 p.

was made at the expense of low quality, from an evil principle, and by the use of force.

A third approach attempts to view the educational changes in China as one aspect of the whole social change of the country. Authors taking this approach agreed that since education is a social phenomenon, its changes are intimately related to the other changes taking place in the specific society. Thus, they attempted to search the roots of the new educational system from the connected social backgrounds; they tried to explain the underlying meaning of every change from the point of view of what it means to the country and the people; they proposed to evaluate the appropriateness and inappropriateness of the new practice on the basis of what good will it bring to the well being of the country and the people. With this approach, Chen¹⁵ pointed out that the development of the new education was closely connected with the political and economic developments of the country, that the study of science was emphasized not only because it was needed for economic reconstruction, but also because it was the basis of the new ideology. He qualified the new policy of administration

¹⁵ T.H.E. Chen, "Red Education in China", in Current History, Vol. 19, No. 107, issue of July 1950, p. 14-20.

as a challenge for teachers regarding their function and the nature of their work.

Also with this approach, Priestley¹⁶ and Bernal¹⁷ contended that the new educational reform in China came into action as a result of the drive of the existing national needs of the country, and that the character of Chinese education should be found from the national drive for rapid economic development and political unity.

Shapiro¹⁸ seemed to have gone a step further in this approach. Like the others, he attempted to analyse the educational changes as a part of the whole changing China. But unlike them, he started his analysis on a more concrete ground. He constantly gave considerations to the conditions with which China began her reform, and took a more understanding point of view in his interpretation of the problems arising from the change. Thus, although he was not writing on education in particular, he was able to see, apart from

16 K.E. Priestley, "China", in The Year Book of Education, The University of London Institute of Education, 1952, p. 490-512.

17 J. D. Bernal, "Science and Technology in China", in Universities Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 1, issue of Nov. 1956, p. 64-75.

18 Michael Shapiro, Changing China, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1958, (Proof) v-182 p.

other things, that "the size, growth and distribution of the population all present problems of education"¹⁹ in China, and consequently a new policy had to be adopted to solve these and other immediate problems.

This is the status of the problem in the literature and a picture of the general approach taken by the authors in their study of the problem. Now, while it is reasonable to assume that this study is entering a yet unexplored area, it is most important to examine the basic approach taken by this investigation.

3. Method of Study.

As revealed in the foregoing section, there are three approaches to the study of higher education in China or of problems related to it. Naming them with arbitrary titles, they may be referred to, in their respective order, as the impartial-compilation-of-data approach, the politically-biased approach, and the interpretative approach. Each of these approaches has its own merits in serving its specific purpose. Each has also its defects.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

The first approach is good for providing an objective bird's-eye view of the problem. However, while it may give some capsule form, comprehensive, introductory ideas of the problem to the general reader, it may also lead him to jump into illusive conclusions, if he is satisfied with the simplified data thus provided him. Educational problems are far too complex to be sufficiently revealed in capsule form.

The second approach is good for propaganda. It may contribute in parts, as it may expose the nature of certain phenomenal facts now and then. As a whole, it loses its identity in the realm of objective research.

The third approach seems to be a better one. Education is a social phenomenon, it exists in a certain society, and is intimately related to it. Kandel provided great insight when he pointed out that "the comparative study of education must be found on the analysis of the social and political ideals which the school reflects",²⁰ and so did Robert King Hall when he stated that such studies should be "basically

²⁰ I. L. Kandel, Comparative Education, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1933, p. xix.

qualitative rather than quantitative".²¹ For it is only through qualitative analysis of the relevant social settings and ideals that an understanding of the character and ideals of education is possible, as it is only through the understanding of the environment of a person that he is better known.

This approach is basically appropriate to the study of Chinese education. For Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that "a specific culture"²² is the ideological reflection of the politics and economy of a specific society. It also greatly influences and gives function to the society's politics and economy".²³ Hence the study of Chinese education should begin with the study of the political and economic trends of the country. To say "to begin with" means that there are other things for consideration as well. They include the basic philosophy of the people, the nature of foreign influences on China, the reaction or psychology of the Chinese people

21 Robert King Hall, "The Improvement of the Teaching of Comparative Education", in The Teaching of Comparative Education, New York, School of Education, New York University, 1955, p. 7.

22 To-day often being used as synonymous with the word education.

23 Mao Tse-tung, "On New Democracy", in The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. II, Peking, People's Publishing House, 1952, p. 656-657.

to such foreign influences, the impact of this psychology on contemporary trends of Chinese education, and the future of Chinese education. An analysis of these problems should furnish some basis for the description and appraisal of higher education in China.

It is felt, in the course of reviewing the literature, that very often Chinese education is being appraised in terms of strictly local norms set by administrators, or on the contrary, in terms of irrelevant foreign norms exclusively. Either of these approaches leads to no place. In this study, criticisms and appraisals are based on a consideration of both local standards and ideals and suitable foreign ones.

It should perhaps be specially pointed out that the world to-day is suffering from the over exaggerated, and, most of the time, blind prejudices among the nations. This is especially true between nations of the West and those of the East, between nations of different beliefs and political ideals. It is to-day a common psychology of the different nations to reject things foreign. Such rejection is being carried to the extreme among nations belonging to what is often popularized by the press as the "opposite camps". Humanity has witnessed many tragedies on account of this. Perhaps it could afford to witness no more, because what will come will be too much for it to bear. Moreover, it proves

nothing but pure foolishness to reject things merely because they originate from another country, and without taking a second step to examine whether they are beneficial to one's own. It is equally inappropriate to employ the attitude of learning the tricks of a certain system for the sheer reason that such a system happens to be successful in bringing greater political power to another country. Educators should have a better cause for learning among themselves than this. They should be humble and broad-minded.

It is based on this belief, the belief that educators of different nations have something to learn from each other for good cause, the cause of bettering their work of educating their younger generations with a more effective and better quality education - the kind of education that will bring prosperity and happiness to humanity; the belief that learning from others with a good cause is not shameful, but virtuous, not childish, but a mark of full maturity; the belief that there are good points in every system of education that attempts are made in this study to interpret the meaning of the educational ideals and practice in China, with the hope that the result of such attempts may furnish as a first step to the development of a better and more penetrating understanding of such ideals and practice. Only an understanding of this nature could lead to justified evaluations.

It is based on the same belief that a minor attempt is made in this study to point out what China has to learn from other countries, and what she has to offer to them. Owing to obvious limitations, such views are provisional in nature. They are however presented with sincerity.

Primary sources form the bulk of information of this study. They include locally published government edicts, official reports, education Journals, theoretical work on education and society, and textbooks; personal correspondence and observations. It should be pointed out that while a considerably large amount of these sources are available, a complete acquisition of them is impractical. This is due to two reasons. First, publication in China has been so rapid and numerous in the past ten years that even a comprehensive acquisition of them is beyond the capacity of a single collector. This fact could be better understood if consideration is given to the size of the country and her speedy change during the past ten years. The large bulk of publications reflecting such changes are so temporal in character that even their publishers do not trouble to retain a record of them. Second, for some unspecified reasons, some of the locally published materials are not available outside the country. Even when they are advertised, they are not accessible through direct or indirect contacts with their publishing agents.

Secondary sources include critical essays, reports, and accounts of journeys published outside China. These are used as supplementary sources.

The appraisal and analysis of the sources present a problem by itself. The main problem lies in the appraisal of statistical data. However, it is believed that while virtually everything published in China is propaganda in the sense that its avowed purpose is to further the revolution and to motivate better efforts for advancement, certain kinds of evidence are nonetheless highly credible. For example, the addition of a few patently untrue figures to the statistics of schools and enrollment would not further the revolution by any means, but would leave serious gaps between the different stages of advancement according to plans, and endanger the confidence of educators in the Government. Inconsistent statements of statistics do exist in the official reports. The sources of such inconsistency may be found from the over-exaggerated reports intended for propaganda purposes during the early years of the People's Republic when the political unity of the country was not yet achieved. Other sources of errors may be found from local reports which formed the basis for the computation of the national statistics. These reports are often misinforming, either because local

officials wanted to impress the Government, or because they lack knowledge of statistical techniques.

Based on this belief, statistical sources are appraised in the following manner. First, different reports containing statistical data of the same nature are checked to see if they agree with each other. Then, other relevant statistics are examined to find out if they fit each other logically. For instance, the enrollment of schools of higher education should not exceed the number of secondary school graduates taken away those who joined the labour force after graduation, and the number of trained personnels who joined industries and other fields of work demanding specialized trainings each year should be close to the number of graduates from schools of higher education of the same year.

A second problem falls on the appraisal of sources containing statements concerned with the academic standards of the schools. So often are these statements made in broad and vague terms which do not communicate meaning, such as "high", "greatly improved", "of the best quality", "reaching world standard", etc. A set of objective criteria seems to be the best gauge for measuring this. Unfortunately, such criteria are difficult to devise, and even if they are devised, there is no way of measuring, for what could be gathered from the available sources are still vague terms, not raw data.

It is then decided that, instead of attempting to appraise the authenticity of such sources, explanations and interpretations are given along with their original presentation. This is done with the help of reports made by foreign professors who have visited the institutions of higher education of the country. Considerations of the qualifications of the professors, the curriculum, and the time allotments of study also constitute valuable points of reference. And informations concerning the quality of both production and construction turned out by the newly trained technicians also reflect the academic standards of the schools.

The organization of data follows a simple pattern. Original conditions, whether concerning the social changes, the educational changes, or the practice of the new system are first described. Interpretations and explanations of such conditions are then made, and after which, special problems are pointed out, if there is any. A final step is then taken to discuss these special problems, and occasionally, appropriate postulation is made to suggest tentative ideas for their solution.

4. Basic Hypotheses.

Scientific research calls for the formulation and testing of hypotheses. In the natural sciences, such

hypotheses are often formulated in the form of an equation, and the result of testing is a clear-cut conclusion of yes or no. In the complex problems of education, perhaps a yes or no conclusion does not reveal much truth. The formulation of hypotheses should follow the nature of the study at hand.

Since the nature of this study is that of a survey, with the purpose of discovering the strong points as well as the weaknesses of the present educational ideals, so as to open them for discussion, hypotheses are formulated as a series of topics for discussion. Discussion in this context means to present certain problems in their specific contexts, to find out their significance and their actual and possible implications, and to propose appropriate solutions to these problems. These topics are as follows:

Was a reform of higher education needed in China at the time of the establishment of the People's Republic?

Under the new educational system, what are the general concepts of educational aims, agent, method and material?

The new ideals of education have been practised for eight years, were such practices smooth and successful?

Some problems have arisen from the practice of the new educational ideals, what are their significance?

What is the general outlook of higher education in
China?

What should be done for future improvements?

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND HERITAGE OF PRESENT EDUCATION

Education as a social phenomenon is intimately affected by the political, social, economic, and cultural forces of the particular society in which it exists. Its character is moulded by the historical and cultural backgrounds as well as such foreign influences that came into contact with its society. In this chapter, an attempt is made to analyze and synthesize such forces as well as contemporary educational thoughts. It is hoped that such analysis and synthesis will furnish a basis for the better understanding and criticism of the new educational reform.

1. Historical Background-- Traditional China

Generally speaking, Chinese historical records began about 3000 B.C., at the end of the period of the Clan Commune and the beginning of the legendary period of Huang Ti (Yellow Emperor, leader of the Great Yellow River area). It is discerned that at this period, the Chinese language (Han language) was already developed, and the earliest forms of

school organization, the Cheng Chun and the Yu Hsiang¹ appeared.

Prior to this period, there existed the Palaeolithic Age, (dating back from about five hundred thousand years ago to approximately fifty hundred years ago), and the Neolithic Period which marked the formation of the Painted-Pottery culture of North-West China, and the Black-Pottery culture of North China.

From the beginning of the Hsia Dynasty (21st century B.C. to 16th century B.C.) to the late years of the Ching Dynasty, when China was forced open by foreign powers with the Opium War of 1840, China maintained to exist by herself shut out from outside influences. Although there had been continual changes, developments, and struggles among the peoples within the country, in broad terms, this period could be described as steady, unique, and traditionally Chinese. Its characteristics, looking from different angles of vision, and treating the different dynasties as a whole, could be summarized in the following descriptions.

1 Cheng Chun (成均) appeared at the time of Wu Ti, was recorded in 大戴禮記 "緯傳篇"

Yu Hsiang (虞序) appeared at the time of Yu Shen, was recorded in 小戴禮記 "玉制篇"

Both systems included primary school and higher school organized to train children of the aristocratic class for government services.

Politically, it was a state composed of many nationalities² united and ruled by a feudal emperor and his feudal lords.

Economically, it was an agricultural country with a feudal economic structure, i.e. with most of her land owned by landlords who either employed farm labourers to cultivate them, or rented them to the landless farmers for a certain per cent of the produces. There had been little sign of industrialization, the necessary daily utilities were produced by hand or light simple machines. It had been a self-sufficient country.

Culturally, it possessed one of the oldest and richest cultures of the world. While an elaborate description of the richness of this culture has no place here, yet an attempt may be made to synthesize and epitomize its true essence and characteristics. Chinese culture has its beginning back from the time of the Neolithic Period some five or six thousand years ago, when the Chinese began to express themselves in painted potteries. Over the centuries, there has been steady growth in this culture, growth in breadth and depth. There has

² Han is the dominant nationality which constitute about 90% of the total population, the rest 10% being composed of some sixty national minorities. The larger groups are the Chung, the Uighur, the Hui, the Yi, the Tibetan, the Miao, the Mongolian, the Puyi, the Tung, and the Li.

been the great era of "Flowers of many kinds blossom, diverse schools of thought contend" during the time of the Spring and Autumn Period (770 B.C. - 475 B.C.) and the Warring States Period (475 B.C. - 221 B.C.), an era when the great thinkers Confucius, Mo Tzu, Mencius, Hsuan Tzu and their contemporaneous scholars had their great contends. There has been the prosperous period of the Han and the Tang dynasties when the Chinese achieved unprecedented success in scientific discoveries and created diversified literary and artistic styles, when such academic prosperities attracted many foreign students, especially Japanese to come to study in the country. Yet, during these two thousand years, Chinese thinking has been controlled by the dominating influence of Chinese Scholasticism.³

The essence and characteristics of Chinese culture, therefore, should be searched from the Confucian Classics and the writings of Mencius and Hsun Tzu. The basic contents of these writings may be referred to as the discussion of the

3 "儒家學說". This term is generally referred to as Confucianism, which is inappropriate because Confucius was only one of the noted exponents of this school of thought. He is neither its originator, nor has he had much original contribution to it. It is the philosophia perennis of China.

nature of man, ethics, virtue, and politics. Referring to the nature of man, there were two trends of thought. For Mencius, the nature of man is good, and therefore, the function of education is to actualize this good nature. For Hsun Tzu, it is bad, and therefore, education is to transform this bad nature into something good. Referring to ethics, there were the Three Bonds⁴ the essence of which is that officials should respect their overlords, children their parents, and wives their husbands. Referring to virtues, there were the Five Constant Virtues,⁵ which include benevolence, righteousness, rites, knowledge, and sincerity. Referring to politics, it was agreed that a good ruler should first perfect himself according to the ethical codes and the virtues, then perfect his family, and on the basis of these, he would be able to rule the state. A good ruler should aim at loving his people and bringing them happiness.

All these helped to shape the Chinese mentality which may be described as submissive to authority, conservative, interpersonal, and compromising. Submissive to authority and conservative as governed by the Three Ethical Codes, interpersonal and compromising as governed by the Five Virtues,

4 三綱 This is also translated as the three net-rope. In essence, it depicts a sort of natural human relationship.

5 五常

particularly the principles of "That which you do not desire, do not impose on others"⁶, and the "Middle Way".⁷

Educationally, the heritage has been very rich. With reference to school organization and administration, there could be discerned four major periods of development.

As it has been revealed before, the earliest forms of schools, the Cheng Chun and the Yu Hsiang were organized during the time of the Huang Ti, about 3000 B.C.

By the time of the Western Chau (11th Century B.C. to 771 B.C.), there already appeared a rather complete system of education, with the organization of local schools of a primary level, and national schools of a higher level.

The Spring and Autumn Period and the following Warring States Period opened a great era of educational development. It was a period of social transition. At this time, new iron tools were first made and used to help agricultural productions. The rapid increase of agricultural production stimulated the growth of industry and trade. As a consequence, a new class of landlords and wealthy merchants rose in the place of the slave masters. A new struggle for power began and persisted among the lords, their interests for education were then replaced

6 " 己所不欲勿施于人 "

7 " 中庸之道 ". This term is also translated as Doctrin of the Mean, Filial Piety, Juste Milien, and Constant Golden Medium etc.

by the new interest for war and strategy. As a result, the official schools⁸ were gradually left unattended. Instead, there arose a new type of schools, private schools, schools organized by distinctive scholars for the purposes of meeting the demands of the new social force, and that of preaching their political views. It was in these schools that the great Chinese thinkers and teachers such as Confucius, Mo Tzu, Mencius, and Shun Tsu contended their views. It was this system of private schools that bore the profound responsibility of transmitting education among the commons during the two thousand odd years that followed, marking the distinct feature of the educational system of traditional China.

The Chin Dynasty marked the unification of China. From the establishment of the Chin (221 B.C.) to the late years of Ching, a period of more than two thousand years, China was ruled under feudalism (or the ancient regime). During this long period, her educational system remained basically the same. In broad terms, there were three types of schools: the official schools, organized and administered by the ruling class for their children exclusively, the private schools organized by the commons and scholars to provide education

8 "官学"

for the children of the middle class, and the Shu Yuen.⁹ However, despite of their different origins, all these schools were governed by the same unchanging subject matter -- the dogmas of the Chinese Scholastic philosophy. All through these two thousand years, students buried themselves in the domain of this subject matter, as if there were no other things worthy of learning. They spent all their lives in learning these dogmas by heart, and in making elaborate and repeated annotations and interpretations; often according to the wishes of their rulers. For this was the prescribed subject matter for the Official Examination, the door to prosperity and high position in the courts. Thus, education was being used as an effective vehicle for ideological and political control.

It is this characteristic of education, which persisted over two thousand years and which formulated the psychology of the Chinese intelligentsia, the psychology of self-satisfaction, satisfaction over their knowledge of the classics, which they considered as the only beau ideal of humanity. And consequently, the psychology of despising and ignoring practical reality.

⁹ The Shu Yuen (書院) was originally the name referring to a place for storing books. Later, at the time of the Five Dynasties, the name was referred to some scenic solitude chosen by scholars as a meeting place for scholarly discussions and teaching. During the different dynasties, the nature of the Shu Yuen has been changing according to circumstances, but essentially, it remained as a place for teaching and learning of a high academic level.

This was traditional China, the China that had prosperity, culture, science, and power, the China that had self-satisfaction, the China that ignored and despised foreign powers and weapons, the China that was repeatedly defeated by these powers and weapons. This was the China at the turn of the second half of the nineteenth century.

2. Historical Background -- Modern China.

With defeats by foreign powers and the signing of a series of unequal treaties, China entered into a modern era, an era in which she was exposed to foreign contacts, aggressions, and influences, an era in which she came to realize and recognize her weaknesses, an era in which she decided to learn her bitter lessons, to struggle for a new life, an era of social and political changes.

China was "opened" by the Western powers beginning from the time of her defeat in the Opium War and the signing of the Nanking Treaties in 1842. During the century that followed, she was being transformed into a country of a semi-colonial status. The period from 1842 to 1949 could be divided into two sections for convenience of analysis and description -- before the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression which formally began in 1937, and the war-time and post-war years.

During the first period, 1842-1937, China had witnessed a series of political changes, the Taiping Revolution of 1851-1864, the Hundred Days' Reform of 1898, the Yi Ho Tuan Movement of 1900, all of which proved to be unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the Manchu Monarch, or reactions to foreign aggressions. However, the most significant change was brought about by the 1911 Revolution which led to the establishment of the Republic of China, and the end of the century old monarchy system of government. With this, China was to become a democratic state. But Democracy was never achieved. Following the establishment of the Republic came a period of internal conflicts among the warlords, and after this a period of persisting civil wars between the Kuomintang and the Red Army of China. Amid these intermingled the Japanese invasion and the economic invasions of the Western powers.

Economically, China remained as a backward agricultural country, with only a few vague signs of industrialization. Her economic arteries were in the hands of the foreign powers. The extent of this control may be seen from the following

account, that by the end of this period, the foreign powers had:

monopolized 70 per cent of China's coal production, over 95 per cent of her iron, 73 per cent of her shipping tonnage, and by far the greatest part of her public utilities. They also exercised control over her banking, insurance and foreign trade.¹⁰

Culturally, a new culture has emerged. The long and bitter struggle for existence in the modern world and against foreign invasion has taught the Chinese to take up the scientific and utilitarian viewpoints instead of the traditional dogmatic ones, although much of the essence of them has still been retained. Developmentally, the first move towards this new culture began with the Westernization Movement emerging at the final years of the nineteenth century. It was a movement to learn from the West the science of making modern weapons, with the hope that such weapons would help China to face Western powers in equal terms. However, it was not before long when the Chinese came to realize that Westernization per se would not help to solve their problems. A second formula was then proposed by Chang Chid Tung, that of "Chinese learning as foundation, Western learning as utility".¹¹ This formula was put on trial for over two decades, but also did not yield much fruit.

¹⁰ Hsueh Mu-Chiao et al, The Socialist Transformation of the National Economy in China, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1960, p. 1-2.

¹¹ Chang Chid Tung, "An Exhortation to Learning", in Collected Essays of Chang Chid Tung, 4th ed., Shanghai, Kai Ming, 1945, p. 34.

However, the real significant step towards this new culture was marked by the establishment of the Hsin Ching Nien (New Youth) Magazine in 1915, and the outbreak of the May Fourth Student Movement in 1919. These events marked the birth of the New Literature¹² and the vernacular style of writing, and the rise of patriotism and nationalism. With these, the Chinese youths set out to struggle for a new life and a new nation.

What was the concept of this new life and this new nation is perhaps a question difficult to answer with certainty. Perhaps there were more than a single concept. During the course of this Movement, the intellectuals gradually split into two extreme groups; the rightists advocating Western Democracy, and the leftists who favoured Socialism. Two major factors were responsible for the growth of these two trends of thought. On the one hand, there was the success of the October Revolution in Russia. This success won special admiration from the Chinese, because they were at the time struggling to find a solution to rescue their national crisis and were disappointed by the great discrepancies which they found between the Western democratic theories and their practice in China. A number of the leaders of the new cultural

¹² A literature characteristic of free expressions, simplicity, and with patriotic spirits. It is in sharp contrast with the old "Eight-legged" literary style.

movement, markedly Li Tai-Chao and Chen Tu-Hsui, began to accept Marxism-Leninism, and made it known to the Chinese public. In May 1920, the first Chinese Communist group was formed in Shanghai. Following this, Marxism-Leninism spread speedily throughout the country during the following decades. On the other hand, John Dewey visited China on May 1, 1919, three days before the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement. He was so much intrigued by this event that he stayed and taught in China for the next three years. With the arrangement of his former student Hu Shih, he was able to spread his ideas of Democracy and Pragmatism among the Chinese intellectuals.

Thus the new culture was a culture in formation, a culture of traditional origin, washed by scientific and utilitarian viewpoints, and fed with the mixed diet of Western Democracy and Socialism. Just what it was is difficult to tell, what it would become would depend on the digestibility of Democracy or Socialism in the Chinese stomach. Certain things are however certain. In this new culture, the traditional feudal bondage has been washed away for ever, the passive, conservative, and superstitious thoughts have been shaken off, and, instead, the forward-looking, scientific, and utilitarian outlook has gained firm ground.

Psychologically, the old attitudes of self-satisfaction and indifference toward world affairs have been modified. Instead, there has emerged an intense quest for new lights, for new methods, for anything that is likely to promise the restoration of the lost national self-respect, independence, and economic sufficiency. There has emerged a strong spirit of patriotism and nationalism, a spirit opposing anything unpatriotic at any cost, and favouring anything that promises to help national reconstruction. The age-old principle of the "middle way" of compromising, though still in the heads of the people, was now being looked down, and considered as a sign of weakness.

All these changes have their effects on education. Following the Westernization Movement, in 1905, the old system of Official Examination was abolished. In its place, a new school system along Western lines was promulgated. Prior to this, efforts had already been made to set up modern Westernized technical schools and colleges. It was thought that since China was defeated by the warships and canons of the Western powers, learning to make such weapons would help to resist them. Obviously, this did not lead China too very far.

During the next few decades, Chinese education shifted from one foreign system to another, depending on

the influence a particular foreign nation had on her at a particular period. No serious attempt was made to study whether a foreign system would fit the Chinese society or not.

Missionaries have played an important role in the educational arena of China. But they have failed to leave their philosophy of education in the country. They were too occupied with the work of attempting to convert the Chinese to their faith. In trying to kill two birds at a time, they missed both.

However, inspite of these confusions, there could be discerned three major trends of educational thought at work during this period.

First, was Dewey's Progressive Education. There was a wide and enthusiastic acceptance of this theory in China as there was in the United States. This was partly due to the fact that Dewey was helped by his students, particularly Hu Shih, in the expounding of his theory, and partly because the United States had great influence on China during this period. Perhaps what the Chinese really accepted was Dewey's Pragmatism. It is just what any society which is under the pressure of a crisis, which has lost confidence in her traditions and culture, which is changing and moving towards an unknown future, needed. They found it very appealing, because in fact they were experimenting, and their end was to find something useful to meet their immediate needs.

Moreover, child centred education suited China fine, for since the May Fourth Student Movement, China had become a country of the youth. They were the centre, the heart of the nation.

But soon enough the Chinese found that progressive education was too luxurious an enterprise for them. They could not afford to agree the theory which holds, in the words of Smith,

the child should not have to make the attempt to learn subjects which do not interest him and for which he seems to have little ability or which do not relate to his seeming concerns, (...) that the hard task, the unpleasant task, should be abandoned.¹³

China had a war to fight, and at the end, a great task of rehabilitation and reconstruction to be accomplished; success or failure in these evolved national existence. She needed in her children the quality which would enable them to take up any task and be ready to strive through any hardship that would yield a promise for national salvation. The Chinese also found that they could not afford to carry on experiments in education in the laboratories. What they needed was to foster actual education. Their country had too large a proportion of illiterates, who were waiting to be taught how to read and write, not how to exhibit free expression in a game.

From this arose a second trend of thought, the theories

¹³ Mortimer Smith, And Madly Teach, Chicago, Henry Regnery Company, 1949, p. 39.

of Tao Hsiang Chid who was also a student of John Dewey. From 1919 to 1946, with the exception of the period between 1936 and 1938, during which he was absent from the country because of political reasons, Tao campaigned a nation wide Mass Education Movement. He advocated "Life is education", "Society is school", that life itself presents many educative incidents, that it is up to the educand to seize them and make the best and most out of them. The educator's job is to guide and to help children to realize and catch such educative incidents. He condemned Dewey's notion of school is society as unreal, that schools of this kind are just like bird cages stored with a few small branches to keep the birds happy and practise perching. But a cage is a cage, never the bird's world. A bird should live in a real forest and learn what he should learn there. He can only be happy this way.¹⁴

The third trend of thought is that advocated by Mao Tse-Tung, who contended that Chinese education should be

¹⁴ Tao Hsiang Chid, "What is Life Education", in Collected Essays on Education by Tao Hsiang Chid, Chungking, Min Ren Book Store, 1935, p. 12.

"nationalistic, scientific, and popular".¹⁵ Details of this and its influence on modern Chinese education will be dealt with in the next two sections.

Such were the historical and cultural conditions which existed in China during the period from the Opium War to the eve of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, 1937.

The war presented bitter experience to the Chinese people. Even more bitter was the realization of the corruption and incapability of the government.

At last, victory came. Victory presented the people with new hopes while the country was still in chaos. Students and intellectuals were bent on the quest for a way out of their country's desperate position. They were now prepared to throw themselves, as they did during the war, with idealistic devotion, into any campaign for national rehabilitation. They looked for help and encouragement from the government, but the government was not interested in this; it was too occupied in waging the civil war. Inflation, corruption, and disillusion intermingled with every sphere of life. Education was no exception. Conditions among students

¹⁵ Mao Tse-Tung, "On People's Democracy", in The Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Peking, People's Publishing House, 2nd ed., 1952, p.699.

were bad. Thus Forman wrote:

The steadily increasing inflation made the problem of food increasingly serious. Malnutrition of students at the mission-supported Yenching University in Peking had become so serious by 1948 that many of them were unable to endure the fatigue of the required gymnasium work.¹⁶

Unendurable living conditions forced the students and professors to hold on strikes and demonstrations. They were generally suppressed, and sometimes killed. Many turned their sights upon Western Democracy. But in China, it was even difficult to find a definition of Democracy upon which the public would agree. A century of invasion by the Western powers had left scars that could not easily heal. How can nations that had been responsible for so much injustice have anything to offer them? Democracy has not a chance. It has been contaminated by those who represented it.

On the other hand, the eight long years of war had proved that the Red Army directed by the Chinese Communist Party was more concerned with the fate of the country. It had shouldered the real responsibility of fighting against Japanese aggression. It has thus won high respect among the people. Moreover, life in the Liberated Areas¹⁷ was good and lively, at least not in chaos.

¹⁶ H. Forman, Changing China, New York, Crown Publishers, 1950, p. 211

¹⁷ Those areas taken back from Japanese occupation and held by the Red Army.

All these helped paving the way for the Chinese to turn to Communism. And Communism was by no means slow in action. It finally spread all over the country in 1949.

This sums up the historical background of China before the birth of the People's Republic as well as the underlying forces that demanded the new social change. Before any exploration on how this social change affected the development of higher education is made, an analysis of the higher education during this period seems appropriate.

3. Higher Education under the Nationalist Government.

The Nationalist Government was formally established in 1927. In the following year, it issued an edict concerning a new system of education which specified that

The educational aim of the Republic of China are to enrich the life of the people, to maintain and develop social life, to promote the livelihood of the citizens, and to foster national life in accordance with the Three Principles of the People with a view to achieving the independence of the nation, the assertion of the rights of the people, the attainment of the people's livelihood, and the realization of the universal peace and brotherhood.¹⁸

The school system was after the American 6-3-3 pattern, and college education was four years. Centralized administration was ensured, with the Minister of Education a member

¹⁸ Chen Ching Chih, History of Chinese Education, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1936, p. 794.

of the cabinet who issued orders and regulations which had to be obeyed throughout the country. The commissioner of education of each province was appointed by the government and was directly responsible to the Minister of Education.¹⁹

The adoption of the centralized administration of education could be easily understood. In the first place, education in China had always been considered as a state affair, though it was not customary for the state to assume the responsibility of educating its people. It had always been controlled by those who ruled in some way. For the last two thousand years, as has been discerned earlier, the control had been over the content of education. In the second place, as the Nationalist Government at this stage was still uncertain of its power, it was natural for it to claim control over education.

Higher education, in the sense of the modern conception of college education, was at this stage still a young child in development. Developmentally, the first national university was formally established in 1898 with the founding of the Imperial University of Peking, later Peking University.²⁰

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 759-766.

²⁰ Chan Pao Chun, Evolution of Chinese Educational Systems, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1928, p. 136.

Prior to this, the missionaries had already established six universities in various parts of the country, with the oldest Cheeloo University founded in 1864.²¹ These universities served as the pioneers of modern higher education in China, and were chiefly purported to introduce to the Chinese students Christian religion, Western culture, and foreign languages, notably English.²² Technical education was publicized, but not ensured with efficiency and good standards. With the emergence of the Westernization Movement, a number of military colleges and technical colleges were established in the large cities by the government and the warlords. While these colleges stimulated an interest of learning science and technology, they remained as a symbol of power for the warlords. Records concerning these colleges were very scanty.

In 1922, the China Education Reform Society made a survey of higher education in China and reported that, by that time, there were in the country thirty-five universities and ninety colleges of different fields of specialization,

²¹ M.M. Chambers, ed., Universities of the World Outside U.S.A. 5th ed., Washington, American Council on Education, 1950, p. 222-282.

²² Shiu-Loon Kong, The History of the Development of the Teaching of English in China during the Ching Dynasty, unpublished Master's paper presented to the School of Education, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, 1959, p. 45-46.

with a total enrollment of 34,880 students.²³ By 1937, on the eve of the Sino-Japanese War, the statistics were forty-two universities and sixty-six independent colleges and technical colleges, with a total enrollment of 31,188, showing a slight decrease in both the number of schools and enrollment.

The war posed a period of destruction and suppression of all educational activities. Many schools had to be closed, some others were forced to move inland, resulting a sudden drop of the number of institutions and enrollment.

The post-war years before 1949 have seen a gradual increase both in the number of institutions and their enrollments. Up to the winter of 1949, when the People's Republic began, there were two hundred and five institutions of higher education with a total enrollment of 117,000.²⁵ Since the development was interrupted during the eight years of war, it means that the enrollment had increased threefold in a period of four years. This phenomenon is difficult to explain, particularly when attention is called to the social chaos existing in the country, the poverty, despair, and discontent that occupied the people's minds, and the mounting crescendo

²³ China Education Reform Society, Dictionary of Chinese Education, Shanghai, China Book Company, 1928, p. 551.

²⁴ Ministry of Information, China Handbook, 1937-1944, Chungking, Ministry of Information, 1944, p. 253.

²⁵ , "The Big Leap in Education", in Peking Review, Vol. I, No. 44, issue of December 2, 1958, p. 15.

of the civil war. However, laying down a few postulations is not harmful to the question. It could be due to the fact that while the development of higher education was suspended during the war, secondary education was not affected as much. Now when the horrors of war were gone, the cumulated high school graduated crowded themselves into the colleges in a sudden. It could be due to the fact that both the post-war social economy and the advancement of science and technology presented a sharper competition and a wider demand for higher qualifications in the new life struggle. In any instance, there had arisen a general realization for higher education is a conspicuous factor.

With reference to administration, approximately half of the colleges and universities of this period were controlled by the government and the other half administered by private individuals or organizations. Up to 1937, covering the pre-war period, it was recorded that of the 108 schools of higher learning, 58 were national and 50 private,²⁶ which means that national colleges and universities constituted 53% of the total number and private ones the remaining 47%. The picture was somewhat different during the post-war years. It was reported that, by 1949, national institutions constituted 61% of the total number, while the proportion of private schools

²⁶ Ministry of Information, op. cit, p. 255.

had fallen to 39%.²⁷

There is no adequate and valid data concerning the family origin of the students of this period. Ma Hsu-Lun reported that "the greatest majority of them were children of the landlord and the bourgeois classes".²⁸ On the other hand, Forman reported that poverty was commonplace among the students.²⁹ The fact remains, no matter from what angle of vision, that there was no equality of educational opportunity during this period. This may be further confirmed by the fact that, even in 1951, two years after the establishment of the People's Republic, when the new government had tried every way they could to encourage and help students from worker and peasant families to enroll in schools of higher education, they only constituted 19 per cent of the total student body.³⁰

27 Ma Hsu-lun, "Address before the Opening Session of the First National Conference of Higher Education", in People's Education, Vol. I, No. 3, issue of July 1950, p. 11.

28 Ma Hsu-lun, "Higher Education in New China during the Past Five Years", in People's Education, Vol. V, issue of October 1954, p. 18.

29 H. Forman, op cit, p. 211.

30 The State Statistical Bureau, op cit. p. 188.

With reference to organization, the colleges and universities, both national and private, were organized after the American pattern. Academic freedom was permitted on principle. The degree of how such freedom was actually practised is difficult to assess. The constant arrest and shooting of professors and students, especially during the post-war years provided a basis for doubt on this spot. However, it is supposed that there was complete academic freedom in scientific studies and research.

Summing up, the development of higher education during this period has been rapid and remarkable statisticalwise. Administratively, it was partly centrally controlled and partly decentralized. Academic freedom was basically permitted, but its practice was overshadowed by certain government policies. Judging from the individual point of view, much was left to be desired. Judging from the point of view of the nation, it failed to function in accordance with the common interest of the nation. There was a lack of co-ordination and planning. For instance, all through this period, China was craving better development in science and technology, yet there was little sign of any actually planned effort made to foster education of this nature. There was no trace of any special financial help given by the government to encourage the students, nor any planning for the placement of university graduates. At the end, in 1949, among the 117,133 students of

higher learning, only 42,554 were enrolled in the science and medical departments,³¹ constituting a little more than 36 per cent of the total student body.

4. Higher Education in the Liberated Areas.

Higher education in the Liberated Areas bore a different conception. In broad terms, it refers to the education of cadres and technical education at the college level.

Before looking into the nature and purpose of this education, a description of the social and political backgrounds seems appropriate.

The Liberated Areas were those areas held by the Red Army after the Long March completed in October 1935, and those areas taken back from Japanese occupation. They include the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Area, the Shensi-Chahar-Hopei Area, the Kiangsu-Anhui-Chekiang Area, the Shensi-Hopei-Shantung Area, and the North-east China Area. These areas were isolated from each other geographically, and being circled by both Japanese and Nationalist troops. The people in these areas carried on the double task of resisting both these forces.

³¹ Ministry of Education and Ministry of Higher Education, "The Development of the Total Enrollment of Schools of all levels As Compared With the Pre-liberation Period", in People's Education, Vol, V, issue of October 1954, p. 34.

They aimed first at the total defeat of the Japanese force in China and secondly, the success of the Communist revolution in the country. Education, then, existed as one of the weapons to achieve these goals. It existed in a constantly disturbed environment and had to cope with many emergency situations.

It is then easy to understand that there existed a wide range of standards among these schools, depending on the locality and the particular period in which they existed. In general, the duration of study was two years beyond the secondary school. But this duration was not fixed, it varied according to the achievement of the individual, the measuring rod being the completion of the prescribed courses. Short-cut study methods were being fostered and intense individual efforts encouraged and honoured. However, inspite of these irregularities in the educational mechanics, there could be discerned the following points characteristic of this system of education.

Theoretically, the nature of education is, as stated by Mao Tse Tung in 1940:

Nationalistic, scientific, and popular.

It is nationalistic, because it aims at fighting Imperial aggression, and insists on the independence of China. It belongs to our people, and is characteristic of our people.

It is scientific, because it revolts against all feudalistic and superstitious thinkings, and insists in the finding of objective truths based on the correlation of theory and practice.

It is popular, and consequently it is democratic. It should serve the workers and peasants who constituted 90 per cent of the total population, and should eventually belong to them.³²

But in practice, its nature is utilitarian. During this period, its specific target was to train efficient cadres to carry out the political missions. The aim was to cultivate "a strong recognition of the correct political direction, an industrious and hard working attitude, and an intelligent strategy"³³ on the one hand and, on the other, the skill of productive work, especially the skill of farming, and the

³² Mao Tse Tung, "On People's Democracy", in The Selected Works of Mao Tse Tung, Peking, People's Publishing House, 2nd ed., 1952, p. 699-702.

³³ -----, "To the Third Anniversary of the War-time University", originally in Hsin Chung Hwa Daily, issue of 30 March 1939, compiled in People's Publishing House, ed., Mao Tse Tung Speaking on Education, Peking, People's Publishing House, 1958, p. 36.

method of educating the mass.³⁴

This utilitarian nature of education is more concretely reflected in the methods and contents of study of these schools. Theoretically, it was directed that the education of the cadres should foster the

study of the theory of Marxism-Leninism with a definite aim of integrating it with the practical movements of the Chinese revolution, and seeking from it a stand, a viewpoint, and a method for solving the theoretical and tactical problems of the Chinese revolution.

and do away with the method of studying it statically and in isolation.³⁵

In practice, the curriculum of all the schools were constructed with the basic principle of combining education with production and that of meeting the immediate needs of the environment. A distinct example of this is the curriculum of the Bethune Medical College in North China, which limited the study of only those diseases which occur in North China.³⁶

³⁴ Mao Tse Tung, "Speech Delivered before the Opening of the Yen-an University", originally in Chieh Fong Daily, issue of 31, May 1944, compiled in People's Publishing House, ed., op cit, p.38.

³⁵ -----, Reform Our Study, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1955, p. 10-13. Originally, this was a report at the cadres meeting in Yen-an in May 1941.

³⁶ Michael Lindsey, Notes on Educational Problems in Communist China, 1941-1947, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1950, p. 41.

Summing up, higher education in the Liberated Areas is, in theory, nationalistic, scientific, and popular, and in practice, utilitarian. It is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism integrated with the practical findings of the Chinese revolution. Dynamically, it is a system of education outgrown from the long struggle of fighting foreign invasions and from the reaction against feudalism and aristocratic rule. It is developed to meet the national crisis and emergency situations. It revolts against conventionalism and democratic methods. It is an infant in development. How well will it grow and function in the Chinese society, constitutes the problem to be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATIONAL IDEALS OF THE NEW ERA

Following the inauguration of the People's Republic, China entered a new era, during which, basic changes were made in every social sector. Education as one sector of social activity inevitably followed the same pattern of change. This change was so radical that certain analysis and interpretations are necessary before it could be fully understood. Consequently, this chapter attempts to present a critical survey of the new educational system as well as interpretations of its different aspects, namely, aim, agent, material, and method. In connection with this, the educational target of the First Five-Year Plan and the relevant historical backgrounds are also surveyed.

1. Political, Economic, Social Changes and Their Effects on Higher Education.

Politically, the People's Republic of China, formally inaugurated on October 1, 1949, is a people's

democratic dictatorship led by the Chinese Communist Party and based on the alliance of the workers and peasants.¹ This means that within the country, the working class, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie enjoy democratic rights and, united under the leadership of the working class and the Chinese Communist Party, they exercise dictatorship over the landlords and the bureaucratic capitalist classes. Viewed in light of its goal, it aims at strengthening the functioning mechanisms of the government; the army, the police, the court, so as to enable the nation to strive towards changing itself from an agricultural country into an industrial one. As its remote goal, it purports to advance from a new democratic society to Socialism and finally to Communism.² Viewed in light of its origin and basic ideology, the Chinese Communist Party is Marxism-Leninism, which was introduced to China in 1921 by Russia after the October Revolution. Viewed from its policy, it is New Democracy promulgated by Mao Tse Tung.³

1 Mao Tse Tung, "On People's Democratic Dictatorship", in People's Year Book 1950, Hong Kong, Ta Kung Book Store,

2 Ibid, p. 7

3 Mao Tse Tung, On New Democracy, Peking, People's Publishing House, 1952, iv-61 p.

Economically, at the time of the inauguration of the People's Republic, China was a poor agricultural country with only a few feeble signs of industrialization. With the change of government and political system, a new economic system followed. This new system aimed at national industrialization and the gradual transformation of private ownership into collective ownership. This transformation process was not simple, but it was nevertheless completed during the period of national economic rehabilitation, which extended from 1949 to 1957, the end of the First-Five Year Plan. At the same time, the government has also stabilized the market prices all over the country. Thus, in the eight years after the Liberation, China has already laid down a firm economic foundation ready for further developments.

The political and economic changes brought about a radical and diversified social change. In the first place, there was a change in the social structure. With reference to this, three points were prominent. Firstly, there was a change of the social status of the different classes of people. By constitution, China was now a country of the proletariat, it was natural for them to claim the best social prestige. Secondly, there was a change in the relationship between the children and their parents, between the young and the old. Traditionally it was common practice for the children to show loyalty to their parents, and the

youths to pay respect to the elders. But now the pattern has changed, China was now a country of the young, for they were the ones who were most sensitive to new things, who were able to change radically, able to turn clear-cut somersaults, so to speak, in their thinkings and actions. For a time, youth and a will to oppose anything traditional, including one's own parents, were the best qualifications for obtaining popularity and social approval. Thus, the importance of the family gradually faded. Thirdly, there was a change in the distribution of the population. Immediately following the Liberation,⁴ there was a speedy influx of country youths to the urban areas. This was because of the fact that attractive prospects, such as opportunities for education, civil employment, army recruitment etc., were more easily available in the cities. In the course of time, this shifting of people had become so intense that agricultural production was affected by the lack of labour force in the rural areas, and by 1954, it was necessary for the government to call the movement to a halt.

Parellel to the above, there was a change in the outlook of life. For the mass, a new outlook of life was injected upon their heads, it was the outlook of class

⁴ A term commonly used to denote the taking over of the country by the Communist authority.

struggle, struggle to eliminate the bourgeois and capitalist classes. As to the intelligentsia, their outlook of life might be a little bit deviated from that of the mass. It was evident that a larger proportion of them accepted Communism basically, or else it would have never spreaded in China. But as time elapsed, many found it more difficult to meet the requirements as readily as the mass; they found it hard to merge their will in that of the party with the required attitude of almost religious devotion. They were certainly overjoyed to see their country standing up as an independent nation in the world again, for to this end they had contributed their efforts, and they were still playing an important role in the government, despite of the fact that they were constantly reminded that the sole credit of changing the country should go to the proletariat and the Party. But they could not help knowing that there were more ways than one to solve their country's problems, the problem of turning it into a strong and prosperous nation. It was with this knowledge that skeptic views over the appropriateness of the Party policies were often expressed. It was this "corrupted thinking of the petty-bourgeoisie", as it was commonly called, that the government found necessary to change and eliminate; the method was intensive and continued remoulding through re-education and labour.

All these political, economic, and social changes made basic changes in education a sine qua non. The new task confronted education was by no means simple. Spelling it out, it included: (1) to satisfy the political demand that everybody should be trained to think in conformity with the direction of the government and the Party and, (2) to assure the production of adequate qualified personnel to transform China into an advanced industrial country at a speed unsurpassed by any other nation. The next few sections will analyze how new ideals of education were developed to meet these demands, and what they were.

2. The New Educational Aims.

Educational aims are necessarily related to the underlying concept of the nature of education, which is in turn determined by the concept of the nature of man. A discussion of the aim of education then involves the discussion of the concept the nature of man.

In going through the literature on Philosophy and Education of modern China, it is found, much astonishingly, that very few concrete discussions have been devoted to this important topic. With what general notions gathered from the context of the new ideology, the concept of the nature of man

could be summed up as follows. Developmentally, man is a product of his struggle for existence. In existence, he is solely a social being; within a class society, he belongs to a certain class, and exists for class struggle; in a classless society, he is a member of the collective, and exists to strive for the achievement of the common end.⁵ His mission is simple and mechanical, he bears certain historical responsibilities, he lives through the different stages of natural human development and, when he reaches old age, he is at the end of his destiny, then he must die.⁶ In other words, man is a collective being, not an individual, least a person. Such a concept of human nature is also found in the following statement made by Lu Ting Yi on the basis of the conclusion drawn at the conference of educational work convened by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party:

The essential distinction between men lies not in differences of 'disposition' or personality, but, first of all, in their different class standpoints and, in addition, in their ways of thinking.⁷

⁵ Mao Tse Tung, "On Practice", in The Collected Works of Mao Tse Tung, Peking, Peoples Publishing House, 2nd ed., 1952, Vol. I, p.271-273.

⁶ Mao Tse Tung, "On People's Democratic Dictatorship", in People's Year Book 1950, Hong Kong, Ta Kung Book Store, 1950, Section D, p. 1.

⁷ Lu Ting Yi, Education Must Be Combined with Productive Labour, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1958, p. 6.

Since the proletarian standpoints are the correct standpoints and they reflect the quality of the proletariat,⁸ the best quality or nature of man is found among the working class, denoting specially labourers and peasants.

It then follows that the nature of education is, according to the Common Program⁹ passed by the First Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference held in Peking on 29th September 1949:

new democratic, i.e., nationalistic, scientific, and popular. Its main tasks should include the raising of the cultural level of the people, the training of personnel for national construction, liquidating the feudalistic, compradore, and fascist ideology, and fostering the ideology of serving the people.¹⁰

A word of explanation is perhaps appropriate at this point. In the words of Mao Tse Tung,¹¹ the new education is nationalistic, because it opposes imperial aggression, insists on the self-respect and independence of China, and bears the characteristics of the Chinese people. It is scientific, because it revolts against all feudalistic and superstitious

8 Mao Tse Tung, op cit, p. 10.

9 The First Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, "The Common Program of the People's Political Consultative Conference", in People's Year Book 1950, Section D, p. 13-22.

10 Ibid, Chapter V, Article 41, p. 20.

11 Mao Tse Tung, On New Democracy, Peking, People's Publishing House, 1952, p. 55-58.

thinkings, and insists on finding objective truths based on facts, using the method of combining theory and practice. It is popular, and consequently democratic, because it serves the workers and peasants who constitute over 90 per cent of the population of China, and will eventually become their education and culture. In essence, if the nature of a thing is manifested by its operations, this new education is utilitarian. For it is but an instrument, a weapon to fight for the independence of China, to get rid of feudalistic and superstitious thinkings, and to establish a proletarian culture finally achieving world Communism.

Specifically, the aim of higher education in China¹² is,

to train highly educated personnel for national reconstruction. To train and develop in them a high cultural level, a mastery of modern science and techniques, and a voluntary spirit of serving the people, based on the method of integrating theory and practice, and in accordance with the policies set forth in the Common Program passed by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.¹²

The full meaning of this statement may be supplemented by relating to it some new educational policies developed at the later stages, and by the interpretation of some of its

¹² The Government Administration Council, "Decisions Concerning Reforms of Higher Education Curriculum", in People's Education, Vol. I, No. 5, issue of September 1950, p. 67.

key terms, such as culture, science, serving the people, theory and practice, and the policies denoted by the Common Program. Culture in this context means specifically Communist culture. This was clearly pointed out by Mao Tse Tung who contended that,

A certain culture is the reflection of the politics and economy of a certain society. In return, it bears great influence on the politics and economy of that society. (...) Thus, a certain form of politics and economy first determines the cultural form of a society.¹³

Now since China is striving towards Communism, her culture must be Communist culture. Taking "high cultural level" to mean rich knowledge, the concept of knowledge also requires special reference. As explained by Mao Tse Tung,

There are only two kinds of knowledge in the world, One is the knowledge of class struggle. (...) The other is the knowledge of the struggle for production.¹⁴

Thus, it may be said that one of the aims of higher education is to equip the students with the knowledge of class struggle and production, so as to orient them to serve the political and economic goals of the state.

¹³ Mao Tse Tung, On New Democracy, Peking, People's Publishing House, 1952, p. 3.

¹⁴ -----, "Rectifying the Working Style of Our Party", in The Selected Works of Mao Tse Tung, Peking, People's Publishing House, 2nd ed., 1953, Vol. III, p. 187.

There is no special reference from which the concept of science could be derived. However, judging from the general development of the curriculum of higher education and the general line of national economic construction, science in this context refers to the natural sciences and technology. At the present stage, particular emphasis is given to develop geology and civil engineering, especially the technology of water conservation and flood control. Pure science is practically ignored and often being condemned as useless and bourgeois¹⁵, -- usually by unqualified but authoritative persons. Modern science generally denotes Soviet science, because it is believed that Soviet science is the most advanced, and because Soviet scientific method is based on the method of Dialectic Materialism. One of the aims of higher education then, is to equip the students with those parts of scientific and technological knowledge required for production, and to train them to think in accordance with the ideology of Dialectic Materialism.

"To serve the people" is the most commonly used slogan in China. Analytically, "the people" means the working

¹⁵ Liu Bin, "Getting Rid of the Superstition Concerning the Bourgeoisie Specialists Is a Matter of Policy", in On the Integration of Education and Productive Labour, Peking, Chinese Youth Publishing House, 1958, p. 71-79.

class and the peasantry. In essence, "to serve the people" means to serve the common interest of the people, that is, those interest of the people that are prescribed by the state and the Party. One of the aims of higher education then, is to train the students to serve the interest of the Chinese Communist Party, the official representative of the people.

Theory in this context may be taken to mean the knowledge derived from practical experience, for it was pointed out that,

There is only one kind of true theory in the world, the theory that is drawn from objective reality and then in turn verified by it; nothing else could be called theory in our sense.¹⁶

Practice in this context means class struggle and production. Thus, another aim of higher education is to train students to apply practical experiences to class struggle and productive labour.

16 Mao Tse Tung, op. cit., p. 819.

The policies set forth by the Common Program have been partly contained in the above statement of educational aims, those that were left unsaid included:

Article 42:

Love for fatherland, love of the people, love of labour, love of science, and love of public property shall be promoted as the five public virtues of the People's Republic.

Or Article 44:

The application of the scientific historical viewpoint to the study and interpretation of history, economics, political science, culture, and international relations shall be promoted.

Article 48:

National sports shall be promoted.¹⁷

Thus other aims of higher education include the promotion of the five virtues, the scientific historical viewpoint, and national sports.

However, all these could be termed as superficial or immediate aims, the underlying ideal, i.e., the final goals of Chinese education is something more. It is the elimination of the differences between mental labour and manual labour, between the intelligentsia and the working class, and between the town and the country. In other words, it is the transformation of man to uniformity. The criterion of this uniform

¹⁷ The First Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, op. cit., p. 20-21.

character of man, expressed in official terminology, is the "all-round development".¹⁸ Spelling it out, all-round developed individuals are those who are:

well developed physically and mentally, who have the Socialist political standpoint, Dialectic Materialistic world outlook, Communist virtues, certain scientific and cultural standings, and healthy physical conditions.¹⁹

Or expressed in terms of his functions, an all-round developed person is one

who is both politically conscious and educated. He is able to undertake both mental and manual work. (...) He is a worker-intellectual and an intellectual-worker.²⁰

It should be added that being politically conscious means being able to distinguish between the politics of the different classes, and ready to devote to serving the politics of the working-class or Communism.

¹⁸ Tung Chun Tsai, "We must Strive to Develop All-round developed Individuals for Our Socialist Society", in People's Education, Vol. V, No. 8, issue of August 1954, p. 12-15.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 13.

²⁰ Lu Ting Yi, Education Must be Combined with Productive Labour, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1958, p. 17.

Thus, it may be concluded that the long-term aim of Chinese education is to eliminate the differences among the people, and transform them into a uniform character in accordance with the principle of all-round development.

3. The New Educational Agents.

Under the new educational system, the state is the sole legal educational agent. This was clearly stated in an edict of the Government Administration Council issued in 1950. It said:

All institutions of higher education will be under the central leadership of the Ministry of Education of the Central People's Government.²¹

With reference to its organization, the Ministry of Education was directly under the leadership of the Government Administration Council. It has under its direction five departments, one of which is the Department of Higher Education.

As its function, the Ministry of Education has the responsibility and power to direct all institutions of higher learning in such matters as educational aims, policies, organization, enrollment, school regulations and rules, curriculum, teaching method and teaching plans, student

²¹ The Government Administration Council, "Decisions Concerning Relations of Leadership of Institutions of Higher Education", in People's Education, Vol. 1, No. 5, issue of September 1950, p. 67.

placement, the establishment, change, or abolition of schools, appointment of presidents, deans, and department heads, finance, salaries and allowances of teachers and students etc.²² In short, the Central People's Government, through the Ministry of Education, later the Ministry of Higher Education which was established to replace the former Department of Higher Education in November 1952, does the work of operating all the institutions of higher learning.

In October 1953, a revision of the Decisions²³ was issued which added to the original powers of the Ministry of Higher Education, the power to supervise the teaching programs, teaching plans, and the schedules of productive practice of all the institutions of higher education. It also placed the technical and industrial schools under the direct control of the related central ministries. Thus, it is conspicuous that all these changes were made to strengthen the centralized administration of higher education.

Bearing this in mind, it is clear that the other agents of education, the Church and the family, were being ignored.

22 Ibid, Article 1, p. 67.

23 The Government Administration Council, "Decisions Concerning the Revision of the Relations of Leadership of Institutions of Higher Education", in Kwang Ming Daily, issue of 11 October 1953, p. 2.

It also followed that the school was being placed in such a position that it could only function as a machine of educational activities. It had no initiatives of its own, and consequently lifeless by itself. However, this did not mean that the schools were unimportant and changes unnecessary; obviously enough, the old system of school organization and administration could not serve the new educational purposes. Reorganization had to be made, it included two phases; (1) the establishment of a new type of university, the People's University, and (2) the "readjustment of colleges and departments",²⁴ which was in essence the reorganization of the objectives, structure, and teaching programs of colleges.

With reference to the first phase, the People's University was a new type of higher education institutions. Its purpose was, according to an official introduction:

to adopt the advanced experience of the Soviet Union, and to employ Soviet professors, for the training of cadres of various categories to cope with the needs of the national construction of new China according to planned steps.²⁵

24 院系调整

25 Hu Shih Kwei, "An Introduction of the Chinese People's University", in People's Education, Vol. II, No. 3, issue of January 1951, p. 20.

In essence, it was specially designed for the training of cadres for administrative work in the government and industrial offices. This could be seen from the type of courses it provided. There were eight departments in this university, the nature of the courses provided may be seen from the titles of the different departments:

- 1 Department of Economic Planning
- 2 Department of Financial Trust
- 3 Department of Cooperatives
- 4 Department of Factory Organization and Administration
- 5 Department of Law
- 6 Department of Foreign Relations
- 7 Department of Russian
- 8 Department of Trade.²⁶

The nature of this university could also be defined by the family backgrounds of its students. According to a 1950 report, the students enrolled were predominantly in-service cadres and workers who were excellent ideologically but poor literary, and a small proportion of young intellectuals who were specially inclined to the new ideology.²⁷

The contents of education covered the necessary materials of the various specialities and Marxism-Leninism. The teaching method was the combination of theory and practice.

26 Ibid, p. 20.

27 Ibid, p. 20.

The final goal was to train "red specialist" who are both familiar with Marxism-Leninism and at the same time, experienced in the chosen technical skills.

With reference to the second phase, the reorganization of colleges and departments, the task was more complicated. In general, it included four aspects corresponding to the four stages of reorganization. They were the ideological remoulding of teachers, the nationalization of institutions, the reorganization of schools, and the reorganization of teaching programs and teaching plans. Of these four aspects, only the first three are concerned in this section, the fourth aspect will be specially dealt with in the following two sections.

The ideological remoulding campaign began since the inauguration of the People's Republic, but it was from 1951 that it was specially directed towards teachers of higher education. The campaign started in Peking and Tientsin and soon it spreaded all over the country. Steps were taken to send teachers to take part in the agrarian reform and to attend political-training schools and special discussion groups. The basic aim was to change the bourgeois ideology, (mainly individualism) that was popular among the intellectuals into the Socialist ideology of Marxism-Leninism. The campaign was launched at the time of the san fan, wu fan,

movements²⁸ and the Korean War, and was carried out with vigour and thoroughness.

To what extent has the purpose of this campaign been achieved is difficult to assess, because there is no way to measure such a thing as ideology. But the fact that ideological remoulding of intellectuals has to go on and on, has to be reinforced again and again from time to time, in one way or another, indicates that this is not a simple task to be thoroughly fulfilled at any time. Nevertheless, it was claimed that:

The ideological remoulding movement has proved exceedingly helpful to the readjustment of colleges and departments, which, as the teachers have overcome their individualism, their favouritism to their own unit, and their factionalism, was able to be carried on smoothly.²⁹

28 The san fan movement was directed against corruption, waste and bureaucracy among government employees; and the wu fan movement was launched against bribery of government employees, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information for speculation.

29 Tseng Chao Lun, "Improvement of Higher Education in the Past Three Years", in People's Education, Vol. III, No. 1, issue of January 1953, p. 12.

The nationalization of the private institutions began in 1951 when the government issued an edict³⁰ promulgating the relevant policies and procedures. The gist of this edict was that since China has become an independent country, she should not allow foreign interference over her educational rights. And since she was heading for national reconstruction, a centralized system of education would be the best. The process of the nationalization of private institutions was obstructed by oppositions from the private institutions operated by foreign organizations, but the work was assisted by the common anti-American spirit that was aroused by the Korean War. The process was completed in 1952.

The reorganization of schools was the core of the new educational reform. It revealed the characteristic feature of the new educational system. Naturally, the task involved was a great and complex one.

Originally, the idea of the reorganization of schools was first brought up by Ma Hsu Lun³¹ at the opening session of the First National Conference of Higher Education held

³⁰ The Government Administration Council, "Decisions Concerning the Policy of the Taking Over of Cultural and Educational Organizations Receiving American Grants, and Religious Groups", in People's Education, Vol. II, No. 4, issue of February 1952, p. 68-70.

³¹ Ma Hsu Lun, "Address before the Opening Session of the First National Conference of Higher Education", in People's Education, Vol. I, No. 3, issue of July 1950, p. 13.

on 30th June 1950. But, owing to oppositions by the university teachers, especially the faculty of the Tsinghua University, one of the best organized universities in China, the reorganization was sustained temporarily. On 3rd November 1951, an All-China Conference of Deans of Engineering Colleges was held in Peking, as a result, the draft of the Plan of Readjustment of Engineering Colleges in China³² was made. It contained a detailed map for the reorganization of colleges and universities as quoted in Appendix 1.

In June 1952, when the campaign of the ideological remoulding of intellectuals was in full swing, the "Office of Readjustment of Colleges and Departments of Institutions of Higher Learning in Peking and Tientsin" was erected and practical steps of reorganization began. The basic task of the reorganization consisted of (1) the breaking up of the traditional universities and the re-grouping of departments of the similar nature to form new independent colleges, and (2) the transplanting of the new colleges to appropriate locations according to the national reconstruction plan. While detailed descriptions of the actual procedure do not add much meaning to this study, attempts are being made

³² All-China Conference of Deans of Engineering Colleges, "Plan of Readjustment of Engineering Colleges in China", in People's Daily, issue of 16 April 1952, p.1.

to analyze the basic changes made, and the characteristic feature of the new system.

The structure of the traditional university was in general after the American pattern. Such a university usually consisted of several independent faculties, and under each faculty, several departments and divisions of departments. Now, it was contended that the function of such a university could not meet the new demands, the demand for vocational education rather than liberal education, and the demand for the training of a large number of fit-for-the-job personnel in the most economic and adequate way. Accordingly, the new system was modelled more or less after the Soviet system, which limits the universities (now being called universities of general studies)³³ as they are limited for instance in Germany, to the non-technical faculties. Then, parallel to them, and with equal academic status, are the technical universities of the polytechnic-type. Besides these, there are the independent colleges of the various specialities, such as the technical college, the agricultural college, the college of forestry, the medical college, the college of economics and finance, the college of law and political science, the college of pedagogy, and the college of arts etc.

33 综合大学

In all cases, the teaching follows the Soviet system, that is, a four-year course which is about to be raised to five years.³⁴ The teaching in the first two years is fairly general and in the last two years strictly limited to a speciality. Six months of the final year are devoted to research work in the sense of solving certain practical problems raised by the industrial or construction units. This is often done by the joint efforts of students and teachers.

The administrative organization of the new universities is much simpler than that of the traditional ones. The new system of organization is shown in Figure 1, in which the only administrative units are the school and the departments. The specialities and specializations³⁵ are only divisions of teaching, or, in some cases, simply courses or a course provided by the department.

With this new system, the central control of higher education is made much easier. Thus, at a given fiscal year, the central government may decide which kinds of technicians are required to meet the current demands of economic

³⁴ The reason for the temporary adoption of the four-year course instead of the Soviet five-year course is because China is in desperate need for trained technicians for the present economic construction.

³⁵ The word in this context means the exclusive learning of a technical skill, it should not be taken for its ordinary meaning, i.e., the advanced study of an area of knowledge.

School (University or College)				
		Departments		
	Specialities			
	Specializations			

Figure 1. Organization of the university under the new system. Data from Tseng Chao Lun, "The Problem of the Installation of the Speciality in the Schools of Higher Learning", in People's Education, Vol. III, No. 9, issue of September 1952, p. 7.

construction, and then, considering the potentialities of the teaching staff and equipments of all the institutions of higher learning, allocate the needed specialities to be installed to each of the schools.

At the same time, this new system also provides a solution to the most serious problem of higher education in China, viz. the extreme shortage of teachers and facilities. On one hand, it provides a way for the maximum utilization of the existing teaching staffs and facilities, because with the aim of teaching definitely pinpointed, a single teacher can take charge of a large group of students belonging to the same speciality. On the other hand, the limited knowledge required by a specialization makes the job of teacher training much simpler.

Concerning the principle agent of education, the educand, the new concept exposed two rather contradictory views. On one dimension, the educand is fully respected as possessing the most peculiarly rich resources. He is considered to be capable of doing what he chooses or what he is assigned to do, concerning this point, it was contended that since the present secondary education is striving for the all-round development of the students, there cannot exist any significant individual differences among the end products.

Moreover, interest and aptitude are not static, but largely flexible, depending on the educand's will to cultivate them.³⁶ He is capable of educating himself through self-criticism, educating his co-educands through criticism and ideological influences and, as far as political ideology is concerned, he is even capable of educating his teachers on the basis that, in general, he is not as much "poisoned" by the bourgeois ideology. But, on the other side, he is considered as a mere instrument to be manipulated according to the current needs of the state, with little individuality of his own. He is first allocated to study in a certain speciality on the basis of his preference and his academic standing in the nation-wide unified entrance examination, but most determinative of all, on the basis of the planning of the central government. Each year, the government prescribes the number of technicians she needs in the various fields of specialization and the unified enrollment office has to assign the students to the relevant specialities accordingly. Once this is done, the educand has to complete the allocated courses of study in one way or another, he is

³⁶ Editor, "We Must Conform Our Individual Interests and Prospects, with the Need of the State", in People's Education, Vol. III, No. 8, issue of August 1952, p. 6-7.

not allowed to shift to another speciality, to drop out, or to fail. He is to think in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and, finally, when he finishes his course, he is assigned to a job through the central planning system. In short, his individuality and will are ignored in toto.

Summing up, in this section dealing with the educational agents, it is found that under the new system, the state is the sole legal educational agent. It extends direct and complete control over the school and the educand, which are considered as instruments for achieving the national goal of economic construction. The next section follows to discuss the new contents of education.

4. The New Material of Education.

A new educational system resulting from a change of political, economic, social and cultural ideals necessarily calls for a new material of education. Consequently, the reform of the curriculum constituted the core of the new educational reform. At the opening session of the First National Conference of Higher Education held in 1950, this problem was taken as an important aspect of the agenda. At

the end of the conference, a draft of the Decisions Concerning the Reforms of Higher Education Curriculum,³⁷ was passed which was formally promulgated in August of the same year. The basic principle of the curricula-reform is outlined as follows:

The curriculum of higher education must be reformed step by step according to the principle of the unity of theory and practice. On one hand, we must get rid of the dogma of "knowledge for knowledge's sake" and to integrate our curriculum with the needs arising from the national construction (...). On the other hand, we must guard ourselves from falling into the tendency of ignoring the study of theories, and thus confine ourselves in the realm of Pragmatism and Experimentalism. All institutions of higher learning must abolish the reactionary political courses, and install the revolutionary political courses of New Democracy (...) so as to foster the ideology of serving the people, (...) must emphasize proper specializations, (...) and consequently install and strengthen the necessary courses in accordance with the principle of concentration and simplification.³⁸

In brief, the chief principle of the new curricula-reform was to abolish the liberal content of education, and to emphasize specializations in technology as well as the study of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. In fact, the new curriculum is essentially utilitarian, for it confines the school to teach only those aspects of knowledge that are immediately applicable.

³⁷ The Government Administration Council, "Decisions Concerning the Reforms of Higher Education Curriculum", in People's Education, Vol. I, No. 5, issue of September 1950, p. 67-68.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 67.

The claim made in the Decisions stating that steps ought be taken to guard the new education against the evil of Pragmatism and Experimentalism was only consciously added by educators who failed to admit the truth. Nothing was mentioned concerning the teaching of the humanities and religion, obviously, the former was dispensed for the comparatively urgent need of training large numbers of mechanical technicians for the current economic construction, the latter was substituted by the teaching of the new ideology.

Practical measures were immediately taken to ensure the reform, the high tide of such measures came in 1952 at the climax of the ideological remoulding movement and the reorganization of universities and colleges. After that, the educational contents adopted by all the institutions were organized after the prescription of the government. In general, this new content of education may be summed up as containing: (1) Common compulsory courses, including political theories and foreign languages, (2) Basic courses such as mathematics, physics, chemistry etc., (3) Basic technical courses, (4) specialized courses and (5) Research design.³⁹

³⁹ Chang Chuen, "Higher Education in Our Country is Progressing", in People's Education, Vol. VIII, No. 10, issue of October 1957, p. 6-10, 54.

Specifically, the compulsory political courses include the study of Marxism-Leninism, Dialectic Materialism, New Democracy and History of Modern Chinese Revolution and, in many instances, Political Economics. The foreign languages generally refer to Russian and English. As to the professional courses, the specific materials are too voluminous to be listed, and they have never been published. However, they are largely reprints and translations of the Russian materials,⁴⁰ the only difference being that they are condensed to suit the four-year course of the Chinese system. New materials based on the Chinese environment have also been written and compiled.

✓ In addition to the theoretical or literary materials, an important aspect of the new content of education is practice in production. Originally, this was limited to organized observations and short-term practice in related factories and construction units. But starting from 1957, it has been changed into full fledged productive programs under the new policy of "work while you study".⁴¹ With this

⁴⁰ Ma Hsu Lun, "Higher Education in New China during the Past Five Years", in People's Education, Vol. V, No. 10, issue of October 1954, p. 18-20.

⁴¹ Wu Pin, "New Trend in Education", in Peking Review, Vol. I, No. 22, issue of July 1958, p. 16-17.

new policy, productive labour is considered as an essential part of the university curriculum, so essential that in some instances, it occupies half of the total time allotment of the academic year. A distinctive example is the Peking Agricultural University, where the academic year is divided into two equal terms, one of which, extending from April to September, is devoted to full-time productive work on the farms.⁴² The underlying idea of this is, as it was revealed earlier in the section dealing with the new educational aims, the combination of theory and practice, manual work and mental work, and the merging of the intellectuals with workers and peasants. /

In conclusion, the new content of education contains two aspects, theory and practice. In the aspect of theory, the basic materials include the political ideology of Marxism-Leninism, political economics, foreign languages, basic professional theories, and knowledge of specialized skills. In the aspect of practice, the essential material is practical productive labour. The two aspects are considered as of equal importance. The nature of the new curriculum is utilitarian, that is, it confines education to those aspects of knowledge which are immediately useful for the welfare of

⁴² Ibid, p. 17.

the State. The discussion of the new method of teaching follows in the next section.

5. The New Method of Education.

The new educational aims, organization, and material all called for a change of educational methods. At the same time, the social backgrounds and the educational heritage at the time of the Liberation made the task of such reforms vital and complicated. On one hand, the new government has to devise a new method of education that would prove to be effective in many ways, in selling the new political ideology as well as in ensuring the production of sufficient trained personnel to cope with the needs of the various aspects of the society in transition -- social, political, and economical. On the other hand, as the bulk of teachers and intellectuals available were inherited from the old society, sound measures have to be taken to ensure that they follow the new educational policy directly, systematically, and faithfully.

Accordingly, the new method is based on the principles of the integration of theory and practice, and the combination of political education and technical education. The techniques used include: the social motivation of hard-working attitudes on the part of both the teacher and the student, classroom teaching, seminars, tutorials, and practical work which include assignments, laboratory experiments,

excursions, and actual participation in productive works. The teacher's faith in the policies of the State and the Party is ensured by the intensive ideological re-education campaigns, and the insertion of the "Group of Teaching Design and Direction" into all the schools of higher education. The "Group of Teaching Design and Direction" is the basic organization of teaching composed of all the teachers of one speciality or several specialities of a similar nature. According to The Government Administration Council,⁴³ Hu,⁴⁴ Tseng,⁴⁵ Tsun,⁴⁶ and Pushkin,⁴⁷ its functions included

⁴³ The Government Administration Council, "Temporary Regulations Governing Institutions of Higher Learning", in New China Monthly, Vol. II, No. 5, issue of Sept. 1950, p. 1134-36.

⁴⁴ Hu Shih Kwei, "Report on the Work of Learning Soviet Experience in the Chinese People's University", in People's Education, Vol. V, No. 6, issue of June 1954, p. 22-29.

⁴⁵ Tseng Chao Lun, "The Progressing Teaching Reform in the Institutions of Higher Learning", in People's Education, Vol. V, No. 10, issue of Oct. 1954, p. 20-22.

⁴⁶ Tsun Feng Wu, "The Work of the Group of Teaching Design and Direction in People's University", in People's Education, Vol. II, No. 6, issue of April 1952, p. 11-12.

⁴⁷ Pushkin is a transliteration from the Chinese text, the original Russian name was not quoted.

Pushkin, "The Task of the Peking Teacher's University and the Work of the Group of Teaching Design and Direction", in Kwong Ming Daily, issue of 18 October 1952, p. 3.

the following points:

To direct all teachers to discuss and decide on the teaching program, teaching materials, teaching method, and teaching plans of a speciality;

To direct and inspect the teaching and research work of the speciality;

To translate and compile teaching materials;

To raise the academic and ideological levels of the teachers;

To train research workers and student teachers;

To organize and supervise student study and practice;

To plan and conduct examinations.

The actual steps of carrying out the above functions varied from school to school, but in general, they followed three stages: the collective preparation of lectures, the trial-lecturing, and the class-room teaching. The general procedures of each of these steps were rigid and elaborate. They are epitomized as follows:

First, the collective preparation of lectures.

Beginning each semester, the chairman of the "Group of Teaching Design and Direction", usually the Head of Department or the vice-president of the school, summon the teachers to meet together to discuss and decide on the teaching programs and the research programs for the whole semester. During these initial meetings, a detailed schedule for subsequent meetings are also planned and fixed, and the work of each teacher

assigned. After the assignment, each teacher then proceeds to gather the appropriate material for his part of the course, and subsequently report the material to the group meeting for examination, discussion, supplementation, and approval. With the decision of the "Group", everyone then writes out his lecture, which is to be circulated for reading and supplementary revisions.

Second, after the scripts of the lectures are approved by the "Group", trial-lectures are conducted. This may be first demonstrated by an experienced professor and subsequently imitated by his assistant, or directly by the teacher who is preparing to give the lecture in the class-room. The usual procedures include the trial-lecturing before a group of teachers and student representatives, discussions and criticism on the trial lecture and, after making the proposed readjustments, the writing of a detailed teaching plan.

With all the above preparations, the teacher may then proceed to the actual classroom lecturing. At this point, he is attended by the Dean or a fellow-teacher selected by the "Group" to supervise him. He is expected to lecture in exactly the same way as planned.

In conclusion, it is difficult to find an appropriate name for this method other than the method of collective teaching, for under this method, every detail of the teaching activity is planned by collective efforts. It

may be postulated that if this method is used in a more flexible way; if the collective discussions are only limited to problems such as the subject matter of the course, the appropriate teaching approaches, and the planning of student assignments etc.; if the purpose of discussion is to foster a mutual exchange of teaching experiences so as to help young inexperienced teachers to improve their teaching, and not for the control of teaching as it obviously is, it would be an excellent method, especially when the large number of teachers are not well qualified. But taking as the way it is, it has many defects as a teaching method, the more conspicuous ones being that it tends to overlook the fact that teaching is an art rather than a mechanical process that can be operated exactly according to plans. It overburdens both the teachers and the students, and by so doing, it hinders both teaching and learning. However, the actual trial of this method will be dealt with in the subsequent chapter.

6. The Target of Higher Education.

Beginning from 1953, the opening year of the First Five-Year Plan for National Economic Construction, education was treated as part of the national construction project.

A detailed plan was set forth to guide the general development of the institutions of higher learning and their teaching programs. The target here refers to the goal of education set forth in the Plan,⁴⁸ the relevant data concerning education are presented in the following.

In general, higher education during the period of the First Five-Year Plan emphasizes the development of the technical universities and the science department of the universities of general studies. At the same time, efforts should be made to develop the schools of agriculture, forestry, teacher-training, and medicine.

In order to carry out the Plan and raise the quality of education, the following points were put forth as guiding principles:

1. The construction of higher education must follow the needs of Socialist construction, it must support the national economic construction plans. (...) The technical schools should gradually be distributed according to the distribution of the construction units.

⁴⁸ The State Statistical Bureau, The First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the People's Republic of China, Peking, People's Publishing House, 1955, 11-238 p.

2. Great efforts should be made to train new teachers. (...) Within five years, the institutions of higher learning should have 34,000 assistant professors and research students, of which 11,000 should be in the technological fields.

3. To learn the progressive experience of the Soviet Union, to integrate it with the Chinese situations in reforming our teaching; to set up and to revise our teaching projects, teaching contents, and teaching methods, and to translate Soviet teaching materials.

4. To promote the system of practice in productive labour.

5. To carry out a steady reform of the educational system according to the immediate and long term demands of the nation. To increase the higher education enrollments, and gradually eliminate the special short courses.

6. To strengthen ideological education and leadership in the schools of higher learning, to promote the study of Marxism-Leninism and the current national policies among the teachers,⁴⁹ the administrative officers, and the students.

The targets for the establishment of new institutions, and that for the enrollment and graduates are summarized in Table I and Table II respectively.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 122.

Table I.-

The Target for the Establishment of New
Institutions of Higher Learning 1953-1957.

Type	No.to be increased 60	-Total No. in 1957 208
Univ. of General Studies	1	15
Economics and Finance	2	5
Linguistic	2	8
Political Science & Law	3	5
Agriculture & Forestry	4	29
Arts	4	14
Medicine	6	32
Engineering	15	47
Pedagogy ^a	23	49

Data from The Statistical Bureau, op.cit.,
p. 120.

a. Including physical culture.

Table II.-

The Target for Enrollment and Graduates of Higher Education 1953-1957.

Type of Schools	Enroll.	Graduates	No. in Sch. 1957.
	543300	283000	434600
Political Science & Law	10600	4800	9300
Economics and Finance ^a	16400	25500	12700
Natural Sciences ^{Medicine}	32600	13800	27100
Liberal Arts	33000	25400	23300
Agriculture & Forestry	41800	18800	37200
Pedagogy ^b	136700	73200	92600
Engineering	214600	94900	177600

Data from The State Statistical Bureau, op.cit., p. 120.

a. The figures in this category are interesting, because the sum of the number of graduates and the number of students remaining in school in 1957 is 38200, which exceeds the total enrollment of the five years by 21800, indicating that the number of students in school in 1952 was nearly twice as much as that of 1957. This is the only case which has a rapid decrease of enrollment.

b. Including physical culture.

In conclusion, it seems appropriate to recall that this chapter attempts to describe the various aspects of the educational ideals of the new era, viz., aim, agent, material, method, as well as the target set forth in the First Five-Year Plan. It is found that the aim of higher education is utilitarian in nature; at the present stage, it is to train a sufficient number of technical personnel for the national economic construction, and in the long run, it is to train the people according to the principle of all-round development. The state is the sole agent of education, it extends direct and complete control over the school and the educand which are considered as instruments under its operation. The new material of education consists of basically two aspects, namely, Communist ideology, and practical knowledge for production. And finally, the method is based on the principle of the integration of theory and practice, and that of the combination of manual labour and mental labour. How well do these ideals stand on trial will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRIAL OF THE NEW IDEALS

The value of an educational system is best revealed by the outcome of its practice in the related social context. As it was discussed in the early part of this report, there is no positive nor negative answer to educational problems, and the quantitative achievements of education, though significant, are meaningless by themselves. Accordingly, this chapter purports to make a qualitative analysis of the way the new educational ideals have stood under trial. The problems that stem from the trial may reveal the degree of effectiveness of the new system and its fitness to Chinese society.

1. The New Educational System on Trial.

The core of an educational system is the aim of that system because it dictates the functions of the agent, material, and method serving under it. This is most true under a centralized system of education, whose aim, often determined by the head of the state concerned, has to be reached by all possible means. Consequently, the trial of such a system may best be seen by the way it strives to reach its aims. The

problems that arise from such endeavours may reveal the fitness of the system to the relevant society.

The chief aim of the new education is to train the people in the ideology of Communism and the basic technical skills necessary for the building of a socialist state. This, as applied to higher education at the present stage, means the production of a sufficient number of technicians who are ideologically sound, i.e., willing to serve the state faithfully and unconditionally, and who have, at the same time, acquired a sufficient amount of knowledge and skill to be able to participate in the national economic construction. In order to achieve such aims, it was thought that centralized planning and control of education would be the best system; consequently, the government claimed itself to be the sole governing agent of education.

Throughout the eight years under study, these new ideals have been extensively propagandized and enforced. Systematic and firm measures have been taken to see that they were practised as planned. To what extent these new ideals have been achieved is perhaps too early to assess properly at the present stage, as the new system has only been working at full capacity since 1953, only long enough to have produced the first group of students trained entirely under its

control. However, it is believed that an analysis of the end-results of the practice of the new educational system during this comparatively short period, and the problems arising from it, may reveal the merits or defects of the new ideals.

The new educational ideals called for the promotion of three qualities among the students, viz. high political-ideological levels, high professional standards, and good health conditions. The achievement of these criteria should be the best proof of the effectiveness of the policies of the new educational system.

High political-ideological levels in this context refer to the development in the student's mind of the intrinsic values of the Communist outlook of life. In broad terms, this means the outlook of collectivism as well as total faith and devotion in serving the state and the people.

Throughout the years, great efforts have been made to propagandize and reinforce this ideology among the intellectuals. It was generally claimed that such efforts have been effective, for the government has won general support from the people, but from time to time, there were results which indicated that these efforts had been wasted and, in some respects, even had brought negative results.

Early in 1954, the government was confronted with a vital economic problem as a consequence of the flood damage of that year and the extreme shortage of manpower in the countryside occasioned by the crowding of the youths into the schools. It was officially pointed out that:

At present, there exists in our society an incorrect viewpoint: the belief that the present graduates from the primary and secondary schools should all continue their education. Those who are unable to do so and have to join productive work consider themselves as being deprived of their rights. Some of them fall into despair, others even blame the People's Government. This is an extremely unhealthy ideology, whose root is found in the feudalistic and bourgeois viewpoint of despising manual labour.¹

In order to change this situation, the government launched an intensive propaganda program throughout the country and took measures to strengthen the political education in the schools. The problem was solved temporarily. But the effects of such political education and propaganda seemed to be only momentary. The ideal of love of study and contempt for manual labour persisted among the students.

¹ Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, "The Propaganda Program Concerning the Viewpoint that Graduates from Senior Primary and Junior Middle Schools Should Join Productive Labour", in People's Education, Vol. V, No. 6, issue of June 1954, p. 7.

In 1957, this problem was again apparent. Special propaganda materials were again released all over the country to convince the youths to join the labour force for the glorious mission of Socialist construction. The editor of the Teacher's Daily, in reviewing and editing one of the editorials of the People's Education depicting the nature and the seriousness of the problem titled the essay as The Alarm Bell of Education.²

It must be admitted that there is no fault on the part of the government in not providing higher education for all the secondary school graduates. No government in the world could be expected to do such a thing in the present era. Again there is no fault on the part of the students for being anxious to continue their schooling. On the contrary, this shows their keen interest for knowledge and progress which is an excellent sign in itself. The fault lies in the basic educational policy of the state. In the countries of the Western world, with special reference to England and America, the general policy is education for all based on ability, aptitude, and academic achievements. Under such a system, the students can judge for themselves whether they are fit for a higher education or not, and would be content

² Editor, "The Alarm Bell of Education", in The Teacher's Daily, issue of 10 May 1957, p. 1, Col. 1, p.2, Cols. 1-4.

to do something else if they should find themselves unfit. In China, the general policy is education for all according to the needs of the state, and such needs vary from year to year. Thus, in a certain year, the government may decide to enroll all those who could possibly be enrolled into the schools of higher learning at the expense of lowering the general standard, as it was the case in 1952, and in another year, as in 1955, the number of enrollments suddenly dropped leaving a large number of secondary school graduates out of school. The same pattern was repeated in 1956 and 1957 respectively. Under such circumstances, it is but natural that the students are bewildered as to what is the correct thing to do. Thus, it is conspicuous that the basic solution to this problem should be found in the fundamental principle of education, certain modification of the present policy is perhaps necessary.

Yet, in spite of these facts, the government seemed to be satisfied with the policy. It was claimed that the ideological levels of the students were raised. The arguments

given are as follows:

Since the inauguration of the People's Republic, (...) the percentage of students of worker-peasant origin has gradually been increased. Up to the present, it has already reached 34.1% of the total student body.

Following the strengthening of the political-ideological education by the Party, the greater number of students have joined the Communist Youth League and other Communist organizations. According to the 1956 statistics, students who have joined the Communist Party have reached 8.8% of the total number, and those who have joined the Youth League constituted 57.3%. At present, more than 90 per cent of the university graduates are voluntarily obeying the unified allocation of work by the state.³

Literarily, this report is true and the statistics given appear valid when checked with those given by other sources. But there are a few points which need deliberate discussion. These points are specifically presented for discussion because they need qualified interpretation to bring out their true meaning, as they appear so often in the literature on the subject that the readers are usually led to take them at their face value. The first point is concerning the relationship between the family background of an individual and his political ideology. As seen in the first part of the above quotation, it was taken for

³ Chang Chuen, "The Great Achievements of Our Higher Education during the Eight Years since the Establishment of Our Country", in Kwong Ming Daily, issue of October 1, 1957.

granted that merely being born of worker-peasant origin would assure an individual to be of the finest (Communist) political-ideological quality. This in fact is not necessarily true. The second point is of a similar nature. In the second section of the quotation, the author vividly made a generalization that merely joining the Communist organizations assures one of having a good political-ideological quality, but in another official source, it was pointed out that there existed among the party members large numbers of rightists. This, as explained by the same report, was due to the following facts:

1. The majority of the party members came from non-working-class families.
2. The Party has grown rather rapidly and adequate attention has not been paid to the qualification of each new admission.
3. The great majority of the party members joined the Party in the days after our Party had won nation-wide victory. At the time when they joined, they lacked genuine socialist consciousness.

A third point concerns the meaning of the concept of "voluntary". In general, voluntary is associated with free will, and free will is only possible when there are adequate choices to make. Unfortunately, this is not the case in China. Under the unified allocation system, there is no employment in the country that is left uncontrolled, which

⁴ Teng Hsiao Ping, Report on the Rectification Campaign, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1957, p. 46.

means that there is no alternative choice left for the university graduates if they do not agree with the central allocation of work.

The political-ideological level of the students may also be seen from the following facts quoted from the Farewell Speech to the 1957 Graduates⁵ made by Chiang Nan Sheng, Dean of the Chinghua University, the largest technical university in China. The Speech pointed out that:

According to the application forms filled by our students earlier, there exists a contradiction between the individual wishes of our students and the practical needs of our state. This is mainly manifested in the following two points; the choice for the location of work, and the nature of work.

With reference to the allocation of work, (...) 324 students applied to work in Peking, constituting more than half the number of this year's graduates; only 2 applied to work in the North-eastern Areas. But according to the central allocation planning, (...) far more people are needed to work in the North-eastern Areas.

With reference to the nature of work, (...) 343 graduates applied to do research work and teaching, 160 applied to work in the designing units, and only 83 are willing to work in the factories, mines, and construction units. (...) But the need of the state is by far in the opposite direction.

⁵ Chiang Nan Sheng, "Farewell speech to the 1957 Graduates", in People's Education, Vol. VIII, No. 10, issue of Oct. 1957, p. 146-149.

Other than this, 296 individuals asked for special considerations concerning their work allocation for reasons of health, family difficulties, and fiancée relationships. Only 16 expressed their willingness to obey the central allocation board unconditionally.⁶

These facts are obviously in contradiction to Chang's claim that ninety per cent of the graduates are voluntarily obeying the central allocation of work. In fact they reveal that the majority of the students are manifesting individualistic tendencies rather than collective notions, which is contrary to the ideals that the new education is trying to inculcate in them. This is the first group of students educated entirely under the new system, yet from the above report, it is conspicuous that they prefer family life rather than collective life, broad and deep knowledge rather than limited skills, and intellectual labour rather than manual labour. Yet from the official reports at large, it seems that the educators and administrators do not recognize the root of these facts. In the same speech, Chiang blamed such manifestations of individualistic viewpoints on residual bourgeois ideology still active among the intellectuals, but clearly indicated that these manifestations would eventually be weeded out. As a representative of the administrators

6 Ibid, p. 146.

of education, he failed to realize that even if his opinion was correct, the fact that the new political education has failed to achieve its aims was also clearly indicated. At the same time, he failed to conceive that there existed the possibility that the new ideals of education themselves may not be sound and completely suitable to the Chinese mentality.

The second objective of the new education is to raise the professional level of the teachers and the students and on this point, there seems to be no feasible way of estimating the standards of the new higher education. The difficulty lies in the development of a set of proper criteria, and the fact that there exists different concepts of higher education, different concepts of knowledge. In addition, there is no proper basis for comparing the academic levels of the traditional universities with those of the new ones. Moreover, any estimation made at this point does not necessarily reveal the effectiveness or defect of the new system, as it has only been tried for a relatively short time during the greater part of which its function was hindered by transitional adjustments. In view of these conditions an attempt is made here to analyze the causa sine qua non for the development of high professional levels. This may not furnish a basis for generalization on past achievements, but it may at least provide some foundation for the prediction of future achievements on an a priori logic.

Accordingly, analysis is made with reference to the following factors which are believed to be the causa sine qua non for the development of high academic standards: (1) The balanced development of culture and science. (2) The objective and balanced study of theories and skills. (3) Adequate study of foreign languages. (4) Systematic research work. (5) Adequate qualified teaching staffs. (6) Proper working conditions, which include the permission of academic freedom, sufficient facilities, appropriate time allotment, and comfortable living.

Concerning the first point, it is observed that the study of the humanities is largely ignored in the institutions of higher education. As revealed earlier, higher education during the period of the First Five-Year Plan lays special emphasis on the development of technology and science.⁷ From the statistics quoted on p. 91, only six per cent of the students are enrolled in the field of humanities and under the new curriculum, cultural subjects are excluded from the curricula of the technical universities. Apart from this, there is an obvious omission of topics dealing with the teaching and learning of the humanities in the current educational literature. However, it should be added that this does

7 The National Statistics Bureau, op.cit., p. 120.

not mean that new China is ignoring the development of literature and the arts. Quite on the contrary, these are greatly encouraged and fostered. The new trend seems to leave the development of literature and the arts to the public rather than confining them to the realm of the university. This can be seen from the great efforts made by the government to foster folk literature and the arts during recent years.

Concerning the second point, the objective and balanced study of theories and skill, the general tendency is to stress the learning of skills, and when theories are studied, primary preference is given to the Soviet theories whenever possible. While this idea agrees with the utilitarian educational viewpoints and the general policy of learning from the USSR, which are appropriate of themselves, the actual practice seems to have gone too far, to the extent of degrading higher education whereby the mere acquisition of general technical skills becomes of paramount importance. Also the Soviet academic achievements have been elevated to a distinguished position.

Soviet teaching materials reign supreme. Interesting enough, this also applies to the teaching of the English

language -- a viewpoint put forth by Huang Chia Teh⁸ of the Shantung University. In biochemistry, the work of Zelinsky which hold that the protein structure is made up of a group of peptides working as a unit is taught. In genetics, Mendelism is being regulated and more attention is given to the Soviet viewpoint which stresses the preponderant importance of environment over heredity. And in psychology, the subject matter is solely confined to the work of Pavlov and Ivanov-Smolensky. A general survey of the current literature reveals that the general tendency is to oppose Western theories, even in the field of science where it is imperative to teach them. Such viewpoints are almost always expressed with political-ideological sentiments with no sign of factual substantiation. But the fact that many of these articles are written by educators and teachers worries the author. There is already signs that some of the younger generations are firmly believing that Western scientific achievements are inferior and not worth any attention; there is already a general tendency among the university students to ignore the current relevant literature in their research works, and

⁸ Huang Chia Teh, "Superiority of Soviet Teaching Materials of the English Language", in Kwong Ming Daily, issue of March 28, 1953, p. 4.

condemning it as bourgeois and a waste of time and energy. Where and to what level could China possibly advance academically if these tendencies continue? The implications of such prejudiced and sentimental inclinations on the future generations should be meditated with sincere anxiety by Chinese educators.

With reference to the qualifications of the teachers, it should be pointed out that the demands for the number of teachers occasioned by the rapid development of higher education are so intensive at the present stage, that teacher training has only been able to cope with the quantitative aspect. This objective was basically achieved during the period of the First Five-Year Plan. In fact, it is reported that at present, the average teacher-student ratio in the institutions of higher education is 1:7⁹ which, compared to that of other countries, is the lowest. However, qualitatively, 60% of the teachers are newly trained, many are fresh college graduates, special graduates who left school in advance because of current needs, or even graduates from special

⁹ Tseng Chao Lun, "Improve the Quality of Our Higher Education", in People's Education, Vol. VIII, No. 4, issue of April 1957, p. 114.

short course colleges.¹⁰ It is clear then, that there is still a long way to go before the general qualifications of the teachers of higher education could be raised to a competent level.

With reference to the general knowledge standard of foreign languages achieved by the students, it is agreed that it is comparatively lower than the pre-Liberation period.¹¹ This is not difficult to explain. Before the Liberation, English was the lingua franca for university education, and the language had been widely taught at the secondary schools for nearly a century. With the introduction of the new system, the major foreign language study was shifted to Russian, which was new to the majority of the teachers. Consequently, while the teaching of the English language was discontinued to a large extent, adequate teachers of Russian were not yet available to carry on the new order. The result was that neither of the two foreign languages was learned.

Concerning the standard of research work done under the new educational system, it is considered that the ideal method of evaluation is to have the research reports rated

¹⁰ Chang Tsung Lin, "Concerning the Achievements of Higher Education and a Few Relevant Problems", in People's Education, Vol. VII, No. 9, issue of September 1956, p. 84.

¹¹ Kim Hsi Wu, "Is the Teaching Reform Correct or Wrong", in People's Daily, issue of 23 June 1957, p. 4.

with an established rating scale. But unfortunately, this is impracticable, as the large bulk of them are not published. Confronted with such a position, it is proposed that an indirect method may be appropriate, viz. the method of examining whether the pre-requisite conditions for genuine research were available. Granted that there is among the students and faculty members the necessary intellectual maturity and motivation, these pre-requisite conditions may include: freedom of enquiry, sufficient facilities, adequate time, and comfortable living conditions.

Freedom of enquiry as an essential condition for genuine research is an established truth. The human intellect can function for good only when it is free. It can only be creative when it is not confined by orders and strict directions. Educationally, the development of independent and creative thinking is only possible when the teachers are free to teach their viewpoints; when the students are constantly exposed to a diversity of thought; when an adequate number of choices is presented. Unfortunately, this is impossible under the new system of education, whose basic purpose is to ensure the uniformity and conformity of thought. However, there are arguments that academic freedom has always been assured in higher educational circles. Those who hold this view often refer to the policy of "Let flowers of many

kinds blossom, diverse schools of thought contend" put forth by the Central People's Government in 1956 as proof. However, they fail to see that in practice, flowers are only allowed to blossom as far as they adjust themselves to the Communist nourishment, and schools of thought may contend in so far as they do not conflict with the Communist ideology. Expressed differently, academic freedom is permitted as long as the person who exercises this freedom is in conformity with the accepted ideology. For example, it was declared in the above policy that:

Among the people themselves there is freedom, not only to spread materialism, but also to propagate idealism. Provided he is not a counter revolutionary, everyone is free to expound materialism or idealism.¹²

Now a brief perusal of this declaration may lead one to perceive that freedom in this context does not mean freedom as such, since it is impossible for any one who propagates idealism not be considered as counter revolutionary.

The next essential condition for genuine research is sufficient facilities. This basically includes laboratory and library equipment. During the eight years since the Liberation, great efforts have been made to add new supplies to the teaching facilities, but due to the rapid increase

¹² Lu Ting Yi, Let Flowers of Many Kind Blossom, Schools of Thought Contend, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1957, p. 9.

of enrollment, this job still appears inadequate. Thus, reporting to the third session of the Second Chinese People's Consultation Conference held in March 1957, Tseng said that "although large quantities of laboratory apparatus have been added, the necessary facilities needed in certain branches of teaching and research are still lacking".¹³ On the other hand, Bernal, professor of physics of University of London, who had visited China and lectured in twenty of the major institutions of higher learning, reported that "The equipment of the university scientific laboratories is in general very good."¹⁴ It seems that both reports are true, but that their authors view things with different perspectives. On the one hand, it is true that the amount of money spent on the purchase of new teaching facilities is relatively modest considering the increasing demand presented by the rapid increase of enrollment; moreover, owing to the embargo, it has been difficult or impossible to purchase certain types of apparatus from the Western countries. On the other hand,

¹³ Tseng Chao Lun, "Improve the Quality of Our Higher Education", in People's Education, Vol. VIII, No. 4, issue of April 1957, p.114.

¹⁴ J.D. Bernal, "Science and Technology in China", in Universities Quarterly, Vol. II, No.1, issue of November 1956, p. 69.

Bernal pointed out that local factories and university-industrial co-operations were already producing sufficient X-ray equipment, optical apparatus, and other laboratory apparatus at low costs. He predicted that "the time in which China will become largely independent of foreign supplies and will indeed be able to export scientific apparatus, is rapidly approaching."¹⁵

With reference to library equipment, there are at present thirty-five million volumes in the libraries of higher education institutions, approximately two thirds of which have been newly added since the Liberation.¹⁶ However, it is revealed that these volumes are largely controlled and left unused. Thus, Chang Wei, Dean of the Civil Engineering Department of the great Chinghua University, reported:

The library of our school ranked as one of the best among the higher institutions before the Liberation. But now, apart from a new scattered textbooks, the shelves are standing empty. The sets of foreign scientific and technical handbooks we had are now all stored in the book-bank, and our students are not easily allowed to read them. Handbooks of the same nature bought from the Soviet Union are not adequate, they are also not arranged on the shelves. It was reported that the school authority was afraid that they may be lost.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 70.

¹⁶ Chang Chuen, "Our Higher Education is Progressing", in People's Education, Vol. VIII, No. 1, issue of January 1957, p. 7.

The same administrative chaos is found in the Peking Library and the Library of the Academia Sinica. For example, the whole sets of foreign academic journals belonging to the Peking Library are locked up in cases, and their relevant index cards eliminated. The official explanations given for this was that nobody was interested in these foreign journals. (...) In the Library of the Academia Sinica, the books given by the Soviet Science Academy are badly organized; they are stuffed on the shelves without any classification.¹⁷

Now, since these are the best libraries in China, their conditions may well reflect those conditions of other libraries. Apart from this, Fung You Lan, an internationally well known philosopher, now teaching in Peking University, also complained about the limited reading space of the library of Peking University. Thus he pointed out that,

Since the reorganization in 1952, Peking University has extended her building with an area larger than the total extension of the past thirty years. But the library has not been extended. (...) We are in need, in urgent need of a new library, but it has never been built. The limited reading space of the present library not only hindered the actualization of the potentiality of our school members, but also the use of our book resources.¹⁸

17 Chang Wei, "Looking at the Problems of the Intellectuals under the New Circumstances", in People's Education, Vol. VII, No. 2, issue of Feb. 1957, p. 93.

18 Fung You Lan, "Actuate the Potentiality of Our Intellectuals", in People's Education, Vol. VII, No. 2, issue of February, 1957, p. 96.

At this point it may be postulated that such poor library conditions and the lack of freedom of enquiry would hinder both teaching and learning, and consequently affect their academic standards.

Concerning the working conditions of teachers, it is basic that teachers should be provided with an adequate and comfortable living and a reasonable and flexible working schedule, if they are expected to do their job well. Unfortunately, under the new system, teachers are not able to enjoy such conditions. In general, they are required to do their routine teaching and preparation which include, as revealed in the previous chapter, attending the regular meetings of the "Group of Teaching Design and Direction", preparing their lectures, and rehearsing them. Along with these, they are also required to participate in political-ideological discussion groups of all levels, and occasionally, to perform manual labour. A rather complete account of this was made by Chang Tsung Lin, the once Deputy Director of the Department of Higher Education, who seriously pointed

out that:

During the recent few years, the students and teachers not only have to spend more than ten hours a day in work and study with no rest on Sundays, but even their summer and winter vacations are also filled up with schedules for production, practice, or other activities. This is actually another way of cancelling these vacations. There are many factors responsible for this, viz., the demand of elaborate teaching plans, the excessive number of compulsory subjects, the excessive lecture hours (approximately 35 hours per week), and the excessive number of unnecessary but rigidly compulsory teaching meetings. (...) These are sufficient to over burden both the teachers as well as the students, but, in addition, there are also many social activities that are allocated to the schools. During the past few years, from dawn till mid-night, from New Year's day to New Year's eve, all the higher institutions over the country appeared as if they were battle field engaged in hot wars. As a result, both the students and teachers were burdened with fatigue, and their health conditions declined from year to year.¹⁹

In a latter part of the same article, Chang warned that if such conditions were prolonged, the result would be unimaginable. He contended that there should be some reform in the present system, and that the institutions of higher learning should be made places of tranquility and academic atmosphere. This is certainly a viewpoint which clearly shows insight.

19 Chang Tsung Lin, op. cit., p. 84-85.

With reference to the material aspect of the living conditions of the teachers, the general salary scale ranges from 80 to 180 yuens²⁰ per month. According to Fung, this means:

The living condition would be quite bad, if the teacher has no past savings or extra income made by publications, and if he has a relatively large family. (...) Many teachers could not save any spare money to buy books. (...) Book collecting is a special pleasure enjoyed by scholars, but at present, a large number of them can not afford this pleasure.²¹

Actually, humble living condition is to be expected in a poor country like China, especially at the present stage when the country is concentrating her resources for her national reconstruction. But what Fung could not agree was the fact that there existed a distinctive difference of pay between the teachers and the administrators. Thus he continued in the same report:

There is one thing about which the teachers could not agree. They feel that the gap between their salaries and those of the administrators is too big. As it is clearly indicated on the pay sheet, the salary of the teachers only belongs to the fourth grade, the first three grades being set for the administrators. (...) They feel that although the responsibilities of the two are somewhat different, yet such a difference is so big as to make the administrators receive a salary three grades above that of the teachers.²²

²⁰ The present currency is approximately three yuens to one U.S. dollar.

²¹ Fung You Lan, op. cit., p. 96.

²² Ibid, p. 96.

It seems paradoxical that problems of this nature should exist in a nation whose basic principle is built on equality. The fact that they do exist suggests that either the principle of equality is put up as a signboard for selling something else, or there exists a weakness in the system of administration which allow too much power in the hands of a small group of people. In any case, what is most important is that there should be some way to improve the working conditions of the intellectuals. The key-action lies in the hands of the government, and she certainly does realize the importance of such improvements and there have been from time to time, proposals concerning this point. For example, the Report on the Question of Intellectuals²³ pointed out that:

In order to mobilize the intelligentsia to the fullest possible extent and bring their strength into full play, it is essential to provide them with the necessary working conditions and appropriate treatment.²⁴

But, judging from the sequence of this Report and those complaints quoted earlier, it seems that such improvements were slow in action. In fact, it is doubtful whether any

²³ Chou En-lai, Report on the Question of Intellectuals, Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1956, 45 p.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 20.

real effort has been made in this direction. Following the reading of the Report, a Bureau for Chinese Experts was established under the State Council to deal with the special problems of the intellectuals. Its mission was to conduct the unified planning of work allocation, enforce further ideological remoulding of intellectuals, and promote the work of recruiting intellectuals into the Party. It is obvious that all these were devised to achieve one mission, namely, to strengthen the basic principle that the state and the Party should have supreme leadership over all educational and cultural activities. The original unsatisfactory working conditions remain unimproved.

Finally, concerning the third aspect of the aim of education, the aspect of developing the health of the students, the general practice has been more satisfactory. Quite different from the traditional system, the new system requires that physical culture be a compulsory subject in all schools. From a social perspective, on the preventative side, great efforts have been made to publicize the importance of medical prevention, medical treatment, and sanitary living. Across the country, school children and house-wives are mobilized to carry on the onslaught of harmful insects and other sources of the fermentation of diseases, and to keep their environment clean. This has been very effective,

in fact, in almost all the descriptions of travels in new China, there is an account of how clean the country has become. On the active side, national sports, traditional and modern, are greatly encouraged and promoted in all social sectors. There has been little difficulty with this ideal as the motivation has always been there. No other people have been so keen on improving their health than the Chinese who have been wittily called "The sick man of East Asia"!

However, there were other factors counter-acting these efforts, namely, food shortage and over-fatigue, resulting from the new drive for national construction. But, in general, it seems that these factors were not serious enough to affect the health condition of the students and the teachers to a noticable extent.

Judging from the above observations, it seems justifiable to say that the general health conditions of the university students are normal. In this respect, Bernal reported: "I judged the physique of the students to be excellent".²⁵

At this point, it may be appropriate to recall that in this section, attempts are made to survey the trial of the new educational ideals with reference to the four aspects of education, aim, agent, material, and method. It was found

25 J. D. Bernal, op. cit., p. 68.

that the process of such trials has not been smooth, and the results obtained so far have been unsatisfactory. Many problems have arisen from the practice of the new system, some of which were caused by temporary mistakes on the part of some administrators, but most of them seemed to arise from the basic principles of the new system. The next section intends to survey the trials of the educational target as set in the First Five-Year Plan.

2. The Target on Trial.

As specified at the end of Chapter III, the educational target of the First Five-Year Plan set forth certain principles for the development of higher education as well as statistical targets to be reached during the same period. In this section, analysis is made to see if these principles were followed during the process of development, and if the statistical targets have been reached.

Speaking of the principle that technical universities should be distributed in accordance with the needs of the new industrial development, great efforts have been made to establish, as well as to transfer, the already established universities in the new industrial areas in the interior. Before the Liberation, the distribution of the universities was largely concentrated in the few big

cities along the coast. As a result of this, while many university graduates were suffering from constant unemployment in the big cities, the rich virgin inland areas of the country remained undeveloped because of the complete lack of engineers and other trained personnel. During the period of the First Five-Year Plan, this state of uneven distribution has been changed, the result of which is shown in Table III. This change is very significant because the greater part of China's natural resources lies in the inland areas, and the migration of universities into these domain provides the areas with the best source of skilled technicians whom they certainly need. Apart from this, the establishment of universities in the inland also helps attract people from the densely populated coastal provinces to these still scantily inhabited but potentially rich areas.

With reference to the target of teacher-training, it was reported that 52,000 new teachers were trained during the period of the First Five-Year Plan,²⁶ a number far surpassing the original target of 34,000. As revealed in the previous chapter, the professional qualifications of these new teachers were low in general, but it seems that there is no alternative way of meeting the increasing demand for

²⁶ Chang Chuen, "Our Higher Education is Progressing", in People's Education, Vol. VIII, No. 1, issue of January 1957, p. 7.

Table III.-

A Comparison of the Distribution of Schools of Higher Learning in the Coastal and Inland Areas between 1949 and 1957.

Year	<u>No. of Institutions</u>		<u>Proportion of Enroll.</u>	
	Coastal A.	Inland A.	Coastal A.	Inland A.
1949	118	87	61.4	38.6
1957	113	114	55.9	44.1

Data from Chang Chuen, op.cit., p.7.

teachers as a result of the rapid increase of university enrollments, other than by producing them in large quantities at the expense of quality. However, this may be remedied by the introduction of intensive in-service training programmes to provide the newly trained teachers with the means of improving their standards.

The target also laid down the general principle of learning from the experience of the Soviet Union, enforcing the system of practice in productive work, reforming the educational system to meet the demands of the state, and strengthening the ideological education and central leadership in the schools. In general, as revealed in the previous section, these principles were followed systematically.

Concerning the target of the establishment of new institutions of higher education during the First Five-Year Plan, 79 new institutions were founded during the period, exceeding the original target of 60 by 19. The total number of schools of higher education in 1957 was 227.²⁷

²⁷ , "An Over-all Picture of the Development of Education in New China", originally in Statistical Work, No. 22, issue of 1957, re-edited in People's Education, Vol. VIII, No. 3, issue of March, 1958, p. 139.

With reference to enrollment, a total of 556,000 students were enrolled in the schools of higher learning during this period, exceeding the original target of 543,300 by 12,700.²⁸

In connection with the target of graduates, the picture is different. The actual number of graduates turned out during this period did not reach the target number. A comparison of the two sets of statistics is given in Table IV. It is interesting to note that while the number of graduates in the various departments did not reach their respective targets, those of the Department of Political Science and Law, and the Department of Economic and Finance far exceeded their targets. This is rather extraordinary, because at the present stage, China needs most of all engineers, physicians, and teachers. Other than this, it is also interesting to note that while the enrollment has exceeded the original target, the number of graduates did not increase accordingly; in fact, it did not even reach the original target. This illogical gap between the enrollment and the corresponding number of graduates may perhaps be explained by the postulation that there were a considerable number of students who dropped their studies during this period. The authorities of the First Five-Year Plan either had overlooked

28 Chang Chuen, op. cit., p. 6.

Table IV.-

A Comparison between the Number of Graduates from the Different Departments of Higher Education and Their Respective Targets during the Period 1953-1957.

Department	Target Number	No. of Graduates	Compar.
Pol. Science & Law	4800	13717	+
Natural Sciences	13800	12027	-
Agriculture	18800	15424	-
Liberal Arts	25400	18987	-
Economics & Finance	25500	29373	+
Medicine	26600	25918	-
Pedagogy	73200	65525	-
Engineering	94900	87984	-
All departments	282100	269000	-

Data from the State Statistical Bureau, The First Five-Year Plan of the People's Republic of China for the Development of National Economy, 1953-1957, Peking, People's Publishing House, 1955, p. 120; and The State Statistical Bureau, Ten Great Years, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1960, p. 194.

the fact that it is natural that a proportion of the students are unable to complete their education, or they had too sure a conviction that education is just a mechanical process by which all students could be made to complete their assigned education. This conviction is against the natural pattern of development and has been tested and found unsound.

In conclusion, it seems appropriate to recall that this chapter purports to make a critical survey of the trial of the new educational system and the educational target set forth in the First Five-Year Plan. The objectives of the survey are to estimate the qualitative as well as the quantitative educational achievements during this period, and to analyze the problems that arose from the practice of the new system. Qualitatively, the new ideals of education aimed at the development of the students in three aspects of development, namely, (1) the political ideological aspect, (2) the professional aspect and (3) the physical aspect. With reference to this, it is found that the results obtained has been unsatisfactory in the first two aspects and good in the third. Quantitatively, the targets for the establishment of new institutions, teacher-training, and enrollment have been surpassed, but the target for the number of graduates was not met. Thus, it may be concluded that quantitatively, the educational development during the First Five-Year Plan

has been remarkable, so much so that it is beyond comparison with any other country for that given period of time. However, qualitatively, and judging on the basis of local criteria and standards, the development has been unsatisfactory.

The new educational ideals have been tried out according to the original plan and policies, but in general, the trial has not been smooth. Many problems have arisen in the course of the practice of the new system, some of which were caused by temporary operational mistakes. Nevertheless, most of the problems, such as that raised by the fact that the students are manifesting individualistic and bourgeois ideology, although they are being trained in the opposite direction, and the problem that there is a growing discontent among the intellectuals over their improper working conditions, seem to undermine the basic principles of the new system. The nature of these problems and the probability of their continued occurrence seem to suggest that the new educational ideals do not fit Chinese society nor the Chinese mentality, and consequently, substantial modifications are necessary.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This report attempts to present a critical survey of higher education in the People's Republic of China during the period 1949-1957. Specifically, it purports (1) to present a general overall view of the various aspects of higher education, viz. aim, agent, material, and method with appropriate interpretations; (2) to assess the educational achievements during the First Five-Year Plan period on the basis of the official targets; (3) to discuss some of the problems arising from the practice of the new educational ideals; and (4) to point out the actual and possible implications of the new educational policies as well as to propose means for future improvements.

It is found that a reform of higher education was necessary at the time of the inauguration of the People's Republic in 1949, when China began to strive for national unity, economic reconstruction, and industrialization. The traditional institutions of higher education, which were ill-coordinated, poorly financed, irrationally distributed, and inefficient, were inadequate to cope with the new demands.

Beginning from 1949, a reform of higher education was in process, in which substantial changes were made in all aspects of education. Under the new system, the aim

of higher education is to train with a rapid tempo an adequate number of technical personnel to carry out tasks of national economic construction, and to shape the students according to the principle of all-round development, i.e., development in Communist ideology, in practical knowledge and productive skills, and in health. The final goal is to eliminate differences among the people and to transform them into a unified character which would act according to the interest and demands of the State and the Communist Party. The State is the sole agent of education, it extends direct and complete control over the school and the educand which are considered as instruments under its manipulation. The new material of education consists of basically two parts, namely, Communist ideology, and practical knowledge and productive skills. With regard to method, the new method is based on the principle of the integration of theory and practice, and that of the combination of mental labour and manual labour. Teaching is being supervised and controlled by the "Group of Teaching Design and Direction" which is organized in all schools.

Quantitatively, the development of higher education during the First Five-Year Plan has been remarkable, so much so that it is beyond comparison with any other country for that given period of time; referring to the official

targets, the targets for the establishment of new institutions, teacher-training, and enrollment have been surpassed, but the target for the number of graduates was not met.

Qualitatively, the development has been unsatisfactory when judged with the criteria included in the principle of all-round development; the political ideology of the students was not in conformity with Communist ideology, their professional level was not up to standard, but their physical conditions have been good.

The new educational ideals have been tried out according to the original plan and policies, but in general the trial has not been smooth. Many problems have arisen in the course of the practice of the new system, a large number of which, such as those raised by the fact that the students are manifesting individualistic and bourgeois ideology, although they are being trained in the opposite direction, and those concerning the growing discontent among the intellectuals over their improper working conditions, seem to undermine the basic principles of the new system. As these problems arose from the policies of over-centralization of educational administration and ideological control, some substantial modifications on these policies seem to be inevitable.

Perhaps it is appropriate to point out that the state, as a representative body of the people, is organized by the people for the pursuit and conduct of their own common welfare, its function should rest upon the desire and consent of its citizens. It is neither an all-inclusive entity of itself, nor an organization somehow devised to keep the people working for its own end. Perhaps it is also pertinent to point out that the central authority of a state is an organ working within the framework of the state, for the promotion of the welfare of the people. It is neither an equivalence of the state, nor is it endowed with any power to determine the goal of the state. Such a goal should be determined by the people according to their common needs and desires. It should never be shaped after the desire and conviction of a few individuals who are in power.

With reference to educational administration, the function of the central authority should be to define general aims of education after consultation with the people and to see to it that common efforts are directed to reach such aims. This should be done by means of persuasion, encouragement, and financial assistance to the schools, and not by rigid ideological control. It should entrust the decision of educational policies and programs to professional experts and other publicly recognized agencies, instead of

leaving such decisions to politicians who are not qualified to do so.

Yet, democratic ideals are not new to China, they have been tried for nearly half a century in the preceeding age without any sign of success. Freedom of the individual involves the recognition and acceptance of a certain responsibility in the use of that freedom, what the preceeding age has failed to achieve was the cultivation of such a sense of responsibility. Extreme individualism was the apparent result, the consequences were national disunity and social instability. In revolt against the evil of this extreme individualistic ideology, China has moved to the other extreme. While this reaction seems theoretically logical, when judged by the results so far apparent, its appropriateness is doubtful.

Perhaps Chinese educators who cast their eyes to the future should continue the search for new lights. Perhaps it would be profitable for them to look back into China's glorious past, to analyze and find out factors that led to the distinct scholastic achievements of the great era of "Flowers of many kinds blossom, diverse schools of thought contend" and the flowery age of Tang. Perhaps they should borrow light from abroad, not for the sake of swallowing foreign ideas raw, as their predecessors did, but for the sake of nourishing themselves with food for thought. In this connection, perhaps it is appropriate to cite from Maritain,

that the solution to modern problems is

to replace the individualism of the bourgeois era not by totalitarianism or the sheer collectivism of the beehive but by a personalistic and communal civilization, grounded on human rights and satisfying the social aspirations and needs of man. Education must remove the rift between the social claim and the individual claim within man himself. It must therefore develop both the sense of freedom and the sense of responsibility, human rights and human obligations, the courage to take risks and exert authority for the general welfare and the respect for the humanity of each individual person.¹

This may be the guide for future educational developments in China.

Research in Chinese education is still in its embryonic stage. As a pioneer attempt in this field, the present study tried to encompass its full scope. In doing so, it could not avoid being incomplete and unspecific in some of its discussions. Thus, the organization and function of the new teaching organization, the "Group of Teaching Design and Direction" which is one of the distinctive characteristics of the new educational system, was not adequately described, and the causes of the discrepancy between the increased enrollment and the decreased number of graduates during the First Five-Year Plan was only explained on the basis of provisional postulations; each of these gaps

¹ Jacques Maritain, Education at the Crossroads, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1960, p. 89.

constitutes a topic for research by itself. Along with this, it would be interesting to conduct an extensive critical survey of the research topics, research reports, and examination papers published by the higher institutions; such a survey should reveal the true academic standard of higher education in China. Finally, as the educational reform is still in process, and there have been noticeable developments in higher education since the promulgation of the "Great leap forward" policy in 1958, attempts should be made to continue the present investigation.

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APPENDIX 1

Abstract of

Plan of Readjustment of Engineering Colleges in China¹

I. The Engineering College of Peking University and all the engineering departments of Yenching University are to be incorporated into Tsinghua University, which is to become an advanced polytechnic school, retaining its original name. The College of Arts, Science, and Law, of Tsinghua, and the departments concerning the same of Yenching University are to be incorporated into Peking University, which is to become a university for general studies. The name Yenching is to be eliminated.

II. The Engineering College of Nankai University and that of Tsin Ku University are to be incorporated into Tientsin University.

III. Chekiang University is to become an advanced polytechnic school. The departments of Civil Engineering and Mechanical Engineering of Chih Kiang University are to be incorporated into Chekiang University. The College of Arts of Chekiang University is to be incorporated into Chih Kiang University.

¹ The Conference of Deans of Engineering Colleges in China, "Plan of Readjustment of Engineering Colleges in China", in People's Daily, issue of 16 April 1952.

IV. The Engineering College of Nanking University is to be combined with the Departments of Electrical Engineering and Chemical Engineering of the King Ling University, and with the Department of Architecture of Chih Kiang University to form an independent engineering college.

V. The Department of Aeronautical Engineering of Nanking University and that of Chekiang University are to be incorporated into the College of Aeronautical Engineering of Chiao Tung University.

VI. An independent institute of mining and metallurgy is to be established in Changsha, into which are to be incorporated the Departments of Mining of Wuhan University, Huan University, Kwangsi University, and Nanchang University. The objective of this institute is to train mining and metallurgic technicians for manipulating coloured metals. A Department of Coal Mining and a Department of Steel-refining are also to be set up in this institute.

VII. An institute of Hydraulic Engineering is to be set up in Wuhan University, into which are to be incorporated the Departments of Hydraulic Engineering of Wuhan University, Nanchang University, and Kwangsi University.

VIII. The Engineering Colleges of Chung Shan University and South China Union University, and the Departments of Engineering of Lingnan University and the Canton Engineering School are to be combined to form a new independent Institute of Engineering.

IX. The three engineering colleges in Northeast China are not subject to change at the present stage. However, they should practise the principle of planned division of task. The concrete plan for this division is to be worked out by the authorities of the relevant schools.

X. The Department of Aeronautical Engineering of Southwest Engineering School is to be incorporated into the Peking Engineering College.

APPENDIX 2

ABSTRACT OF

A Critical Survey of Higher Education in the People's Republic of China during the period 1949-1957.¹

This report purports (1) to present a general overall view of the various aspects of higher education, viz. aim, agent, material, and method with appropriate interpretations; (2) to assess the educational achievements during the First Five-Year Plan period on the basis of the official targets; (3) to discuss some of the problems arising from the practice of the new educational ideals; and (4) to point out the actual and possible implications of the new educational policies as well as to propose means for future improvements.

It is found that a reform of higher education was necessary at the time of the inauguration of the People's Republic in 1949, when China began to strive for national unity, economic reconstruction, and industrialization.

Beginning from 1949, a reform of higher education was in process, in which substantial changes were made in all aspects of education. Under the new system, the aim of higher education is to train with a rapid tempo an adequate number of technical personnel to carry out tasks of national economic construction, and to shape the students according to

¹ Kong Shiu-Loon, doctoral thesis presented to the School of Psychology and Education of the University of Ottawa, Canada, October 1960, ix-147 p.

the principle of all-round development, i.e., development in Communist ideology, in practical knowledge and productive skills, and in health. The final goal is to eliminate differences among the people and to transform them into a unified character which would act according to the interest and demands of the State and the Communist Party. The State is the sole agent of education, it extends direct and complete control over the school and the educand which are considered as instruments under its manipulations. The new material of education consists of basically two parts, namely, Communist ideology, and practical knowledge and productive skills. With regard to method, the new method is based on the principle of the integration of theory and practice, and that of the combination of mental labour and manual labour. Teaching is being supervised and controlled by the "Group of Teaching Design and Direction" which is organized in all schools.

Quantitatively, the development of higher education during the First Five-Year Plan has been remarkable; specifically, the official targets for the establishment of new institutions, teacher-training, and enrollment have been surpassed, but the target for the number of graduates was not met.

Qualitatively, the development has been unsatisfactory when judged with the criteria included in the principle of all-round development; the political ideology of the students was not in conformity with Communist ideology, their

professional level was not up to standard, but their physical conditions have been good.

The new educational ideals have been tried out according to the original plan and policies, but in general the trial has not been smooth. Many problems have arisen in the course of the practice of the new system, a large number of which, such as those raised by the fact that the students are manifesting individualistic and bourgeois ideology, although they are being trained in the opposite direction, and those concerning the growing discontent among the intellectuals over their improper working conditions, seem to undermine the basic principles of the new system. As these problems arose from the policies of over-centralization of educational administration and ideological control, some substantial modifications on these policies seem to be inevitable.

It is suggested that the central authority should limit its function to defining general aims of education after consultation with the people, and to render necessary assistance to the schools which promote education within the framework of the defined aims. The decisions of educational policies and programs should be entrusted to professional experts and other publicly recognized agencies.

