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of Glasgow

Oates, John Vincent (1983) Remin jiaoyu - People's education: conflict and change in Chinese education 1950 to 1958. PhD thesis

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**'RENMIN JIAOYU—PEOPLE'S
EDUCATION': conflict and change
in Chinese education, 1950 to 1958.**

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University of Glasgow.

SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.

october 1983

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**TEXT
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Summary

Through the medium of the main educational journal of the decade 'People's Education' or 'Renmin Jiaoyu', this thesis attempts to analyse developments in Chinese education in the 1950s from a Chinese perspective. It is written in the full realisation that educational developments in this period have had a bad press from the limited number of works which have appeared, works which have all too frequently paid scant attention to the views of those most intimately concerned with the system itself, ie the students, teachers and administrators. It is written with the intention of placing the main participants centre stage and relegating, to the wings, those translated sources which hitherto have provided the overwhelming bulk of the information used by research workers.

All the key areas of their activity are considered in the text which follows. Quite naturally, the political campaigns and the full time primary, middle and higher systems are examined but their study is not allowed to dominate the work. The nature and extent of the persisting influence of the bourgeois educationalists is assessed and an analysis is made of the only instance of open debate between conflicting educational methodologies which appeared in the magazine ie the controversy over 'all round development' which took place in the mid 1950s. The nature of the Soviet input is set against an assessment of the Chinese response and substantial attention is given both to mass educational provision and to the effectiveness of the legacy of the Old Liberated Areas.

Indicative of the central role played by the participants are the sections devoted to the discussion of problems, readers' letters and questions and answers.

II

All these main areas are presented within a structure and in a context ordained by the Chinese themselves. By examining the main objectives of the magazine and in trying to assess the nature of its contributions as prescribed by the authorities, the process of conflict and change is thematically studied.

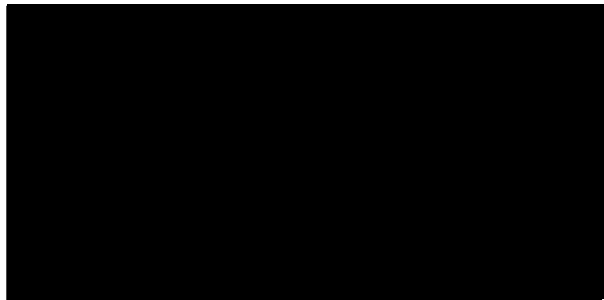
Acknowledgements

During the past 10 years I have been privileged to receive the support of a host of fine people. For their general help and encouragement my sincere thanks go to William Brock, Professor of Modern History at Glasgow during my study period, Jack Gray of the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex, Professor Peter Seybolt of the History Department of the University of Vermont and Andrew Watson, once of the International Economic's Department of Glasgow University. My acquisition of the 96 issues of 'People's Education' was due entirely to the courteous and efficient service of the Glasgow University Library staff and, without the help of Jim White of the University's Soviet Institute the transliteration of the many Soviet names in the index would have been almost impossible.

The problems of 'on post' study have been considerably ameliorated by the kind assistance rendered me by colleagues within the Ayr Division of Strathclyde Education Department - from Mr McLean, Dr White and Mr Cooke who kindly arranged leave of absence to the members of my department at Garnock Academy, Kilbirnie, who took the rough edges off the hassles involved in everyday teaching. Flagging spirits near the end were also revived by the visitation of Wen Meihui of the Institute of Social Science, Peking, who checked the accuracy of some of my sources and gave me an insight into the problems encountered by someone who was actually educated in China during the 1950s. More immediately the compilation of the thesis has been aided by the welcome assistance of David Gillard and Keith Robbins of the Modern History Department at Glasgow.

In conclusion I extend my heartfelt thanks to two wonderful ladies without whom, in a very real sense, this thesis would not have come to fruition. To Lorraine Brennan, a miracle typist of illegible scripts, my warmest regards. To Gill Long, a proof reader of the highest quality and a dear friend, my deepest appreciation.

I dedicate this thesis to my family. Four years ago, when the Index was published, that list extended to only three people - Caroline, John and Margaret Oates. To that list I am now delighted to add the names of my sons Matthew and James. To all the members of my very supportive family, my love.



Vincent Oates.

18th October 1983.

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Introduction

The study of education in China in the 1950s has an importance which is not limited to a specific academic study or professional specialization. Education cannot be studied in isolation. In a Chinese context, the inter-relationship of the educational system with the political and economic systems, the declared educational aims and objectives and the public utterances of the key educational decision makers have an obvious significance in helping us understand more fully the changing pattern of education since 1949 to the present day - and hence we may more fully understand the nature of contemporary Chinese society. But there is also a crucial, wider context. The more the information available about Chinese educational development then the greater is the material at hand to those interested in either comparative socialist education systems or in the role which education plays in developing countries.

In both these aspects a study of educational development in China in the first decade of Communist rule has much to offer. That this offer has not been taken up is due almost entirely to the lack of attention paid by either those interested in education, or in China, to the educational scene in the 1950s.

Even after ten years of research (my research period began in 1973) I am still astounded by the extent to which I have been working in a virgin area. The amount of important, unresearched primary material available is astonishing in both its bulk and relative accessibility. Primary materials exist in abundance in original form and in translation. (1) Obvious factors account for the neglect of the former, but only a very small number of qualitative works have emerged based on the translations which are readily available. Not even the upsurge of interest in Chinese education

which followed the stormy events of 1966-1968 encouraged any significant research of the educational scene in the 1950s - a period as relevant to the study of the educational system which emerged post Cultural Revolution as the Yen'an and other pre Liberation models which are often cited.

Where this modern history thesis lays claim to a unique identity is that it stands squarely in the 1950s and attempts to examine important aspects of educational development from the viewpoint of the Chinese educationalists, important and unimportant, themselves. A viewpoint manifest in the pages of the most important educational magazine published in the 1950s, 'People's Education' or 'Renmin Jiaoyu' (RMJY). To the best of my knowledge, no coordinated attempt has previously been made to examine, in total, the contents of RMJY or any other educational magazine. Some works have seized on the small collection of translated material taken from the magazine and published in SCMP and CB. (2) Other specialists have obtained access to a small number of articles and translated parts of their findings. (3)

My most important research work has involved the collection of the entire 96 issues of the magazine, a translation of its complete index and the subsequent translation of those educational items of obvious importance and relevance to my research. (4,5) In the pages which follow most of the materials used appear for the first time. Whenever another source is used, for translations or for factual detail, it is indicated accordingly. Otherwise, all the contents of the RMJY examined are 'first appearances'.

To this extent, 'People's Education' might be seen as the latchkey which opens the door on the conflicts and developments which characterised Chinese educational developments in the 1950s. It provides

us with a unique insight into every area of educational activity: the full time and part time systems, the conflict endemic in the political campaigns and the crisis involved in rejecting the Western and American educational methodologies and embracing the 'Advanced Educational Experiences of the Soviet Union' (AEEOSU). These and other areas of the educational picture will be studied. But this thesis makes no claim to be a definitive account of all aspects of the educational debate in the first decade. Rather, through the medium of this premier journal it will attempt to assess the nature of the problems which faced the educational system, and the Chinese response to their almost insurmountable educational difficulties. (6)

Introduction - Notes

- (1) The main translation sources referred to in this thesis originated from the American Consulate General in Hong Kong. Their abbreviations are as follows:

- Selections from China Mainland Press (SQMP)
- Current Background (CB)
- Selections from China Mainland Magazines (SQMM)
- Extracts from China Mainland Magazines (EQMM)

Where appropriate other translation services will be referred to as follows:

- Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB)
- China News Agency (CNA)
- Union Research Institute (URI)

- (2) Important in this respect are:

- (a) Fraser, S E "Education and Communism in China - Documents and Commentary",
Pall Mall Press, London, 1971.
- (b) Fraser, S E "Chinese Education - Records of the First Decade",
Vanderbilt University Press, 1965.
- (c) Orleans, Leo "Professional Work and Education in Communist China",
National Science Foundation, US Government Printing Office, 1961.
- (d) Hsu, Immanuel C Y "Reorganization of Higher Education in Communist China",
General Electric Company, Santa Barbera, California, 1962.

- (3) The "Communist China Problem Research Series" published by the URI in the 1950s broke new ground in its use of hitherto untapped Chinese sources. Though rather small in size, those pamphlets

which included extracts from RMJY and other Chinese educational magazines were:

- (a) Chung Shih "Higher Education in Communist China", 1953.
- (b) Chi Tung wei "Education for the Proletariat in Communist China", 1954.
- (c) Chao Chung & Yang I fan "Students in Mainland China", 1956.
- (d) "Communist China 1955".
- (e) "Communist China 1956".
- (f) "Communist China 1957".
- (g) Shih Cheng shih "The Status of Science and Education in Communist China and a Comparison with that in the USSR", 1962.

Of the few individual research works which included information from 'People's Education', credit should be paid to Vincent T C Lin, whose unpublished University of California Ph. D. thesis "Adult education in the People's Republic of China (PRC) 1950-1958" appeared in 1974.

- (4) Holdings of RMJY. Appendix 1 lists all the European and American holdings of the magazine. Only 4 British sources hold the complete collection - the Brotherton Library, Leeds University, the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, the British Museum and myself.
- (5) My 40,000 word translation of the Index to the 'Renmin Jiaoyu' appeared in the Summer-Fall 1978 issue of the magazine 'Chinese Education' published by M E Sharpe, 901 N. Broadway, White Plains, New York. I am a member of the Advisory Committee of the magazine.
- (6) Books which give a general account of educational developments in the 1950s and beyond are:

- (a) Price, R F "Education in Communist China",
Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1977.
- (b) Tsang Chiu sam "Society, Schools and Progress in China",
Pergamon, London, 1968.
- (c) Hu Chang tu "Chinese Education Under Communism",
Columbia University, 1962.
- (d) Hu Chang tu "Aspects of Chinese Education",
Columbia University, 1973.

Chapter One - 'Peoples' Education'

According to the July 1951 issue of 'Renmin Jiaoyu' there were 47 different educational magazines in circulation at that time. (1) Apart from the RMJY itself, 4 were published by the major administrative districts, 26 by provinces, 11 by cities, 2 by special districts and 3 by various other sources. (2) Of this substantial total, the 96 issues of 'Peoples' Education' which appeared from May 1950 to October 1957, and from April to September 1958 formed the single most important contribution to the education debate.

The role which the authorities intended RMJY should play in the construction of the new education system was explained in detail in the leading item in the August 1951 issue. (3)

"In the course of the last year 47 different educational magazines produced by various city, district and provincial education departments have regularly appeared. Although they have helped promote educational progress, many of them still have great defects ... their ideological level is low, they are badly planned, their objectives are only vaguely defined and they largely neglect the interests of primary school teachers who, as a group, constitute more than 60% of our total teaching personnel.

In an attempt to eradicate these defects we have taken the following decisions.

Firstly, we reaffirm that 'Renmin Jiaoyu' is the magazine of the Ministry of Education. It is the most important of all the educational magazines and is intended to give the lead in matters of educational policy, ideology and educational methods. It has 5 main objectives.

... the task of explaining educational policy in the primary, middle, higher and worker peasant areas. It will communicate important decisions and it will give guidance to educational workers at all levels on how to overcome the inevitable problems which will arise when these policies are either implemented or changed.

... the task of encouraging the discussion concerning educational philosophy and educational methods.

... the task of concluding and popularising important educational experiences.

... the task of systematically introducing and explaining the advanced Soviet educational experience.

... the task of constantly reviewing the contents and developments of all the other educational magazines..."

In stressing the pre-eminent role which the magazine would play the Ministry of Education also clarified the supporting role of the other educational journals:

"... Secondly, each major administrative area should publish one educational magazine. These magazines should have, as their prime objective the correct interpretation of the educational policies of the Central People's Government and their correct implementation in each specific area.

... these magazines must fully explain the content and importance of the central directives which they are implementing in their areas to their readership

... they should regularly report in their columns on the educational developments which are taking place locally and they must pay particular attention when explaining the policy and guidelines affecting the development and expansion of primary and middle schools.

... they should assist the teachers in the primary, middle and worker peasant sectors to develop their teaching methods and course plans.

... (and) they should assist and give advice to those other education magazines which are published by provinces, cities and districts within their jurisdiction ...

... Thirdly, ... it is not necessary for each province and major city to publish its own educational magazine. But if they do decide to go ahead then they should publish no more than one magazine each, and these should be geared to help teachers in the primary and worker peasant schools.

... provincial and city education magazines should provide up to date information on modern teaching methods for primary teachers ... they must critically examine the content of existing text-

books, encourage debate and discussion on all aspects of educational activity and introduce teaching experiences successfully tried in other areas ... (and) they must concentrate on practical problems, write articles which are easy to understand, and keep their prices low ...".

Intended to be read by higher education officials at every level, by primary, middle and higher teachers and by the educational research workers, staff and students in normal schools and colleges, the magazine was edited by the People's Education Editorial Committee of the Ministry of Education and published by the People's Education Publishing House in Peking. It cost 30 fen per issue. Its subscribers obtained their copies through the local Post Office, the Xinhua Book Store or the China Publishing Distribution Company.

Competition for copies was intense. A report in 1953 listed 'People's Education' as one of the six magazines in the Shanghai area which was to be affected by a new fixed period and fixed quota system.

(4) Justifying this action on the grounds that the circulation of RMJY had already exceeded the planned circulation figures, the notice issued by the Local Publishing Distribution Section of the Shanghai PO acting in conjunction with the Xinhua Book store, warned subscribers in the greater Shanghai area that they were liable to have their money refunded. Priority was to be given to providing the magazine to "... libraries, propaganda organs and reference offices for the interests of the public'..." (5) Subscribers desiring a refund could approach either of the 2 distributive agencies. Those who wished to continue their subscription were strongly urged to pay attention to the deadline of payment prescribed in the notice for continuation sent out by the PO and to make payment within the prescribed time at the nearest PO. Old subscribers failing to comply would no longer receive 'People's Education'. New subscribers could only apply for those issues appearing in the months April to June 1953 and they would only then receive the magazine if the priority

needs outlined above and the requirements of the old subscribers had been met.

According to the report, the problems relating to distribution and shortages were exacerbated by the failure of the magazine to appear on the due publication date (5th) in the first 3 months of 1953. In part the delay could be excused by the setbacks which any publication could encounter - the delays involved in receiving and copy reading manuscripts, the difficulties of getting contributions in on time, the practical problems relating to printing and binding and the holidays on the occasion of the Spring Festival. But blame could be laid firmly at the door of the People's Education Publishing House for not exerting its most strenuous efforts to overcome these difficulties, difficulties which had "... reduced the political effect of the magazine ... (and) adversely affected the reader's study ...". (6) The Publishing House and the editorial board of the magazine were strongly urged to strengthen their ideology and publish RMJY on time. (7)

Appearance and layout

The cover of RMJY throughout its 96 issues was unpretentious enough, almost austere. The most regular frontis piece consisted of the calligraphy for Renmin Jiaoyu printed in black on a dull background together with the date of issue. In 1957 a new form of presentation superimposed the calligraphy and the date (in English) on a patterned background incorporating instruments and books of an educational and scientific importance (see over for September 1957 cover). When it appeared in April 1958 such visual niceties were dispensed with - both the calligraphy and the general index were on the front cover (see page 30 for June 1958 issue).

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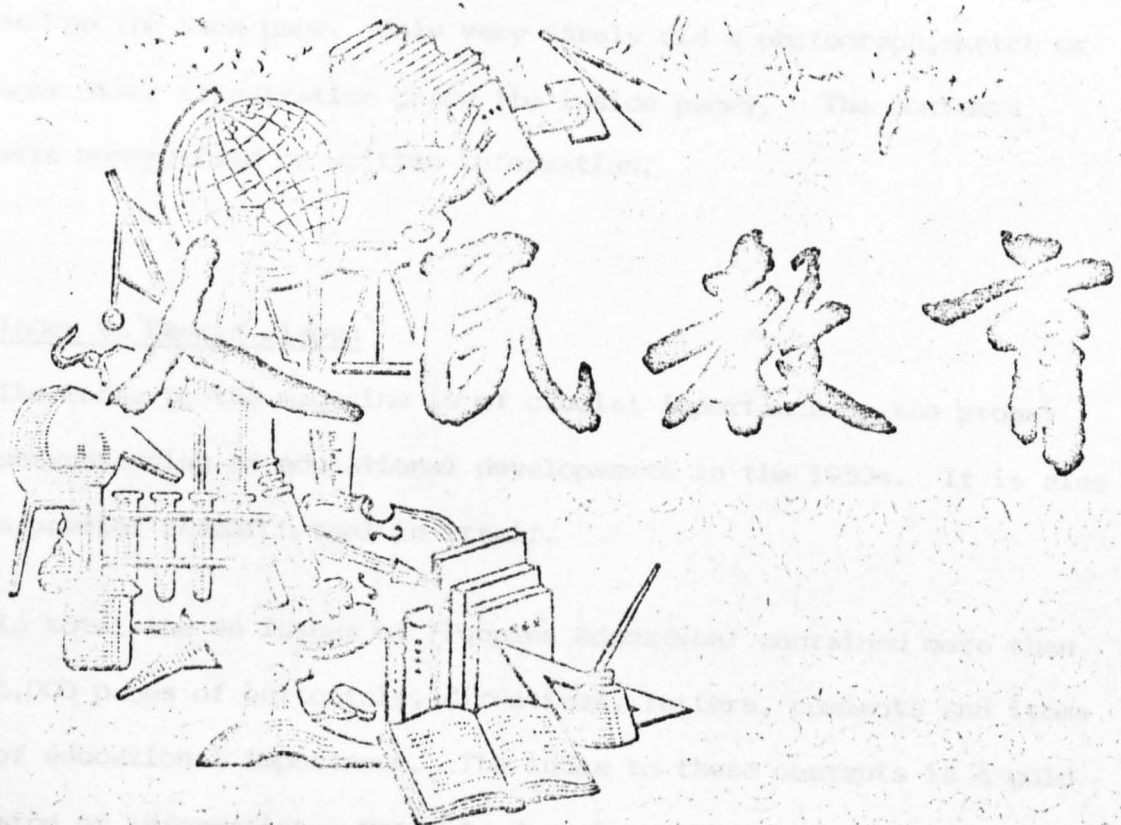
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1957

With the exception of the six 1958 issues, the magazine, on average, contained between sixty five and seventy two pages. (8) Photographs were usually to be found between the front cover and the index, and on the back page. Only very rarely did a photograph, sketch or some other illustration grace the inside pages. The contents were monopolised by written information.

Index to 'Renmin Jiaoyu'

The index to the magazine is of crucial importance to the proper understanding of educational developments in the 1950s. It is also a premier research tool in itself.

In total the 96 issues of 'People's Education' contained more than 6,000 pages of editorials, directives, letters, comments and items of educational importance. The index to these contents is a gold mine of information. Not only does it enable those who have a professional interest to appraise the value of the magazine and go directly to those articles required, it also provides, in itself, a comprehensive account of educational conflict and change in the first decade.

The index which introduced the first issue in May 1950 set the style for most of the following issues. Headed by a banner which showed a worker and peasant in a predominantly industrial environment the index to the following 70 pages makes explicit both the quality and quantity of the regular contribution RMJY was to make to the educational revolution.

Many themes emerge from a study of the index - and these will be studied shortly. Firstly, in order to gain an idea of the breadth and depth of the magazine's contents, there follows a series of selected

indexes, in both their original form and in translation. (9)

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草案

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中等教育司第一處整理 (六六)

教育消息

本社 (一六)

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郭沫若副總理題字

馬敘倫部長題字

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新華社轉發塔斯社稿）

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| 6 | Editorial | Enthusiastically Carry Out Our Educational Tasks and Vigorously Implement the Decision to Eliminate Illiteracy. |
| 9 | Zhen Zenggu | General Report on the Educational Visit to the USSR. |
| 23 | Report on the Primary and Middle School Teachers Delegation to the USSR on a "Special Topic" | How the System of Comprehensive Technical Education is Implemented in Soviet General Schools. |
| 35 | Ibid. | Teaching in Soviet General Schools. |
| 46 | Ibid. | Classroom Mathematics Teaching That We Have Observed in Soviet General Schools. |
| 55 | Ibid. | A Few Observations on Classroom Biology Teaching in Soviet General Schools. |
| 59 | Ministry of Education, New Democratic Youth League, et al. | General Report on the National Children's Exhibition of Scientific, Technical and Industrial Culture. |
| 61 | Lian Feng | A Visit to The Journals <u>Soviet Education</u> and <u>National Education</u> . |
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| 66 | | Correct the Continuing Trend of Teachers Alienation from Politics, short comment. |
| 66 | | A Number of Teachers at Wu Xu First Middle School Have Become Seriously Alienated from Politics. |

June 1958.

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人民教育

RENMIN JIAOYU

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关于在中学实行勤工儉学的教育意义和經濟意义問題

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社会主义課教学經驗选輯

青年农場即事(教育文艺)

河南“教育半月刊”編采經驗片段(教育刊物巡礼)

李述

向武

郑西鴻

卢正义

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徐楚波

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1958

June 1958

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| 2 | editorial | Who Should Assume Leadership - the Party or the Experts? |
| 4 | editorial | Learn from the Experiences of the Two Villages Xiaomiao and Sizhang-geng. |
| 5 | Zheng Xihong | The New Direction of Peasant's Spare time Education. |
| 9 | Lu Zhengyi | Several Questions concerning the Socialist Lessons Taught in Middle Schools. |
| 13 | Fang Junfu | The Economic and Educational Meaning of Implementing "the Practice of Working While Studying" in Middle Schools. |
| 15 | Li Shu | Help the Teachers Exhaustively to Carry out Their Own Revolution, short comment. |
| "BE SELF-CONSCIOUS IN REVOLUTION, GIVE OUR HEARTS TO THE PARTY AND STRIVE TO BECOME DEEPLY AND PROFOUNDLY RED" (pp 16-19) | | |
| 16 | Xu Chubo | I Could Never Betray the Party. |
| 17 | Zhang Guangyu | Thoroughly Criticize My Bourgeois Ideology. |
| 19 | | Extracts from Big-character Posters in Schools. |
| 21 | Xiang Wu | Several Important Experiences concerning Middle School Socialist Lessons, short comment. |
| 32 | | Some Selections of Teaching Experiences in Socialist Lessons (contributions from Middle Schools all over the country). |

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The index - a statistical breakdown

As a tool the index can be examined and used in several different ways. Perhaps one of the most fruitful approaches takes the 5 main tasks of the magazine outlined earlier and examines them in the context of the extended list of the magazine's objectives which appeared in a translation service report in 1956. (10)

"... the RMJY is an all purpose educational magazine. Its principal purposes are:

- (1) to elucidate the State's educational policies,
- (2) to study educational theories,
- (3) to circulate educational experience,
- (4) to promote the advanced educational experiences of the Soviet Union and the other People's Democracies,
- (5) to discuss problems,
- (6) to answer questions and
- (7) to publish readers letters".

Categorising the contents of the magazine in this way again illustrates the central role played by the magazine in the 1950s. It is relatively easy to compartmentalise almost all of the articles and items into 1 of the 7 areas listed above.

Objective 1 includes all those articles, editorials, directives, important speeches and other educational items employed to make explicit the State's educational policy.

Objective 2 refers to those contributions concerned with the theory and purpose of education. A prominent element in this area was the attention given to the persistent and persuasive influence of the American educational system in China after 1949 and the continuing official attempts to eradicate it. Important also was the educational debate of the mid 1950s concerning the competing and conflicting claims of the 'all round development' and the 'teach according to the individual's ability' schools of thought.

Objective 3 deals with that most crucial aspect of the magazines' work viz the dissemination of useful information to practising teachers. Also included in this section are a wide variety of sources ranging from educational news and teachers' reports to book reviews.

Objectives 4, 5, 6 and 7 are self explanatory.

The statistics involved are impressive enough. In total, the 6,105 pages which comprised the 96 issues included 2,094 articles and items totalling 5,395 written pages. The categorisation of this total, using the approach outlined above, can be assessed in Appendix 3.

Although most articles can be easily enough identified, a small number (usually those which refer to more than 1 of the 7 listed objectives) evade neat categorisation. In these instances a subjective decision has been made. Because of this, therefore, Appendix 3 should not be regarded as a definitive statement as to the weighting of the 7 objectives in the entire contents of RMJY. Its main value is of a general nature - it is interesting in itself and it does provide a chronological guide to the attention which these 7 important themes received.

The structure just outlined determines the approach which will be used for the remainder of this thesis. From time to time reference will also be made to the more orthodox categorisation of the contents of RMJY contained in Appendix 4. Western educationalists will be more at ease using this highly structured approach. It is of use to us in that it helps establish a structure within some of the broader themes which form the Chinese approach. Additionally, a comparison of the two approaches as contained in the Appendices makes interesting reading.

Each approach is important. The Chinese structure based on 7 objectives is thematic and enables us to assess those general areas which were given a high priority by the editors. Implicit is the viewpoint of the Chinese teacher and not the Western research student. The other approach, the results of which appear in Appendix 4, should enable research workers to apply a well tried methodology to make some sort of sense of the mass of information contained in 'People's Education'. It deals with recognisable categories and provides familiar reference points. However, its general applicability for the purpose of this thesis can be questioned on 3 grounds.

Firstly, the increased number of categories makes it more difficult to position each article. The need for a 'General Issues' column indicates that this approach is not as accurate a general guide to the index as Appendix 3.

Secondly, it makes no allowance for 'questions and answers' and 'readers letters'.

Thirdly, it is not the way the Chinese themselves categorised the contents of the magazine.

The information gathered in Appendix 4, therefore, will be used in a subordinate role; it will provide specific information when required for the general objective numbers 1 to 7.

RMJY and the other educational magazines

Before we begin to consider, in substantial detail, the part played by 'Renmin Jiaoyu' it is perhaps appropriate to return to the issue of its relationship with the other educational magazines.

Relative to the total number of contributions in the magazine,

only a few items dealt with sister educational publications. These contributions were of 2 types.

First were those articles, of high interest to the professional researcher, which gave firm details of the publishing format and regularity of appearance of the other educational journals. The July 1951 article already quoted, on which Appendix 2, is based is a prime example. (11) In addition to the bare list of national education magazines up and down the country - crucially important information in itself - additional details are provided. All the magazines listed were published monthly with the exception of 'Teach and Learn', 'Heilongjiang Education', 'Culture and Education Report', (Henan) 'Culture and Education Report' (LUDA) and 'Education Report' (Hangzhou) - numbers 4, 14, 21, 34 and 37 respectively - which appeared every 2 weeks. Tianjin Education (number 32) was listed as being the most important specific magazine serving the primary sector while 'North East Education' (number 1) was aimed at the middle school sector.

In addition to the 46 listed magazines the editors commented on the existence of at least 12 other journals which they had not classified. Some were published by unions, others by student associations and university authorities. But no hard information had been obtained about them and there was considerable doubt if some were still being published. So they were not included.

In the following 2 issues other articles provided further valuable information. 'Zhejiang Culture and Education', 'Education Report' (Hangzhou - number 37), 'Reiho Education' (Number 15) and the 'Teaching and Research Journal' of Zhejiang University had all just ceased publication. Several new magazines had been started

specifically to meet the needs of worker peasant education. These included 'Peasant Education News', published by the Shanxi Education Department for the first time on the 1/5/1951, to meet the requirements of the teachers and cadres working in the village and anti-illiteracy education campaigns; 'Workers and Peasants Educational News' published by the Heilongjiang Department of Education and the 'Workers and Peasants Study Weekly' produced by the Liaoxi Education Department.

Several magazines were undergoing alterations including 'Hebei Culture and Education' (number 22) and 'Guizhou Education' (number 28). In Kaifeng, a new fortnightly magazine 'Teaching Report' had emerged from the amalgamation of 'Teaching News' and 'New Teachers' while 'Chongqing Education' (number 41) changed its publishing schedule from every 4 to every 2 weeks.

'Guilin Culture and Education' (number 40) was given the job of reporting on teaching experience in the various individual subjects, while a suggestion from 'Chahar Education' (number 7) that the editorial personnel of all the education magazines should go down to the villages to collect the opinions of the village teachers received strong support. Similar support was given by the editors of RMJY to the point made by 'Village Culture and Education' (Shandong Province, number 17), that the various editorial boards had to consider the range and ability of their target readership. Most magazines existed to help primary and middle school teachers; accordingly, articles and essays should not be too difficult and official directives should not just be published in full, but also analysed and discussed. 'Village Culture and Education' had successfully adopted this approach when it dealt with Qian Junjui's

important article "Thoroughly Learn and Apply the Educational Thoughts of Mao Zedong" which had been written in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China (CPC). (13)

Second were those articles which offered a strong, and sometimes critical, review of other educational magazines. (14) Writing in August 1957 Yi Ding examined the part played in recent months during the anti-Rightist struggle by some magazines. (15) Prominent in the campaign were the journals 'Cultural and Educational Work ' (Jilin Province) and 'Culture and Education Report' (Henan Province) which had published a mass of excellent articles and had vigorously led the debate and struggle against the rightists.

Other magazines, such as 'North Anhui Culture and Education', had unfortunately taken a different road. When the campaign had started in April 1957 the magazine had reproduced some of the important documents without any editorial guidance or comment. Thereafter, as the struggle reached its climax, no reference was made to developments.

Similar inattentiveness had been paid by some magazines to the deliberations of the Third National Education Administrative Conference held in March 1957. Both the journals 'Jiangxi Education' and 'Guizhou Education' had neglected to pay due weight to the events and results of the Conference. On the other hand too much attention was being paid by magazines like 'Fujian Education' to non-educational matters such as the relationship of Taiwan Province with the US Imperialists, a matter which was already being widely discussed in other magazines and on the radio.

Of the few magazines which received favourable comment 'Hebei Teachers' was complimented on its attractive visual layout, particularly the coloured pictures of local scenes which appeared on its cover. Other magazines were urged to follow suit.

Chapter One - Notes

- (1) People's Education - Information Unit "Additional education magazines throughout the country" pages 58 to 59, July 1951. Henceforth, the following location reference procedure will be used when quoting from the magazine: page(s) month and year in which the article appeared. Thus, the reference for the article quoted would be: 58-59/7/1951.
- (2) Refer Appendix 2 for the complete list of the 46 educational magazines being published in China in mid 1951.
- (3) 5/8/1951 Ministry of Education "Decision on changes in the publishing of permanent national education magazines".
- (4) SCMP 542, p12.
- (5) Ibid.
- (6) Ibid.
- (7) Ironically enough, just at the time when those in control of RMJY were being criticised for maladministration and ineffectiveness, the March 1953 issue contained 2 articles by the magazine's Information Unit giving guidance to schools on how to handle the confusion all too evident in their teaching and administrative work.
 - (a) 11-13/3/1953 'Experience in handling confusion in Peking's primary and middle schools'.
 - (b) 14/3/1953 "A brief description on the confusion encountered in primary and middle schools in various places".
- (8) Refer Appendix 10 on the Soviet contribution to RMJY .

- (9) The index banners were changed several times. In May 1951, an advanced industrial background was fronted by a worker, peasant and soldier. Reflecting the efforts made in 1952 to promote literacy, the July issue introduced a crowd of workers, peasants, soldiers, young red brigaders and national minorities studying a literacy board and literacy materials. In January 1953, in line with the heavy industrial bias of the First Five Year Plan, the banner represented a group of earnest young specialists, engineers and technicians.
- (10) CB 387, p17.
- (11) See note (3).
- (12) (a) 63/8/1951 People's Education - Information Unit "National education magazines up and down the country".
(b) 58/9/1951 ditto
- (13) First published in RMJY 5-11/7/1951.
- (14) Prominent amongst this small group of articles were:
- (a) 67/3/1951 Xiao Zhu "Criticism of several questions and answers in 'Hebei Education'".
- (b) 56/7/1951 Zi Yao and Pi Shi "Criticism of several essays in 'Guangdong Culture and Education'".
- (c) 55-57/4/1955 Zhang Xiasheng "Some opinions about the journal, 'Teachers Monthly'".
- (15) 59/8/1957 Yi Ding "Reviewing a few educational journals".

PART 1 - "To elucidate the States Educational Policy"

Chapters 2 and 3

Chapter 2 - Directives and Notifications of the Ministries of Education and Higher Education

Introduction

The contents of the first issue were prefaced by the calligraphy of Mao, Ma Xulun and Guo Moruo which appears overleaf. (1) Though none of the very top leaders such as Mao, Liu Shaoqi or Zhou Enlai wrote specifically for the magazine, some important extracts from Mao's work did appear (see section on Mao, Chapter 10).

In the elucidation of the State's educational policy, however, all the important educationalists wrote extensively in the columns of 'People's Education'. (2) A review of these contributions reveals many speeches and articles never before referred to. They are an enduring strength of the magazine and will be dealt with later on.

Equally important are the contributions of the lower level officials and classroom teachers whose reactions to the great speeches and official statements are similarly noted in the magazine and referred to in the text of this thesis when appropriate. It is in this mixture of contribution and debate, official statement and classroom response, national standards and local difficulties that the true value of 'Renmin Jiaoyu' should be judged. It gives us an authentic insight into the conflict and change which characterised educational developments in the 1950s.

The authoritative role played by RMJY as the main propagator of the State's detailed educational policies for educational workers at every level can be evaluated in certain ways. Firstly the frequency and importance of the directives which appeared in its columns will be analysed. Then the notifications of the Ministries and Higher Education will be examined. Lastly, and most significantly, some of the magazine's many editorials will be analysed. (3)

MA-100

58

恢復和發展人民
教育是小商前重
要任務之一

毛澤東

教育必須為人民大眾
服務，提高我國
工人、農民、知識
分子的文化水平。

人民教育出版社

一九五〇、三、廿七

我們教育工作者應該在各人崗位上根據人
民政協共同綱領的新民主主義教育政策，隨
時隨地全心全意為人民服務，建設一個獨立、
民主、和平、統一和富強的新中國。

人民教育出版社 一九五〇、四 馬叙倫

Directives

In total there were 43 directives in RMJY of which some 24 appeared in full or partial form in the work of the translation services.

Of the larger groupings 7 dealt with the middle school sector, 6 with higher education and 9 were concerned with worker-peasant educational provision. (4) Most of the directives appeared before 1955. Obviously, this was the result of the very necessary early moves taken by the authorities to establish some sort of order and structure out of the chaos which existed at the beginning of the decade. Less obviously, the political movements of the period 1956 to 1958 and the intense educational debate which took place in the mid 1950s about the nature and purpose of education precluded basic change. It was only with the Great Leap Forward in 1958 that this uncertainty was resolved, if only for a short period.

As reference to Appendix 6 will show, the 19 directives which don't appear to have been caught anywhere else cover a wide area; from the middle school sector through the conditions existing which were injurious to students' health, to the provision of old textbooks in schools and colleges.

While reference to the Appendix will illustrate some directives which did not appear in the magazine, the 43 directives which do appear undoubtedly contain the authoritative official declarations which were designed to transform the old system and establish the new people's educational system.

Notifications

Just as a study of Appendix 6 will reveal the obvious and important role which RMJY played with regard to the directives, so a similar study will highlight the even greater importance of the part played by the magazine relative to the notification of the 2 Education Ministries. Only 5 of the 38 notifications which were published appear to have been picked up by translation or Western sources. (5)

These notifications covered a wide area of activity. Often the relevant Ministry would include a notification in the magazine informing readers of the opening of some important conference or event. Thus the February 1951 issue announced the opening of the Conference on Foreign Subsidised Higher Education Institutes in Peking on January 16th, while the April issue contained information about the opening of the National Middle School Conference, also in Peking, on the 19th March. (6) Often the notification would be produced by the Ministerial Department concerned. The Middle School Department of the Ministry of Education had the responsibility of producing "Extracts from the final report of the First National Conference on Worker Peasant Short Course Middle Schools" in February 1952, while the Primary School Department in November of the same year commented on "How Peking City is progressing with its 5 Year Primary Education Syllabus". (7)

Both Ministries published a substantial amount of information on syllabus content and on student conditions at every level, while the Ministry of Higher Education paid particular attention to the problems involved in raising educational standards and in teacher training.

Of special note are the reports of the investigations carried out by the Departments of the Ministries into the adequacy - or otherwise - of educational work being carried out at various levels. Two notifications which were published at the beginning of 1955 deserve special attention since they are particularly hard hitting and open accounts of educational ineffectiveness in high places - the Report on the Hebei Education Department compiled by Huang Xiaozeng and Liu Shi's investigation into the work being done in 4 normal colleges. (8) In both cases the Ministries of Education and Higher Education respectively had authorised urgent investigations to take place and the publication of the resulting reports was preceded on each occasion by a notification supporting the findings.

A) The Report on the Hebei Education Department

From the 16th-27th November, 1954 a Ministry of Education team under Huang Xiaozeng, which included the Soviet adviser to the Middle School Department Anteloso, based themselves in Baoding and conducted an investigation into the work being done by the Hebei Education Department. (9) During this time the team inspected more than 50 documents, listened to reports from leading members of the Education Department, visited 5 primary and middle schools and held numerous interviews with concerned cadres, teachers and students. Because of the limited time available no examination was made of the educational provisions for workers and peasants. However, their conclusions about the work being done in other areas were not favourable.

In some respects the Education Department had measured up to the

job. They had met some of their targets for 1954: providing 89% of the planned number of places in primary schools and normal colleges, realising 98% of the target set for enrollment in the worker peasant short course middle schools and normal schools and surpassing the targets set in all the other major areas of educational activity. Particularly noteworthy was the recruitment of more than 800 cadres to staff the teaching research groups which were designed to provide support for practising teachers and improve the general quality of teaching.

"... In spite of these achievements, however, there are a great many faults in the Department's leadership and administration.

Firstly, teaching is still divorced from the students' practical situation ... (they) are given too much work to do and insufficient attention is paid to their political education. Furthermore, their academic, political and physical standards are not regularly checked...

Secondly, in implementing the labour education requirements too many cadres still stress the textbook and theoretical aspects and shy away from actual manual work. For many teachers political education is merely an adjunct to the lesson; politics are not properly integrated with the theory and practice of the classroom situation but are appended to the lesson either as a 'political hat' or a 'political tail'.

Thirdly, in the provision of educational facilities serious problems are evident: centralized and long term planning has been neglected which has resulted in the wasteful utilization of some state funds and the provision of finance to too many projects. Students scholarships are similarly misappropriated with many students receiving money that they don't actually need...

Fourthly, there is no regular or systematic inspection by the higher officials of the work being done at the lower levels. Those responsible cadres in the Hebei Education Department do not regularly inspect schools. In part this is due to the dual teaching and administrative functions in the school leadership

and in part it is due to the continuing confusion which still exists between education and local authorities at every level as to their precise areas of responsibility ...".

To rectify the situation, the investigation team issued a series of recommendations, taking each of the above areas of concern in turn.

The workload of Hebei students was to be reduced forthwith through the reduction of homework and extra curricular activities. Labour education was to become more participatory, with town and country school children visiting factories and farms respectively. In the allocation of capital expenditure the twin aims of the Education Department should be frugality and proper long term planning; in making decisions the educational needs of each area should be properly studied and its existing facilities and size of population should be taken into account. Before giving out 'people's scholarships' the case of each individual student should be judged on its own merits - altering arrangements whereby one boarder became a day student would save the state 500 yuan a year.

With regard to the Department's future performance in the work of leadership, inspection and administration, 6 key points had to be attended to.

I. Plan the work well and ensure that everyone involved knows what is expected ...

II. Strengthen the inspection of educational facilities. In future, Hebei Education Department should require all the educational authorities at all levels under its jurisdiction to submit a written report at least twice a year (but no more than 4 times a year) and regular inspections should be made of these authorities' schools ...

III. Develop the research into new and better teaching methods. Successful school experiences, especially those involving model teachers, should be systematically concluded and popularised. The 1955 Hebei Outstanding Teacher's Conference should take, as their main task, the propagation of their vital experience...

IV. Leading educational workers should go directly - and regularly thereafter - to selected schools at all levels throughout Hebei so that they might more fully understand the real and serious problems which exist ... up to the present time, the 13 schools which are affiliated to the Education Department are out of the ordinary in that they are well placed and have superior facilities ...

V. Improve teaching quality and in-service training ...

VI. Clarify the areas of administrative doubt which exist between different departments, reduce the number and length of conferences held and simplify the system of reporting up ...".

In welcoming the Report, Minister of Education Zhang Xiruo in the January notification which immediately preceeded Huang's article stated that the problems which were all too evident in Hebei were of national dimensions and required the urgent attention of all of China's educational workers. (10)

In 2 crucial areas the notification of the Ministry gave important information on the new standards it expected the errant Education Department to reach. Lesson times should be limited to between 30 to 32 hours per week for senior middle school students, 28 to 31 hours per week for junior middle school students and 24 to 28 hours for primary school pupils, while extra curricular activities should amount to no more than 3 hours a week for senior middle school students, and 1 hour for primary pupils.

The notification enjoined the leading cadres in the Hebei Education Department to pay particular attention to Mao Zedong's Theory of the Mass Line when they were organizing their planning and inspection schedules. In whatever they did from now on, "... we educational

workers must all realize that the overall development of the students' personality and character is much more important than the narrow teaching of knowledge; we must not neglect political and health education..."

The manner of the investigation and the tone of the notification both reveal the nature of the relationship between the Ministry of Education and one of its subordinate provincial education departments. When it chose to exercise its authority the Central Ministry could not be ignored. As far as the unfortunate members of the Hebei Education Department were concerned, the State's educational policies had been laid before them in an explicit form. They were given until the end of February 1955 to submit a report to the Minister explaining - in full detail - the ways in which they were fully supporting the implementation of these policies. All the other major education departments were ordered to submit similar reports by the end of March 1955.

B) Liu Shi's Report on the work of 4 normal colleges

Between the 23rd November to the 28th December 1954 an investigation team from the Ministry of Higher Education under the leadership of the Vice Minister of Education Liu Shi, had examined the work being done in 4 normal colleges - Nanjing Normal College, Huadong Normal University, Huadong Normal College and Zhejiang Normal College.

The structure of this Report was similar to its predecessor. Praise was given in limited measure, and then the blame for the inadequacies unearthed was apportioned.

All 4 colleges were the result of amalgamations of different teacher training institutions in the period 1951 to 1952 and, in

total, catered for about 10,000 students. In the previous 3 years a certain measure of progress had been made. A degree of order had been established in the field of normal education, the leading cadres in the 4 colleges were of a tolerable standard, some achievements had been gained in learning the Soviet experience and an attempt had been made to integrate theory with practice.

But there were many substantial problems still waiting to be resolved. Within the colleges it had not been made clear who had overall responsibility for teaching and administration; the college leadership were reluctant to carry out investigations and inspections and they made little attempt either to introduce the teachers to communism, or to deal with the hostility which had developed within their colleges between Party and non-Party members. The teaching in these 4 institutions was characterized by dogmatism, there was little attempt made to combat the continuing influence of bourgeois ideology and, in the management of their capital facilities, the leadership had allowed the twin deviations of extravagance and underutilization to persist

Just as the problems apparent here have a striking similarity with the highly publicized inadequacies of the Hebei Education Department so too were the solutions proffered by the investigation team.

In the first instance, the leadership had to clarify specific areas of responsibility - college principals and vice principals and faculty and departmental heads should be given clear cut instructions about their specific responsibilities. And in the management of the colleges democratic procedures should be employed.

To improve teaching the work of the teaching research groups should be strengthened.

"... the activities of these groups has at least ensured that collective work is done amongst teachers to prepare their lessons ... but there are still too many of these groups who do not seem to have a clear set of objectives in view. We suggest that the 9 concrete measures listed below should form the groups' basic assignments: (they should) ... organise their work to assist the subject teachers in their group ... examine and re-edit existing textbooks and produce new ones ... assist the students in their self study ... prepare and mark exam papers ... organise scientific and pedagogical research work under the leadership of the faculty dean and departmental head ... regularly assess the academic performance and physical health of the students ... establish in service training for teachers ... administer the technicians input needed to support scientific and experimental work ... (and) train research students ...".

The work of these groups was not, in itself, sufficient to improve the quality of teaching in the normal colleges. Particularly urgent was the need to unify and integrate the difficult aspects of classroom work - teaching, discussion, experiments and practical activity. During their investigations the team had attended a lesson in which one teacher only managed to complete half of his lesson plan, in fact so much had been missed out that the pupils could be forgiven for lacking comprehension of the lesson.

A similar incomprehension existed in the teachers' expectations of their pupils. Most of the students were destined for middle school teaching careers. What was required, therefore, was the right balance between academic and practical work. But the staff in the normal colleges didn't perceive this; they overemphasised the former and overpitched both the quality and quantity of the information they tried to get across. The result amongst the students was frustration, misunderstanding and rote learning.

One Zhejiang student had told the investigation team: "We take vast notes during lectures, double check them afterwards with our friends, learn the information parrot fashion for the exams and then promptly forget everything".

The 4 colleges were ordered at once to revamp their relationship with their affiliated middle schools; staff had to go out into the schools to see the situation for themselves.

Just as a serious gulf existed between teaching theory and teaching practice, so the process of infusing political and ideological education into every aspect of normal educational activity was seriously underdeveloped. Teachers in the 4 colleges paid scant attention to political education, either for themselves or for their students, and no one in any of these institutions had the specific responsibility for ensuring its implementation in the curriculum and syllabus. In this area the teaching research groups had an important role to play; they could demand that teachers fulfil their political commitments, both in terms of self awareness and in their teaching methods, they could examine individual teachers' lesson plans to ensure a proper political presence and sit in on lessons to assess the progress being made.

In the particular area of teaching research none of the 4 normal colleges investigated had made any progress whatsoever in the previous 3 years. Research into teaching methods was an important aspect of the work of all normal schools and colleges. Under cross examination the staff of the colleges had their excuses ready - they were too busy doing their jobs, the college leadership did not require such work of them and the proper facilities did not exist.

"From now on every normal school and college will conduct a one year pedagogical research programme approved by the Ministry of Higher Education. The criteria in selecting areas of study is that they are of direct use to practising teachers and are related to the practical situation ...".

The Ministry of Higher Education Notification which introduced Liu Shi's article summarised the important points and emphasised the national occurrence of the inadequacies unearthed by the investigation team. (11)

In order to ensure the optimum utilisation of resources and manpower and to overcome the phenomenon of college departments having great variations in student numbers, in future the Ministry ordained that the target for each department should be between 300 and 400 students.

Alarmed at the heavy workload carried by the students in the 4 colleges in question the Ministry of Higher Education had already started on a national investigation into the problem. Once it had a clearer picture, it would order appropriate remedial action to be taken.

More immediate action was promised with regard to the establishment of a correspondence course for both middle school teachers and normal college lecturers. A correspondence course (whose content was still to be determined) would be on offer from the start of the new academic year in autumn 1955.

Chapter 2 - Notes

- (1) For the translation of these 3 short quotations see the translation of the May 1950 index on page 16.
- (2) Refer Appendix 5 for a Who's Who of Chinese Education in the 1950s and a list of each important educationalists' contribution to RMJY .
- (3) Refer Appendix 6. This chronological table of events, directives, notifications and editorials is designed to both outline the important educational events of the 1950s and to emphasis the integrated nature of the magazines' contribution to the debate.
- (4) The full list of the 43 directives appears in Appendix 6.
The directives, as they appear in their groupings, are listed below by location reference only.
 - (a) General educational reform:- 53-4/11/1951.
 - (b) Primary school reform:- 6-8/1/1954.
 - (c) Middle school reform:- 54-5/5/1952, 67/8/1953, 63-5/8/1954, 65-6/11/1954, 46/7/1955, 7/12/1955, 64-6/3/1956.
 - (d) Higher education:- 67/9/1950, 68/9/1950, 69/9/1950, 70/9/1950 71/9/1950, 66-70/11/1953, 5/1/1954, 70-73/8/1954.
 - (e) Worker-peasant education:- 65/1/1951, 66/1/1951, 67/1/1951, 68/1/1951, 71/4/1951, 72/4/1951, 73/4/1951, 71-73/5/1951, 50-1/8/1955.
 - (f) Misc.:- 68/2/1951, 69/2/1951, 70/2/1951, 70/2/1951, 21/12/1951, 56-7/5/1952, 5-7/12/1953, 66-9/3/1954, 30/11/1954, 5-11/4/1955, 65-6/5/1955, 20-1/8/1955, 19-20/9/1955, 8/12/1955, 9-10/12/1955, 66-7/2/1956, 21-2/3/1956.
- (5) The 5 notifications picked up were: 5-6/9/1954, 12-13/9/1954, 34-6/10/1954, 48-9/7/1955, 53-5/6/1956.

- (6) (a) 64/2/1951 Ministry of Education Notification "Opening of Conference on Foreign Subsidised Higher Education Institutes".
- (b) 34/4/1951 Ministry of Education Notification "Opening of the First National Middle School Education Conference".
- (7) (a) 11-14/2/1952.
- (b) 50-52/11/1952.
- (8) (a) 11-14/1/1955 Huang Xiaozeng "Investigation Report on the Work of the Hebei Education Department".
- (b) 11-18/3/1955 Liu Shi "Report on the Inspection of 4 Normal Colleges".
- (9) Significantly, a leading article entitled "On the work of Inspection and Instruction", written by Anteloso appeared in the February issue: 5-8/2/1955.
- (10) 10/1/1955 "Ministry of Education Notification approving Comrade Huang Xiaozeng's Report on the Hebei Education Department".
- (11) 10/3/1955 "Ministry of Higher Education Notification on Liu Shi's report of his investigations of 4 normal colleges".

Chapter 3 - The Editorials

Introduction

Impressive enough as the presence of the directives and notifications was to the part played by the RMJY, the most convincing evidence of the impact of 'Peoples' Education' as the chief elucidator of the State's educational policies emerges from a study of the 200 or so editorials and short comments to be found within its covers. (1)

In his article "Struggle for the construction of the new Chinese Peoples' Education" Liu Shi outlined the role which RMJY should play in this area. (2)

"... what we require from the educationalists is that they should be honest, competent, modest and industrious in advancing in the correct direction under the guidance of the Government... in order to assist the present revolution in education, to supply information, to facilitate the exchange of views and to raise academic standards the most important educational medium will be 'Renmin Jiaoyu'. It will serve the people by ensuring that all intellectuals thoroughly understand the policy and directives of the new system ... 'studying and propagating the government's educational policy' is one of the designated objectives of the magazine ...".

Almost every one of the 96 issues had at least 1 editorial and an accompanying variety of short comments. Prefacing the bulk of the magazine's contents they dealt with a multitude of educational activities and topics. Foremost among their numbers were those which dealt with (A) the great educational conferences of the decade, and (B) the political campaigns. Considerable editorial attention was also given to summing up educational experiences to date (C) and setting forth future plans and guidelines. Finally, a number of editorials (D) urged educational workers all over the country to support important policy decisions. (3)

A. The 'big bang' editorials

During the 1950s, especially in the early years, many national and local conferences were held to decide on the nature and extent which reform should take in each of the important areas of educational activity. The 'RMJY' clearly and accurately recorded many of these significant occasions and provides us with much valuable information as to their dates, location and composition. Generally, editorial comment on these occasions would take one of two forms.

Firstly, intended conferences were greeted and, after a summation of the state of affairs in the particular area concerned, the aims of the conference would be outlined and its tasks specified.

In such a way the September 1950 editorial dealt with the First National Conference on Worker-Peasant Education which was due to open on the 20th of that month in Peking. (4)

"... This Conference is necessary because the main purpose of our new democratic education system is to serve the masses of workers and peasants who comprise 80-90% of our total population. The Conference must explain to our people the ways in which the new system will work, it must emphasize the important effect it will have on every person and it must help assist in the national understanding of the great economic difficulties which face us because more than 80% of our population is illiterate ..."

Considerable detail then followed as to why the old education system was unsuitable. But great problems had to be overcome before a permanent and effective system which met the educational needs of all the people could be established. In the short term a transitional system would be adopted which would try to bring basic literacy to as many workers and peasants as possible - but it was recognised that the majority would not be reached. (5) To assist this process the editorial deemed the Conference to have 2 overriding objectives.

Firstly, it had the responsibility of establishing the structure for a nation-wide anti-illiteracy campaign which would start initially among groups of well organised workers, peasants and cadres and would then spread slowly to involve ever greater numbers. Secondly the Conference was charged with preparing plans for the introduction of the Worker Peasant Short Course Middle Schools. These schools would, in the transition period "... train those intellectuals who will become the cornerstone of our countries development at every level and in every field ...".

A similarly informative approach was taken by the April 1951 editorial which welcomed the First National Primary School Education Conference, due to be held in Peking that August. (6) In dealing with the problems faced by the 29,336,052 students taught by 901,118 teachers in China's 395,827 primary schools the Conference had 4 basic tasks.

"... firstly it must specify clearly and concisely, the aims and objectives of the primary system ... their deliberations must be firmly rooted in the experiences gained in both the Old Liberated Areas and in the Soviet Union and they must reflect the provisions of the Common Program. We must overcome not only the tendency, all too prevalent in old China, whereby a primary education prepared students for an academic rather than a vocational career but also the emphasis evident in the Old Liberated Areas of concentrating too much on specific activities and ignoring all round educational development ... state primary schools should be run efficiently, not relying unduly on central funds and we should mobilise the masses in both the towns and the countryside to establish their own schools... secondly, the Conference must set adequate salary standards for teachers. Although we are not, at present, and for obvious reasons in the position to be able to substantially improve the teacher's livelihood, we must nevertheless do something; for example, there have been many recent instances of teachers being paid in poor quality rice - this practice must be stopped immediately ...

we must also try to ensure that the masses pay the teachers proper respect ...

... thirdly, the Conference must establish a unified primary school syllabus and a scheme of materials suitable for the kindergarten level ...

... fourthly, the Conference must implement, in a practical manner, Chairman Mao's directive of 'Health First' ... a recent investigation in September 1950 into Peking City's primary schools has shown us that 83% of the 58,000 primary school students suffer from some sort of ill health ...".

The editorial concluded by asking all the units, organisations and departments concerned with primary and kindergarten education to gather information so that they would be properly prepared in August.

Secondly, in order to disseminate important information editorials reported on the conclusions of important conferences and on the decisions and plans for action which had been agreed to. Thus the July 1950 editorial welcomed the results of the Higher Education Conference which had been held in Peking from the 1st to the 9th June. (7) It concentrated on examining the implications of the proposed changes in the syllabus and in the reorganisation of the higher system. Drawing the reader's attention to the fact that the Conference had paid little notice to containing the continuing influence of the old corrupting bourgeois ideologies in the higher field, it promised to focus the attention of future editorials on this particular problem.

A more interesting summation was given by the April 1956 editorial which welcomed the deliberations of the Second National Conference on Higher Normal Education. (8) Reiterating the importance of the task agreed to at the Conference, which was to eradicate illiteracy from among an estimated 300 million in 5 to 7 years and to establish

a system of universal primary education in 5 to 12 years, the editorial frankly admitted that the achievement of these 2 aims would be very difficult. There was an obvious demand for more and better teachers but there were not enough facilities to train the required number. It urged that the Conference decisions should not be implemented in too conservative, or too reckless a manner. It pinpointed bureaucratic tendencies amongst the educational leadership at all levels as a major hinderance to the proposed reforms.

B The 'political' editorials (9)

Editorials which concerned themselves with analysing the nature of the relationship between the educational and political systems, examining the provision of political education in the schools and supporting the various political movements, especially those concerned with the re-education of the intellectuals, formed the largest single group in 'People's Education'.

In the very early years attention was paid to promoting the 'Aid Korea Resist the U S ' campaign in schools at all levels and to criticising bourgeois educational theories, especially those concerning Dewey and Wu Xun. (10) An important element in the ideological remoulding campaigns of 1952 was the study of Marxist texts and the works of Mao Zedong. According to editorial comment of the time many problems were being encountered.

The August 1951 editorial, while thanking the readership for the many letters which had been received on the importance of studying Mao's 'On Practice', noted that the study movement had not been altogether successful to date and that many education workers still harboured a 'worship America' mentality. (11) Evidence of these continued bourgeois tendencies could be found in the reluctance of

intellectuals to indulge in public self criticism and in their half hearted opposition to the theories of Dewey which the magazine had so savagely criticised. The November 1951 editorial dealt with the lack of ideological progress in a more critical and explicit way. (12)

"... although, for the past 2 years while they have been studying Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, the political standards of our teachers and educationalists have improved, the time they require for academic purposes has nevertheless hindered their ideological development ... evidence of their backwardness can be seen in the reaction to the film 'The Spirit of Wu Xun'. In the course of this campaign of criticism we uncovered the phenomenon that while many educationalists outwardly supported the People's Government and the new education system, they secretly opposed the implementation of the agreed reforms required to revolutionise the areas in which they worked ...".

Intellectuals should have felt ashamed. They were literate and had a relatively high standard of living, yet they had, at best, scanned the pamphlet 'Selections from the work of Mao Zedong'. Barely literate peasants on the other hand had, in their thousands, studied and debated this and other Marxist texts intensively. To improve their political awareness intellectuals were required to both engage in real and intensive political study. Peking University had organised courses in political education for their staff and it was recommended that this example should be followed throughout the country. The editorial was in no doubt about the significance of the ideological remoulding campaign.

"... our success, or failure, in remoulding the ideology of the educational workers will directly affect the future development of all our nation's activities. The quicker individual teachers reform their ideology then the speedier will be the pace of educational reform and the greater will be its success..."

The practical difficulties to reform resulting from the unwillingness of intellectuals to truly embrace the new system was examined in the next editorial. (13) 'Revolutionary method' was being implemented by the establishment of a large number of worker-peasant short course schools; they would train the correctly motivated and politicised cadres, engineers and technicians required for the nation's rebirth. However, their development was being obstructed by the resistance of many teachers who refused to cooperate, believing that the quality of these schools was poor and that their own status would suffer if they were associated with them. They said "... in the short course schools we will, no longer, be able to educate the students systematically, efficiently or to the required standards ..." and, consequently, refused either to be transferred to these new schools, or to assist in the conversion of their existing school.

Students too were wary. Because the courses on offer in the short course schools were shorter and their facilities were not always comparable with existing primary and middle schools, many of the new schools had great difficulty in attracting their student quota.

This unwillingness to radicalise their attitudes continued throughout 1952 when the ideological remoulding movement combined with the '3 anti' movement. Educationalists everywhere were encouraged to combat the evils of corruption, waste and bureaucracy and to incorporate the lessons of the political campaigns in their teaching.

In spite of the very considerable official efforts the August 1952 short comment admitted that many schools had still not established or consolidated the leadership of the masses of workers and peasants and that many teachers were still exhibiting a strong bourgeois attitude; a few were even guilty of feudal, compradore and fascist

practises, such as the physical beating of children and the wilful neglect of political study. (14)

A previous short comment, in May 1952, had dealt with the same points (15)

"... aspects of the erroneous attitudes common amongst many teachers are; neglect of politics and class struggle, the advocacy of various liberal reformist measures, the support for 'middle of the road' policies and the like...

We can only tackle these grave problems by continuing to emphasise the importance of political study and the '3 anti' movement. We must vigorously, and continuously, criticise bourgeois ideology. We must systematically study Chairman Mao's works, especially his 'New Democracy', 'On Practice' and his 'Talk at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art'. Serious study must also be made of the educational writings of Marx and Lenin and of the directives issued by the Central Government and the Ministry of Education... The remoulding of the teacher's ideology is a necessary prerequisite to the establishment of the leadership of proletarian ideology in all schools. Chairman Mao has called on us to start the movement for self reform this year. We must do our utmost to become Marxists"

Concurrent with these campaigns was the movement to encourage patriotism and resist American cultural aggression. Guidance was given to teachers in April 1952 on how to take precautions against bacteriological and germ warfare after the Americans had inadvertently attacked areas in the North East around Qingdao and schools were urged to place even greater stress on the study of politics and current affairs. (16) Teachers were warned not to be complacent in these matters.

In the following years the predominant theme of the 'political' editorials and short comments was the necessity to remould, reform

and unite the intellectuals. Great educational changes were taking place and the editorials of 'Renmin Jiaoyu' continued to reflect official displeasure at the inability of many teachers to discard their old habits and embrace both the substance, and form, of the new people's education system.

Of all the ideological remoulding methods used editorial publicity was regularly given to the organisation of political study classes in schools and universities, usually by the local education department. Classes were offered in 'Chinese Revolutionary History', 'Political Economy', 'The Fundamentals of Marxism' and 'Dialectical and Historical Materialism', and teachers were urged to attend on a voluntary basis.

A particular problem to be overcome was dogmatism, defined as "... the characterisation of arrogant and assertive attitudes and a willingness to quote political doctrine without regard to the existing situation ..." (17) This could be done by uniting the old and new intellectuals.

"... the Party's policy is both to remould and to unite the intellectuals. Uniting the old and the new intellectuals is a key part in raising the present standards and training more new teachers. Usually, older teachers though professionally competent are politically backward. Young teachers are politically responsive, but lack experience. The young teachers should learn from the old. They should help one another through study, criticism and self criticism. Only then can they unite and raise both their political and professional standards". (18)

The National Middle School Education Conference that January (1954) had announced measures to tighten the grip of the local party committees over education in their areas and to give a higher priority to political education. But the obstacles to progress were still substantial.

"... the fact of the matter is that there are still a large number of teachers who display an anti-proletarian outlook ... party organs in schools and at the grass roots level must carry out propaganda and educational work amongst teachers and students in order to realise the state's educational policy ...". (19)

The editorials and short comments prior to 1956, therefore, testify to the continuing problem posed to the authorities by the very large number of educational workers at all levels and in all parts of China who did not embrace wholeheartedly the new education system. And it is against this background that the '100 Flowers Campaign' was launched by Mao himself in his famous speech of 2nd May 1956 entitled "Let 100 Flowers bloom, let 100 Schools of Thought Contend".

The July 1956 editorial set the tone of the magazine's initial response .(20)

"... it is not necessary that all the opinions expressed by our readers are correct ... the only freedom we wish to curb in our country is the freedom of reactionary elements who want to overturn our revolution ... otherwise, everyone has the right to discuss those issues which they think are wrong and require correction. Even though some of the criticisms made might not be in accord with our Marxist viewpoint, nevertheless these contributions can be helpful and they should be encouraged...".

In retrospect it is easy to see why such a carte blanche encouraged such a great army of diverse viewpoints amongst the intellectuals, viewpoints which were often openly critical of the Government and the Party. But the extremes of criticism reached were entirely natural given the substantial number of intellectuals who, as the RMJY had often testified had not been won over by the new regime. Interestingly enough, the editorial board exercised great caution in publishing

articles from intellectuals which took a severely critical line.

Equally inevitable was the strong official reaction against the intellectual critics and the state of play, one year after the commencement of the liberalising campaign, was examined in a July 1957 editorial entitled "How to hold our heads high in the storm".(21) Few teachers, admittedly, held the correct political viewpoint but equally those bourgeois rightists who opposed the Party root and branch in the educational field were very few in number; most teachers did not have a determined viewpoint one way or the other and were swaying in the storm. For guidance in the even more turbulent days ahead they were advised to study and apply the instructions given by Mao in his speech 'On Contradictions'. (22) But intellectuals were warned that they would indeed have to make a choice.

"... the present struggle against the rightists is a serious class struggle which reflects the fundamental division between socialism and capitalism. One must either stand on the socialist side, or on the capitalist side; there isn't any middle ground anymore..." (23)

An important element in their position was the way in which they responded to the issue of students, graduates and teachers involving themselves in physical labour activities. This was the litmus test for many. In an important May 1957 editorial, intellectuals were left in no doubt of the inadequacy of their present situation and on the urgent steps required to rectify their behaviour. (24)

Referring to the 'People's Daily' editorial of the 8/4/1957, entitled "On the question concerning the participation of senior primary and junior middle school graduates in agricultural work" the editors of 'People's Education' re-emphasised the point that the despising of

manual labour and the adoption of arrogant attitudes towards the masses of workers and peasants was a common ideological problem among both the students and their teachers.

Teachers had failed to instil in their students a love and respect for the dignity of manual work. The problem had now become acute because not only were most graduates from junior middle schools and below expected to go out into the factories and villages to promote basic education and literacy, they were also expected to participate in production both to set an example and to help the economy. What militated against this was the bias within the educational system which stressed the importance of further education.

"... although 90% of our primary schools are in the countryside we have failed to teach the children either to love and respect their parents labour or to think highly enough of the rural way of life. Even worse, these graduates feel ashamed of their rural upbringing and want to leave their villages... the situation is equally bad in the middle schools, most of which are located in the cities ... labour education is required of all primary and middle school graduates whether or not they go into productive work or further education; indeed it is especially important for the latter for we do not want higher graduates to become the new technocratic elite, divorced from, and disdainful of the ordinary people ...".

The elimination of these harmful attitudes was largely the responsibility of the educational workers. Love for both physical labour and the labouring masses had to be infused throughout the entire curriculum and the evil of only stressing book knowledge divorced from reality should be eradicated. Due to the widespread nature of the problem, intellectuals were required to urgently re-evaluate their attitudes - a re-evaluation which would be closely scrutinised by the editorial board and commented on in future issues.

This greater element of scrutiny and accountability was yet a further indication that, ideologically speaking, the crunch had come for the teachers. In the past the intellectuals had been urged to remould their ideology. But, as the editorials and short comments bear lucid witness, little direct pressure was put on the great mass of teachers who did not wish to cooperate. Until 1957 the main priority was to maximise the teachers professional contribution.

But, with the strong official reaction evinced in the anti rightist campaign in 1957 and the almost immediate and subsequent onset of the Great Leap Forward, that relatively restrained attitude disappeared.

Schools at every level were urged to obey the re-iteration of Mao's call to integrate mental and manual labour so that the education system would develop its students morally, physically and intellectually so that they would become labourers with socialist consciousness and culture. Teachers were ordered to participate in physical labour with their students - and that did not simply mean the organising of visits to factories and farms. They were required to become actively and publically involved in the anti rightist struggle and to completely revamp their teaching materials and methodologies so that they were fully in accord with socialist requirements. Specifically, those attitudes which were to be rejected were summed up in the phrases 'education for education's sake', 'education has nothing at all to do with politics or economics', and 'expert first and red second'.

The August 1958 editorial entitled "Study and thoroughly apply the Mass Line" epitomised the great change which had taken place in the

political debate between the intellectuals and the state. (25)

The thorough study of Chairman Mao's works, an examination of education in the Old Liberated Areas, and the integration of physical and mental labour were required of all intellectuals, without exception. The liberation of the education system from bourgeois ideology depended first and foremost on raising the socialist awareness of China's educational workers.

The harsh, strident language adopted towards intellectuals in the 1957 to 1958 period clashes sharply with the somewhat conciliatory line encountered in earlier editorial comments. But the time for editorial moderation was over.

"... the present ideological struggle is the result of all our previous mistakes. In the past education departments and organs were controlled by small cliques of careerists who assessed each problem from a 'professional' point of view - they neglected politics and did not accept that the education system exists exclusively to benefit the masses of workers and peasants. This attitude has to be destroyed. We must pursue, without mercy, every instance and manifestation of bourgeois ideology and destroy them all utterly ...". (26)

C. The 'commemorative' editorials

A third important group of editorials appeared to mark important anniversaries and celebrations. In part they were retrospective in that they reviewed progress to date. But they were also occasions for reminding the readership of the official policy and suggesting ways in which that policy might be more effectively implemented in the time ahead.

Normally the October issue of the magazine carried a commemorative editorial on the establishment of the People's Republic. Not unnaturally, the first such editorial to appear in October 1950 was eager to detail the great advances which had been made in establish-

ing the new education system. (27) But no attempt was made to hide the scale of the problems which still faced the authorities in their attempt to ideologically remould the intellectuals.

"... most of our activities in the past year have been of a defensive nature, i.e. we have been mainly concerned with combating the harmful effects which the ideology of old China has had on the minds and attitudes of our intellectuals and young people. We must now take the offensive and actively develop correct habits and attitudes amongst all those involved in educational work ..."

The standards for political reform were initially not too stringent.

"... most of the intellectuals who have participated in political training have received a basic idea of our new democratic system and of our social, political and economic history; some have even learned something of our country's new basic Marxist political principles ...".

According to the editorial, intellectuals were to be "encouraged" to cultivate an active interest in politics; compulsory participation in the study movement was not advised.

"... in the past year we have discovered that in some schools and universities attendance at political courses is mandatory for all staff - this is wrong ...".

Five years later, although the editorial line towards intellectuals had hardened a little, the issues requiring attention were essentially the same. (28) Great gains had been made but 2 key areas continued to cause official concern.

- 1 the poor quality of textbooks and materials,
- 2 the low standard of school teachers and administrators.

An equally important editorial was that which appeared in all 7 January issues and set out the main educational priorities for the

coming year . The January 1952 editorial entitled "The fundamental objectives of the nation's education work in 1952" is a good example.

(29)

"... there is much to do in 1952... we must go on imbuing the students with strong patriotic sentiments by developing the campaign to 'aid Korea, resist the U S ' ... the 'anti waste increase production' movement should be strengthened, firm attention should be paid to the need to produce the large number of construction personnel required by our country ... (and) the part time education system should be reinforced ...".

These then were the main areas requiring attention - with one outstanding exception.

"... one very special area continues to demand our highest attention in 1952; ideological reform. We must systematically organise and propagate Marxist thought, Chinese revolutionary ideology and the theory and practice of Mao Zedong Thought among the education workers ...".

Continued attention to this problem was required for several reasons. Firstly, many intellectuals were still ideologically confused and unable to distinguish between the good and bad elements in China. Secondly, many teachers still adhered to the ways of old China and constantly opposed the practical implementation of the ideology of Marx and Mao Zedong. Largely because of this substantial opposition, the movements to encourage criticism and self criticism in intellectual circles had been unsuccessful. Thirdly, the continuation of a reactionary influence in educational circles would have a debilitating effect on the ability of the system to produce the large numbers of cadres and construction personnel with the correct political attitudes that were so desperately required by the country. Reflecting this new official urgency, the editorial then outlined new measures which were to be used in the coming year.

"... in the past 2 years the political education movement has amounted to little more than offering a voluntary course on basic political concepts. From this past experience it is now clear to us that thought reform cannot be carried out successfully unless we wage a fierce struggle...

The intensified movement for ideological reform has already begun in higher institutes in Peking and Tianjin. Starting initially in the higher institutes, it has snowballed and is spreading fast throughout the country..."

These institutes based their activities around 5 points.

Starting with the right study attitude, they examined important texts with the objective of achieving a greater understanding of Marxism.

Using their new-found knowledge the staff of the institutes discussed the potential changes required in the higher sector and their findings were published.

"... the importance of the movement for ideological reform cannot be over stressed ... at present too many people are adopting a defensive attitude and are unenthusiastic in their response to the new campaign. It is to be hoped that, in the coming year, many many more teachers will take part ...".

While calls for the intensification of political education continued to be made, the January editorials which followed did provide much more specific information about the many problems which remained to be overcome. The January 1956 article, for example, took a very broad sweep of the educational scene. (30)

Problems abounded, and not just in the field of ideological reform. More than 200 million adults were still not literate, nearly 50% of school-aged children could not be offered state-funded educational provision and the standard of the students, at all levels, left much to be desired. These deficiencies were having a harmful effect on

the national economic drive. Insufficient numbers of skilled people with the correct ideological viewpoint were being trained and the great majority of the population were still being excluded from the education system.

To correct the situation urgent action was required in the year ahead.

First, all education departments had to apply the call to 'hasten development, heighten educational quality, plan comprehensively and strengthen the leadership'.

Second, a unified system of worker peasant part-time education from the primary school to university level should be established. The neglect of this vital sector in the past years had been a reflection of the rightist conservative ideology which had permeated all levels of the educational leadership.

Third, in order to universalise primary education the people should be encouraged more vigorously than in the past to open and run their own schools. As the movement for agricultural cooperation proceeded, the funds could be generated to meet the new demands.

Fourth, in order to meet the nation's economic needs the education system had to train more middle level cadres. Accordingly, in 1956, the number of senior primary school graduates going on to junior middle school would be raised.

Fifth, the movement to provide education to the national minorities should be strengthened.

Six, great efforts should be made to expand pre-school provision. Only in this way could the right conditions be created for the liberation of women to participate fully in the national economic drive.

Seven, draft plans should be constructed to provide education at some future date for young deaf and/or mute children.

Eight, more students than ever before were to be admitted into the normal schools and colleges.

"... in our educational work we should adhere to the principle of 'fast, thrifty, good and plenty'... we must at the same time try to expand educational provision and raise the quality of education we provide, all the time trying to avoid the mistakes made in 1952 of blindly hastening our work along without paying due regard to quality ... the key to raising the quality is to improve our textbooks and to raise the standards of our teachers and educational administrators ... our work load for 1956 is a very heavy one. Difficulties abound, but if we believe in the Party and the power of the masses then we may yet reach the targets set for us in the 5 Year Plan ..."

D The 'supportive' editorials

All the editorials were, of course, supportive in that they explained and propagated the State's education policy. Some, however, were written specifically to support some particular measure or achievement. The intention was to give guidance to educational workers on the best ways of applying the changes to their practical situations.

The appearance of the Constitution in 1954, for example, elicited a strong response from the editors. The July editorial urged maximum discussion of the Draft Constitution and highlighted the special responsibility incumbent on teachers in the communicative process. (31)

"... educational workers have a special part to play in disseminating information about the new Constitution among the people... they must also become thoroughly acquainted with its contents because on them rests the responsibility of training the future generation on whom we all depend ...".

The use of the Constitution as a means of political study was more fully developed in the March 1955 issue which called for the replacement of the 'general study topic' classes in senior middle school by a new subject entitled 'The Law of the Constitution', to become effective after the 1955 summer vacation. (32) This editorial gave an in depth analysis of the general contents of the Constitution, drawing particular reference to those sections which had a direct bearing on educational activity. Teachers were recommended to decide on their own chapter preferences when teaching but to pay attention to 2 important points. Firstly, they were required to draw to their students' attention the achievements of the PRC since 1949 so that the youngsters' loyalty to the government would be reinforced and their support for the Constitution strengthened. Secondly, the students had to be made to understand the leading role played by the Party. This could be done by examining conditions pre-and post-Liberation.

A similar attempt by the magazine to disseminate information of national importance was made in mid 1955 when the decision "On the Question of Agricultural Collectivisation" was published on 31st July. The November 1955 issue published Mao's preface in full and supported it with an editorial calling on all educational workers to intensify their study of the new situation. (33)

Great problems faced the collectivisation movement but those who overemphasised these difficulties were guilty of "... rightist conservative thinking. These problems are only eddies in the mass tide". In answer to the question of how the educational system might support the movement, the editorial was frank about its specific problems ; the insufficient quantity and poor quality of teachers, bad facilities, the heavy workload still required of students and the persistent influence of bourgeois thought.

"... although all the problems are eddies, they do hinder educational and economic development ... however, the high tide of socialist construction is unstoppable ...".

To assist the new developments in the countryside the educational sector had first to put its own house in order. Wrong attitudes such as despising manual labour had to be eliminated. New teaching materials had to be compiled and existing ones revamped for use in the villages.

"... the basic level textbook should comprise some 200 to 300 characters introducing the names of local people, neighbouring cooperatives, important tools and other common words. Each cooperative should have its own special textbook.

... the middle level textbook should deal with matters of local concern infused with some items of national importance. It should be used on a district and county basis ...

... the higher level textbook, produced and edited by the provincial education department can include both local and national items and present them in a detailed manner ..."

This combination of local and national elements coupled with a methodology which proceeded from the very basic to the quite sophisticated drew "... from our good experience gained in the Old Liberated Areas". The call, also made in this editorial, for stronger action to eliminate illiteracy was taken up in a determined fashion by the editorial board after the decisions passed in early 1956.

The April 1956 editorial entitled "Enthusiastically carry out our educational tasks and vigorously implement the decision to eliminate illiteracy" examined progress to date. (34) The general neglect of both the literacy movement and the part time education system reflected the over emphasis of many cadres in the rural and urban areas on production activities.

"...to change this attitude we must win universal acceptance of the slogan 'socialism cannot be built by illiterates.' In their lessons teachers should consistently refer to the experiences of the Old Liberated Areas when explaining our government's educational policies ... our aim is to establish universal primary school education in 7 years and, if we are to achieve this, everyone from the illiterates to the intellectuals must involve themselves in the mass literacy movement ..."

Apart from these great decisions, duly commented on, editorial comment was made on only 2 occasions to support directives of educational significance (with the exception of the decisions to eradicate illiteracy just referred to). In January 1954 explanation was made on the 2 directives dealing with primary school reform and the improvements required in higher normal education, while in April 1955 teachers were urged to study and implement the decisions taken on how to deal with the abnormal work load of technical college students. (35, 36 respectively)

The former article covered familiar enough ground. Party control over education at all levels was to be strengthened and the campaign for the ideological reform of teachers was to be intensified (although old teachers with deep professional experience and expertise were not to be victimised or rejected: "... on the contrary, we must respect and learn from them ..."). The latter editorial is of interest because of the detail it provides on a pressing problem of the time. Many students worked between 60 to 70 hours a week attending lectures and doing homework. Teachers, obsessed with their students obtaining good exam results, delivered lectures at high speed and assigned homework which was too demanding. Apart from the resulting injurious effect on the students' health the political development of the young people concerned was harmed. One young man described his routine as living 'within a square'. His

everyday life was circumscribed by 4 all important procedures centering around the travel he made between his dormitory, lecture room, canteen and library. The editorial left its readers in no doubt as to the unacceptability of this situation.

"... our country needs young people with all round development - good health, the correct political attitude and scientific and cultural knowledge, all in equal measure ...".

It is appropriate that the final reference in this section is to the last editorial which appeared in September 1958. (37) In elucidating the State's educational policy its tone and content accurately mirrored the official attitude.

"... in the past many educationalists believed that since the teachers' ideology had undergone reform for several years, proletarian ideology was in command of the schools and the time was ripe to minimise political study and reduce the political campaigns ...

These educationalists also paid scant attention to the Government's call to increase the percentage of workers and peasants in schools ... they supported the idea of using specialist and old teachers to run the schools ...

Not surprisingly, therefore, we have produced in this country students who wish to become 'expert' but not 'red' and have no desire whatsoever to become involved in productive work, preferring instead to go on to obtain further education ... teachers are basically at fault; they have placed too much emphasis on classroom teaching, creating in the process 'closed door schools' in which students study books and never refer to the actual situation existing outside their school walls or to the precious experience gained in the Old Liberated Areas ... and all these problems are becoming more, not less, acute because our country has still not resolved the basic struggle between the bourgeois and proletarian ideologies ...".

Radical change was the order of the day. And the editorial board

knew it. Half work half study schools would help solve the contradiction between mental and manual labour, 'people-run schools' would help universalise primary education and renewed political study would finally help to begin to defeat the rightist conservative attitudes which predominated in education.

"... there are still many great problems facing us ... we must fundamentally reform our education system in accordance with the guidance given to us by our great leader Chairman Mao ...".

Chapter 3 - Notes

- (1) A full list of all the editorials written in the magazine appears in the Chronology, in Appendix 6. Additional evidence of the authoritative role played by 'Renmin Jiaoyu' is contained in Appendix 7 where the list of articles taken from other papers and reprinted in the magazine is examined.
- (2) 7-9/5/1950.
- (3) Those editorials and short comments which deal with the Soviet educational experience are dealt with in Part 4 of the thesis.
- (4) 7-9/9/1950 Editorial "Ideological preparation for the National Conference on Worker Peasant Education".
- (5) Basic literacy was defined as the acquisition of 1500 characters.
- (6) 9-10/4/1951 Editorial "Educate the new younger generation - Greet the First National Primary School Conference".
- (7) 9-10/7/1950 Editorial "Achievements of the National Conference on Higher Education".
- (8) 6-8/4/1956 Editorial "Enthusiastically carry out our educational tasks and vigorously implement the decision to eliminate illiteracy".
- (9) A full study of RMJY and the political movements of the 1950s is included in Part 3.
- (10) For an analysis of the influence of bourgeois educationalists in the 1950s see Part 2.
- (11) 6-7/8/1951 Editorial "Studying 'On Practice' must be related immediately to reality".
- (12) 4-5/11/1951 Editorial "People's Teachers must become Marxists".
- (13) 4-5/12/1951 Editorial "Popularise the idea of using revolutionary methods to carry out people's education to its fullest extent".
- (14) 7-8/8/1952 Short Comment "Educationists must struggle for long term peace and democracy".

- (15) 5/5/1952 Short Comment "Strengthen the leadership of proletarian ideology in the schools".
- (16) 4/4/1952 Editorial "Popularise propaganda education regarding antibacteriological warfare".
- (17) 5/2/1954 Short Comment "We should raise the standards of our present teachers and train more new ones".
- (18) Ibid.
- (19) 5/12/1954 Short Comment "Strive for the leadership of the party committee and strengthen political and ideological work in the schools".
- (20) 4-7/7/1956 Editorial "A brief comment on '100 Schools of Thought Contending' in education".
- (21) 4-6/7/1957.
- (22) Mao's 'On Contradictions' was delivered in February.
- (23) 7-8/7/1957 Editorial "Recognise the difference between right and wrong and defeat the rightist clique".
- (24) 4-5/5/1958 Editorial "An alarm bell in education".
- (25) 2-3/8/1958.
- (26) 6/4/1958 Editorial "Hasten the 'great leap forward' in education".
- (27) 13-15/10/1950 Editorial "Great victory on the ideological front".
- (28) 4/10/1955 Editorial "Raise our educational standards even further beyond our present level of achievement".
- (29) 4-5/1/1952.

- (30) 4-6/1/1956 Editorial "Struggle to accelerate the universalisation and elevation of education".
- (31) 14-15/7/1954 Editorial "Give full support to learning, discussing and rallying support for the new Draft Constitution".
- (32) 31-33/3/1955 Editorial "Some explanations on teaching the Basic Knowledge of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China".
- (33) 12-14/11/1955 Editorial "We should earnestly study the report and decisions on agricultural collectivisation".
- (34) 6-8/4/1956.
- (35) 9/1/1954 Editorial "Achieve the 2 directives - on reforming the primary and higher normal systems".
- (36) 11-12/4/1955 Editorial "Realise and implement the directives concerned with the abnormal work load endured by students in higher technical colleges".
- (37) 1-2/9/1958 Editorial "A year of great change in educational work".

PART 2 - "To study educational theories"

Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7.

Chapter 4 - Introduction

In the area of the 'study of educational theories' the 'Renmin Jiaoyu' is at once a surprise and a disappointment. Unexpectedly, there was no series of articles on Marxist educational theory and, as we shall see, scant attention was paid either to the rich experience of the Old Liberated Areas or to the educational thoughts of Mao Zedong. Apart from an intensive study of the Soviet experience and brief references to education in the other 'People's Democracies', the magazine was extremely selective in its assessment of the suitability of alternative educational systems for China. (1)

Occasionally an article would appear containing comparative information relating to western educational systems, but only once was specific reference made in an article title to the continuing legacy of Confucius. And surprisingly, given the philosopher's universally bad press in recent years, the article contained much favourable comment. (2)

In spite of an editorial foreword which informed readers that only some of the viewpoints expressed by Xu Mengying were correct and that it was being published only "... in order to promote discussion and highlight the good points in the old educational system ..." the article contained much praiseworthy comment whose publication even one year later - in 1958 - would have been unthinkable.

According to Xu contemporary educationalists had been wrong to disregard Confucius out of hand. With his emphasis on the importance of linking knowledge and meaningful practice and in his teaching method which was tailored to the individual ability of each student, Confucius had much of value to offer.

Much earlier another article had been written on the importance of

the old educational system to new China. (3) Wei Que's critique of the continuing relevance of the traditional Chinese educational system was much more forceful than its counterpart 7 years later. Confucius was roundly condemned for his disdainful attitude towards manual labour; he, and Mencius had "... helped the upper and land-owning classes to maintain their position and had used the education system to support the status quo ..." History had shown that whoever controlled the means of production had controlled the educational system to strengthen their position. Thus

"... in old China most of the schools were filled with children from noble and landlord families ... in capitalist countries, like America and Britain, the capitalist class completely dominates the educational system ... in Britain the children of the bourgeoisie have a good chance of attending public school and thence going on to Oxford or Cambridge; these 2 universities are the main training grounds for the British ruling class ..."

In his analysis, Wei was at pains to reject the influence of the 'Life Education' school of thought, an influence which had been very strong in China in the 30 years before Liberation. And it is to this general study that we now turn.

Throughout its entire 96 volumes, 'Renmin Jiaoyu' examined only 2 issues of educational theory in real detail, i.e. the continuing influence of the bourgeois educationalists (like Dewey) and the debate concerning the merits of the 2 educational methodologies, 'all round development' and 'teaching according to individuals ability'. And, as reference to Appendices 3 and 4 will show, it examined both in massive detail: 101 articles totalling 270 pages dealt directly with the bourgeois educationalists while 48 articles of 117 pages dealt with the methodology debate. (This latter issue is studied in Chapter 6).

The massive attention paid by the magazine to the continuing influence of the bourgeois educationalists was inevitable. Practical considerations demanded that the majority of China's intellectuals who had stayed (and who were non CP) should be employed. And employed they were in their thousands at every level - not just as primary and middle school teachers in the urban and rural areas but at the very highest levels. Scholars and educationalists concerned, who were not members of the CPC but had been active in educational circles before 1949 included Ma Xulun, Zhang Xiruo, Qian Tuansheng, Dao Meng Ho and Huang Yenbei. The problems inherent in this, however, were fully recognised by both the authorities and by the editorial board of the magazine (as previous reference to the editorials testifies). They were fully aware of the active commitment of many of their educational workers to the old theories, and - more dangerously - the passive commitment of many many more.

The nature of the threat was recognised and articulated in the first full article to appear in the magazine in May 1950 penned by Liu Shi . (4)

"... The traditional Chinese education system will have to undergo radical changes. We will have to embark on a thorough going review and criticism of the theory and practice of the old system so as to completely destroy any remaining feudal, comprador and colonialist influences ... all educational workers will have to study Marxism/Leninism/Mao Zedong Thought ... all educational workers will have to embark on an uncompromising struggle with their own erroneous ideas and with the reactionary ideologies of the old bourgeois dominated educational system, a system in which almost all of them have been trained ... in order to aid this criticism and to promote a re-evaluation of the old syllabi and teaching methods we have designated that one of the objectives of the magazine should be 'the development of a critical appraisal of educational and academic ideologies'..."

The basic thrust of this appraisal was aimed directly at the teaching of John Dewey in China and of the continued influence of his Chinese disciples. (5)

Chapter 4 - Notes

- (1) Detailed analysis of the Soviet contribution to China's educational development is contained in Part 4 of this thesis.
- (2) 27-29/2/1957 Xu Mengying "A brief discussion on the educational ideology of Confucius".
- (3) 17-20/5/1950 Wei Que "What is education ?".
- (4) 7-9/5/1950 Liu Shi "Struggle for the construction of a new Chinese People's Education". Preface to the first issue.
- (5) Interesting works on the pre 1949 system are:-
 - (a) William Ayers "Chang Chia tung and Educational Reform in China", Harvard UP 1971.
 - (b) W Gasster "Chinese Intellectuals and the 1911 Revolution", Washington UP, 1969.
 - (c) Victor Purcell "Problems of Chinese Education", Kegan Paul, London, 1936.
 - (d) Howard S Galt "Developments of Chinese Educational Theory", Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1929.
 - (e) Cyrus H Peake "Nationalism and Education in Modern China", New York, 1932.
 - (f) Hubert Treyn "Chinese Education and the War", Kelly and Walsh, Hong Kong, 1940.
 - (f) Tsi Dsi Irene Ho, "Ancient and Modern Educational Theory in China", Ph d thesis, University of London, 1936.
 - (g) Y C. Wang "Chinese Intellectuals and the West 1872-1949", North Carolina UP, 1966.
 - (i) Chang Chi yun "Confucianism and Modern Education in China", Chinese Culture, Taipei, 1960, pp 101-118.

- (j) Chang Jen chi "Pre Communist China's Rural Schools and Community", Boston, 1960.
- (k) Knight Biggerstaff "Earliest Modern Government Schools in China", Cornell UP, 1961.

Chapter 5 - The bourgeois educationalists - John Dewey

Contrary to the accepted viewpoint that public criticism of Dewey only began in 1951 after the publication by the Shanghai 'People's Education Press' of the "Introduction to the Critique of John Dewey" by Cao Fu , 'Renmin Jiaoyu' began its campaign against him in its very first issue. (1) At the earliest available opportunity, therefore, the magazine devoted 6 very valuable pages to an article by the Soviet pedagogist Ganchalov criticising Dewey's theory of 'pragmatic experimentalism'. (2) The movement faltered slightly in August when the editorial commemorated the 4th anniversary of the death of one of the greater exponents of Deweyism in China "... the revolutionary educationalist Dao Xingzhi ...". It gathered momentum again in October and November when Cao Fu wrote 2 crucially important articles introducing the readership to the gist of the subject matter contained in his book which was due to appear in the near future. (3)

"... if we are going to criticise the old education system the first thing we have to do is to criticise Dewey ... his philosophy and methodology have dominated our education for the past 30 years ... although his ideology is reactionary he dresses it up in left wing sounding phrases so as to appear very progressive; this has led, and could continue to lead, to serious misunderstandings about the nature of our educational system among the intellectuals ...".

According to Cao, Dewey's influence was so pervasive and so deeply ingrained in the Chinese mind that it would take a long time and require great critical effort before it could be rendered insignificant. He was happy to start the proceedings.

Both articles were deeply serious in tone and display a thorough understanding of Dewey's work (much of which had been translated).

They are scholarly in tone and deal with the nature of Dewey's philosophy rather than the specific Deweyite educational system which emerged in America, and to some extent, in China. Cao Fu's critique centred on 3 crucial elements of Dewey's philosophy.

Firstly, Dewey's contention that "education has no other importance than itself" could not be accepted. This was his 'education is life' approach which maintained that the importance of the educational process lay not in some perfect end, but in the means or series of actions involved at each stage. According to Cao Fu this emphasis on knowledge as a means rather than as an end in itself, whose acquisition demanded that the education system stress participation in rather than preparation for life, denied the state's right to control the system or to ensure that educational output was trained to meet national economic requirements.

"... (Dewey had said) it is not up to society to determine how children are to develop, but for the children to decide how society will develop. Society therefore should not educate the children in such a way that their main aim should be to serve society. Instead, the education system should encourage children to declare what type of social development there should be ...".

Secondly, Dewey's acceptance of the Darwinian concept of evolution marked him as a moderate reformist whose 'philosophy of change' was firmly against revolutionary development and class struggle.

"... Dewey's 'philosophy of change' by gradual means is only welcomed in capitalist countries where the bourgeois and capitalist classes are rightly afraid of the dangers revolutionary change will pose to their privileged positions ... capitalists welcome Darwin's views because they say 'competition is necessary for survival' ... about 100 years ago, capitalism in America was still advancing and few people called for radical change; but nowadays it is in decline and many people in America and elsewhere are demanding sudden change through revolution. Indeed, in 1929,

during the economic depression, Dewey himself was highly critical of the obvious failings of the capitalist system and seemed about to embrace socialism. But Dewey was a hypocrite. As he grew older he became more right wing than even we had anticipated ...".

Dewey was wrong therefore to see educational development in the Darwinian context of evolution and growth which could not be directed. For education in China, and in other societies, to have meaning it must have a purpose and a definite direction. Education existed specifically to serve the new China.

Cao thirdly criticised Dewey's 'theory of certainty' which maintained that since movement and change were characteristics of existence, human development was always, to a large extent, unpredictable and uncertain.

Dewey had been right to recognise the importance of change but had been wrong in his contention that change could not be controlled. In modern times Marx and Lenin had both formulated laws which regulated social development. Dewey had said that even the most intelligent observer could not foresee more than 50 years into the future but hadn't Marx, 100 years ago prophesied that capitalism would inevitably be destroyed?

Dewey's ethical approach was also wrong. He had said "... nothing has absolute value or absolute goodness, nothing can be called the best ... but we Marxists believe in absolute truth and absolute value ...".

Criticisms of Dewey after 1950

In the years which followed, the criticisms outlined by Cao Fu were taken up and developed as a massive attack was launched in the magazines' columns against 'Life Education' in general and Dewey in particular.

Six articles appeared between 1951 to 1956 on Dewey. (4) They adopted a more practical approach than Cao Fu preferring to examine the effects of Dewey's influence in real terms rather than offering a critique of his philosophy. The consensus of opinion among the articles was that Dewey's influence, not surprisingly, was most manifest in the older teachers and was characterised by their denial of objective truth, their unconcern with social development and their inability to tell right from wrong. Some teachers publicly, and proudly, proclaimed their loyalty. They said "... we taught under Nationalist rule, when the Japanese came we carried on teaching and even though the Russians are now here we are still teaching ..." (B)

More ominously for the authorities the articles uncovered many instances of teachers who supported this "... reactionary, capitalist and comprador ideology ..." but quietly, not voicing their opinions for fear of losing their jobs. (B) In his 1955 article, Zhang Tengxiao analysed Dewey's pragmatism in terms of the educational ideology of American imperialism intent on conquering the world. (5)

"... everyone involved with Chinese education in the past 35 years has been influenced, to a greater or lesser extent, by Dewey's pragmatism - and that influence is still strong today ... so strong in fact that it is still the main ideological enemy within our educational establishments at every level ..." (C)

Although the 6 articles were intent on examining Dewey's impact on China in a practical way they did use the same methodology in criticising Deweyism as Cao Fu, i.e. by examining, in turn, the major elements in his approach

I 'education is life'

II 'theory of change and growth'

III 'theory of (un) certainty'

I 'Education is Life'

Dewey was a pragmatist who saw the prime purpose of education as providing initial formative experiences as the foundation for a life of continuous development. To this extent the educational process was much more important than any final objective. Knowledge, always a means and never an end in itself, was purely instrumental. Hence the categorisation of Dewey's approach as 'pragmatic experimentalism'.

All of the articles examined the approach. They regarded it as aimless and shortsighted, as neglectful of the systematic method of educational development and as the denial of the importance of the long term.

"... this aimless theory of 'education is growth, education is life' stems clearly from Dewey's class background. Dewey was a member of the bourgeoisie - he did not take the standpoint of the monopolistic capitalist but equally he was not able to recognise the power of the proletariat ... because his methodology proceeded on a step by step basis he could not perceive the far reaching developments which were taking place world wide ..." (A)

Such an approach to education, which had no final objective or particular ideological perspective was totally at variance with the new system.

"... Dewey's view of educational development was too narrow and subjective. The most important purpose of human knowledge is to apply scientific theory to our own social reality. In this way we can determine the future, correct development for the peoples of the world and education can serve the people with the knowledge and skills which have been acquired ..." (D)

The subjective element in Dewey's teaching which based itself on the reliance of the child's instincts came in for particular criticism.

If the theory 'education is life' meant that children were free to decide what they wanted to do and how they wanted to do it then the practical unruly schoolroom consequences could not be tolerated. The pre-eminence of the children in Dewey's educational system had reduced the stature and importance of their teachers.

"... if children are not given clear guidance and instruction by their teachers and parents they are likely to become involved in needless and time wasting activities and be subject to erroneous influences ... this stress on innate ability and the refusal to accept or conform to outside standards are 2 important features of Dewey's approach ..." (A)

The advocacy that children should grow up free of any substantial external influences being exerted on them by parents, teachers or other adults was totally unacceptable.

"... in primitive societies the most important way in which young people acquired knowledge was to learn from the older generation ... it was only with the development of society that schools developed and the difference between mental and manual labour took a firm root in people's minds ...

Educational developments have reflected that difference ... in capitalist society the primary and middle schools provided manpower for industry while higher education trained those such as scientists and engineers who would benefit directly from the strengthening of the capitalist system ... under the Chinese Communist Party education is the means by which the cultural level of all the people will be improved ... failure to emphasise the importance of schooling and to overstress the contribution which can be made by other approaches such as 'education in society' or 'education in the family' will hinder this process and will result in a failure on 3 fronts ...

Firstly, young people will not be able to attain the cultural and educational standards we require of them ...

Secondly, young people will not obtain the benefits of a systematic education ...

Thirdly, young people will have an inadequate ideological outlook ..."(D)

Just as the teacher had a vital part to play in the new system too the issues of school organisation, syllabus and teaching methodology were of crucial importance. And in all 3 fields Dewey's approach was unacceptable. He had said "... education means life, activities in the school should parallel social activities such as cooking and looking after shops ...", but this was just another example of Dewey's aimless approach. In the schools in America which he had established, students wasted much valuable time by working in shops, post offices, railway stations and the like. And when they did attend the schools for lessons there was no agreed teaching method or course syllabus. Students were allowed to do whatever they liked in accordance with his dictum "education is encouraging children to develop in their own natural way". Exams played little part in the system and were not used to check each pupils' progress while the role of the teacher was subordinated to that of an observer offering advice and help.

II 'Theory of Change and Growth'

"... Dewey did not deny that our society needed reconstruction or our economy needed rebuilding; but he was against planning the direction of that reconstruction and he did not accept that the teachers should play a formative role in guiding the young people in what they believed to be the correct direction of development ...". (6)

According to the contributors, Dewey's ability to perceive the necessity for change was contradicted by his inability to support the only method capable of achieving such change, i.e. revolution. He obstinately refused to accept the necessity for class struggle. He maintained that capital and labour could not be separated and that they each needed the other.

In this sense Dewey was guilty of trying to induce a 'slave mentality' amongst the working class.

"...in one of his books, 'The School of Tomorrow', Dewey maintained that educational opportunities would have to spread if capitalism was to obtain the trained personnel it required ... in this sense Dewey envisaged education as a tool for capitalist development ... by insisting that 'society is the school' and that 'social activity is the pure essence of education' he tried to mislead the American working class into denying themselves full educational rights ... in the US, as we know, more than 80% of university and college students come from the ranks of the bourgeoisie ..." (D)

An integral part of Dewey's theory was the leading role played by education in social development. And the contention that 'education is the way to reform our society' was seized upon by the contributors as being irrefutably anti-Marxist. Economic factors formed the basis of new China. They determined the political structure which in turn determined the nature, content and direction of the new educational system. Unfortunately, as the contributors admitted, erroneous attitudes reflecting bourgeois ideas such as "education should be separate from politics" and "education transcends the economic and political base" were widespread

Writing specifically on this point in August 1955, Wang Tie labelled such attitudes as anti-scientific and as a denial of objective truth.

"... historical materialism takes the productive forces as the base of society ... every aspect of life depends on the inter-relationship of these forces; as they change so society develops ... the contradictions which often appear in this development can only be resolved by the physical destruction of the old relationship by force ... hence the necessity for class struggle ..." (E)

III 'Theory of Certainty'

According to the contributors Dewey's belief in the primacy of change, his belief that everything was subject to constant change and eventual disintegration, left his philosophy without any fixed definite points. According to Dewey, there were no fixed beliefs, and the quest for certainty was therefore a waste of time, a 'misleading perversion'.

This denial of the absolute, such as the absolute power of the masses and the unquestionable inevitability of revolution and social development, was a further nail in Dewey's coffin in post-Liberation China. Similarly his refusal to classify educational activities in order of priority was unacceptable. He had said, "we cannot establish a hierarchy of values among subjects and studies ... the only ultimate value which can be set up is just the process of living itself". This contention that education had no ultimate end in itself, that there was nothing which was important or unimportant in the school curricula and that 'teaching' should be passive rather than active led the contributors to conclude that Deweyism in practice was a recipe for chaos in the schools.

Accompanying this detailed rejection of Deweyism in post Liberation China was a concerted attack on China's main Deweyites. And it is to them that we now turn.

Chapter 5 - Notes

- (1) A main work on Dewey is Robert Clopton's and Tsuin Chen Ou's book entitled "John Dewey, Lectures in China 1919-1920" published by the University of Hawaii Press in 1973. In an interesting preface which includes reference to Chinese publications after 1949 and examines the relationship of Dewey with Hu Shih, no mention is made of the substantial number of articles which appeared in 'Peoples' Education' throughout the 1950s. See also "John Dewey's ideas in China 1919-1921" by Nancy Sizer in the Comparative Education Review, October 1966.
- (2) 38-43/5/1950 Ganchalov "A criticism of education based on pragmatism and experimentation".
- (3) (a) 21-28/10/1950 Cao Fu "Introduction to the Critique of John Dewey".
(b) 22-29/11/1950 Cao Fu ditto.
- (4) The 6 articles which appeared in 'Renmin Jiaoyu' about Dewey in the period 1951-1956 are listed below. Since they will appear often throughout the remaining text of Chapter 5 they will be referred to by the preceeding letters listed below:
 - (A) 65/2/1951 Ou Luoba "American schools and the educational changes"
 - (B) 21-25/4/1952 Zhang Lingguang "Comment on Dewey's book 'How We Think'".
 - (C) 26-30/5/1955 Zhang Tengxiao "The reactionary nature of pragmatic education".
 - (E) 34-36/8/1955 Wang Tie "Comment on Dewey's theory that 'education is above politics and economics'".
 - (F) 53-56/2/1956 Li Bingde "Eradicate the influence which pragmatism has exerted over our nation's education system".

(5) For an earlier American view of the same process see R.A. Lewis
"The Educational Conquest of the Far East" Revell Company, Ed-
inburgh, 1903.

(6) 21-28/10/1950 Cao Fu "Introduction to the Critique of John Dewey".

Chapter 6 - Other Bourgeois Educationalists

Complementing the movement to criticise Dewey in the columns of the magazine was the drive against Dewey's followers in China who exerted such influence over educational development in the second quarter of the century. All the main followers of 'Life Education' were subject to violent attacks in the magazine - Dao Xingzhi, Hu Shih, Chen Hejin, Liang Xuming and James Yen.

The general thrust of the attack was to illustrate the intimate relationship which existed between Dewey's approach and the Chinese 'Life Educationalists'. In the very early days that criticism was not too acute.

"... the basic viewpoint of 'Life Education' is similar to that of Dewey's; they are both harmful to our new democratic society. The ideology of 'Life Education' has to undergo radical reform if its good points are to be revealed and brought into play for the service of new China ..." (1)

Praise was given to the strong nationalistic stance of the Life Educationalists' in the struggle with Japan manifest in Dao's call in 1935 for a programme of 'national crisis' education' of mass mobilisation.

But being a mirror image of Deweyism, 'Life Education' in its present form, in the earliest days of the new government would not be permitted to continue. The basic criticisms of the continuing influence of 'Life Education' were as follows.

Firstly it denied the existence of class in society and repudiated change by revolutionary means.

Secondly it believed in the primacy of education and thus relegated political and economic factors to a secondary role in social development.

Thirdly, by overstressing the importance of 'doing', it distorted the teaching and learning process. Manifestations of this imbalance were: the denial of a systematic educational approach, a de-emphasis of the role of schools and the leading role of teachers, a rise in student indiscipline, the cultivation of self-centred attitudes such as individualism and the denial of book knowledge at the expense of direct, personal first hand experience.

Deweyites alive and dead, living in China and living abroad were attacked - and that attack became much more cutting as the decade progressed. The main targets in decreasing order of importance were,

- 1 Dao Xingzhi
- 2 Hu Shih,
- 3 Jen Hejin, Liang Xuming and James Yen,
- 4 Wu Xun.

1 Dao Xingzhi

Although Dao was Dewey's main Chinese disciple, the initial confused response evident in the August 1950 editorial is easy enough to explain. (2) (3) In addition to his strong nationalistic commitment he had pioneered new forms of rural education and anti illiteracy campaigns, elements of which were taken up after 1949. (4) Left wing and progressive, but never a communist or member of the CPC, Dao's reputation was high enough on his death in 1946 to elicit expressions of regret from Mao himself, and from Zhu De who called his death "... a great loss to China". In Dao's 1947 memorial volume, sitting comfortably beside the eulogy written by John Leighton Stuart (soon to be reviled as one of the main tools of American cultural aggression) were contributions from very important figures in post Liberation China, including Guo Moruo and Ma Yinqu.

To date it has been assumed that the official campaign against Dao

began in 1952 with the publication of the book "A Critique of Dao Xingzhi's Thought on Education" in Peking which included the important article by Pan Kaipen entitled "A Critique of the 'Life Education' Theory". (5) This was not, in fact, the case. As with Dewey the attack on Dao began earlier than has been previously thought, and was initiated in the columns of 'People's Education' in the third quarter of 1951. (6)

The campaign opened in August 1951, the fifth anniversary of Dao's death, with a short article entitled "Helping those who advocate 'Life Education' to criticise themselves" and was quickly followed by a spate of articles in the remaining 4 issues criticising 'Life Education' in general and Dao by name. The many contributors to the magazine's columns included such important personages as Liu Shi, Zhang Zhonglin, Zhen Xuanshan, Fang Zhi, Dong Quncai and Lin Yingcai. Most had, at one time or another, been influenced by 'Life Education' but they had seen the errors of their ways and reformed. The fear that the continued influences of 'Life Education' in the minds of China's intellectuals and teachers might prove to be more than just obstructive to the establishment and consolidation of the new education system, was manifest in an aptly entitled article in September 1951, "Could 'Life Education' resurrect the traditional Chinese education system?". The result of this was the establishment of the magazine's own 'Life Education Investigation Team'. (7)

Just as Cao Fu criticised Dewey in the magazine a full 6 months before his comments began to attract national and foreign attention so Pan Kaipen criticised Dao by name twice in the magazine before his book appeared. (8)

Both articles constituted the harshest attack on Dao to date.

The December article attacked his work in general while the January article offered an analysis of his teaching methodology. The main thrust of Pan's attack was that Dao had attempted to 'sinify' Deweyism. His inversion of Dewey's criteria to become 'Life is education, society is the school' was nothing more than a blatant attempt to transpose the educational system which had been employed in America to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie.

In spite of the fact that Dao had correctly analysed the importance of the relationship between theory and practice, knowledge and action and learning and doing his failure to embrace the need for class struggle and revolutionary action had rendered his contribution impotent: "... During his 20 long years of activity Dao did not significantly advance our country along the path for which he strove - the universalisation of education ...".(8a)

His narrow-minded pragmatism was totally unsuited to new China. His denigration of book knowledge and academic achievement was contrary to systematic learning and scientific theory; "... books are the most important and efficient way of conducting our knowledge ...". (8B) Though critical of Dao the educationalist, Pan's criticisms were rounded by a general admiration for Dao the man and Chinese nationalist.

A much softer critical line was taken by Dao's former assistant Zhang Zonglin in 2 articles broken by a 5 year gap. (9) Zhang had helped establish Hsiao Chuang and had, until almost the time of writing (March 1952) continued to believe in the efficacy of Dao's approach and to hold his former leader in high regard. That regard remained although Zhang had realised during the Wu Xun campaign that he had been wrong to "... try to protect Dao's approach in the last few years ... I apologise for not using Marxism/Leninism/Mao Zedong

Thought in helping to solve my own difficult problems ..."

In retrospect Zhang admitted that Dao's attempt to universalise education by creating one million village teachers was doomed to failure because "... it did not deal with the 2 most important aspects of peasant life; changing the economic base through land reform and changing the political base through the leadership of the Communist Party ..." (9a) In spite of this Dao had his good points. He was progressive, he did oppose the Guomindang and throughout the world voice China's opposition to the Japanese occupation. He also placed a great emphasis on the peasantry and their needs.

Zhang's second article in 1957 was, if anything, much less defensive in tone. Recalling Mao's verdict in 1946 that Dao was a great patriot and fighter, he reminded the readership of Mao's analysis of the continuing relevance of Sun Yatsen. Dr Sun had made great mistakes but these had to be placed in the context of his environment and of the historical situation prevailing at the time. Zhang believed that if Dao had not died prematurely through overwork brought on by the fears of summary execution at the hands of the authorities, he might have joined the Communist Party.

"... in spite of his faults, Dao's approach was not basically at odds with our new educational policies .. we must always remember that he saw education as a weapon both to help China and fight fascism and imperialism ... we must remember his long struggle with the Guomindang, his friendly sentiments towards our Party and his constant help in difficult conditions to our comrades ..." (9b)

According to the author of the preceeding article Zheng Zhumin (a veteran communist), Dao had on many occasions afforded shelter in his schools to victims of state persecution. (10) Dao's wife (Wu Xujin) had invited Zheng to edit a magazine she had set up in

Chongqing; "... in his time Dao did much creditable work, but these facts are ignored when people criticise him ..." Zheng attempted to remind readers of the good points. Dao had come from a very poor background, he had attempted at all times to help the rural poor and his criticisms of book knowledge divorced from reality had much in common with current educational thinking.

With the onset of the Great Leap Forward however, the pre Liberation model held up for emulation was not Dao's mass education movement, but the educational experience of the Old Liberated Areas. And after the 2 articles of July 1957, Dao Xingzhi was not referred to publicly in the magazine titles again.

Most of the articles written about Dao were neither as warm as the latter nor as cool as Pan Kaipen's contributions. Sometimes, as in the cases of Fang Yuyen and Zhen Xuanshan the analysis of 'Life Education' was preceeded by an admission that the author had in some way been sympathetic to Dao's approach. Preceeding his November 1951 article, for example, Zhang Jian admitted such an influence before launching into a detailed analysis of the development of Dao's educational thought. (11) Although its influence was now harmful to China, it had played a positive part in China's countryside and was prominent in crusading against the Japanese invaders. Reacting against the strong anti-Dao criticism of contributors like Pan, Zhang in a short article in 1953, sought to explain Dao's petty bourgeois stance. (12)

Pan had been in error to state that Dao's financial needs had been met from Guomindang sources. Similarly he was wrong to accuse Dao of being anti-democratic; although he did not join the CPC, Dao had publically supported Mao's 'New Democracy' and his firm commitment to the masses and his unification of mental and manual labour all

testified to the righteousness of his emotions. Seen in its proper historical context, his unwillingness to become involved in direct political action was symptomatic of the petty bourgeoisie in China at the time.

The question of whether or not Dao should continue to exert an influence after 1949 was most succinctly put by the ubiquitous Zhang Lingguang in January 1952. (13)

"...though Dao's educational approach contained some very advanced concepts we cannot accept it ... by calling for a revolution in education and opposing a revolution in politics he rendered his theories invalid to us ..."

2 Hu Shih

Along with Dewey, Hu Shih exerted a great influence on Chinese education before 1949 and was a vigorous promoter of the need for China to adopt Western cultural models. A devout admirer of Dewey, Hu Shih had helped organise his trip to China and had written "... we can say that, since the meeting of China and the Occident, there has not been a single foreigner who has had such an influence on the world of Chinese thought as John Dewey ..." (14)

Criticisms of Hu Shih began to appear in the press soon after Liberation and continued regularly thereafter. The heightening of this criticism in 1951 caught the attention of the translation agencies and further sporadic attention was paid to articles which appeared in the period 1953 to 1956. (15) It was not until 1954, however, that an article appeared in 'People's Education' attacking Hu Shih by name and thereafter several of the following year's issues bitterly criticised him. Unlike the campaign against Dao Xingzhi where an attempt had been made to distinguish between the man and his influence, Hu Shih was the subject of the most cutting personal attack. He had no saving graces whatsoever.

"... bourgeois idealism still influences our educational thinking because, in the past, we have not conducted a comprehensive or systematic attack on the various bourgeois ideologies which exist ... the main influence we have to combat is that perpetrated by Dewey and Hu Shih who dominated the educational system from 1919 to 1949 ... the main reason for the rampant nature of bourgeois idealism today is that most educational workers misunderstand dialectical materialism and do not possess a correct world outlook ... the root of this phenomenon lies squarely with Dewey and Hu Shih; their pragmatism totally contradicts Marxism, materialism, objective truth, revolution and the objective law of development ... (and) leads to an educational ideology characterised by the divorce of theory from practice and the alienation of politics from education!"(16)

Hu Shih was a willing tool of American cultural aggression. A lengthy article by Liu Songdao in the same May issue analysed the various stands in his reactionary educational ideology. (17)

Admittedly he was one of the most able educationalists in the Guomintang regime, and he had served as Chinese ambassador to America, but he was a vigorous supporter of the American way of life and he strongly criticised Marxism. In his essay "Pragmatism" published in 1919 he had, like Dewey, asserted the pre-eminent role which education played in social development - "... education is the fundamental means of changing society ...". He had constantly opposed Marxism and had denied the need for class struggle and change through revolution. He had said:

"... class differences and conflicts can be resolved in peaceful, non Marxist ways ... those who blindly follow the teachings of Marx and Lenin are as misinformed as those who uncritically accept the teachings of our old scholars such as Confucius ..."

In his advice to students, Hu Shih had recommended non involvement in politics, quoting the case of Goethe who, when the wars between France and Germany were at their height stayed clear of politics

and spent part of his time trying to learn Chinese. His own educational approach was characterised by the Deweyite concern for trivia: his literature course, for example, required the students to be familiar with 194 different books, most of which were on ancient or classical subjects. The attention to study and detail is illustrated in his advice to a student, "... if you find even one wrong character in all of your course you will have discovered a new climate in heaven ...". This approach was specifically designed to keep young people so busy that they would have no time for politics.

His espousal of the western influence and his failure to return to China after Liberation damned Hu Shih as that most heinous of individuals - an unpatriotic Chinese. He himself offered eloquent comment on the criticisms against him:

"... in the 2 years 1954 and 1955, more than 3 million words were published for the exorcising of the 'ghost of Hu Shih'. And in almost every violent attack on me Dewey was inevitably dragged in as the source of the deadly poison ... may we not accept these criticisms as fairly reliable, though probably slightly exaggerated estimates of the 'poisonous influence' left by Dewey and his friends in China? ... Dewey and his students have left in China plenty of 'poison', plenty of antiseptic and antitoxin, to plague the Marxist Leninist slaves for many years to come ..."

(18)

Hu Shih was fortunate not to be in China after 1949. Other Deweyites who had decided to remain suffered the inevitable consequences.

3. Jen Hejin, Liang Xuming and James Yen

Those few foreign articles and textbooks which deal with the campaigns against the bourgeois educationalists concentrate on Liang and virtually exclude examination of Jen. 'Peoples' Education' saw the matter somewhat differently. In the 1951 campaign against Wu Xun and Dao, no specific article on Liang appeared but attention was paid

to the 'comparador bourgeois influence' of Jen Hejin, a prominent academic before 1949 and famous author of children's books.

Once again the magazine forces us to update the timing of the attack.

(19) Contrary to accepted opinion, Jen's first public denunciation of Dewey did not take place in February 1952 at the 2nd session of the 1st Conference of the People's Republic of Jiangsu Province, but appeared 5 months earlier in an article entitled "My main criticisms of 'Life Education'". (20) This campaign had obviously been well prepared because the article was immediately followed by a critique of his work and an analysis of his influence, especially in the village education movement and in the kindergarten/pre school sector. (21) So seriously did the magazine view his latter activities that they commissioned the 'Life Education Investigation Team' to look into his previous activities as head of the Shanghai Education Department and the Shanghai Kindergarten Normal College.

(22)

Specifically the attack focused on Jen's 'worship America' ideology.

"... Jen Hejin was so deeply influenced by what he considered to be the superiority of the American way of life that he cooperated fully with the imperialists and native reactionary elements ... during his tenure in Shanghai he said: 'our financial income comes from the tax paid by foreigners for the land they have leased - we must therefore include foreign elements in our school syllabus' ..." (23)

In October 1951 and again in April 1952 Jen admitted his errors.

"... I openly worshipped American thought and neglected the needs of the people and the country ... I was guilty of greed and selfishness ... I wanted to be accepted as an 'expert in pre school education' and fell into the trap of seeking fame and status above all ..." (24)

Allied to the general criticisms was the charge that Jen had tried to use the educational system to make the people subservient and receptive to American influence - the so called 'slave mentality'. To provide evidence against him his Chinese language textbooks were analysed and particular attention was paid to his book published in 1940 entitled "The first half of my life". (25) Chapter by chapter instances of his pernicious influence were revealed. The first 3 chapters, for example, praised the feudal order and exalted 'filial piety', a chapter on examinations stressed the importance of the classical texts while, in another chapter, favourable comment on the American educational system even included references to the great advances being made by young blacks in obtaining educational opportunities.

Jen, however, was an example of a Chinese academic who progressed after the movement of criticism had ended. In December 1951 Luo Han had noted: "... it is good to see that Jen Hejin is now reforming his ways. If he can abandon his anti-people attitude he may yet make a considerable contribution to the development of our new education system ..." (26a) And progress he did. In 1954 Jen was appointed President of Nanjing Normal College and in 1956 he became Vice Chairman of the Jiangsu Provincial Committee. (26b)

Jen's fellow Deweyite, Liang Xuming, was not so flexible in his response to criticism and fared much worse. His public statement in October 1951, which traced the changes he had undergone in the past 2 years, praised the achievements of the PRC, but failed to give the authorities the basic concessions they demanded. He still maintained that there were no class divisions in China and that China, because of its own peculiar characteristics, was not suited to following the objective laws of development as contained in Marxism - Leninism. (27)

Ironically enough, while the western translation services picked up the criticisms of him in 1951, nothing specifically about Liang appeared in 'People's Education' ; he had to wait until December 1955 before being accorded the dubious honour of a direct reference in the first of 2 articles. These contributions do not appear to have been referred to anywhere else in translation. (28)

Before Liberation, Liang had been head of the famous Rural Reconstruction Research Unit in Shandong. In this post and in his previous position as a lecturer in Peking University and headmaster of Guangzhou's first Middle School he had poisoned the minds of a large number of young people. He had used the system of village schools to assert the predominance of educational rather than political action in the Chinese countryside and had denied the need for class struggle and land reform. He had said:

"... 'the problem facing China is not to revolutionise people's minds but to reform culture in order to save the nation'... 'in order to destroy peasant support for the CPC another type of peasant movement must evolve, and education can play a vital part in this task' ... 'if education can be brought fully into play there will not be any need for a violent social revolution' ... we can therefore see that he is a typical semi feudal, semi colonial, landlord intellectual ... he tried to mobilise traditional Chinese ethics to train the people in servility ..." (28)

His influence lingered on in the minds of 4 different groups of intellectuals. First were those afraid of revolution and class struggle. Second were those who regarded the masses as being stupid; only a small minority of gifted people could benefit truly from education and take over the running of the country. Third were those who denied objective reality and, basing their responses on subjective emotions harped back to the days before 1949. Fourth were those who overstressed the importance of intellectual and cultural matters and were unable to forge the link between theory and practice.

In the West James Yen was even better known than either Jen or Liang for his work with the Chinese Mass Education Movement. (29)

He had been profoundly influenced by his work with the 200,000 illiterate Chinese peasant labourers in France in World War One and, on his return, he had organised a nation wide movement for mass education and rural reconstruction. Before Liberation he had gone to America and, in December 1950, all his establishments were disbanded. (30)

Thereafter he was little referred to in the Chinese press. He received only 1 critical reference in the magazine. (31) The criticisms were predictable enough: he had been an agent of US Imperialism and had played a part similar to Hu Shih. He had been directly financed by Chiang Kai Shek to organise the rural masses in anti-communist organisations and had been sent on frequent trips to America to brief the authorities. Like the pragmatic educationalists, therefore, Yen had been keen to spread American influence and encourage subservience amongst the Chinese people towards the KMT Government and American imperialism. Just like the Dewites he had created confusion in educational circles and had propagated a feudal and a fascist ideology.

4. Wu Xun

There were, of course, other instances referred to in the magazine where individuals or incidents which seemed to manifest bourgeois ideology in educational activities were criticised. (32) Of these the most important concerned the celebrated 'beggar scholar', Wu Xun. Wu Xun, born in 1839 of a very poor family, had spent all of his life encouraging the wealthy to finance schools for rural children. In the 1940s left wing and progressive educationalists, such as Dao Xingzhi were proclaiming Wu Xun a 'hero of the exploited classes'.

As with the case of Dao himself, the early initial response to the memory of Wu Xun seemed favourable and a film "The story of Wu Xun" appeared at the beginning of 1951. After a gap of 6 months the film became the target of official criticism and an intensive campaign spread. 'People's Education' was in the forefront of the campaign. (33)

The campaign opened with a short editorial in June 1951 urging contributions about the film from the readership and it exploded into life in July as many of the most important educationalists of the day gave comment. (34) This massive public comment by the educational leadership was one of the characteristics of the campaign. In the July issue alone Xu Deli ('Mao's teacher'), Wei Que, Wu Yenyin, Zheng Jinwu, Ding Haochuan, Zhang Jian and Huang Fujin all appeared. Ma Xulun offered a criticism of his own past praise of Wu Xun. (35) Zeng Zhaolun admitted that Wu was not, at first sight, an obvious target for attack. But the film had to be opposed because its main theme was 'education for education's sake' in which education was divorced from politics and economics. (36) It denied the need for revolutionary action and implied that the educational system in 19th century China was quite good. Fang Zhi noted the many people who supported and praised the film; this indicated how little ideological progress had been made since Liberation. (37) The schools created by Wu Xun had all been controlled by the landlords and the begging method used by Wu to obtain the money was demeaning to the working class. As the film's reception revealed what was needed now was a great propaganda campaign to combat the influence of Wu Xun and to spread the educational ideology of Mao Zedong. According to Lin Liru, although from a humble background, Wu had utterly compromised himself in raising the money and had, in fact, become a bona fide member of the landlord classes. (38)

In answering the claim that Wu Xun posed no threat to the new government because he had been dead for many years , Lin Handa reminded the readership that it was the influence of what the man had stood for that was under attack. (39) Lin summarised those basic points which gave the debate contemporary relevance. Firstly, the whole system of private finance for schools was wrong : a similar point has already been made about the vast sums of American money which had been given to establish schools and hospitals in China. They extended the influence of American imperialism just as the schools run by Wu Xun spread landlord control over the ordinary people. Secondly, Wu Xun's claim that education alone could change society totally ignored the political and economic reality of 19th century China. Thirdly, Wu's kow towing to the landlords - sometimes for as much as 3 days on bended knee - was disgraceful behaviour. Fourthly, Wu stressed the importance of traditional Chinese learning and he believed that academic and exam success were the only pre-requisites required for the nations' leaders.

Wu's denial of the need for revolutionary action and his belief that change could be effected within the existing system were attacked at length by Kai Pei in the lengthiest article in the July issue. (40) Wu's analysis of the problem was over simplistic. He believed that the poor were exploited by the rich because they were illiterate; given educational training, therefore, they might some day become rich and influential. Wu, therefore, not only denied the need for class struggle but he reinforced existing social values and fought to maintain the status quo. This emphasis on academic achievement and the importance of study had been the main reason why the film had been so well received in educational circles. Its implicit message that education was both separate from, and more

important than either politics or economics had touched a responsive note amongst Chinese intellectuals.

As the ideological campaign against 'Life Education' intensified in the latter part of 1951, the last article to appear on Wu Xun in the magazine, in September, was also the most detailed and analytical. (41) In it Qian Junjui tried to bring all the strands of the argument together and offer a concluding assessment on the campaign.

The first conclusion was that Wu Xun had disowned his own class and had embraced the landlords, the Qing Dynasty reactionary government and the money lenders. He could not be seen in retrospect as a bourgeois reformist; he was, in reality a feudal reactionary element who served the feudal classes. Care should be taken to separate cause and effect. There might be some slight saving grace in Wu Xun's desire to establish schools for the poor but the result was totally unacceptable.

Secondly, as the recent publication "An investigation into the history of Wu Xun" had shown, Wu Xun begged for 30 years and it was only when he had become a money lender and big landlord that he had set up his first charity school.

Thirdly, his subservient attitude to the ruling classes could not be allowed to reappear. His moral standards had no place in new China: "... we should train the people to love the motherland, their comrades, their work and public property - these are the moral standards of the new Chinese people ..."

Fourthly, in common with bourgeois educational reformers Wu Xun had separated education from politics and trivialised class division: "... what have they all achieved in the end through their efforts?

Nothing. They have only helped the reactionaries by confusing the issue for the labouring people and weakening their will to struggle..."

In categorising the attitudes of educational workers active pre Liberation, Qian specified 4 distinct groups; the minority who were firmly committed to maintaining the status quo (such as Wu Xun), those educationalists who wished reform but in fact only strengthened the interests of the ruling classes (such as Dao Xingzhi), the majority of teachers who, though they were dissatisfied with the old ways, were not prepared to become involved in revolutionary struggle and the tiny minority of revolutionary educationalists who propagated Marxism-Leninism. People were wrong to label Dao as a reactionary because of his praise for Wu Xun. Wu Xun had established an apparatus to train reactionaries and support the landlords while Dao, especially in later life, was a revolutionary democrat who died 'on post' in the struggle against US imperialism and the reactionary Guomindang regime. The characteristics of Dao's educational approach were democratic, scientific, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal and they were designed to serve the interests of the workers and peasants. In contrast Wu Xun advocated the continued existence of traditional academic standards.

Qian believed that the reason for Dao's well publicised praise of Wu Xun lay in his bourgeois reformist mentality. In denying the need for revolutionary action Dao's efforts had the same final result as Wu Xun, i.e. they enhanced the powers of the ruling classes.

In bringing this chapter on the 'bourgeois educationalists' to a close it is appropriate that the strains of Dewey (via Dao) and Wu Xun should be brought together. Common criticisms were levelled at Wu Xun and Dewey: they were anti-Marxist, anti-scientific, they served the interests of the reactionary ruling

ruling classes, they denied the necessity for class struggle and they trained the Chinese masses in subservience, one to the landlords and the other to the US.

Their continued influence over the educational system post 1949 is documented by the many articles which appeared in 'People's Education' and elsewhere, of which the extracts referred to in the last 2 chapters are only a general guide. Considerable attention was also paid to combatting their influence in the great political campaigns. These are examined in more detail in Chapter 9.

Chapter 6 - Notes

(1) 20-23/4/1951 Zhang Lingguang "Discussion of the basic principles of 'Life Education'".

(2) 5-6/8/1950 Editorial "The revolutionary educationalist Dao Xingzhi" written in commemoration of the 4th anniversary of his death.

(3) Dao had trained under Dewey in America and had, on his return to China, refashioned the Deweyite method to more suit Chinese conditions. While Dewey believed that 'education is life' Dao reversed the order to 'life is education' and hence gave his name to the Deweyite school which had such an impact in the second quarter of the century.

'Chinese Education', New York, has an important collection of his translated articles in the Winter 1974-1975 volume while Dao's work in China is more fully analysed in "Patterns of Education in Developing Nations - Dao's work in China 1917-1946" by Chu Don chean, the Kao Chang Printing Company, Taiwan, 1966. See also "Tao Hsing chih - an Educational Reformer" by P A Kuhn in East Asia Research Centre Paper on China, Harvard University, volume 13, pp 163-182, 1964.

(4) His famous Hsiao Chuang Program begun in 1927, for example, emphasised teacher training and village renewal by the use of techniques instantly identifiable to researchers of the post 1949 scene - involvement of students and teachers in manual labour, teaching through doing, and 'work study' designed to help the rural poor finance their own educational efforts.

One important element of his approach, the system of 'little teachers' (where school children teach illiterate adults) came in for early criticism. See, in particular, the follow-

ing articles all entitled "Criticise the 'little teacher' system"- 34-37/8/1951, 43/10/1951 and 52-53/10/1951.

- (5) Pan Kaipen's article is translated in 'Chinese Education', Winter 1974-1975 pp 109-145.
- (6) The timing of the launch of the campaign to criticise Dao Xingzhi, coming at the tail end of the campaign against Wu Xun was designed to reinforce and develop the points which had just been raised. The campaign to criticise Wu Xun is examined later on in this chapter
- (7) 33-35/9/1951 Wang Tairan "Could 'Life Education' resurrect the traditional Chinese education system?"
- (8) (a) 15-18/12/1951 Pan Kaipen "Discussion of several questions concerning the educational thoughts of Dao Xingzhi".
(b) 17-20/1/1951 Pan Kaipen "Criticism of the essay 'Combine Teaching, Learning and Doing'".
- (9) (a) 6-9/3/1952 Zhang Zonglin "My knowledge of Dao Xingzhi and my early recollections".
(b) 19-20/7/1957 Zhang Zonglin "Concerning Dao Xingzhi".
- (10) 16-18/7/1957 Zheng Zhumin "We must re-evaluate Dao Xingzhi".
- (11) 30-34/11/1951 Zhang Jian "Examine again the life and work of Dao Xingzhi".
- (12) 31-32/5/1953 Zhang Jian "A brief discussion of the educational principles of Dao Xingzhi".
- (13) 13-16/1/1952 Zhang Lingguang "Comment on 'Life is Education Society is the School'".
- (14) Clopton and Ou pp 10-11, op cit.

- (15) The 1951 debate was dealt with in CB 167. See,
- (a) Shen Yin mu "This man Hu Shih", pp 3-5.
 - (b) Ku Chieh kang "The way I look at Hu Shih", page 6.
 - (c) Ching Yuang "What kind of man is this Hu Shih?", pp 7-10.
 - (d) Tang Yung tung "Remarks on Hu Shih", page 11.
- An appreciation of Hu Shih by Jerome B Grieder can be found in China Quarterly no 12, October/December 1962 .
- (16) 5-6/5/1955 Editorial "The great meaning in criticising idealism".
- (17) 31-35/5/1955 Liu Songdao "Criticise Hu Shih's reactionary educational ideology".
- (18) Clopton and Ou, p19, op cit.
- (19) Clopton and Ou, p27, op cit.
- (20) 17-19/10/1951 Jen Hejin "My main criticisms of 'Life Education'".
- (21) 20/10/1951 Fang Zhi "After reading Jen Hejin's main criticisms of 'Life Education'".
- (22) The report of the Unit appeared in February 1953 (pages 22-24) entitled "Report of the investigations into the former Shanghai Kindergarten Normal College".
- (23) 16-21/2/1953 Editorial "'Life Education' and 'New Democratic Education' are in fundamental opposition to each other .
- (24) 8-10/4/1952 Jen Hejin "My additional criticisms of 'Life Education'" (this was a follow up to his October article referred to above (20)).

- (25) A good examination of the influence of textbooks on the ideological and emotional development of young children post 1949 can be found in Ridley, Goodwin and Doolin's book "The Making of a Model Citizen in Communist China", Stanford UP 1971.

There are sporadic references to Jen in the text.

- (26)(a) 19-20/12/1951 Luo Han, "To analyse the educational ideology of Jen Hejin from his book 'Half of my Life'".

- (b) Coincidental with his promotion in 1956

Jen's "Critique of the Philosophical Basis of John Dewey's Reactionary Pedagogy" was published in Shanghai. Extracts of this vigorously critical work can be found in Clopton and Ou, pp 27-28.

- (27) See CB 185 pages 6 to 18 "Changes I have undergone in the past 2 years".

The same issue also contained the following:

- (a) Liang "Speaking the truth on National Day", p 5.

- (b) Liang "Reply to some of my critics", pp 20-23.

- (c) Hu Han "On Liang Xuming", pp 31-35.

- (d) Hu Chiu yuan "We should all voice support for Liang Xuming, one who yields not to force", pp 24-28.

A good analysis of the importance of Liang Xuming appears in the 41st volume of China Quarterly January/March 1970, by Chi Wen shun.

- (28) (a) 39-41/12/1955 Gao Zanfei "Criticise the reactionary educational thought of Liang Xuming".

- (b) 36-41/1/1956 Zhang Junguang "Criticise the reactionary educational thought of Liang Xuming".

(29) In 1925 he published "The Mass Education Movement in China".

For a sympathetic account of his work see Pearl S Buck

"Tell the People: Mass Education in China", American Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1945.

(30) See SCMP 37 pp9-10, "James Yen's National Association of Mass Education Movement together with affiliated organs dissolved and taken over by Chungking Military Control Committee".

(31) 47-51/6/1957 Liu Youxin "The real face of James Yen".

(32) One important case not dealt with in the thesis concerns the activities of the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary bloc in 1955. In fact this is because their activities are extremely well documented in the translation agencies. Additionally, many of the documents which appear in the magazine are reproductions of articles on the subject which appeared elsewhere; of the 43 pages concerned with the Hu Feng Incident in the July 1955 issue, 37 pages are composed of 'People's Daily' articles and editorials which appeared the previous month. See also "Hu Feng's Conflict with the Communist Literary Authorities" by Merle Goldman, China Quarterly no 12, October/December 1962.

(33) Both the translation services and other sources picked up the campaign though little direct reference was made to any of the contributions which appeared in 'People's Education'. See in particular:

(a) Theodore Hsi En Chen "Thought Reform of Chinese Intellectuals", Oxford UP, 1960.

(b) CB 113, pages 6-7, "All Communists should join the criticism of 'The Story of Wu Xun'", 20/5/1951, People's Daily.

(c) CB 113, pages 4-5, "Importance should be attached to dis-

cussing the film 'The story of Wu Xun', 20/5/1951, People's Daily editorial.

(d) CB 172,pp 14-15, "Han Fu chu, Wu Xun and Ho Ssu yuan

(34) 8/6/1951 Editorial "Promote discussion of 'The Story of Wu Xun': down with the spirit of Wu Xun".

(35) 17/7/1951 Ma Xulun "Criticising my past praise of Wu Xun".

(36) 19/7/1951 Zeng Zhaolun "Correct our educational ideology".

(37) 19/7/1951 Fang Zhi "This is a starting point".

(38) 21/7/1951 Lin Liru "Three talks on Wu Xun".

(39) 27/7/1951 Lin Handa "Why should we still criticise Wu Xun today?".

(40) 31-33/7/1951 Kai Pei "From discussing the ideology of Wu Xun to criticising traditional educational ideology".

(41) 7-13/9/1951 Qian Junjui "What have we learnt from discussing the question of 'Wu Xun'?".

Chapter 7 - 'All Round Development' (ARD) and 'Teach According to the Individual's Ability' (TATTIA)

Introduction

While the criticism of named bourgeois educationalists in the magazine was voluminous enough it did not, quite naturally, constitute a thoroughgoing and objective analysis of Deweyism and 'Life Education'. The adherents of these and other methodologies were at fault and should be criticised - to a greater or lesser extent - so as to encourage the practising educational workers.

There was only one topic in the entire journal in which conflicting views were printed side by side and readers were encouraged to submit their own viewpoints. Only once did the authorities permit a regular clash of opinion in the columns over a prolonged period. This controversy concerned the nature of the relationship between 'All Round Development' (ARD) and 'Teaching According to the Individual's Ability' (TATTIA) and the appropriateness of each, separately and together, to China's educational system.

The treatment of this one theme was unique. The 48 articles totalling 117 pages reveal, in very great detail, one of the great educational debates of the decade - a clash of views on educational development which has scarcely been acknowledged in the works on Chinese education which have appeared. (1) It brought together a whole range of issues of vital concern to educationalists: the perceived conflict between quality and quantity in education, the lack of attention given within schools to political education and physical education, the problems arising from students' overwork, the issue of specialisation, the inadequacy of teaching materials and the role of teachers.

Conflicting articles followed one another with amazing rapidity, especially in the latter half of 1956, and included some of the weightiest educational personages - Dai Shuren, Zhang Jian, Liu Weiguang, Wu Yenyin, Qen Xuanshan, Zhang Zhonglin, Wang Tie and Cao Fu.

Although the debate began in July 1954 it lay almost dormant till August 1956; in the 6 months up to and including January 1957 34 articles appeared. The early part of the discussion concerned the nature and importance of 'All Round Development'. According to a December 1956 article Jiang Nanxiang (a future Minister of Education) had given various nuances in his attempts to define ARD. He maintained that it was primarily concerned with fostering a whole range of positive attributes in students and bore little relationship with the traditional system of Chinese education which was overly academic and paid little attention to the physical and political development of the students' character. It involved the training of the whole person in mind and body; it incorporated Chairman Mao's '3 goods' (strong in mind, health and body) and emphasised industriousness, patriotism, a desire to serve the people, the acceptance of the supremacy of the CPC and the willingness to possess those skills and abilities required for the nation's reconstruction. (2) In defining ARD Zhiang drew attention to the educational system which had prevailed in the second quarter of the century during which much more attention had been paid to the students as individuals in a less rigorous academic context. It had been characterised by a state of disorder and by the inculcation of subservient and servile ideas.

The new educational system was, within the state structure and on a systematic teaching basis, designed to serve the people by pursuing a process of 'ARD' which, at the same time, respected the abilities

and interests of the individual students. This was the crunch. All the contributors agreed on the importance of ARD. However, some argued that equal weighting should be given to the policy of encouraging talented students to specialise in their strengths so that they might shine in one activity - ie TATTIA. Others supported the primacy of ARD. Jiang belonged to this latter school of thought.

"... in the present debate certain people have failed to properly understand the meaning of the policy on ARD . They have stated publicly that to support such a policy will result in a mediocre education, unresponsive to the needs of individuals in general and talented individuals in particular ... they insist that the policy of ARD is applicable only in primary and middle schools, not in higher institutes which should have, as their main objective, the cultivation of special talents ... they fail to realise that ARD does not mean the imposition of the same teaching and the same standards on every student doing the same course, nor does it require general excellence in everything the student does. What it requires is that the student establishes an overall foundation which benefits not only his school work but his health and character as well ... whether one is a scientist or a writer one must possess a correct political viewpoint, a collective spirit and a healthy body ... the policy of ARD, therefore, is of crucial importance to us; it precedes and forms the basis on which an individual can develop his own specific talents ... it is not therefore necessary to stipulate that the approach of 'teaching according to the individual's ability' should become an educational objective....".

According to Zhang Yeming, Jiang was in error. He had confused the quantitative and qualitative aspects of education. Giving everyone a general grounding was fair enough but the nation's reconstruction requirements demanded the creation of large numbers of highly skilled and semi-skilled personnel. To obtain the quantity and quality of skilled manpower required, much greater emphasis had to be paid to encouraging individual ability at all levels, but especially at the higher levels. Overemphasis on ARD led to the stifling of

the individuals' creativity and ability; students at Qinghua, for example, found that the policy of ARD in practice consumed 90% of their time, leaving them with only 10% to call their own. According to Zhang, both approaches should be developed as educational requirements along the following lines.

Firstly, individual development should be permitted on the basis of a common foundation. This would be accomplished by drastically reducing the amount of common study material required of all students and the allocation of the extra time to the students to pursue their own interests. Teaching methods would encourage an airing of differing viewpoints.

"... to stress a unity of approach is important, but if different viewpoints are not accommodated and developed then creative thought will be thwarted and dogmatism will ensue. This flexible approach reflects our Party's work style. While there is always a unified and correct policy laid down by the central Government, local conditions and time factors must be taken into account when the policy is implemented ...".

Secondly, Zhang called for the establishment of a system of varied teaching methodologies designed to enable classroom teachers to cultivate their students' individual capabilities. These might well include projects done on either an individual or a group basis, or students being encouraged by their teachers to indulge in a large amount of extra reading and personal research.

Thirdly, Zhang defined the role of the teachers; they should provide the structure which guided and supported the student whilst, at the same time, encouraging them to think and act in an independent manner. Zhang admitted that the practicalities of the classroom situation forbade teachers giving wholly of their time to individual students,

but by only providing the very basic facts students would have to seek out more information by their own efforts, and teachers would have more free time to respond to the needs of individual students.

In his riposte Zhang had neglected to deal with crucial areas of the debate, such as political education and student's health. Other contributors were only too keen to do so. Indeed the background to the debate which began in earnest in August 1956 emphasised the importance of a balanced and general education which preceded the discussion on ARD by a full 4 years. At the turn of 1951/1952, 2 articles appeared in the magazine on the '5 loves' education. (3) Both articles outlined a general educational approach which, the editors urged, would be of relevance especially to primary school children and would ensure their correct development in all areas. Centring around the '5 loves' - 'love the motherland, love labour, love science, love the people and protect public property' - teachers were encouraged to instil in their pupils a systematic scientific knowledge allied to a correct world viewpoint and a respect for the dignity of labour and the labouring masses.

"... the cultivation of these civic virtues should begin in childhood ... the implementation of the '5 loves' education is the central task of the primary schools in the cultivation of young children to become good citizens ..." (3b)

Although these 2 short articles paid little attention to aspects of maintaining students in good physical and mental health they did emphasise the importance of a general educational approach and opposed early specialisation in the schools.

The first use of the term 'all round development' appeared in the magazine's July 1954 issue. (4)

"... the State Council has elucidated the twin objectives of middle school education to be the education of students imbued with socialist ideals and the training of students in 'all round development' ... the basic elements in ARD are ideological education, advanced scientific education, good mental and physical health and involvement in labour ... we must in our physics, chemistry, biology, geography, history, literature and current affairs classes and in our extra curricular activities train the students in the world outlook of dialectical materialism ... we must emphasise those elements crucial to communist morality such as a collective outlook, patriotism, internationalism, love of labour, concern for public property, self discipline and honesty ..."

Even at the very early stage of the debate Zhang Lingguang admitted that there were already deviations apparent in how people assessed the new policy. Some saw ARD as being synonymous with 'average development,' while others were worried about the demands it placed on both teachers and students.

If Zhang had expected to spark off a public debate he was mistaken. Nothing appeared in the columns until his second article of February 1955; thereafter the response he sought began, but at no little cost to his own standing and peace of mind. (5) In the 8 months which followed a spate of articles appeared criticising Zhang's approach, and in September 1956 he issued a public retraction. This was the launching pad for a sustained public debate about the relative merits of both 'all round development' and 'teach according to the individual's abilities' (until this date the debate had focused on ARD).

'All round development' - the 1955 debate

In his February article Zhang Lingguang focussed his attention on 4 important and current topics of concern - 4 themes which suffered blistering analysis in the issues which followed.

Theme One: the conflict between quality and quantity.

Zhang maintained that teachers were confused and

that the implementation of ARD had only made matters worse.

"... in their enthusiasm the teachers have equated the need to increase quality with the practice of giving their students ever increasing amounts of work to do ... consequently many young people have little time for social or recreational activities, they treat Sundays like weekdays and spend almost all their time examining problems, studying and attending lessons ... this has had an obvious and serious effect upon the students' health ...".

Among the articles which followed there was general agreement with Zhang on this issue. Students were being overburdened with work and too much attention was being paid to exam results and the numbers of students who graduated at every level. But Zhang had overstated the problem. The solution lay not in dismissing the policy but in improving both the attitudes and expectations of teachers, and the quantity and quality of educational resources and written materials available.

Theme Two: the conflict in objectives for the pre higher and higher education systems.

Zhang did not believe ARD was an appropriate policy for higher education.

"... in the primary and middle schools the main objective is to achieve a balanced approach involving only a mild degree of specialisation ... higher education demands intense specialist activity. Science and engineering students should not be required to attend history or geography classes, while arts students need not study a science ... the main requirement is that the student concentrate in their chosen field of study ...".

In his vigorous counter attack, Ding Ding heavily criticised Zhang for his advocacy of specialisation in the middle school.(6) Zhang had suggested several ways of easing the problem in middle schools ; reducing the number of subjects studied, less emphasis on classroom teaching and more on students self study and the abolition of stipulated extra-curricular activities. Too much time was being wasted.

"... the bulk of knowledge transmitted in middle schools is of little use to the students when they leave...".

Ding Ding criticised this summation on 3 grounds.

Firstly, the nationally agreed objectives for middle school education were to give students a general education, to promote their physical wellbeing and to provide them with the correct ideological viewpoint. Specialisation at this early stage clearly conflicted with this policy of 'all round development'.

Other contributors reinforced the same point. (7) Zhang's approach in practice would lead to the neglect of vital areas of study in the middle school and this would adversely affect the students' general development. Middle schools could not be seen exclusively as preparatory schools for higher education.

Secondly, Ding drew similarities between Zhang's approach and that of the pragmatic educationalists. Who would do the choosing? Which subjects were unimportant? If the students in middle schools were to be offered a free choice, this came perilously close to the practice of Dewey and the 'Life Education' school.

Lu Zhengyi developed this point. (8) Many teachers still favoured the child-centred approach. One teacher had told him "... children

like different things ... the 'all round development' approach to education should not be made compulsory ...". The continuation of these Deweyite attitudes was an indication that "...up to the present time we have failed to set up a system which will adequately fulfil our objective of 'all round development' ..."

According to Ding, the virtue of the middle school lay in its general approach.

"... when we face a problem we need to be familiar with many things if we are to find the solution ... it is on the firm secured base of 'all round development' education that middle school students are prepared for their future specialisation, either at work or study ..."

Thirdly, Zhang had been wrong to say "... there will inevitably be conflict if we try, at the same time, to improve teaching and maintain separate classes for political education ...". On the contrary, political education had to be strengthened if the policy of 'all round development' was to succeed. Not only must separate classes for political study continue but politics should be integrated into every aspect of classroom teaching.

Theme Three: conflict between structured and self study.

Zhang believed that overemphasis on the role of the classroom teacher resulted in memorisation and rote learning. This sterile approach encouraged students to be uncritical, unimaginative and unable to work on their own.

Ding agreed on the effects, but not on the cause. The solution lay in correcting teachers' attitudes and in using teaching approaches which were relevant and interesting. Zhang's suggestion that the gifted students, once they had mastered the basic work, should be

able to form their own further study teams smacked of elitism and was contrary to the collectivist spirit. The main function of these study teams should be to help the weak to progress, not to increase the differences between the less and the more able.

Theme Four: the unsuitability of teaching materials.

Zhang had been right to refer to the unsuitability of many existing teaching materials. But again he had stated his case in extremely gloomy terms and had demanded action which had no practical hope of being fulfilled.

"... the Ministry of Education has been trying, for a considerable time, to update old materials and introduce new ones, but this cannot be accomplished on the scale required in the short term, An overcritical attitude towards the existing textbooks will only lessen our teacher's enthusiasm and will result in the utilisation of textbooks and materials which are even more fragmentary and unsuitable ..." (6)

An indication of the interest being taken in the debate by the readership came in the October issue when the magazine's 'Information Unit' published its findings. (9)

"... in addition to the publication of many articles taking Zhang Lingguang to task, we have received 117 letters on the matter from educationalists all over the country. Some are from groups of people, other are from individuals and all but 15 disagree with Comrade Zhang ...".

The letters covered all the major topics already dealt with, but one aspect of Zhang's approach came in for special comment; his advocacy of specialisation. According to one middle school headmaster

"... middle schools aim to produce students who will have the basic abilities to tackle a whole range of jobs: some will go into industry, others will go into agriculture or enter higher education. To accomplish our task we cannot begin to specialise too early..."

One middle school teacher had seen for himself the drawbacks of specialisation at too early a date.

"... in our school there was a brilliant science student who wanted to become an engineer. Because of his preoccupation with science he neglected his studies in the language, history, geography and art classes ... thus, when he was accepted at a very early age to go to Engineering College he was ill equipped to do so ... his language problems made it difficult for him to express himself properly and he could not make friends easily ...".

'All round development' and 'teach according to the individual's ability' - the 1956 debate

In the following 10 months, nothing appeared in the magazine on ARD. When the final stage of the debate recommenced in August 1956, the policy of 'all round development' was judged not only on its own merits but also in its importance relative to the policy of 'teaching according to the individual's ability'.

The debate reopened with a reassessment by Zhang of his former views.

(10) The article had obviously been ordered in advance for it was immediately followed by a 2 page critique. (11) Despite certain "worthwhile suggestions" Zhang was again denounced, this time much more forcefully and labelled a 'pragmatist':

- his emphasis on teaching only what could be of use after middle school was the "philosophy of the American businessman".
- his willingness to allow middle school students to pick their own subjects was denounced as reactionary.
- his division of students into "general students" (those only capable of assimilating basic information) and "select students" (those capable of working on their own and solving difficult problems) created class divisions within the middle school.
- his assertion that no matter how one edited or simplified teaching schemes or materials for some students it would still be "too easy",

while for others it would be "too difficult" was regarded as elitist.

Zhang contributed once more to the controversy but his views no longer formed the focal point of the debate. (12) Apart from 2 small contributions at the turn of 1957 the ubiquitous Zhang disappeared from the pages of 'Renmin Jiaoyu'. (13) Instead the debate progressed to include the relative merits of ARD and TATTIA .

The September editorial admitted that in spite of intensive debate both within its columns and amongst educational circles a unified view on ARD had still to emerge. (14) Taking the main criticism of the policy to be the alleged neglect of individual ability, it proposed to advance the debate by suggesting that the readership should concentrate on whether or not the principle of 'teaching according to the individual's ability' constituted an educational objective in its own right.

"... the crux of the argument revolves around the question of whether or not TATTIA is merely a teaching method or is something much more important ... at present some teachers believe it is their job to bring all of their students up to the same standard in all areas of activity, while others believe that since no two students are alike they should be allowed to develop their interests in areas which appeal to them ... a third group believe that the integration of ARD and TATTIA should be the ultimate long term educational goal ... whatever their opinions we hope that educationalists all around the country will contribute their own views to the magazine ... ".

Once again an element of editorial stage management was evident; the following 16 pages in the magazine contained a variety of conflicting articles and publicly expressed disagreements continued for the next 4 months. The debate concentrated on the nature

of the inter-relationship of the 2 approaches. Setting the stage for the discussion, Zhang Zonglin tried to clarify several key issues. (15) Such a clarification would, he hoped, enable everyone to see that the policy of ARD was the objective and the methodology of TATTIA was one of the means of achieving that objective.

Zhang drew attention to the confusion which still surrounded the correct weighting of all the various constituent aspects of ARD: morals, health, aesthetic and academic work. Should they all be given equal emphasis, or should one or two aspects receive priority? Similar disunity existed amongst teachers about the standards they expected all of their students to achieve in all of their subjects.

"... at present the teaching scheme, the number of exams which must be held and the textbooks which have to be used are all officially specified. In addition some schools reinforce this uniform approach by demanding that everything be done collectively - collective preparation for lectures, collective reading (etc) ... this approach misinterprets ARD. Attitudes such as 'the whole class, should advance together' are in error ... ARD is not 'average development'..."

Similar misunderstandings plagued the approach of 'teaching according to individuals' ability'. It did not involve the appeasement of students by teachers, as many had suggested, nor did it overemphasise the individual ability of a small elite group. It involved the training of students to think for themselves rather than the monotonous transmission of a substantial amount of information.

In the articles which followed, 'People's Education' was criticised for not guiding the debate with a sufficiently strong hand. (16) Misunderstandings about the integrated nature of ARD had arisen because in the past insufficient attention has been paid to improving all aspects of the individual's personality. Previous articles

in RMJY had concentrated on the political, academic and health aspects of the debate and had neglected to deal with important characteristics such as courage, loyalty, sincerity, resolve and humility. The debate had fudged the issue of 'average development' - too often articles on ARD overstressed the need for all pupils to achieve the same standard. Hence the policy had, in the eyes of many, become synonymous with mediocrity and low standards of attainment.

But methods and objectives should not be confused. Overemphasis on TATTIA would weaken the collective spirit. The solution lay in correcting the misinterpretations of ARD.

Interestingly enough both Wang and Guo referred favourably to Confucius. Although he had lived in feudal times, Confucius had successfully encouraged his students' individuality. Zhang Jian disagreed. (17) Confucius had adopted too narrow-minded and unilateral an approach. In feudal times TATTIA inevitably meant concentrating on book work and academic performance, and his approach was therefore of no real value to Chinese educational workers.

Adopting a more recent historical perspective, Zhang Jian argued that a basic difference between bourgeois and communist educational systems was the latter's emphasis on ARD. Its implementation in China, however, had been weak and the policy should be criticised.

"... our socialist development is proceeding at a rapid pace but schools at all levels have not enough resources or facilities to train the required number of students to the agreed standards. There has therefore developed a tendency for many schools to concentrate on improving the academic performance of their students at the expense of the other aspects of ARD ... in the Old Liberated Areas, because of the tense war situation, a high degree of collective effort and self discipline was required ... this

legacy has stayed with us and the reforms enacted after Liberation have tended to overemphasise the need to do things collectively and obey the rules. This had led to the neglect of the students' individuality ..."

But for Zhang, as for many other contributors, the solution did not lie in promoting TATTIA to the status of an educational objective; that would not, by itself, provide the well developed individuals required to build new China.

An important contribution to the debate appeared in November 1956. Offering no opinion on the current controversy concerning the relative merits of either approach it was a damning account of the harm done when the policy of 'all round development' was implemented to excess. Written by Dai Shuren it was prompted by a series of conferences held in Nanjing, Shanghai and Hangzhou by the local education departments for senior middle school staff. (18)

"... firstly, many school authorities have placed a great emphasis on all of their students passing exams ... this has resulted in groups of up to 10 good students being forced to help one poor student ... teachers are often unwilling to publicly give bright students extra work because they are afraid they will be criticised for discriminating against the weaker students ...
... secondly, overemphasising collective effort has resulted in some students being unwilling to form small study groups ... others who have done badly in their exams feel that they have let the classroom down, and this has led to considerable psychological problems and stress...
... thirdly, school authorities have restricted their students freedom too much ... in 1 middle school I visited, 12 good students had formed themselves into an 'atomic energy team' to meet and discuss matters relating to this very important topic. But because of the authority's attitude, they had to meet in secret ...".

Some of the contributors seized upon examples similar to those outlined by Dai. The magnitude of the errors was for them an indication that ARD, on its own, was bound to fail. It required the full support of TATTIA. Both should be given equal weighting.

"... There should not be any singular emphasis on either ARD or TATTIA. ARD is not 'average development' and TATTIA is not 'genius education' ... integrating the 2 approaches will help us overcome the problem of everyone doing the same thing at the same time, to the same standard. It will nurture the students' ability to think and work on their own and it will assist the 'all round development' of the personality ...". (19)

The November editorial summarised the main points of some 18 readers' letters which had been received. (20)

"... many comrades believe that since TATTIA has a principle (to treat students as individuals), content (to cover all aspects of 'all round development'), method (to help pupils achieve their maximum performance in all of their activities) and an objective (to nurture ARD in our young people) it should therefore become official policy ..."

The majority of the letters supported the equal weighting of the 2 approaches. One writer said:

"... once, in my middle school, we held a concert. Many students were involved at rehearsals and they thoroughly enjoyed themselves. But because we demanded the presence of all the students, some students were inattentive and disrupted the rehearsals by talking, reading aloud or sleeping. Thus, in trying to improve their musical appreciation we succeeded in alienating them. We ignored the reality of the practical situation in which we placed them and accused them of lacking a 'collective spirit' and possessing very weak 'self discipline' ...".

Contrary to the weight of opinion in the set piece articles only 6 of the 18 letters supported the supremacy of ARD. As the debate

drew to a close, therefore, it was apparent that no consensus view had emerged. The final editorial on the subject, in January 1957, admitted as much. (21)

"... at least the past debate has brought home the importance of IATTIA to educational workers ... but a unified view has again failed to emerge. Partly this was due to our errors in the magazine. We failed to lead the discussion successfully with the result that many articles which appeared did not analyse the theory behind the issues in sufficient detail. We allowed too many articles to appear which merely repeated previously expressed opinions and we did not encourage our contributors to be more forceful in their criticism of each others' views ...".

Be that as it may, the degree of conflict expressed in the debate was a unique and highly interesting feature of the magazine. Taken in conjunction with the propagation of the Soviet educational experience (which is examined in part 4 of this thesis) and the critique of the bourgeois educationalists, it provided the third area of debate in which 'Peoples' Education', justifiably, could contend that it had indeed fostered the 'study of educational theories'.

Chapter 7 - Notes

- (1) Only 2 sources seemed to have picked up the debate between ARD and TATTIA
 - (a) Uri 1956, "Education" by Chi Tung wei, pp 138-139.
 - (b) Charles Price Ridley, Paul H B Godwin, Denis J Doolin, "The Making of a Model Citizen in Communist China", The Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, 1971, pp 58 - 63.
- (2) 5-8/12/1956 Zhang Yeming "The contradiction between my view of the educational objectives and Comrade Jiang Nanxiang's".
- (3) (a) 46/11/1951 Li Zhengzhong "Comment on 'How to carry out the '5 loves' education' by Hu Yenli".
(b) 30/1/1951 Hu Yenli "After reading Li Zhengzhong's comments on my book 'How to carry out the '5 loves' education'".
- (4) 18-20/7/1954 Zhang Lingguang "Discussion on the objectives of middle school education".
- (5) 44-49/2/1955 Zhang Lingguang "Discussion on the realisation of certain objectives in 'all round development' education".
- (6) 56-59/6/1955 Ding Ding "Dont lead middle school education up the wrong road".
- (7) 52-57/4/1955 Wang Tang and Xu Rensheng "'All round development' or 'specialised development'?".
- (8) 54-57/9/1955 Lu Zhengyi "Discussion on the objectives of an 'all round education' system".
- (9) 56-58/10/1955 Information Unit "Overview of all those incoming essays concerning the debate on the 'all round development' of education".

- (10) 46-51/8/1956 Zhang Lingguang "Discuss again the educational problems concerning the training of the students personality in 'all round development'".
- (11) 52-53/8/1956 Fang Junfu "Some opinions on Zhang Lingguang's article".
- (12) 12-14/10/1956 Zhang Lingguang "From some particular aspects of educational theory to the necessity of 'all round development' and 'teaching according to the individual's ability'".
- (13) (a) 37-40/1/1957 Zhang Jiaqi, Zhang Lingguang and Liu Kehuan, "An introduction to Liu Jingkun's teaching experience in chemistry".
(b) 30-34/2/1957 ditto.
- (14) 7/9/1956 Editorial "What is the crux of the argument?".
- (15) 10/9/1956 Zhang Zonglin "We should clarify various misunderstandings about 'all round development' and 'teaching according to the individual's ability'".
- (16) See in particular,
(a) 11-14/9/1956 Wang Tie "Although TATTIA is a necessary means to realise the 'all round development' of the personality it should not be seen as another educational directive".
(b) 19-20/9/1956 Guo Lin "Although TATTIA is a good educational method, it cannot assume the status of a directive".
- (17) 10-12/11/1956 Zhang Jian "We should not put forward the theory of TATTIA as one of the educational objectives".
- (18) 7-9/11/1956 Dai Shuren "My opinion and observations from investigating the problem of educational objectives".

- (19) 20-21/12/1956 Feng Haiyan "'All round development' and 'teaching according to the individuals' ability' are equal educational objectives".
- (20) 19-22/11/1956 Editorial "Important points in the discussion on 'all round development' - a summary of readers' letters".
- (21) 4-6/1/1957 Editorial "Problems in this year's educational work which demand attention".

PART 3 - "TO CIRCULATE EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE"

CHAPTERS 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13

The circulation of educational experience was a crucial objective of the magazine. Many thousands of teachers depended on it for guidance and support. The pages of the magazine were packed with information which was designed to help practising teachers. It strove to achieve this objective in a variety of ways.

The blocked articles approach

Thirty four of the 96 issues devoted a substantial amount of word-age to examining areas of educational experience under appropriate banner headlines followed by in depth analysis of the particular activity concerned. A popular editorial tactic designed to provide coherence and unity in analysing important topics, it was used most frequently in the period 1954-1956.

The most common banner headlines introduced blocked articles on areas of educational experience concerned with the realities of day to day teaching.

I). "Teaching Materials and Teaching" dealt with ways in which classroom teachers might improve their methodology and technique. Two examples illustrate this point:

53-71/7/1954

- 53-58: People's Education Publishers - Mathematics Editorial Board,
"Some opinions on using maths textbooks published this year".
- 59-63: Information Unit, "Continue to improve our language education".
- 64-67: "Planning academic sessions and time tables for language education".
- 68-69: Su Jingwen "Adopt the Soviet physical education system for schools as a guide when revising our own PE system".
- 70-71: Zhen Xia "Introducing 'Psychology' by Chespalka".

31-47/3/1955

31-33: Note from the Editors, "Some explanations on teaching the 'Basic Knowledge of the Constitution'".

33-35: Li Zishen "Criticise Hu Shih's ideology in our literature and language teaching".

36 : Fen Yuming "Basic ideas on improving biology teaching".

37-39: "The role played by our schools' garden and vegetable plots in political education".

40-42: "How we improve our biology teaching through mounting and preparing specimens".

43-44: Zhang Anqian "Our experience in making equipment for the biology class and organising extra curricular activities".

45-46: Zhen Liping "How I lead zoology students when collecting specimens".

47 : Deng Xuping "How to write properly on the blackboard".

II). "Language Teaching"

37-51/12/1956

37 : Editorial "Since the discussion column was first organised...".

38-41: "Summary of readers letters".

42-43: "Some learning and teaching situations".

44-46: Luo Dadong "We must translate more classical books", (Wuxun Normal College).

47 : Wu Hejiu "We should not choose as teaching materials those books which have a narrow outlook", (Henan Normal College).

48-49: Hu Xiandong "The assignments set for Chinese language teaching are not clear".

50-51: Mu Rongxiu "Is Chinese language teaching material lagging behind the academic level of our students?".

(A third important collection of articles "Discussion of Problems" will be referred to in Part 5 of this thesis).

A study of the more important of these banner headlines almost provides a comprehensive and chronological guide to Chinese educational development in the 1950s.

18-35/8/1950 - "Soviet Educational Theory"

17-33/7/1951 - "Discussion of the problems raised by 'Wu Xun'".

29-40/3/1953 - "Strengthen the teacher's study"

29-40/8/1954 - "Political and ideological education"

14-30/9/1954 - "Raise teaching quality"

9-35/5/1955 - "Criticise bourgeois educational ideology"

4-46/7/1955 - "Materials on the Hu Feng counter revolutionary clique"

12-17/5/1958 - "Agricultural middle schools"

4- 6/8/1958 - "Educational work in the Old Liberated Areas"

14-19/9/1958 - "Factories organise schools, schools organise factories..."

The Information and Investigation Unit

Reference has already been made to some aspects of the Unit's work. Active principally in the first 5 years it investigated problems by going out into the field, observing the actual situation and then reporting back to the editors. Its appearance, therefore, though erratic, coincided with periods of intense educational debate.

A good example of its role were the 5 articles which appeared under its auspices from March to September 1953 and dealt with an issue causing much concern at that time, i.e. the leadership weaknesses in local and provincial education departments which was causing confusion and indiscipline in schools and colleges. (1)

Intensive investigations had revealed that 'bureaucratism' and the failure to properly understand and effectively propagate official policy were the 2 most common deviations affecting educational officials all over the country. In Chongqing the local education department had failed to vigorously combat the continued existence of old attitudes and work styles; headmasters were allowed to act like petty

tyrants, political study was neglected and students were encouraged to do well in their exams so that they could secure for themselves a comfortable position in life. In Nanjing, over-enthusiastic attempts to conduct the mass literacy campaign had resulted in some teachers being assigned to teach deaf mutes and the insane. In Anhui many thousands of students and their teachers had to endure freezing classrooms because of the inefficiency of the provincial education department which had failed to order adequate winter supplies of fuel. Financial incompetence was manifest in the inability of either the Sichuan or Shanxi Education Departments to meet their budget allocation.

The situation in the technical schools and colleges was just as bad.(1c) The deputy headmaster of a water resources college in Hubei knew nothing at all about water resources when questioned by the unit. In Anyang City, because the position of head of the technical college was under the control of the local Party, the headmaster appointed had taken little interest in college affairs. Indeed, in one famous incident the head had visited the college and had had great difficulty in finding his way out.

According to the investigations carried out, many schools were unable to administer their enrollment procedures properly. In 1951 the Tianjin Steel Technical College accepted so many students with such a wide variation in standards, that they were forced to redraft the teaching plans several times. Eventually the College could not cope with the problem and had to send 100 of the least able students home. This particular problem was exacerbated by the shortage of teachers. In 1952 the Jilin Technical College had accepted 500 new students only to discover that it didn't have enough teachers.

Twelve unemployed intellectuals were recruited and the problem was later partially alleviated when the education department secured the assignment of 12 university graduates to the college. But some crucial areas, like technical drawing, were untaught. Even schools which had their full complement of teaching staff faced problems. Panyang Technical School had more than 30 teachers but 18 of them had other jobs as well. One teacher only taught for 6 of his 18 timetabled periods while another had no time to spend with his students outside the class.

A particular cause for concern was the quality of the leadership in control of political education. In Quangzi Wuzhan Medical College the administrators made up for the shortage of a trained teacher by putting a student in charge of political education; unfortunately, as the Unit discovered, he disseminated many wrong ideas, such as praising the American way of life. Such attention to detail was also evident in the Unit's investigation of the activities of the Xilan Water Resources School. There the problem concerned the students high failure rate; on average more than 50% of students failed their exam, and in the second year, 43 out of 49 students had to take resits.

An important function of the Unit was to investigate how effectively official policy was being implemented. Progress in one important area - labour education - was painfully slow. In many schools, teachers and students publically despised the peasants and workers and refused to participate in manual labour. Other schools made a very weak attempt to comply:

"... many teachers define 'labour' in differing ways. Some want to do mental rather than manual labour, they want to be engineers

and cadres rather than workers and they want to work in the towns ... if they are sent to the villages they want to be leaders on the collective farms or, at the very least, primary school teachers ... in brief, they are prepared to do anything short of living the lifestyle of an ordinary peasant ..." (2)

Another manifestation of bourgeois ideology, in middle schools particularly, was the advice given by teachers to their pupils that they should ignore political education and concentrate on their studies for the sake of their future career prospects: "... academically bright junior middle school graduates should proceed onto senior middle schools and then into university or college; the others should go into the technical and normal colleges ..." (2) Parents played their part as well. They thought that after years of hard study their offspring were entitled to a better and more comfortable lifestyle. Some teachers reinforced this parental attitude further by using manual labour as a method of punishment, sending recalcitrant students to nearby factories and farms for a certain period.

Calling on all teachers to combat these tendencies, the Unit listed 3 points which required attention:

"... strengthen the political study of both teachers and students ... strengthen patriotic education ... strengthen labour education in schools at all levels ... we must teach our young people not only to emulate labour models but also to love ordinary working people ..." (2)

The Unit was also critical about the inadequacy of existing policies.

The literacy movement came in for particular scrutiny:

"... since the establishment of new China we have freed more than 30,000,000 people from illiteracy but more than 80% of the population are still illiterate ... at the present stage of our development, as the movement to collectivise agriculture proceeds, we require more and more peasants to at least have a basic education so that they can become the leaders of the collective,

accountants, technicians, mechanics, workpoint recorders ...
(because of this) the contradiction between economic progress
and educational backwardness in the villages has become
acute ..." (3)

The original plans designed to reduce illiteracy by 19,000,000 per year were not vigorous enough. At that rate it would have taken more than 20 years to accomplish literacy among the 226,000,000 people in the 15-45 age group who were living in the rural areas. A new national plan for more education and literacy had to be developed, taking on board the following suggestions: it should be built around the practical situation existing in the countryside (time which the peasants could afford to spare, their needs, the availability of teachers), it should incorporate political education so that the peasants would see the intimate relationship between literacy and economic progress and it should be firmly under the control of the peasants themselves. Once the collectives had been established on a national basis the spread of cultural and educational provisions would follow. Organisationally each cooperative should establish and run one primary school. Old textbooks were unsuitable; special books dealing in simple terms with themes which were both local and familiar would have to be compiled. Agricultural knowledge should be taught according to the seasonal requirements. Teachers should be drawn from the ranks of the literate and should involve themselves in production work. If their teaching demands conflicted with this, some allowance would have to be made. In one Shensi collective the teacher was given an allowance equal to 40 labour days a year.

Two months later massive reforms were announced in the literacy movement. Many of the ideas mentioned by the Unit were enacted.

Education News

Occasionally, at the tail end of the magazine a group of short articles and news items would appear under the title "Education News". Its purpose was to provide titbits of information about events on the local, provincial, national and international education scene.

The January 1955 issue, for example, included short items on:

- the decisions of the Conference of Higher Agricultural and Forestry Education,
- the resumption of teaching in the primary and middle schools in the Hubei disaster area,
- the Open Forum on Teaching held by the Peking Normal Correspondence College
- The exhibition of Moscow University's gifts at Peking University,
- the 150th anniversary of Kazan University,
- an exhibition of models by the Russian Youth Brigade.(4)

This collection concentrated on one general topic, the Soviet Union, but in most cases the remit was much wider. Thus the August 1952 contribution included the following items: the progress to date of investigations being carried out at national and local level, the National Conference of Deans of Agricultural Colleges, the early success of the 'quick literacy method', the campaign to open the door of educational opportunity to workers and peasants and the Vietnamese and Mongolian education systems. (5) The October 1952 magazine gave an account of the training of 2,000 Tianjin primary school teachers using the 'quick literacy method' and described the work being done by various evening universities, spare time schools and correspondence colleges throughout the country. (6)

The forerunner of this news section which appeared only in the very early issues was entitled "Old and New". Similar in style, it managed to pack an enormous amount of information into a few pages. In 4 jam-packed pages the June 1950 issue included items on a new teaching method being tried at Peking University, Qinghua University's use of oral responses in assessment, the care taken of laboratory equipment by students of the North East Normal University, the new systems for enrolment and taking classroom attendances being pioneered in the 2nd Middle School affiliated to Peking Normal University, the use of 'literacy boards' by trade unions, the establishment of the literacy programme in villages in Heilongjiang, the positive discrimination being exercised in Changsha to favour children from worker-peasant backgrounds, the establishment of technical schools and the criteria used when selecting students for admission to the worker peasant short course middle schools. (7)

However, in spite of all the elements of the magazine referred to in this chapter, far and away the most important contribution by 'People's Education' to the circulation of educational experience was the attention it paid to developments taking place in each of the 4 main areas of educational activity, viz.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOL EDUCATION

HIGHER EDUCATION

SPARE TIME EDUCATION

Chapter 8 - Notes

- (1) (a) 11-13/3/1953 Information Unit "Experience in handling confusion in Peking City's primary and middle schools".
(b) 14/3/1953 Information Unit "A brief description of the confused state of affairs existing in primary and middle schools in various places".
(c) 21-22/4/1953 Information Unit "Facts about bad educational officials in various places".
(d) 3-9/6/1953 Information Unit "Confusion in technical colleges".
(e) 22-23/9/1953 Information Unit "A brief description of the chaotic discipline situation existing in schools at all levels".
- (2) 42-45/4/1954 Information Unit "The reasons why some teachers in some schools neglect labour education".
- (3) 32-35/1/1956 Information Unit "Eradicate illiteracy in the villages so as to help in the collectivisation of agriculture".
- (4) 65-66/1/1955 "Education News".
- (5) 57-58/8/1952 "Education News".
- (6) 54/10/1952 "Education News".
- (7) 56-59/6/1950 "Old and New".

Chapter 9 - Political Education - the political campaign

General comment has already been made on the political campaigns and a specific analysis undertaken of the criticisms of the bourgeois educationalists. As reference to Appendix 4 will show, a large number of articles dealing with the issue of political education appeared in the magazine's 96 issues. And it is to these, and to an in depth study of the important ideological developments of the 1950s that we now turn.

Liu Shi set the stage for the forthcoming debate. (1)

"... what we require from the education workers is that they be honest, capable, modest and industrious in advancing in the correct direction under the guidance of the Government ... 'People's Education' has a crucial role to play ... it can help the intellectuals to thoroughly and correctly understand the policies, aims and objectives of the new education system. This will require a systematic examination of Chairman Mao's Thought and a thorough exposition of all new policies, so that the educational workers can improve on both their political and professional standards ... the traditional educational system will have to be radically transformed ... although the social foundations which underpinned the old fascist ways have gone, the remnants of the reactionary ideologies in the educational field have not been destroyed; on the contrary, they remain very strong ... we can see this today in the syllabi still used in our schools and universities, in the negative and cynical way in which many educationalists have greeted the new Government and in the unwillingness of many to become involved in the movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.... In the past year we have achieved only a very limited success ... our approach to ideological education has, to date, been unsystematic and fragmented. What we now require is a unified and concerted attack on all the different types of traditional educational ideologies, on all the old syllabi, on all the old teaching methods ... our readers can start now by examining those activities with which they are familiar; their teaching subject or research specialisations, ... They must employ the techniques of criticism and self criticism

extensively so as to initiate an atmosphere of freedom and debate in educational circles ... in this way the process of radicalising the education system can be started ... accordingly we have designated that one of the objectives of the magazine should be 'to develop the criticism of educational and academic ideologies '...".

The lack of progress in the movement of teachers' ideological education was characterised by uneven development throughout the country. In different places the movement was led by the local party, the teachers' union, or the local education department.

"... normally, the study movement should be directed by the local education department working in conjunction with the trade unions and youth brigades where appropriate ... Peking is the model ... (there) the Peking City Education Department has established a committee, drawn from all the interested parties, to organise the study programme for primary and middle school teachers ... leading cadres in all districts should take special note of this. In the past the tendency has been for cadres at senior levels to become overly involved with administrative detail and to leave their subordinates in charge of the movement ... from now on leading cadres in the education departments and the school headmasters must become fully involved in the drafting of the study plans and teaching methods, they should personally organise meaningful and interesting lectures and seminars and they must carry out frequent investigations into the movement's progress ..." (2)

Zheng Jinwu agreed that some element of confusion in the development of the movement was to be expected in the early stages, but after nearly a year in operation, the existing situation was unacceptable. He had conducted an investigation of 7 Peking schools to discover the reasons for the lack of progress.

Firstly, too many groups were responsible for running the school. This delegation of power to the Youth League, the Party committee, the teachers' union, the women's group and others had deprived the headmaster, teachers and pupils alike of a clearly defined set of object-

ives. Secondly, the proliferation of groups led to the establishment of a large number of committees within each of the 7 schools and this obscured the decision making process. Thirdly, with so much going on teachers and students were constantly exhausted. Fourthly, too much of the teachers' time was spent on 'paper duties'; marking exercise books, essays and exams and filling in weekly, monthly and termly reports. No wonder that many of the teachers, when questioned, remarked that they were too busy with their normal school work to become involved in political study.

Urgent action was needed to remedy the structural and organisational defects within the schools. School work had to be centred around political study, not the other way round.

"... at all times political education must take precedence ... without a firm political base any attempt to raise academic standards will not succeed and the implementation of our reform will be hindered ... we do not of course mean to suggest that academic study is not important, but it must always be subordinate to political study ..." (2)

Celebrating the first anniversary of the establishment of the PRC, the October editorial adopted an equally frank appraisal of the study movement. In the past year more than 500,000 primary and middle school teachers had attended political education courses run by universities and other institutions and more than 1,000,000 students from all levels had received political instruction. But all the problems outlined by Zheng Jinwu remained.

"... attempts must be made in the years ahead to improve the standards applied in the study movement and to make it more interesting to educational workers ... a long term plan will have to be formulated with special attention being given to the important issues of Taiwan, Tibet, the land reform movement and the continuing influence of American imperialism in the cultural and

educational fields ... in the past year our activity has been mainly of a defensive nature; we have been mainly concerned with combating the harmful effects which the ideologies and attitudes of old China have had on the minds of our educational workers and young people ... we must now go on the offensive and actively and fully develop correct attitudes and habits ...".(3)

In November the study movement entered a new stage with the call to "assist Korea and oppose the US". (4) In February 1951 an important article by Fang Zhi attempted to define the nature of the American imperialist cultural invasion. (5) Referring to the 'Report on the Policies to deal with American subsidized cultural, educational, relief and religious organisations' delivered by Guo Moruo in December, Fang renewed the call to break all cultural and educational links with America. (6)

"... if China is to be truly independent then we must have our own free and unfettered education system. We must not believe, however, that our objective is achieved once we have smashed our economic dependence on the US - the most important task we have to fulfil is to break the ideological relationship which arises out of the continued influence of American culture ... today, many people still underestimate the continuing importance of that influence ...".

Many educationalists, for example, were still not able to see that American educational and charitable aid was, in principle, no different to the aid given to Korea and the Guomindang on Taiwan. The staffs involved in these American aided institutions regarded themselves as superior to other teachers and opposed any severance of the US link. After the publication of the 4 Directives on US subsidized institutions in the February issue, this particular stage of the study movement came to an end.

As the campaigns against Wu Xun and 'Life Education' developed in 1951 the study movement intensified with a call in the July issue

to more seriously study Mao's works. (7) The new education system should be firmly based on the objectives laid down by Chairman Mao: it should encourage patriotism, combat imperialism, propagate a spirit of internationalism, win support for the Government and encourage the intellectuals to serve the people. In particular, teachers should intensively study 'On Practice'. It could be read in just 2 hours and its mastery would enable teachers to successfully implement self criticism. (8) The call did not meet with immediate success.

"... many teachers, responsible for educating our young people, still cannot differentiate between right and wrong, between the new and the old educational approach ... during the campaign to criticise Wu Xun we uncovered the phenomenon that while many educational workers outwardly supported the new system, in practise they doggedly obstructed reform whenever they thought it was safe enough for them to do so. Most of our teachers are still divorced from politics ... their behaviour is shabby when compared with the many workers and peasants who we know, from experience, in spite of possessing a low literacy level still have the necessary enthusiasm to buy the pamphlet 'On Practice' and 'Selections from the work of Mao Zedong' and study and debate them intensely ...". (9).

On the 29th September Zhou Enlai had delivered his "Speech to the Intellectuals" which marked the start of the Ideological Remoulding Movement proper. The speech was not reprinted in 'Renmin Jiaoyu' but its columns reinforced his message. That same November editorial laid it on the line - the knowledgeable elements had to become involved in the political education movement and quickly.

"... because the reform of individual thought depends ultimately on the individual himself, self education must be conducted with a degree of urgency and on a systematic basis, either through

self study or through group study and criticism ... the quicker individual teachers reform their political thought then the quicker will be the pace of educational reform ...". (9)

The November editorial highlighted the leading work being carried out at Peking University and the ideological reform of university teachers began to attract much more critical comment. In Peking the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought took the form of listening to reports, writing articles, indulging in self and group criticism and inviting Government cadres to deliver speeches. (10) In December the magazine issued a call for the universalisation of the ideological remoulding movement to include all teachers at all levels and for the techniques of criticism and self criticism to be applied in a vigorous and systematic manner. All issues relating to educational activity, and not just individual teacher attitudes, should be scrutinised; syllabus construction, classroom materials and teaching approaches were all to be brought into the debate. (11)

December 1951 did indeed mark the further intensification of the movement with the call to university and college teachers to enter forcefully into the '3 Anti' campaign. In the struggle against 'waste, corruption and bureaucracy' Peking and Tianjin were once again to the fore. Their experiences threw up 4 points worthy of attention.

"... there must exist amongst the leadership of the movement a strong determination to succeed ... we must vigorously encourage all intellectuals to participate in criticism and self criticism ... we must not only stress the '3 Anti's' but also try to reconstruct^{the} total political ideology of all of the mass of teachers and students; waste, corruption and bureaucracy are only the by products of capitalism ... for the movement to succeed all the responsible bodies operating within the higher institutes and including, in particular, the party branches, the unions and the Youth Brigades must cooperate together ...". (12)

Investigations into educational facilities at various levels had thrown up a large number of instances of corruption; a minor education official in Jiangxi had used his position to fraudulently obtain money allocated for new school buildings and for teachers' pay (equivalent to 130,000 catties of rice), while a Liaoxi primary school headmaster had gambled money earmarked for his school. (13) Liu Songdao had conducted a similar investigation into higher institutes. The examples of corrupt practises were legion:

- a leading cadre of the Peking Technical College had taken bribes from a builder who wanted to construct the College assembly hall. Poorly built, it had collapsed killing 12 teachers and students.
- a leading cadre in Peking Normal University had sold good rice intended for the University and had substituted poor rice. Many staff and students had become ill.
- the Dean of Hangzhou Normal College had not only fiddled the students food allowance, but he had also used his position to obtain sexual favours from some of the female members of his staff. (14)

In total, the number of educational workers found guilty of corrupt practises in 1951 was twice the previous years' figures. But Liu Songdao also singled out other instances of the harmful effects bourgeois ideology was having on higher students. A foreign trained professor at Fujian University always devoted part of his lecture to telling his students about his happy times spent at Oxford while a group of American trained professors in Shandong University were forever exalting the American way of life.

This 'pro US - worship America' manifestation of bourgeois ideology was the subject of a special article in May. (15) "American capitalism, that most rapacious vampire and the number 1 enemy of the

Chinese people" had long had a weakening effect on China, especially through the existence of foreign subsidised institutes, of which Yenjing, until 1950, had been one. It had corrupted its students in many obvious ways. One ex-graduate of the University was now a reporter for an American radio company in Korea and of the 93 chemistry students graduating in 1946, 17 had gone to America, 11 to Taiwan, 2 to Hong Kong and 1 to India.

"... for years, under the type of slave like education and through institutions such as Yenjing the American reactionaries have fostered their 'love America' mentality ...". (15)

An important legacy of the American cultural heritage had been the trend of 'study for study's sake'. At Peking University several instances of this deviant approach had been observed. A professor of Vietnamese language had encouraged his students to be disdainful of political study while a lecturer in the Geology Department had dissuaded one of his brightest students from working in the Border Regions by saying "... why not wait till you graduate? Then after 3 years as an assistant lecturer and several more as a lecturer you will become a professor entitled to a very good standard of living ...". (16)

During the '3 Anti Movement' several worrying issues were thrown up in Peking Normal University. (17) Some teachers had deliberately attempted to inculcate their students with a reactionary bourgeois viewpoint. They emphasised the importance of hard study being rewarded by high status and material acquisitions. Some even used the good work of brilliant students to further their own prospects. Many heads of department were overly concerned with their departments' administrative and financial efficiency; they did not constantly investigate their lecturers' teaching competence and did not

insist on the usage of a unified and systematic teaching plan. Nepotism was rife throughout the University; in the Biology Department the professor, of 17 years standing, only chose favourite former students for lecturing posts. Many of the professors openly opposed the new policies such as land reform and some still maintained contact with American academics; one not only still subscribed to the New York Times, he even encouraged his students to read it.

"... now that the '3 Anti Movement' is coming to an end we must continue to encourage the trend of criticism and self criticism whose importance in the past has been much neglected. This must not be allowed to continue. By employing the correct methods wrong ideas and bad behaviour can be rectified and a distinct line drawn between bourgeois and revolutionary ideology ...". (17)

Interestingly enough, while the '3 Anti Movement' received considerable attention in the West and particular attention was paid to the self criticism and confessions of leading educational figures such as Qian Tuansheng, Jin Yuelin and Fei Xiaotong, not one item of self criticism by a leading educationalist appeared in the magazine during this period (excluding the debate over 'Life Education').

On the contrary, an occasional article would appear condemning those instances when intellectuals were dealt with too harshly. Inspections had revealed, for example, that many Hebei middle schools had adopted unnecessarily harsh methods in dealing with their teachers and students. Public criticism and punishment meetings had been held on almost any pretext, too many political assessments were required and too much time was devoted to political study. Teachers had only been liberated for a short period; their political development would take time and it was certainly wrong either to force them to participate in the ideological movement or to publicly harangue them for their failings. (18)

"... the leadership in some schools has harboured an incorrect attitude towards the 'old' intellectuals. They, believing the older elements to be backward, tried to change their attitudes by force and threats of force, compelling some of the teachers to undergo public self criticism for as much as 3 hours. This only alienates the 'old' intellectuals and stiffens their resolve to follow the old ways ;at the other extreme some schools, desirous of winning their co-operation, don't put enough emphasis on the need for ideological reform and self criticism ... some intellectuals, publically known for their anti Government and anti Party stance have even been promoted ... the 'old' intellectuals should be treated with respect and consideration but they must also be made aware of the importance of discarding their old attitudes and beliefs ...". (19)

The excessive use of force therefore was both ideologically wrong as well as being counter productive. On the same tack, an interesting side issue aroused comment in the June 1953 editorial. (20) Henan and Anhui teachers had been using techniques employed during the '3 Anti Movement' to discipline their pupils. Within their schools public punishment meetings and criticism and self criticism methods were used to punish children. However "... children forced to admit their mistakes in this fashion only became more difficult to handle ... some sensitive students became depressed and psychologically ill while others became even more defiant and strong willed ...". (20)

Teachers involved were rebuked in the editorial. Their methods were wrong and had caused a large number of their students to begin to question the new education system. Public punishment meetings were only to be used to deal with obstinate, corrupt and reactionary elements, while the procedures of criticism and self criticism were designed to help people overcome their mistakes. The following

methods were also banned from all schools forthwith:

- the publication of lists of 'backward elements',
- the holding of criticism meetings specifically for children of landlords and reactionary parents,
- the use of corporal punishment.

After the conclusion of the '3 Anti Movement' in June 1952, the hectic pace of the ideological debate died down for the next 18 months. Several articles did appear in the magazine written by teachers who examined their healthy experience gained in the '3 Anti Movement', and an article of June 1953 reminded education workers that although the Movement had been completed for 1 year, much work still remained to be done. (21)

"... some teachers say 'our students are no longer influenced by fascist , reactionary and capitalist philosophies and if problems do still exist with their political attitudes, then they are only very minor ones !' I disagree totally with their view. Capitalist and bourgeois ideologies still profoundly affect the thinking of the majority of our students and it will take a very long time, requiring constant and continuous effort, before these corrupting influences are totally eliminated ... the general level of political awareness among the mass of students is still very low ...".

This stinging reminder of the need for constant ideological vigilance was the exception. It was only after the launch of the Campaign to 'study the General Line' in October/November 1953 that 'Peoples Education', once again, began the onerous task of attempting to raise the political standards of the mass of China's educational workers. (22) The call required all of the cadres and teachers to master Party policy.

"... firstly, leading cadres within schools, colleges and universities should form a core group of all the departmental or subject heads, the party secretaries and the youth leaders to decide on the organisation and structure of the course to study the 'General Line'. They should specify the contents of each study unit and the time required to complete it ...

... Secondly, the leaders of the debate and of the study units in particular, must be thoroughly familiar with Government and Party policies...thirdly, leaders should be chosen only from those active in educational circles who possess a high degree of political awareness ... fourthly, students should be fully involved so as to drive the movement forward ... a great variety of information methods including Dazibao, films, broadcasts, slides and visiting speakers should be used to encourage their interests ...". (23)

The whole issue of the relationship of the local party with the local school was examined in the December issue. (24) Many school leaders had resisted attempts which would have led the local party to become more involved in their schools' affairs. This was a manifestation of bourgeois individualist ideology and party workers would have to grasp this nettle. The example set by the Qingzhi Middle School in Jiangxi Province should be emulated. There, with the full support of the headmaster, party officials attached to the school had carried out propaganda and organisational work to such effect that the whole student body now had a firm grasp of the essentials of Party policy. They had also established an intensive course in politics and current affairs for teachers. It was voluntary, held outside school hours and had been very successful.

The beginning of 1955 was characterised by 'People's Education' examining in detail some of the harmful effects of bourgeois ideology in practise. Some teachers refused to have any dealings with their students outside the classroom or with their students' parents,

This made it difficult for good relations to be established. Many continued to stress to their students the importance of securing a good job and a high standard of living.

"... one teacher said 'energy moves machines and money motivates people. Without money we would not come to school to teach the students' ... teachers who propagate these bourgeois ideals of individual enjoyment and personal self advancement do most harm to those students who express a desire to work in the Border Regions of the North and South West ... 'the students who wish to go to these regions are taking a very short sighted view': these areas are much poorer than we can imagine, the population is sparse and their standard of living is extremely low' ... they strive instead to encourage their students to settle in the richer and more populous areas of the South East and the coastal regions ...". (25)

This attention to real detail was most manifest in the April 1955 issue when, unusually for the magazine, an individual teacher was singled out for criticism. (26) Run Hongzhuang, a 39 year old art lecturer from a landlord family, taught in Qingdi Normal College, Fujian. During her 2 year tenure her behaviour had been totally unsatisfactory.

"... whenever students tried to offer opinions on her teaching she belted them and lowered their exam grades. Frequently she would discipline a whole class for a period on account of a very trivial reason ... she behaved arrogantly towards children from worker-peasant families describing them as being 'as stupid as cows and as smelly' ... in her classroom teaching she vigorously opposed the introduction of political education, saying 'if you haven't got skill or technique what use is politics?' ...". (26)

Run had been dismissed and, by no little coincidence, the magazine carried an article 2 months later on the influence of bourgeois ideology in art and music colleges. (27)

That influence was characterised by the divorce of politics from culture and education and by the emphasis placed on the mastery of technique. A music teacher put the case succinctly.

"... political lessons take up too much time and hinder the training of skills and techniques ... if Beethoven and Bach were living today they would not be able to produce their great masterpieces as they would be too busy attending conferences and discussions on political matters ...".

Very few children from worker-peasant families in fact attended music college. In part this was due to the attitude of the teachers who favoured children who already possessed musical experience, which almost invariably meant children from a bourgeois family where a piano was readily available and there was the opportunity to listen to the classics. They were not even willing to give the patient and intensive instruction required by poorer children if they were to catch up. Most art and music colleges neglected traditional cultural forms and worshipped Western ways.

"... generally speaking, art colleges neglect our national artistic heritage ... and the great majority of public recitals are generally devoted to the works of Western composers ...".

The reflection of this approach was that many artists and musicians were contemptuous of the attempts being made to popularise culture. Many refused to adopt the simplified music notation system developed to encourage the involvement of ordinary people in musical playing and composition.

More common, though still irregular, was the magazine's case study approach to the problems being experienced in one particular school. At the tail end of the April 1956 issue, the teachers of one school, Wuxu 1st Middle School in Henan, were accused of deliberately ignor-

ing the requirements to provide political education and current affairs classes. (28) They refused to study the recently published 'Upsurge of Socialism in China's Countryside' saying " ... teaching is our central task, we will not take part in political study ...". To deal with the situation leading cadres from the Henan Education Department were called in to set an examination in political and current affairs. Some of the teachers who failed were sacked.

The placing and size of the contribution reflected the magazine's preoccupation with other matters in the first 6 months of 1956. Despite the publication of 'The Upsurge' and Zhou Enlai's speech on the "Problems of the Intellectuals" on the 29th January, little attention was paid in the columns to political education, (29) More important matters seemed to include the language reform debate and the results of a recently completed massive study tour of the Soviet Union.

That preoccupation must have been heavy indeed for neither Mao's speech of the 2nd May launching the 'let 100 flowers bloom, let 100 schools of thought contend' movement, nor Lu Dingyi's of the 26th were reprinted in the magazine. Their impact was marked by a July editorial in which the editors limited their response to issuing an invitation to their readers to submit articles freely expressing their views and criticisms. (30)

"... our country is a democratic country. The only freedom we have to curb is the freedom of the reactionaries who want to overturn our revolution ... our teachers and students have every right to discuss the things which they think are wrong and need correcting. And though their opinions might not be at one with ours we must nevertheless encourage open and frank discussion ... it is not necessary that all the opinions expressed are the correct ones ...".

Teachers were reassured that if they voiced complaints it would not be held against them. The debate was to be as wide ranging and as loosely structured as possible; editorial workers were free to submit articles on the merits, or otherwise, of almost any subject they chose, from Aristotle, Jesus or Confucius to syllabus construction and teaching methodologies.

The response was not encouraging. Rationalising this situation, the October 1956 editorial argued that this seeming lethargy was not due to fear but to the massive number of teachers still infused with bourgeois ideology. (31) Written to celebrate the 8th National Party Congress the editorial was clear about the scale of the problems the Party faced in trying to exert its full control over the education system.

"... although the anti-Marxist attitudes of teachers manifest in their bureaucratic, subjectivist and sectarian tendencies, have been fully analysed and explained to us by Chairman Mao they still dominate all aspects of educational activity in our country ... we can only solve this deep rooted and long lasting problem if we strengthen our basic study of Marxism-Leninism and relate it to our present situation ... the ideological remoulding of our intellectuals will take a very long time ... its development will be abetted by the decisions of the Congress ...".

The aim of the 8th NPC had been to unite the Party and the people. Its conclusions - the 'Political Report', the 'Report on the Amendment to the Party's Constitution' and the 'Decision on the Political Report' - were all designed to lay down the correct Party line. Educational workers at all levels were urged to study the documents.

"... the Party's ideological influence over most schools at every level is still very weak and, where it is implemented, Party policy is often misunderstood ... even within the ranks of those Party members responsible for liaising with schools there is

often disagreement about the best method to adopt, and confusion over the details of Party policy ... consequently Party leaders in educational circles are often not fully aware of the ideological attitudes of the teachers for whom they are responsible; they do not conduct investigations into the state of affairs affecting the teachers and their students and are content to see political education taught in a formal and dogmatic way ...". (32)

The Party clearly had failed to integrate its policies with the practical situation existing in many schools. It was no surprise to the editors, in their December editorial, that it had proved impossible in many cases to unite the teachers and students around support for the Party's policies. (33) The rallying cry of Party members should be "... clearly and simply put forward our policies and unite with our comrades ..." Past mistakes, such as arrogance on the part of cadres, could not be tolerated at the present time. The fact of the matter was that in many schools party cadres were barely on speaking terms with the teachers. They tended only to court the more 'progressive elements' among the teachers and this attitude alienated many who claimed "... the Party doesn't listen to us ... Party members are not like us, they are special people ...". (33)

Thus little of the direct criticism which should have been elicited by the '100 flowers' campaign and which was so evident elsewhere, was allowed to appear in the columns of 'People's Education'. When the inevitable reaction came against those who had been excessive in their criticism, the magazine was ideally placed to attack the rightists. On the 30th April 1957 the 'Rectification Movement' began and from June onwards an explosive attack was launched on those who had dared criticise the Party and had called into question the continued relevance of communism in China. (34)

Alert to the change, the April issue included no less than 5 articles on the difficulty of promoting political education in middle schools and normal colleges while the May editorial dealt with the new movement and paid special attention to the abysmal state of labour education in the schools. (35) (36) Quoting extensively from Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions" (delivered in February but not published until the 19th June), the June editorial drew attention to the large number of intellectuals who were still passively, or actively hostile to the government and Party. (37)

"... although the rightists who oppose communism and the Party are in the minority, so too are those among the educational workers who possess the correct ideological outlook; many intellectuals are swaying in the storm ...".

According to the editorial, the previous political campaigns had achieved only very limited success. All the old manifestations of bourgeois ideology which had been examined at length in the magazine since 1950 were still present in the attitudes of the majority of the teachers; a reluctance to undertake political study, a belief in the maxim 'expert first and red second', a derogatory attitude towards the children of worker-peasant families, a distaste for physical labour and a commitment from their students that they should enter the profession on the basis of 'study for study's sake'. The standard henceforth applied to the educational system should be first, last and foremost to follow Chairman Mao's call to produce "labourers with socialist consciousness and culture who possess all round physical, moral and intellectual development".

Working together the Party and the intellectuals would defeat the rightists who were easily enough identified as the publicists of such slogans as 'the exercise of leadership in everything by the

Party is the root of all sectarianism and a country dominated by the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a free country'.

"... we must recognise the importance of teachers being able to tell the difference between right and wrong ... the present struggle against the rightists is a serious class struggle between socialism and capitalism in which there is no middle ground. Either you are for socialism, or you are against it ...".

In one important respect the magazine handled the campaign differently from the mainstream press. It did not indulge in publicising the results of investigations into the activities of rightists in various schools and institutions. (38) It did include articles criticising Vice Minister of Education, Lin Handa, and Zhen You song, the deputy head of the Education Faculty of Peking Normal University, but it did not publish long lists of rightists— a technique favoured by the 'Peoples' Daily' (39) But the main thrust of the magazine's attack came in the editorials. The September 1951 editorial typified the approach. (40) Socialist education in middle schools had to be strengthened because they were at the centre of the educational conflict between socialist and bourgeois ideology. Middle school students, misled by rightist elements, had been involved in strikes and violent incidents. Using the criteria for action outlined in Chairman Mao's 'On Contradictions', lectures, dazibao, reports, discussions and newspaper readings should be used intensively in the debate. But this was not enough. The editorial urged that a systematic and unified approach to the problem was needed and promised its readers that guidance from the central authorities would be forthcoming after due investigations had been made. Certain additional steps should be taken in the interim however. Political education within the schools should only be organised by teachers committed to supporting the Party and the Government. They should

invite cadres and worker-peasant-soldier heroes into the school and determined attempts should be made to make the students and teachers more fully aware of the reality of life in pre-Liberation China.

For 5 crucial months the 'People's Education' did not appear. (41) During its absence proposed reforms promised to 'gut' the education system. No less than 7 Directives appeared in that period, 6 of which dealt with the development of spare time education, while the 7th gave notice of the opening of courses in socialist education in all higher institutes. (42) January saw the beginning of the campaign to oppose waste and to encourage thrift and diligence. In February the Ministry of Higher Education was abolished and in March the Ministry of Education convened a 'Conference on Socialist Lessons for Middle Schools '. (43)

The new aggressive tone of 'People's Education' was immediately recognisable in its first editorial of 1958. (44)

"... all schools at all levels should by now have constructed their own plan to take a 'great leap forward' in the elimination of illiteracy, the universalisation of primary school opportunity and in the establishment of agricultural and other 'people run' spare time schools ... too often in the past those leading cadres in the education department and others responsible for educational affairs have taken a cautious line; the result of their becoming isolated and enclosed within their own small professional clique ... they forgot that 'education must serve politics' preferring instead to examine problems in a professional detached way, all the time comparing China's progress unfairly with that of other countries ... this has to be rooted out; bourgeois ideology exists everywhere and our criticism of it must not be allowed to decline ...".

Significantly that editorial was not the first item to appear in 'People's Education' in 1958. Immediately preceding it was an article

by Zhang Zhiqun on the Great Leap Forward. (45) Cadres, teachers and students were to work together to unite theory and practice according to the slogan "... take your textbooks into the fields and your blackboards up to the mountains". Two great obstacles had first to be overcome; the reactionary conservative ideology of many teachers and the poor quality and inadequate quantity of the existing teaching force. They would be overcome if the following points were attended to; the encouragement of more children from worker-peasant families to go to normal college, the selection of cadres from the lower level and their enrollment as trainee teachers and the establishment of education on a more systematic basis.

In the remaining 5 issues of the magazine priority was given to examining the state of political education and the need to promote the 'great leap forward' in education. (46) An important part of this study was the renewed attention given to the valuable experiences gained in the Old Liberated Areas. It is to these experiences and to the magazine's attitude towards the educational theories of Chairman Mao that we now turn.

Chapter 9 - Notes

- (1) 7-9/6/1950 Liu Shi "Struggle for the construction of a New Chinese People's Education" Preface to the 1st issue.
- (2) 15-18/7/1950 Zheng Jinwu "Discussion on the correct state of the teacher's political and ideological attitudes".
- (3) 13-15/10/1950 Editorial "A great victory on the ideological front".
- (4) The launch of the new movement in the magazine began with Editorial (9/10/1950) "Develop the 'aid Korea and resist the US' political education movement". The magazine up to April 1951, contained several interesting articles on a movement which received a large amount of attention from the translation agencies. An article by Wu Yanyin even attempted in the December 1950 issue (37-41) to examine both the US influence over educational development in the Philippines and draw analogies with the Chinese experience.
- (5) 7-9/2/1951 Fang Zhi "Recognise the nature of the American Imperialist cultural invasion".
- (6) Guo Moruo's report was not included in the magazine, but in essence, it laid the basis for the taking over of all the 1700 American subsidised educational institutions, (17 universities, 200 middle schools, and 1500 primary schools) in 1951. A full text can be obtained from SCMP 39 pp 2-4. A good account of the American 'cultural invasion' is contained in R A Holden "Yale in China 1901-1951", New Haven, 1964.
- (7) 5-11/7/1951 Qian Junjui "Thoroughly learn and apply the educational thoughts of Mao Zedong" (written in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the CPC).

- (8) The August 1951 editorial was entitled "The study of 'On Practice' must be integrated with the practical situation".
- (9) 4-5/11/1951 Editorial "Peoples' teachers must become Marxists".
- (10) As the movement developed in Peking and Tianjin it attracted considerable attention from the translation agencies.
- (11) 14/12/1951 Liu Shih "On the work of criticism".
- (12) 4/3/1952 Short Comment "Take seriously the experience of the '3 Anti Movement' waged in higher institutes in Peking and Tianjin".
- (13) 6/4/1952 Qi Ming "The educational administration organs should play an active role in the '3 Anti Movement'".
- (14) 11-14/4/1952 Liu Songdao "Hit back at the bourgeois encroachments in education".
- (15) 22-25/5/1952 Xie Zhanggui/Luo Han "How the 'pro US - worship America' ideology manifests itself in Yenjing University".
- (16) 17-18/5/1952 "The students of Peking University are being taken over by bourgeois ideology.
- (17) 19-21/5/1952 Gong Shoujing "Concrete examples of bourgeois ideology in Peking Normal University".
- (18) 18-19/10/1950 Wang Tie "Prevent any deviation in educational work during the period of land reform".
- (19) 16/7/1951 Su Jen "Correct the attitude some schools have towards the old intelligentsia".
- (20) 4-5/6/1953 Editorial "Oppose the practice of using corporal punishment and other illegal disciplinary methods in schools".

- (21) 27/6/1953 Sha Lin "Some opinions on the direction of political education in the higher institutes".
- (22) The call to 'study the General Line' involved cadres and intellectuals in a study of all the important aspects of Party Policy. This would hopefully enable them to better understand the policies and directives of the Party and Government.
- (23) 20-21/3/1954 "Some experience in leading the study of the 'General Line'".
- (24) 5/12/1954 Short Comment "Strive for the leadership of the Party Committee and strengthen political ideology work in the schools".
- (25) 40-41/4/1955 Lian Jiansheng "The danger to students posed by the bourgeois ideology of some teachers".
- (26) 59/4/1955 "The mischievous attitude of Run Hongzhuang is incompatible with the honourable title of 'People's Teacher'".
- (27) 26-28/6/1955 Tian Shefu "Eradicate bourgeois educational thinking in art and music colleges".
- (28) 66/4/1956 "A number of teachers at Wu Xu 1st Middle School have become seriously alienated from politics".
- (29) Zhou's speech immediately followed the Conference on the Problems of the Intellectuals held from the 14-20th January. The March issue did include a lengthy contribution from 14 academics welcoming the speech: see 11-20/3/1956, Zhu Zhixian and (13 others), "Warmly welcome Premier Zhou's Report on the 'Question of the Intellectuals'. Contribute our maximum effort to our country's socialist construction".

- (30) 4-7/7/1956 Editorial "Brief comment on the '100 Schools of Thought' contending in education".
- (31) 6-8/10/1956 Editorial "Strive to arm ourselves with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism".
- (32) 4-6/11/1956 Editorial "We must succeed in the task of uniting the people".
- (33) 4/12/1956 Editorial "Enforcing more rigid school inspection and supervision is the most effective way of improving the job of support and guidance undertaken by the education authorities".
- (34) The '100 Flowers Movement' and the 'Rectification Movement' is the most frequently analysed aspect of the whole political education debate up till 1958. Prominent among appropriate works are:
- (a) Roderick MacFarquar "The 100 Flowers", Atlantic Books, Stevens and Sons, London, 1960.
 - (b) Mu Fu Sheng "Wilting of the 100 Flowers", Heinemann, London, 1962.
 - (c) Chalmers Johnson "Chien Tuan sheng - Intellectual Weed in the Socialist Garden" China Quarterly no 6, April/June 1961.
 - (d) Ronald Hsia "Intellectual and public life of Ma Yin chu", China Quarterly no 6, April/June 1961.
 - (e) Elise Hawtin "100 Flowers Movement and Fei Hsiao tung", East Asian Research Centre, Harvard University, Papers on China Volume 12.
 - (f) Rene Goldman "Rectification Movement at Peking University" China Quarterly, No 12.
- (35) The 5 articles were:

- (a) 14-15/4/1957 Guo Zibo "Correctly organise the ideological education of this year's middle school and normal college graduates".
 - (b) 16-17/4/1957 Ling Yun "Several opinions regarding the task of full time political and ideological education in normal colleges".
 - (c) 18-20/4/1957 Yuan Zongkai "One method of carrying out political education".
 - (d) 21-22/4/1957 Ren Zhizhu "How to develop the students collective opinions".
 - (e) 23-24/4/1957 Ding Ding "My view of the present problems in schools' ideological education".
- (36) 4-5/5/1957 Editorial "An alarm bell in education".
- (37) 4-5/5/1957 Editorial "Strongly and effectively take steps to solve the contradictions in our educational objectives".
- (38) National publicity, for example, was given to a violent strike by the 2,800 students in Hanyang 1st Middle School. It was picked up by the translation agencies (see SQMP 1597 pp 21-32) but no direct reference was made in 'Peoples' Education'.
- (39) (a) 23-25/10/1957 Wen Gemin "Criticise the rightist Lin Handa and analyse the mass line in worker peasant education".
- (b) 26-29/10/1957 Zhen Yuanhui "We cannot allow Zhen Yousong to revive pragmatic education".
- (c) 30-31/10/1957 Gu Mingyuan "Criticise Zhen Yousong - he is disdainful of Marxist-Leninist education".
- (40) 6-7/9/1957 Editorial "We must strengthen socialist education in Middle Schools".

- (41) No official statement was made about the non appearance of the magazine in November 1957 and it offered no explanation on its reappearance in April 1958. Massive changes in personnel and policy had obviously taken place for the magazine was halved in size and its contents, editorial and otherwise, left no one in any doubt about its allegiance. It stood full square behind the radicalisation of the education system and supported the sweeping changes being proposed.
- (42) The text of the 7th Directive can be found in SQMP 1683 pp 14-15.
- (43) For details of the Conference see SQMP 1733.
- (44) 6/4/1958 Editorial "Hasten the 'great leap forward' in education".
- (45) 4-5/4/1958 Zhang Zhiquan "Develop the 'great leap forward' in 'People's Education' and among the people's teachers". At that time Zhang was the Director of the Ministry of Education's Office of Culture and Education.
- (46) Two interesting articles caught by the translation agencies were:
- (a) 2-3/6/1958 Editorial "Who should assume the leadership - the Party or the experts?", in EQM 138, pp 27-30.
 - (b) 9-11/7/1958 Shanghai 51st Middle School "A serious ideological problem on the part of one school's leadership", in EQM 146 pp 27-33.

Chapter 10 - Political Education - Mao's role and reference to the
Old Liberated Areas.

The call for radical reform in 1958 was in part, a call to return to the methods used in the Old Liberated Areas. (1) Throughout its entire lifespan the magazine, contrary to one of its original stated objectives, had done little to encourage debate on the old revolutionary experience. No specific article on Kangda (the 'Anti Japanese' University) appeared, no concerted attempt was made at any stage by the editors to encourage discussion or to summarise and propagate that educational experience, indeed no headline referring to the Old Liberated Areas appeared in the 46 issues from 1954 to 1957. In total, there were 12 articles providing 39 pages of information on that educational experience. A pitiful contribution.

Attention, relatively speaking, was greatest in the first year of publication. Early contributions seemed to be laying the foundation for a future great debate on the continued relevance of the old revolutionary methods.

"... the Chinese People's Revolution really began in the period after 1927 ... the rich educational experiences gained in our 20 years of struggle will require scientific study and systematic conclusion. The scope of the forthcoming study is vast, but it should pivot around the following educational activities:

... the political, military, cultural and educational activities of the Red Army,

... the revolutionary educational methods practised in the cadre schools and higher institutes,

... the educational techniques used in the rural primary schools,

... the literacy and political education programmes provided for the peasants ...". (2)

Although Liu Shi did accept that the old experiences would have to be reassessed in the light of the new conditions and that selected elements would require modification before they were implemented on a national scale, he nevertheless stressed the achievements of the educational revolution

"... it did succeed in completely eradicating the influence of the old traditional education system, it gloriously served the people, it laid stress on the correct educational priorities, it unified theory and practice, it helped create a new revolutionary method and it trained many new educational workers to a high standard ..." (2)

Encouraging educationalists all over the country to participate in the study of the old experiences, Liu admitted that the problems to be overcome were formidable: there was no comprehensive collection of war materials, many of the Old Liberated Areas had failed to keep records and the bulk of the educational workers active there were now scattered throughout the country.

"... the job of examining and concluding the rich educational experiences of the Old Liberated Areas cannot wait any longer ... it is impossible for any one institution or for a few people to do this work. In my opinion our first step should be to encourage those involved to write down their experiences. All education departments should select someone with specific responsibility for this task. If this is done quickly then an attempt will be made to write a general account of their work ... to realise this the 'People's Education' should have, as one of its chief objectives, 'the conclusion of the educational experience of the Old Liberated Areas' ...". (2)

If such an attempt was made it was certainly not recorded in the columns of 'Renmin Jiaoyu'. It should be said that the magazine was not unique in this respect. Judging from the sparse references in the translation services, little attention was paid in the national press to the educational experience of the Old Liberated Areas.

Most of the other 8 articles which did appear on the subject in 'People's Education' in the 1950-1953 period were reminiscences by

teachers who had worked in the base areas. A prominent article from this pathetically small total appeared in the June 1950 issue, entitled "To shoot an arrow at a target - introduction to the educational experience of the Old Liberated Areas" by Zhang Lingguang. (3) It would have provided a good starter paper for the study movement just promised by Liu Shi .

"...many of our schools are still exhibiting a fault characteristic of the old education system - they are still 'shooting their arrows past the target', for much of what they are teaching is irrelevant to our present needs ... in the revolutionary period we were required to train a large number of cadres and skilled manpower very quickly indeed. We achieved this by rigidly sticking to our work plan, by investigating the practical situation and responding to it and by constantly refining our teaching method and course content ...".

Medical training in the Old Liberated Areas provided a reliable guide as to the effectiveness of the methods pursued. In Jiangxi the North East Chinese Medical University trained a large number of medical personnel by concentrating on common ailments only.

"... in 1947 the University introduced a system of subject specialisation so that the medical students' learning target could be more sharply defined ... To integrate theory and practice more fully, lecturers and students were required to spend a period of time in the frontline tending the wounded ... a ratio was also fixed whereby the number of doctors trained in specific areas closely related to the army's medical requirements. Thus for every 6 students specialising in general medicine, 2 trained in surgery, and 1 in 'ear, nose and throat'..."

A similar desire to focus resources on the immediate requirements had been evident in both Yen-an Medical College and in the North Western Pharmacology College. The latter had singled out 49 common diseases for concentrated study by its students.

"... this does not mean that we have to adopt these war time expedients to meet the new peace time requirements, but the principles concerning the simplification of the syllabi, the integration of theory and practice and the requirement that all educational workers be familiar with the existing situation can all be universally applied today ..."

Zhang's conclusion has a familiar ring to those analysts of educational development in the Great Leap Forward.

"... the education which was most effective and relevant in the Old Liberated Areas was that which fully integrated with the practical situation and had a clear political objective. In all the areas of educational activity, in political education and in the army and mass educational campaigns, a vast and accumulated experience has been gathered with the help and support of the masses, which will be of inestimable use as we try to solve the great problems we face today ...".

Liu Xinghua, for example, a former teacher in the First Shanxi Municipal School before Liberation wrote in his 1958 article "... I think the basic experiences of my educational work in the Old Liberated Areas could be summed up as follows: 'politics in command, ideology as the guide, integrate theory with practice and unite closely with the masses' ...". (4) This concise summation outlined the new set of educational objectives which governed the radicalisation of the system in 1958. Labelled 'an attempt to universalise the Yen-an experience', the great leap forward in education was examined in more detail by two articles which followed Liu's. (5) Both authors, drawing from their experiences as teachers in the Old Liberated Areas drew contemporary analogies.

'Politics in command' was as relevant in 1958 as it had been before Liberation.

"... our present stage of educational development demands that we realise the 3 integrations - we must integrate education with politics, production and the practical situation..." (5b)

The new education system required a clearly defined set of objectives, the principal of which should be the need to train manpower with both the correct skills and the correct ideological attitude. Pre-Liberation students had been trained to defeat the Japanese invaders and to reject the old ideas of 'study for study's sake' by integrating their study with political education lessons and with physical labour. To reinforce the '3 integrations' urgent steps had to be undertaken to make political education more interesting. Current affairs, the importance of class struggle, the need for discipline and comradeship - all these themes were required to be infused into all of the school's activities. In language classes compositions could take the form of student reports on their production involvement, physical education could be integrated with military training and music classes could concentrate on songs of a revolutionary and nationalistic character. All this had been tried before in Yen-an, with great success.

Although these 3 specific articles appeared under the blocked headline "Discussions of Educational Work in the Old Liberated Areas", the magazine's very last editorial openly admitted that the revolutionary educational experiences gathered before 1949 had been largely neglected. (6)

"... many educationalists, even today, place far too much emphasis on class teaching ... this leads to the study of theory alone and the creation of 'closed door schools' ... they have totally neglected the experience of the Old Liberated Areas ...".

Occasionally other articles would include reference to the revolutionary situation pre 1949. But the early call issued by Liu Shih was almost totally ignored. It is irrefutable that 'People's Education' made no clear or definite attempt to systematically summarise and disseminate the educational experiences of the Old Liberated Areas. The same order of neglect was evident in the magazine's treatment of the educational views of Chairman Mao himself.

Although scant attention was paid to Mao's educational approach, Liu Shi had been clear enough in the May 1950 issue of its importance. It was not an educational priority but a study of it was vital.

"... our great struggle has just begun. Under the guidance of the Thoughts of Mao Zedong, in line with the Common Programme and after the conclusion of the First National Conference on Education, the People's Government has already finished drafting the programme for the first steps in the construction of the People's Education ... we must use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as our main weapon if we are to totally eradicate the last vestiges of the traditional system of education ... all educational workers must intensively study Mao Zedong Thought ... " (2)

And indeed, as has already been noted, the political study campaign in 1951 did refer to the necessity of studying Mao's works. But 'People's Education' did not launch a systematic study of Mao's educational thought. Indeed the pitifully small number of articles which appeared on the subject is put into its proper context when Qian Junhui's 7 page blockbuster of July 1951 is taken into account. (7) Overflowing with quotations from Mao's works, Qian stressed the need to study Mao's writings so as to better and more quickly reform the teachers' backward ideology. The influence of the old educational system was still very widespread.

"... this pernicious influence is so deeply rooted that it will influence our thinking for a long time to come ... Chairman Mao has pointed the way forward for us all. He said: "if you want to obtain knowledge you must participate in the revolution. Only by doing so can you overthrow the ruling class and make education and culture serve the people" ... the most important objective for our new educational system is not to revamp and make more efficient the present system, but to eliminate the 85% illiteracy rate in our country today ...".

In 1951 Chairman Mao was referred to in the campaign to improve students' health. His call to put 'health first and study second' received national attention. But his educational approach, like the educational experience of the Old Liberated Areas, received little attention in the magazine. Where his works did appear in the years that followed, they were of an official nature. (8) The only specific article on Mao's educational approach which appeared in the 52 issues from 1954 onwards came in the September 1957 editorial entitled "Seriously study and implement Chairman Mao's educational directives ". (9)

Chairman Mao had been correct to view the main purpose of education as the training of young people to allow them to develop morally, physically and intellectually and to become labourers with socialist consciousness.

"... in the past, when we have discussed educational objectives and policies, such as the recent debate on 'All Round Development' and 'Teaching According to the Individual's Ability' we have tended to deal only in abstract concepts, losing sight, in the process of the most overriding objective of all; the need to have labourers with socialist consciousness, with culture and with a healthy constitution ...".

The greatest obstacle to the achievement of this objective was the reactionary attitudes of the teachers themselves.

"... most of the teachers seem to support socialism in a passive sort of way, they do not yet possess the ability to analyse problems for themselves and they lack a firm class view point ... a paramount aim of education today must be to instil the fundamentals of socialism in the minds of the teachers ... political education must be integrated with the practical situation just as, in the Old Liberated Areas, it was always related to the war against Japan and with production ... the ground gained in the anti rightist struggle in the past 2 months has surpassed all the achievements of the previous years of ideological struggle; we must seize the opportunity for advance offered to us ...".

Mao's example and teaching were again referred to in the magazine's last editorial in September 1958. (6) His 'On Contradictions' had exerted a profound influence and had reemphasised the importance of class struggle and of putting 'politics in command'.

"... in the past the consensus seemed to have been that since teachers' ideology had been undergoing remoulding for several years then proletarian ideology must have assumed leadership in the schools. Consequently attention to political education declined and classes were cancelled. Little attention was paid to increasing the number of students from worker peasant backgrounds, old teachers and professional experts were allowed to stay in command of many schools, students were encouraged to put 'study first and politics second' and there developed an even greater disdain in educational circles for manual labour ...".

Only by engaging in constant ideological struggle could these manifestations of bourgeois ideology be both defeated and prevented from reappearing.

The whole emphasis of the new educational development which emerged in late 1957, and throughout 1958 did, of course, reflect much of the approach of both Mao and the pre Liberation revolutionary experience. The meagre attention accorded to both areas by 'Peoples' Education' was too little and too late. Events had rapidly overtaken the

magazine's editorial line which had, for the total of the 96 issues, done little to foster public debate on either topic. Belatedly the magazine began to re-examine crucial elements, which were once again emerging into national prominence: political education, literacy campaigns, half work half study programmes, 'people run schools' and the involvement of teachers and students in physical labour.

It is an accurate comment on the contributions to the debate in 1958 that the most important single item produced by the 'People's Education Publishing House' was not the magazine with its scant references, but the volume on Mao's educational writing entitled "Comrade Mao Zedong on Educational Work". (10)

Chapter 10 - Notes

- (1) Perhaps the best of the work done on the revolutionary educational system before 1949 would include:
 - (a) Peter Seybolt "Yenan Education and the Chinese Revolution, 1937-1945". Ph d Thesis, Harvard University, 1969.
 - (b) Mark Selden "Yenan way in Revolutionary China", Harvard UP, 1972.
- (2) 7-9/5/1950 Liu Shi "Struggle for the construction of a new Chinese People's Education".
- (3) 25-26/6/1950.
- (4) 4/8/1958 Liu Xinghua "My educational work in the Old Liberated Areas".
- (5) (a) 5/8/1958 Li Shunqin "Political work in schools must be correctly organised".
(b) 6/8/1958 Jui Jieping "'Politics First' was one of the main characteristics of schools in the Old Liberated Areas".
- (6) 1-2/9/1958 Editorial "A year of great change in our educational work".
- (7) 5-11/7/1951 Qian Junjui "Thoroughly learn and apply the educational thoughts of Mao Zedong". The article originally appeared in 'People's Daily' on the 29th June, 1951 and has, to the best of my knowledge, only been 'picked up' by one other source, i e Chao Chung and Yang I fang, "Students in Mainland China", URI, 1957, page 73.
- (8) For example:
 - (a) 8-9/4/1953 "The Greatest Friendship",

- (b) 6/4/1953 "Mourning telegram sent on Stalin's death",
 - (c) 4-11/11/1955 "On the question of agricultural collectivisation",
 - (d) 4-5/2/1956 "Foreword to the High Tide of socialism in
China's countryside".
- (9) 4-5/9/1957.
- (10) A full translation of this book can be obtained from the items which appeared in the magazine 'Chinese Education' from the 10 issues, Spring/Summer 1969 to Winter 1973/1974.
- Western texts which deal with Mao's educational approach are:
- (a) Theodore Hsi En Chen "The Maoist Educational Revolution",
Praeger, 1974.
 - (b) John N Hawkins "Mao Zedong and Education", Linnet Books,
Connecticut, 1974.
 - (c) Jerome Chen "Mao and the Chinese Revolution", Oxford UP,
London, 1965.

Chapter 11 - Primary and Middle Schools

Whereas the general approach of this thesis has been determined by the themes which the educational authorities themselves deemed to be important, most of the articles, books and thesis written about Chinese education in the 1950s have analysed the change in structural terms in each easily definable category of educational activity. This difference in approach is most clearly illustrated in the subdivision of the magazine's contents as contained in Appendices 3 and 4. As a result of this compartmentalisation pre-school provision in China before 1958 has been left unexamined and the performance of the primary and middle school sectors has been largely ignored, relative to the overconcentration of researchers on the achievements of higher education. Once again, relatively speaking, minimal attention has been paid to the spare time system of education in all its facets, especially when the numbers directly affected are taken into account.

In part this weighting neatly reflects the inability of some foreign observers to break through their own preconceptions and methodologies. Compartmentalisation of educational activity along the highly structured lines of Appendix 4 is a familiar and cosy approach. In part, it was also abetted by the inability of the Chinese to radicalise their system sufficiently so that traditional pedagogical approaches were rendered unsuitable.

A direct consequence of the emphasis on the structural approach - an approach in which success was usually judged in terms of academic achievement and enrolment and graduation levels - has been a trivialising of the scale of the problems faced in the 1950s and an emphasis on the negative aspects rather than the positive achievement of the system. It is, for example, fair to criticise the educational

system for failing to universalise educational opportunity along the lines specifically promised in the Common Programme in 1949, and implied in the 1954 Constitution. And certainly, on the eve of the Great Leap Forward in 1958 many failings were all too evident in the system. Only a minority of primary school aged children attended school, there was a high drop out rate among primary and middle school students, very few senior primary school graduates were able to proceed to junior middle school and even fewer graduates went on to senior middle school. The universities and colleges catered for only a small fraction of young people, the literacy programme and other aspects of mass education - such as the crash course and spare time provision - remained underdeveloped and the educational differentials between urban and rural areas were still wide.

But, bearing in mind the structure within which the decision makers had ordained that educational development should take place, great progress had been made. In spite of the high rhetoric of the early years, the authorities had clearly decided not to implement the Yen'an approach on a national scale ; they opted instead for an attempted radicalisation of the traditional education system. By late 1957 this was seen not to be working and an alternative model of educational development was implemented for a short time, based on the Yen'an experience.

An important reason for the weighting of the Western response to educational developments in the 1950s has been the selectivity exercised by the translating and monitoring services. Their areas of interest were fairly predictable ; the political campaigns and the developments in higher education. Articles on the primary and middle school areas received nothing like the same consistency or quality of coverage and the mass education system was almost totally ignored until the major policy decisions of 1956 were announced.

Although a Western approach is adopted in the following sections dealing with the pre-higher, higher and spare-time systems, the rationale employed in the earlier part of the thesis, to study education from a Chinese perspective, is nonetheless reflected in the weighting given to each section.

Pre school provision

The lack of attention given to pre primary school provision in China by foreign analysts can be easily excused. If 'People's Education' only contained 5 articles of note there was obviously little raw material for researchers to attend to. (1) Research in this area, both within China and abroad, only received prominence with the explosion of pre school provision in 1958.

Primary and Middle school provision

In all 217 articles totalling 636 pages appeared in the magazine on primary and middle school provision (66 x 224 and 151 x 412) of which, to the best of my knowledge, only 27 articles totalling 72 pages appear, in either full or partial form, in the journals of the translation agencies.

As reference to Appendix 8 shows the new school system which emerged at the end of 1951 contained only 3 major changes to the existing school system.

Firstly, the period of primary education was shortened from 6 to 5 years (restored in 1953).

Secondly, a structure of technical and vocational middle school training was introduced.

Thirdly, a structure for the activities of the spare time and crash course primary and middle schools was set up.

In structural terms, therefore, the fundamentals of the old system remained. A priority for the leadership was to speed up the training of basic and higher level technicians to assist in the reconstruction of the Chinese economy. And to accomplish this, wholesale reform of the educational system was rejected in favour of attempting to exploit to the full the existing facilities - both in terms of human and capital resources.

Though still massively underdeveloped in 1951, the statistics of the Chinese education system are awesome enough; 395,827 primary schools catered for 29,336,052 pupils who were taught by 901,118 teachers. (2) Although this was an increase on the best pre Liberation figure (— of 36.6% in schools and of 23.1% in pupil numbers), primary school provision 2 years after Liberation was still the exception rather than the rule. The problems to be overcome were immense.

"... the main problems we have to face are: the parlous financial state of our village primary schools which constitute 61% of our total number ... the dissatisfaction of teachers towards their jobs arising out of their low pay and excessive work load ... the state of confusion which still exists over the objectives of our primary school system which still have to be decided ... the lack of a unified national syllabus and the poor quality of leadership in our education departments responsible for primary school activities ...". (2)

According to the April 1951 editorial, the main aim of the First National Primary and Normal Education Conference due to be held in August was to "... avoid sweeping changes; rather it must concentrate on the task in hand. To stabilise and consolidate the existing primary school system ...". (2)

The training of a sufficient quantity of competent primary and middle school teachers was a constant problem - a problem compounded by the inattentiveness of cadres in the education department to the new crash training courses for teachers.

"... we must firmly repudiate the erroneous ideas of those who criticise the crash training courses. Many of our leading educational cadres despise the training given, others patronise these schools in the early stages and then neglect them ... if these schools are to succeed local education departments must show much greater concern for the teachers' happiness and welfare. They must be convinced that the job they have to do is vitally important... they must be given the proper teaching materials. In this regard local and provincial education departments are seriously at fault. The Ministry of Education has already decreed that new educational materials should be produced with reference to the local and provincial situation. For different provinces, different materials are earmarked, but within each province the same materials will be used. To date, education departments at all levels have done little to compile the new materials. They must begin on this urgent task right away ...". (3)

A further cause for concern was the failure of the primary system to either attract or retain large numbers of children from worker-peasant families. Until the Great Leap Forward educational opportunities in the primary and middle school sectors were much greater in the urban and coastal areas than they were in the villages. Some schools had established a quota system for these children and even in Peking, the showpiece of so many campaigns for national emulation, only 30% of middle school graduates in 1957 came from a worker-peasant background. In the May 1952 issue a case study was published of the experiences of 4 schools in Hebei province. (4) Although the number of pupils from worker-peasant families was increasing gradually, only 40% of the junior middle school students came from this background and that number had been reached only after the entrance

exam standard had been lowered. But the problem was ongoing. Because of their poor educational standards many had to repeat their first and second years and many more dropped out and returned to their villages. The difficulties of these students were compounded by the apparent scarcity of 'People's Scholarships'. Only 44% of these students were in receipt of a grant and most of these were at the minimum level obtainable. The resultant problems for the students were obvious enough; they often had to go without food, their clothing was dirty and tatty and their absentee rate was high.

One of the schools tried to make it easier for its students, as boarders, to meet their school fees and food bills by allowing them to pay in 4, three monthly installments. More usually, however, students in debt had to return home to their villages to get more money. Of the 206 pupils attending one school, 56 had to return home a total of 149 times in one year to obtain the extra money they required.

By the end of 1952 the recruitment of children from worker-peasant families was most advanced in North China, but even there only some 20-40% of all middle school pupils came into this category. In some areas only 8% of primary school pupils came from poorer backgrounds. These statistics came in two January 1953 articles, which summarised progress to date. (5) Statistically impressive gains had been made in the last 3 years. Since 1949 the number of pupils attending both primary and middle schools had more than doubled.

In line with the original policy of "maintaining the original schools and improving them step by step" the primary and middle school syllabi had been reorganised and unified on a national basis, existing middle school courses in maths, physics and chemistry had been simplified, a set of primary school textbooks had been compiled for

national use and the lot of primary school teachers had been improved with a 35% increase in their wages.

But great problems still remained.

With the exception of the North and Eastern areas and the large cities most areas had experienced real difficulty in attracting good primary school teachers. The general quality of primary and middle school teachers was low and there was a real shortage of capable teachers with good leadership and administrative abilities who could be promoted to headmasterships.

Local education departments were urged not to transfer teachers too often and, where possible, to arrange for the teachers' wife and family to stay with him. Teachers should identify with the local area and with the people. To improve their work teachers were urged to study models like Xi Xinmin (6) Twenty six year old Xi, from a rich peasant background, had been leading a group of 10 of his primary school students back from an excursion through torrential rain on the night of 19th September 1952. While crossing a narrow bridge 2 of the youngsters were swept away. Xi immediately jumped in, and together with 2 soldiers who were off duty, the pupils were saved. Xi unfortunately was drowned.

"... some teachers have advanced in the last 3 years but most still cling to the old ways. They are arrogant, unwilling to adjust to the new situation and indifferent to the needs of the young people in their care ... the heroic example of comrade Xi Xinmin should shame them all ...". (6a)

Local education departments were also urged to investigate ways of maximising resources. Good primary school teachers, for example, could teach at junior middle school level, small schools could amalgamate and pool new resources and older primary school students should be able to complete their studies ahead of time. (7)

To make up for the lack of state funded facilities, education departments were also urged to encourage the implementation of the "revolutionary method of education". This involved the mobilisation of local people to build their own schools, to provide part of the teacher's remuneration and to allow their houses to be used as students' lodgings. Harking back to the Yenian example of self help, a December 1951 editorial emphasised the importance of exploiting local resources to the full. (8) Little help could be expected from the Government in the provision of schools in all areas in the short term. Yet as long as that educational inadequacy persisted the country's economic development would continue to be thwarted.

"...the educational approach we are pursuing at present cannot produce, in the short period ahead, the large number of trained people we require for national economic construction. Furthermore, the shortage of finances, and of trained teachers means that we cannot expect any dramatic improvement soon ... the contradiction is almost unavoidable. At the present time our country is in a period of transition; we have left the 'old' China far behind but we have not yet reached the 'new' China for which we are all striving ...".

In the short term the main policy of 'consolidation and elevation' could not therefore depend on increased state funding to achieve the ideal situation of 'universalisation and elevation'. Indeed, in April 1953, Zhang Jian announced the suspension of any additional increases in educational financing as the first 5 Year Plan dictated priority attention be paid to economic investment. (9)

"... as compared with the 1952 figures, the number of primary school students in the years 1953 to 1954 will not increase but remain at about the 50 million level ... rather than increasing the quantity of students we shall concentrate on improving the quality of both the new and the existing students ...".

Relative to the 1952 figures, the number of pupils and students enrolled in the academic year 1953 to 1954 would be:

- 2,340,000 in junior middle schools(9.5% increase),
- 370,000 in senior middle schools(48.4% increase),
- 34,000 in worker-peasant short course middle schools (62% increase),
- 360,000 in middle normal schools(7.4% increase),
- 220,000 in higher institutes(8.9% increase).

There were 3 important reasons why educational workers at all levels had to strictly adhere to the requirements of the Plan. Firstly, educational development had to be coordinated with developments in other areas. To be successful each of the separate areas of the Plan had to meet their requirements. Education had a vital role to play.

"... our industry and agriculture can only progress if there are available the necessary numbers of skilled engineers, scientists and technicians which we require..otherwise the economic development of our country will be obstructed ...".

Secondly, attention to the requirements of the Plan would at least reduce ambiguity and doubt and ensure the preparation of a large number of properly qualified students for entry into the higher institutes. Thirdly, the Plan had carefully calculated the division of the higher students - 43% for example were to study engineering while only 6% were to study arts.

"... undoubtedly, during the last 3 years great progress has been made. Relative to the 1949 figures the number of higher students has been increased by 169%, the number of middle school students by 242% and the number of primary school students by 201% ...".

But, as Zhang admitted "... we are still experiencing many difficulties ..." Schools at all levels lacked committed and enthusiastic

teachers, the ideological reform movement amongst teachers was progressing at a very slow rate, the quality of educational provision differed widely from area to area (20% of all 'higher' buildings, 40% of all middle schools and 52% of all primary schools were in great need of repair) and there were still great problems relating to the general health of the teachers and of their students.

In the debate which followed in 'People's Education' the main thrust of the discussion concerned the improvements in the quality of existing educational provision. Peking led the way and all other areas of the country were urged to take note.

Led by the officials of the Peking Educational Department who had vigorously conducted investigation and inspection work, clear and specific objectives for educational attainment at every level had been set. (10) A unified exam structure provided a check on the quality of teaching which had been improved both by the expansion and re-equipping of local normal training facilities and by the production, under the guidance of experienced teachers, of new sets of teaching manuals, reference materials and classroom texts. Basic pupil objectives included the strengthening of political education, the realisation of the policy of 'all round development' and the restriction of unnecessary extra curricular activities.

In Peking regular visits to schools had been paid by cadres from the Education Department to monitor progress. The importance of this inspection work was constantly emphasised in the magazine and was given added impetus with the publication, in 1955, of the results of the Ministry of Education's investigation of the work of the Hebei Education Department carried out by Huang Xiaozeng. (11)

Writing on behalf of the Ministry of Education, Zhang Xiruo professed himself reasonably happy with the efforts made in the province to improve the standards of primary school education and teacher training. However, 2 issues required urgent attention. Firstly the Department was the victim of formalism and subjectivism. These were manifest in the wide gap which existed between the leading cadres and the classroom situation. A direct result of their ignorance was the proliferation of poor teaching and student overwork. The cadres were enjoined to immediately effect the following provisions: teaching times should total no more than 30 to 32 hours per week for senior middle schools, 28 to 31 hours for junior middle schools, 24 to 28 hours for primary schools and the time allotted to extra curricular activities should amount to no more than 3 hours, 2 hours and 1 hour respectively. Secondly, urgent steps had to be taken to improve the Department's organisational and leadership abilities.

"... the deficiencies uncovered are not peculiar to Hebei - they are common throughout the country. Hence the reason for the publication of this Report. The Hebei Education Department has been asked to produce its own report for our consideration before the end of February. Every other educational department at every other level has been ordered to carry out their own investigation and do likewise. They should report to us at the Ministry on the problems they uncover, and the remedies they propose, before the end of March ...". (11a)

To encourage the debate on the measures required to raise educational quality the editorial celebrating the 6th anniversary of the establishment of the PRC, outlined ways in which 'People's Education' itself could assist. (12)

"... we warmly welcome criticism from our readers, especially from those who believe that we are not sufficiently forceful in promoting ideological reform or who think that we are less than effective in the way in which we conclude and popularise successful 'teaching experience' ...".

Three areas of educational activity required attention if the quality of the system was to be improved.

Firstly, improvements in the quality of teachers and the effectiveness of the educational administrators were necessary. Contributions from readers were sought which exposed examples of the putrefying bourgeois influences which still existed in the minds of many teachers. In particular, the actions of the Hu Feng counter revolutionary block and the continued influence of Dewey and Hu Shih were to be examined. Secondly, articles were welcome from teachers which recounted their actual experiences in relating theory with practice in the schoolroom situation. Thirdly, teachers were requested to write in about their own experiences in the fields of patriotic education, labour education, political education and health education.

A characteristic of many of the articles, therefore, was their lack of complacency or self congratulation - great achievements had been made and praise was due to all concerned, but very great problems still remained. These problems were summarised succinctly by Zhang Xiruo in the July 1956 issue. (13)

"... although we have made definite progress in our national education work in the past year nevertheless, generally speaking, its development still lags far behind the needs of production. Today, 78% of our total population is still illiterate, only little more than 52% of all school aged children have been admitted into school ... from now until 1958, the number of graduates leaving the junior and senior middle schools will continue to be inadequate for our needs ... and according to incomplete statistics, in 1955, 5.1 million primary school pupils and 150,000 middle school students did not complete their courses ... it is a hard and bitter fact that our normal education does not fully support our general educational requirements and the insufficiency of primary and middle school teachers has now become a major obstacle to the full development of our national education system ..".

For the next 18 months or so, 'People's Education' continued to report faithfully on attempts to improve the efficiency of the existing system and to raise educational quality.

In February 1957 the quality of leadership in the schools was again taken to task. (14) Headmasters had tended to neglect the particular problem facing older teachers and female teachers on their staff and, in their desire to present as favourable an image as possible to the authorities, they would tolerate no public debate by the teachers or pupils about the running of the school. Some were even unwilling to act against incompetent teachers for fear of arousing adverse publicity. Symptoms of this ineffective leadership were immediately obvious - the morale of teachers was low, exam cheating was common and discipline standards inside the schools were bad. Outside the schools the situation was often even worse; stealing, fighting and vandalism among young people were common.

These anti-social activities had particularly increased since the adoption of the 'double session' schools. This system, whereby students only came in for half a timetable, enabled school facilities to be used twice over. However, because many parents were at work a large number of students were unsupervised for much of every day.

The experience of the 'double session' schools in Qingdao and Hangzhou indicated the nature and the scale of the problem. (15) Both cities had established 'double session' schools in 1951 and by the beginning of 1957 20 of Qingdao's 43 primary and middle schools were organised along these lines while, in Hangzhou, 18 schools were involved. In total, in 1957, the system covered 10,141 junior middle school students in 193 classes and 12,780 primary pupils.

Both cities had been pleased with the results. In Qingdao, for example, the number of junior middle school pupils in these schools had increased from 4,500 in the 1952 to 1953 session to 7,590 in the academic year 1956 to 1957. And, according to the editorial, there was little to choose in the quality of education offered by either the 'double session' or full time system at either of the 2 levels. A variety of permutations had been tried in order to suit local conditions.

(a) 'the whole day mobility system' - students were timetabled to spend two thirds of their day in school and one third out doing labour and physical education

(b) 'the 4:4 system' - here class A had 4 lessons in the morning and class B 4 lessons in the afternoon. Every week, therefore, all pupils would have 24 teaching periods

(c) 'the 5:5 system' - each class had 5 periods per day with class A turning up very early in the morning and class B staying very late at night.

But both cities had experienced the problems caused by young people who were unsupervised during the day. In Qingdao, an effective method of dealing with the problems had been to organise the students into small study teams during their free time under the supervision of a team leader appointed by the school authorities. Activities included private and group study, newspaper readings and political discussions. Team leaders were required to keep a daily record of events for examination by the authorities and students were, within reason, allowed to choose their own group. Troublesome students were constantly moved around between the groups.

The 'double session' schools reflect some of the basic problems inherent in the attempt to fulfil the dual aims of maximising existing facilities and improving educational standards. Greater numbers could be processed, but the quality of education offered inevitably suffered and the stress on both staff and students was heightened. Yet given the inexorable logic of the 'consolidate and elevate' approach, such a contradiction was to be expected. As Zhang Xiruo observed the substantial achievement of increasing the numbers could not disguise the scale of the problems which remained to be overcome and, as reference to the experiences of the 'double session' schools illustrates, the old problems were compounded by the new problems as well.

Chapter 11 - Notes

(1) The 5 articles were:

- (a) 22/2/1952 Zhou Xuzhong "Reviewing my work in the Quluo kindergarten, Nanjing",
- (b) 42-43/12/1952 Sun Aiyue "Draft plan of a kindergarten work scheme".
- (c) 33/1/1953 Zhang Yiyuan "Kindergarten education in the past 3 years".
- (d) 13-15/16/1953 Ding Hua "How the children of Bei Hai Kindergarten have been educated in the past 3 years".
- (e) 53-54/8/1954 Zhang Yiyuan "Some opinions on the establishment of kindergartens".

(2) 9-10/4/1952 Editorial "Educate the new younger generation",
Greeting the First National Primary and Normal Education Conference.

(3) 5/3/1952 Tian Xing "Carry out adequate preparation for the crash teaching courses".

(4) 26/5/1952 Wu Zhenhuan and Zheng Zhang "Examining 4 middle schools in Xiangyang in order to clarify the issue of the number of children from worker peasant families who have entered school".

(5) (a) 25-28/1/1953 Xi Weisan "Middle school education in the past 3 years".

(b) 29-32/1/1953 Guo Lin "Primary school education in the past 3 years".

(6) (a) 9/2/1953 Editorial "Learn from the distinguished personality of the martyr Xi Xinmin".

- (b) 10/2/1953 Short Comment "A brief introduction to the martyrdom of Xi Xinmin".
- (7) In the early years illiterate teenagers were given entry preference to many primary schools. This practise was stopped in 1953 when no youngster older than 15 was allowed in.
- (8) 4-5/12/1951 Editorial "Popularise the idea of using revolutionary methods to carry out 'people's education' to its fullest extent".
- (9) 15-16/4/1953 Zhang Jian "While working strictly adhere to the Plan". Appendix 9 is the 'Comparative table on student enrolment up till the 1953 to 1954 academic year '. It provides a double check on the accuracy of some of the statistics given in the magazine's articles. Compiled by the Ministry of Education it appeared on page 34 of the October 1954 issue.
- (10) 5-6/8/1954 Editorial "Follow the example of Peking's education policy which raised the quality of primary and middle school education".
- (11) (a) 10/1/1955 Editorial "The Ministry of Education approves Huang Xiaozeng's report on the Hebei Education Department".
(b) 13-14/1/1955 Huang Xiaozeng "Investigation report on the work of the Hebei Education Department".
- (12) 5-6/10/1955 Editorial "What type of essays does 'People's Education' want?".
- (13) 8-11/7/1956 Zhang Xiruo "Report on the present condition and problems in the nation's education".

- (14) 19-20/2/1957 Guo Moran "A few problems to be noted in the job of exercising leadership in the middle schools".
- (15) 41-42/5/1957 Editorial "The experience of the 'double session' schools in Qingdao and Hangzhou".

Chapter 12 - Higher Education

The higher education sector in the 1950s was doubly unique. It was both the centre of the political study movement among the intellectuals and the area in which the 'advanced educational experience of the Soviet Union' had its greatest, and most quantifiable impact. The movement for ideological reform has already been examined and the importance of the Soviet influence will be discussed shortly.

Within the translation agencies significant attention was paid to structural and administrative details such as the reorganisation of the higher institutes, college enrolment, graduate distribution plans and the unified entrance exam system. 'Peoples Education' covered all these and much more.

The basic reform which set the pattern for most of the decade came into effect on the 2nd August 1950. Enacted by the Ministry of Education the "Decisions on implementing curricular reform in the Higher education institutes" reorganised but did not completely transform the old system of higher provision. (1)

Three different types of institution emerged: the general universities consisting of several colleges, the polytechnics consisting of departments and specialisations and the technical institutes which offered 1 type of specialist training only. The task of the general university was to train research and scientific personnel and college and middle school teachers; the polytechnics and technical institutes were designed to train engineers and technicians. As well as this structural change a new approach to instruction was to be adopted. The 'speciality' replaced the 'department' as the main academic unit. Designed to eliminate waste and duplication, the 'speciality' established clear cut educational objectives for the training of the personnel so urgently needed. It provided intensive training in a particular discipline.

In 1950 there were 201 higher institutes in China (of which 22 were private, 10 of them being American financed). By 1954, due to amalgamations and closures, this number had been reduced to 182, subdivided as follows:

| | |
|--|---|
| 14 General Universities | 6 Institutes of Finance and Economics |
| 39 Polytechnics | 8 Language Institutes |
| 31 Normal Colleges | 15 Art Schools |
| 29 Institutes of Agriculture and Forestry | 5 Physical Education Institutes |
| 4 Institutes of Law and Political Science | 2 Institutes for the National Min- orities |
| | 29 Medical Schools |

In terms of enrollment and graduation, the higher system was considerably successful. (2) In the period 1952 to 1957, 556,000 students were enrolled and 271,000 graduated. The number of higher teachers increased phenomenally from 16,000 to 68,000 in the period 1949 to 1957.

In the period of the first 5 Year Plan 66,000 normal college graduates had been produced. Impressive as this total was - it was equivalent to 3 times the total number of normal college graduates trained in the 20 years of Guomindang rule from 1928-1947 - it did not mask the seriousness of many of the old problems affecting teachers which had not been overcome. The problems of ideology and supply were closely linked. Experience gathered in several places had shown that the most effective form of political study for teachers was that organised by the provincial and municipal Party committees and by the propaganda organs. They organised special classes in 'Chinese revolutionary history', 'Political Economy', 'the basics of Marxism-Leninism and 'Dialectical and Historical Materialism'. This work could be supported by uniting the old and young teachers. Older teachers, though professionally competent, were usually politically

backward while younger teachers, though more committed and responsive, were lacking in the teaching skills. Leading work in this respect had been done at the Taiyuan 1st Normal College where 24 young teachers (one third of the staff) had formed a group to liaise with their older colleagues. (3)

The unifying process was being obstructed in some schools where some leading comrades, biased against intellectuals and the older teachers, applied the Party's policy in too rough handed and unilateral a form.

"... in order to unite all the teachers we must encourage a more democratic style of management in our schools and higher institutions ... to assist this process, leading cadres should strengthen the work of inspection ... teachers should be encouraged to participate in the running of their schools and institutions and the Party should organise social and leisure occasions where staff can relax ... awards should be given and due criticisms made where appropriate ...". (4)

To produce the required number of teachers the Second National Conference on Higher Normal Education in March 1956 laid down the principles of a new 12 Year Plan for Normal Education. Marking the occasion the May 1956 editorial called for an all out attempt to improve both the quality and quantity of teachers. (5) The Conference had set a list of new daunting targets; the eradication of 300 million illiterates in 5 to 7 years, the popularisation of primary school education in 5 to 12 years and the massive expansion of middle and higher education provision.

"... to achieve these targets we need a large number of new teachers ... normal education is absolutely crucial if we are to overcome the shortage of teachers, a shortage which in the past few years has halted the expansion of our primary and middle school sectors ...". (5)

According to the editorial the exact details of the new Plan would be revealed when the information sought from the provinces and districts had been obtained. Whereas obvious problems were to be expected "... the main hinderance lies in the bureaucratic tendencies among the leadership ... they are divorced from the masses, they recognise the need for the Plan but they will not go out to see the situation for themselves ... only when their conservatism is overcome can we bring into play the full potential of our existing resources ...". (5)

By the end of 1957 the attempt to utilise these existing facilities could no longer be continued. Within the formal full time system at every level there were substantial problems. But most serious of all was the fact that it did not touch the majority of the Chinese people. The attempt to consolidate and elevate was now about to be replaced by a new radical approach - universalise and elevate at the same time. The time had come for the part time educational system to assume centre stage.

Chapter 12 - Notes

(1) 67-71/9/1950.

(2) Two key articles giving the required statistics appeared in the magazine and were caught by the translation agencies.

(a) 6-10/10/1957 Zhang Tian "Is Higher Education progressing on the right track?" (ECMM 113 pp 4-14).

(b) 11-13/10/1957 Zhen Xuanshan "The great achievements in Higher Normal Education in the past 8 years cannot be denied" (ECMM 115 pp 30-36).

(3) 42-43/3/1955 "Initial experience gained in organising young teachers to learn from older teachers".

(4) 6-7/4/1954 Short Comment "Unite all the teachers and help them to improve their school's organisation".

(5) 4-6/5/1956 Editorial "Overcome problems and welcome assignments".

(6) Western works on higher education in the period are:

(a) C T Hu "Higher Education in Mainland China", Comparative Education Review, February 1961.

(b) Joseph Kun "Higher Education - some problems of selection and enrollment" China Quarterly no 8.

An excellent statistical compilation is included in J P Emerson's "Administrative and Technical Workers in Communist China", U S Department of Commerce, 1973.

Chapter 13 - Spare Time Education

Generally speaking the translation services paid little attention to developments in mass education in the first half of the decade. Some of the important early directives were caught; attention was paid to Qi Jianhua's 'quick literacy method' and the reforms of 1956 were covered. Only 1 'People's Education' article of note pre 1958 was translated. (1)

As reference to Appendix 4 shows official emphasis varied throughout the decade. During the 9 years of publication consistent attention was paid to worker peasant education, priority to the literacy movement was at its most intense in 1956 and references to the involvement of pupils and teachers in the labour education movement only became prominent in 1954. All 3 strands of the mass education movement, of course, were brought together in 1958.

The situation facing the authorities in October 1949 was immensely difficult. A massive illiteracy rate of 85% was compounded by the national inefficiency of a full time educational system barely able to meet the needs of the very small minority that it served. The September 1950 editorial which greeted the opening of the First National Conference on Worker Peasant Education was under no illusion as to the challenge it faced. (2)

"... now that the Revolution is over our country urgently requires an educational system which will fully serve the interests of the masses of workers and peasants ... we require, in the transitional period, an economic and effective way of educating the masses in a relatively short period. This will give us time to develop a permanent system later on ... the transitional system will cater mainly for the literacy requirements of the workers and peasants ..."

The Conference was instructed to devise a national plan for the establishment of worker peasant short course middle schools which should have, as their twin objectives, the elimination of illiteracy and the raising of the cultural and educational level of those workers and peasants who also possessed a little learning. The general campaign was to incorporate the following procedures: the expansion of spare time educational opportunities for workers and peasants, the promotion of a national literacy campaign, the establishment of worker peasant short course middle schools and the opening up of schools at all levels to the children of worker and peasant families.

Early articles concentrated on the efforts being made to readjust the winter schools into regular part time year round schools for the masses. But, as usual, national attention was focussed on the efforts of Peking City. In April 1950 the Peking City Experimental Worker Peasant Short Course Middle School had been established following the recommendations of the First All China Educational Work Conference held the previous December. (3) Its 3 classes contained 116 students (94 male, 22 female) of whom 77 had worked in production for 3 to 4 years, 20 had worked for 5 to 9 years and 19 had worked for 10 years or more. Entrance was based on recommendation by the individual's organisation and by the performance in examinations in Chinese language, maths and political knowledge. The students were divided into 3 classes: class A contained those workers who had functional literacy and numeracy, in class B were the basic literates while those who had almost no ability to read, write or do simple sums were put into class C.

This experimental school was originally under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and plans for the establishment of similar schools controlled by the Peking City Education Department itself were announced in July.

A technical college and a commercial college exclusively for the use of students of a worker peasant background were to be opened for the 1950-1951 academic year. (4) Considerable progress was also being made in Shanxi Province. In the period from March to June, 7 worker peasant short course primary schools had been established in which 29 classes contained 1250 pupils. (5) Divided into junior and senior classes, students in the lower classes had to be healthy and under 35 years old; 60% to 70% of the total number were aged between 20 to 25. Progress varied from subject to subject. In general, language development proceeded more quickly than numeracy skills; in the space of 2 months some students had managed to increase their written vocabulary from 100 to 250 words, but many of the students had not even after training managed to reach the numeracy level of a primary 4 or 5 pupil.

The gains won by the new approach, however, were very limited in this early period. (6) Most school leaders and leading cadres were unconvinced as to the urgency of the job. And even among responsive cadres, many argued that it was the job of the unions to organise and finance the new schools. Where the spare time provisions had been established workers were often apathetic; they too had to be convinced of the value of an education which required them to sacrifice their free time after a full working day. Practical difficulties relating to the obtaining of classrooms and the supply of teachers further compounded the problems.

Particularly difficult problems were faced in the provision of educational training for cadres. (7) On the 14th December 1950 2 directives had been issued which established short course middle schools for workers and peasants. Li Zhiyuan left his readers in no doubt as to the urgency of the task in front of them.

"... after Liberation many important jobs were taken over by cadres who although they had fought in the Revolution nevertheless had a very low educational standard ... some were not even of the senior primary school level ... and because of this they have been unable to carry out their duties responsibly ...".

Cadres were urged to take full advantage of these new schools. Provided they had participated in the Revolution for more than 3 years and were older than 18, they could enrol for the short course primary schools which were already catering for the needs of 5050 students. Alternatively, entry could be sought into one of the 18 short course middle schools catering for 2520 students. Lasting 3 years they were designed to provide an education to the equivalent of the senior primary school level.

In some cities part time courses did exist to help cadres advance. In the rural areas, where the educational system was not good, the situation was much more restricted. Experience had shown that the best way of supporting rural cadres was to take them into the towns and cities for intensive full time training. But this was expensive and led to local problems when the cadre was away. In some areas teachers had been sent out to instruct cadres in the countryside. And even where crash course schools did exist, the problems were great; many had little if any equipment, classroom and boarding facilities were poor and the drop out rate was very high - in some areas as high as 80%. Li Zhiyuan called for attention to the following points as the prerequisite for the development of cadres training: the holding of regular exams to make a constant check on student progress, the use of practical examples in classroom teaching, the de-emphasis of theoretical and academic learning, a reduction in the demands to memorise information and an improvement in the quality of the schools' teachers.

"... although most of the teachers have good academic qualifications, few are committed to their job or interested in politics ... some who have recently graduated from college or senior middle school find it hard to relate with their students, many of whom are older than they ...".

At the time of the GAC Directive of the 1st October 1951 on educational reform there were very few short course schools and, where they did exist, substantial problems remained to be overcome. The reform established spare-time provision at both the primary and middle school level (see Appendix 8).

Primary school level - worker peasant short course schools, spare time schools and literacy provision.

Middle school level - worker peasant short course schools and spare time schools.

Worker Peasant and Spare Time Education

Welcoming the new plans, the December 1951 editorial reiterated the importance of the short course and part time schools; they were examples of revolutionary method in action. (8)

"... we have to improve our situation very quickly and to do this we must use revolutionary method ... recent experience has proved that the short course and part time schools can produce a large number of cadres, technicians and engineers as well as improving the basic educational standards of the masses of workers and peasants ...".

For the movement to be successful, however, teacher resistance had to be overcome.

"... teachers in many schools have already tried to reject the idea of their school being converted into a short course school. Some said 'the academic standards of our school will fall, our own status will be reduced and we will no longer be able to teach our students to the standards which we think are required' ...".

Conversely, because students equated the short courses with low academic standards some of the schools had difficulty attracting their quota.

The other aspect of revolutionary method was the establishment of part-time schools by the masses themselves. An article in January 1952 summarised progress to date. (9)

"... our main priorities are to win the war and to get our economy going again. We don't have as much money as we would like to spend on education, especially on education in the rural areas ... as the First National Primary and Normal Education Conference has pointed out, the necessary money required to finance village primary schools must come from the local government and the local people ...".

Developments were most advanced in East and North East China. By the end of 1951, 1924 'people run' part time primary schools had been established in the North East (5.4% of the total number of primary schools in these 2 areas), containing 488,000 pupils (10% of the total number) and staffed by 9580 teachers (9% of the total). In East China development was more comprehensive; 3294 schools (35.7% of the total), contained 1,550,000 pupils (22.7% of the total). In many districts local authorities had stipulated that all the rural primary schools should be built by the people themselves; in Jilin Province, for example, the masses had built 100 new schools, renovated another 289 and had provided all the basic furniture and equipment.

"... drawing on the considerable experience of the East and North East we can conclude some important points ... in the mountainous areas and in those parts which have recently been affected by natural disasters, transport and communications are bad and the general educational level of the people is very low. If it is not possible to establish a new school in these areas, it should at least be possible to establish a new class. In the

larger cities and towns the situation is generally much better. But if the local people demand it, then they are free to take steps to provide for themselves the additional educational facilities they require. There is no general standard as to the number of schools or classes in a given area ... in other areas where educational provision is low the Ministry of Education should undertake propaganda work, to persuade local people that they should shoulder some of the responsibility for raising at least part of the finance to construct a school, and to start classes ... the most effective way in which they can help is to assist these schools to overcome their financial problems and to provide living quarters for the students and staff ...".

According to the author, tried and tested methods for raising the local finance involved the peasants cooperating together in ventures such as the operation of a brick factory where the profit went towards the upkeep of the school. In some areas, teachers were paid in kind in the form of free board and lodgings.

The poor quality of the teachers involved received constant and critical attention. The part time and short course schools tended to attract the less academically able. For example, at best village teachers were only educated up to senior primary school level and some were barely literate and numerate. Consequently, their status was low. They were belittled by their better qualified colleagues in the urban areas and in the full time system, and there were instances of their being refused membership of the teachers' trade union.

The development of these schools was also obstructed by the high handedness of some officials. In some areas cadres, afraid of permitting developments outwith their direct control, were deliberately prevaricative. And even where schools had been established relations between the masses and local education department were not always harmonious. The Yu He Worker Peasant Short Course

Middle School in Chahar Province, investigated in 1953 by the Ministry of Education was a case in point. (10) Established in 1950 it had 33 classes containing 537 students taught by 33 teachers. On the surface it seemed to be doing its job. However the Ministry had received many letters of complaint from students both about the school's leadership and about the local education department. Although only a short distance away no member of the education department had ever visited the school and no action had been taken by the leading cadres at the beginning of 1952, when the students had first complained to them about conditions inside the school. Hence their direct approach to the Ministry. According to Zhang Liang the students' complaints had been entirely genuine.

Firstly, the school's leaders were repressive and authoritarian. They entirely ignored the wishes of their students and junior staff and took revenge on anyone who transgressed. In April 1951 a student had written to the local paper accusing the school leadership of ignoring the problem of the students' ill health which, in part, was caused by the heavy and onerous physical work demanded of them in maintaining the school. The editor informed the school's headmaster and the offending student was marked down in all his subjects and eventually expelled.

Secondly, the school's leaders were unconcerned about the proper running of the school. One third year class had 8 geography teachers in one year and no biology teacher; instruments such as microscopes were so unused that they were covered with dust. Consequently, both the students' academic and political training was poor. In one first year class 21 of the 31 pupils had to repeat. This did not concern the headmaster, he was more worried about his garden and had appointed a gardener whose wages were paid out of school funds.

Thirdly, he and the senior teachers showed complete disregard for their students' health. The students cooking water was taken from a foul well and their rice was of the poorest quality, and often contaminated.

An important method of improving the work of these short course schools lay in their affiliation with higher institutes. In November 1952 the Ministry of Education had announced its decision to affiliate the worker peasant short course middle schools to higher institutes. The affiliation was designed to provide a dual support; where necessary lecturers would travel to the schools to teach while students and staff could visit the higher institutes as their courses required. To ensure the best possible results the local education departments were asked to ensure that selected schools should have as high an academic standard as possible and that the school should be reasonably well housed and equipped. Through the process of familiarisation it was hoped that all the students at these schools would regard as natural their progression from middle school to college or university. (11)

In the 6 months following the announcement of his policies Xi Weisan unhappily related some of the many problems which had appeared. Some times students had gone to study in the higher institutes only to find on arrival that there were no facilities of any kind reserved for their personal or academic use. Some local authorities had deliberately tried to obstruct the establishment of good relations .

On learning that the students were due to arrive some transferred a number of the higher teachers, while other cadres issued instructions that while there might be sufficient staff and facilities available, the students from the affiliated worker peasant crash course middle schools were to be ignored.

"... in order to improve the situation I suggest that attention should be paid to the following points ... every education department should allocate one of its most senior cadres to supervise the affiliation process ... staff in the higher institutes must devote more of their time to cultivating their new contacts and to looking after the interests of the student ...". (11)

The relationship between the 2 sectors did not dramatically improve. In May 1954 the Ministry of Higher Education bowed out and the Ministry of Education alone took over the leadership function of the majority of the short course middle schools. The small number of affiliated schools became the sole responsibility of the institutions concerned. That year 30,000 students were due to be enrolled in the schools. The following May the cessation of enrolment was announced, to be effective from Autumn 1955. Officially the reasons given were: the quality of education given was not satisfactory and the amount of time required for the students to be absent from the production front was causing problems. In future the children from worker peasant families were to be assimilated into the normal primary and middle school sectors; local areas were free to transform the crash course schools into regular schools if they desired.

"... for the education of the broad masses of the worker and peasant cadres as well as the workers and peasants, the policy of taking spare time education as the main line should be firmly implemented and the method of operating short course middle schools for workers and peasants should be discarded ...". (12)

Prophetically, perhaps, Lin Handa writing in 1953 on the progress of mass education made no reference to the problem of the schools. (13) Progress was particularly impressive in the anti-illiteracy drive. In the last 6 months of 1952, for example, more than 2 million workers and peasants had taken part in the 'quick literacy' campaign. Specific returns had shown that in the Port Arthur and Dairen areas more than 70% of the total number of illiterates had learned between 800

to 1200 characters; incomplete returns indicated that some 100,000 people in the North, some 250,000 in the North East and some 50,000 railway workers had become literate. (14) As usual problems abounded and these were frankly admitted by Lin: teachers in the literacy campaign were often ill prepared and incompetent, teaching methods emphasised rote learning and memorisation, educational leaders exercised little control over the movement in many areas, and as a consequence, the effectiveness of the literacy courses offered varied widely.

"... it was only after the National Anti-Illiteracy Forum last year that we began to realise, for the first time, that the crash courses offered in many parts were too often excuses to implement courses which were poorly planned and badly taught ... only a minority of such courses on offer at present are free of deficiencies ... because of these inadequacies it will be impossible for us to launch a full scale attack on illiteracy in the coming year ..." (13)

According to Lin, an indication of the careless and disunified approach which characterised the spare time system was the inability, or unwillingness, of the authorities to compile accurate statistical returns. According to incomplete figures gathered in September 1952 the number of workers participating in spare time education of all forms was 3,020,299 (an increase of 1,300,000 as compared with the September 1951 figure of 1,718,246, and an increase of 2,200,000 over the September 1950 figure of 764,199). The number of peasants attending winter schools in 1952 was 42,183,281 (22,217,914 in 1950). The number of peasants who attended part time year round schools had increased from 3,485,036 in 1950 to 26,458,462 in 1952.

Lin Handa wrote frequently about spare time education in the magazine. His last contribution, in July 1957, aroused a strong official reaction. (15) Apparently his critique of the mass education programme was too pessimistic and negative. Three months after its appearance

he was labelled a rightist and his analysis repudiated. (16)

"... let no one doubt our achievements in the field of worker peasant education. Since Liberation we have eradicated illiteracy completely in more than 20 million cases and have brought several tens of millions of workers and peasants up to the basic literacy standards ... this great achievement has been gained by the effective mobilisation of the masses and intellectuals under the leadership of the Communist Party ... yet bourgeois rightist Lin Handa accuses the Party of paying insufficient attention to worker peasant education, and of having no total or effective plan to deal with it ...". (16)

Lin had been wrong to demand that the government should establish a centrally funded and unified national system of mass education provision. This rejection of the importance of revolutionary method excluded the willing participation of the masses in the voluntary movement. Undeniably shortcomings did exist in mass education provision, but these could be solved through investigation and by full and frank discussion with the masses. Lin had also been in error to support the primacy of professional teachers over volunteer teachers in the classroom. Realistically speaking there simply were not enough professionally trained teachers to staff the literacy and spare time education programmes. To a large extent a policy of 'letting the people teach the people' had to be applied. Literacy eradication, for example, could only be taken on a part time basis by worker peasant intellectuals, by primary and middle school teachers and other intellectuals in their spare time because:

"... peasants can only afford a maximum of between 250 to 300 hours per year to study. Since there are busy months when no formal educational work can be considered it would be a waste of money to employ fully trained teachers all of the time ... there are more than 200 million illiterates between the ages of 14 to 40 at the present time in the countryside alone. If we were to use the normal pupil teacher ratios we would require several millions of teachers ... we simply do not have the resources

to either supply or employ the necessary number of full time teachers, or to establish the number of schools required ...".

An important criticism made of Lin Handa was his alleged preference for class teaching and for unified sets of textbooks. However, the success of the mass education movement depended crucially on the extent to which it could respond to local needs. Class teaching might be of use in one area but in another, small groups or self study might be more appropriate. Similarly the materials used had to be of immediate and direct interest to the workers and peasants.

"... Lin opposes the mass line, we support it ... he has not yet managed to disavow himself of the bourgeois educational attitudes he amassed during his study period in the USA ...".

Lin Handa was not the only contributor to criticise aspects of mass education. In December 1955 a hypercritical article on the quality of teachers in the spare time field appeared. (17) It made salutary reading. Recent investigations had revealed the massive scale of the inadequacy which existed. In one normal school, of the 428 students 15 were completely illiterate and 239 were only basically literate. In Jilin Province no less than 70% of the teachers had only a junior middle school education, while in Fujian only 35% of the teachers possessed a training in senior middle school or beyond. In the country as a whole 3% of the teachers active in the spare time education field were educated to primary school level, 40% to junior middle school level, 44% to senior middle school level and 13% to higher level. Teaching provision differed greatly from place to place. The urban areas were obviously more attractive but even there there were shortages; Peking City required another 30 teachers while Tianjin was 40 short.

To overcome these shortages and to raise teaching quality, the article suggested several changes in procedure. In an attempt to improve their political and managerial competency, the leaders of the spare time movement should be sent to the local education department to receive intensive training; otherwise local 'on post' in service training should be provided. Greater support for practising teachers could be given by local normal colleges and higher institutions. In 1955 48 part time teachers had been sent to receive intensive training in normal colleges in the North East, and Peking had dispatched 100 of its teachers to receive further training. The responsibility for overseeing in service courses for the teachers rested squarely with the local education department. In 1951 to 1952, 36 cities had established 'in service' training, while in Luda City, 370 teachers had attended refresher courses in the last 4 years.

In that same December issue, the editorial called for a strengthening of the Government's control over the spare time education movement. (18) Strict control over the many millions of different educational activities proceeding in factories and mines, streets and villages could not be expected. But the continuing scale of the problem was so large - 50% illiteracy rate amongst miners, 60% to 70% among construction workers and 80% among the peasants - that greater efforts were required by the central authorities and their subordinates.

"... what is worrying is the number of leading cadres in education departments up and down the country who place a very low priority either on illiteracy eradication or on the expansion of the part time education system ... a tendency which has been reinforced by recent labelling of these activities as 'over hasty' and 'ineffective' ...".

These criticisms had reinforced the passive and conservative attitude of many to the mass education movement. They had been prepared to let the movement drift; if local people wanted to do something then that was fine, if they didn't then that was equally acceptable. But if the targets were to be achieved and illiteracy among the 15 to 50 age group was to be totally eradicated by 1962, then such negative attitudes could not be allowed to persist. Vigorous leadership was required; education departments should appoint senior cadres to oversee the movement, investigations should be carried out to ascertain the true state of affairs and hence provide a firm base for the decisions which had to be taken. Their greatest problem area was the massive number of illiterates.

Literacy

The early articles in 'People's Education' on the literacy question tended to deal with those issues of most direct concern to the teachers : the compilation of suitable teaching materials, the establishment of a recognised and graduated standard of literacy attainment and the different methodologies which could be employed. The May 1952 issue gave prominent coverage to Qi Jianhua's 'quick literacy method'. Thereafter, for the following two and a half years literacy campaign developments received little attention in the magazine; interest only picked up as the new directives appeared in 1955 and 1956.

Ironically enough the first editorial in 1956 criticised education departments at every level for lack of progress. (19)

"... since Liberation our education system has undergone rapid reform and development, but many severe problems remain to be overcome ... the pace of the campaign to eliminate illiteracy is far too sluggish; there are 300,000,000 illiterates and semi illiterates in China and more than half of all school age children

still do not attend school ... the heart of the problem lies in the deep rooted conservatism of many of our leading educational cadres ... they are unable to respond to the new situation, they are unclear about the direction in which we are going, they lay too much stress on the difficulties involved in adopting new approaches and they have failed to arouse and mobilise the enthusiasm of the masses of workers and peasants ...".

For the campaign against illiteracy to succeed, propaganda had to be intensified, the grass roots leadership had to be strengthened, study time should be guaranteed for all those involved, the 'Association for the Eradication of Illiteracy' should establish branches at every level and a system of rewards and models should be organised to stimulate the energies of both the teachers and the taught.

"... within the next 7 years we plan to achieve great educational advances ... eradicate illiteracy from 200 million of our young people, establish a successful system of primary education and go a long way towards universalising middle school provision ... to achieve these aims everyone, from the illiterate to the intellectual, must become involved in the movement so that in 7 to 12 years time we will have attained internationally respected standards of educational achievement ...".

Within the existing system such achievements had no hope of fulfilment. The problems were just too great and the resources too minimal. It was only with the Great Leap Forward that an attempt was made to short circuit the whole process of formal full time education and regular part time provision. Many problems were associated with the new changes but the shift in emphasis was a precondition before any dramatic advances in mass education could take place.

Interestingly enough, one of the problems in the literacy movement referred to in the January 1956 issue was the activities of factory cadres who only stressed those aspects of the literacy and mass education movement which they hoped would increase production. And it is to this third strand of the debate, labour education, that we now turn.

Labour Education

"... it is now generally accepted in our country that 'it is an honourable and glorious task to do manual labour'. If we are to serve the people and carry out class struggle it is absolutely necessary that we all do manual labour and pay a high regard to the work of the labouring masses. Because this correct attitude is evident every where it is our opinion that the masses of labouring people are doing their work more enthusiastically and the teachers have a more responsible attitude towards their job ...". (20)

This early claim for the success of the ideological reform movement was characterised not only by its exaggerated nature, but also by the fact that for the next three and a half years no specific attention was paid to the issue of labour education in the magazine.

It took a short comment in the April 1954 issue to initiate a discussion which lasted in the columns until the magazine's demise. (21)

An important reason for the lack of progress in both the literacy and worker peasant spare time programmes had been the arrogant attitude towards the labouring people which still existed among the majority of the educational workers.

"... unfortunately, the contemptuous attitude towards labour, so characteristic of the ruling feudal classes in China, still exerts a harmful influence today on the minds of our teachers and students. This reinforces the bourgeois desires of many for material reward and personal self advancement ...".

To combat these problems labour education should be integrated in every aspect of the schools' activities, and classes on patriotism should be increased. Teaching materials should be infused with the message of the joy and honour of labouring work. Students should be taken on visits to neighbouring production units and become involved in selected physical activities such as keeping their school clean and tidy,

making minor repairs to the fabric and working the school plot.

The campaign to strengthen labour education began in earnest in 'People's Education' the following month. (22) Summer was fast approaching and a large number of primary and middle school students were about to graduate. The choice which faced them was either going into production or onto further education. Too many were opting for the latter and it was impossible to offer every successful graduate at every level a place higher up, only the minority would be successful. The establishment of provisions for labour education in schools would help prepare the majority of those graduates who would have to enter production directly. But if the movement was going to progress the negative attitude of the teachers had to be overcome. Some of them said: "... participation in manual labour is a waste of time. It is of no use to the student who is going on to further education and it is of little benefit to the remainder who will become involved in production anyway ...". Other teachers increased their students' study workload substantially so that they would have no time for labour activities, and when they were forced to send some pupils they chose the least academically able and the disruptives. Such actions were totally unacceptable. Teachers were warned that they ignored the following recommendations at their peril.

Firstly, teachers were reminded that they existed first and foremost to serve the people. Certainly the job of the primary and middle schools to train some of their students for entry into the higher institutes was crucially important. But more important was the education given to the majority of their students who would go directly to the production and construction fronts. A start had been

made in the North East in 1953, when a band of young people had been sent into the factories to work and study at the same time.

Secondly, educational workers had to accept that participation in production and physical labour was an honourable task. It was totally wrong to say to a student: "... if you do not go on to further education then your future is bleak ...". Woman technician Qian Zhongqi in Harbin, labour hero Qian Jilau in Peking and women's representatives Liu Shaoxi from Chenjiang, and Wen Xilao from Shanxi were all famous and nationally honoured personages who had left school to enter production immediately.

"... the aims of labour education are to help the student build up a correct labour outlook, to encourage them to respect and love the labouring masses and to enable them to understand that physical labour is the basis on which all progress is inevitably based ... we must ensure that the proper advice is given to this years intending graduates about whether they should enter production or go on to further education ... the key to the success of this job is to apply different methods most suited to local conditions: some schools have invited back graduates engaged in production to relate their experiences, trips can be organised to farms and factories, local labour heroes can be interviewed and a variety of films and readings are available ...". (22)

To celebrate the commencement of the labour emulation campaign the June 1954 issue contained no less than 5 articles on the subject.

(23) According to the Propaganda Department report, there was a commonly held view among primary and middle school pupils that unless they went into further education they were "doomed for life". This attitude was a legacy from old China which despised manual labour. Despite the great advances made since Liberation in expanding educational opportunity, there just weren't enough places for everyone. Only a minority of primary school graduates could expect to enter

middle school and only a select few of that number could go on to higher education. The Government had already done much to expand provision. The statistics for 1952 had shown that more than 80% of all primary school children came from worker peasant families; for middle school and higher students the figures were 57% and 22% respectively. But unless harmful attitudes amongst both teachers and pupils were corrected, substantial expansion of the labour education system could not be expected. There were many manifestations of this erroneous view: many students didn't want to become involved in production work in either the town or the countryside since it was 'too dirty, too exhausting and too degrading', others were prepared to work in the towns but not in the villages, many parents believed that their children required further education to get a good job and their children were unwilling to participate in case it harmed their academic progress.

An attack on these elitist views was contained in a case study of Shandong's experiences in January 1955. (24) A year had passed since Shandong's delegates to the National Middle School Education Conference had returned home determined to implement the recommendations on labour education, and great progress had been made.

"... many teachers had an incorrect view of labour education. Some saw it as a waste of time, especially for the senior middle school students, others encouraged their students to participate solely with the hope that it would improve their own promotion prospects ... we have achieved a certain success in the past year by convincing teachers of the vital importance of labour education ...".

A study movement involving educational directives, documents and teaching materials had been launched throughout the province to ascertain what should be done. Two texts were particularly important.

One was the 'Instructions on labour education for senior primary and junior middle school students' issued by the Ministry of Propaganda, the other was Ivan Kairov's 'Pedagogy'. In addition to this all educational and Party authorities at every level in the Province were called on to support the local schools and the individual teachers in drawing up plans for the implementation of labour education. The authorities took the lead. Headmasters invited ex-graduates at the production front to return to speak. Local Party committees organised production visits and prepared suitable audio visual and reading materials; they also organised special classes and allocated time off for the teachers to study the relevant materials and texts. Teachers too were encouraged to take a much greater interest in their students' welfare.

"... in our experience in Shandong, the students have benefited in many ways. Where the scheme has been effective they have rectified their incorrect attitudes, they have gained a true understanding of the importance of labouring work, they have come to regard labour education as an integral part of their general education ...".

However, the Education Department had made serious mistakes, which had led to a wide variation in the standard of labour education offered throughout the Province. A large number of pupils and teachers still did not accept the important part to be played by labour education, even in some schools where labour education had a role the part it played was subordinate to academic study. Some schools had gone to the other extreme and had implemented the new measures in an over enthusiastic manner and the Provincial Education Department itself had not exerted detailed supervision over the plans of individual schools.

"... if we are to avoid these mistakes in the future our experience has taught us that we must attend to 3 important points ...

firstly, we must strengthen our leadership over the labour education campaign and make certain that both the teachers and students fully understand its importance ... secondly, we must ensure that each school formulates a plan suitable to the requirement of its students and of the local area ... thirdly, we must not over-stress labour education to the neglect of everything else ...".

During the next 3 years the magazine continued to cover the campaign in some detail. In 1956 it was noted that:

"... in the past 2 years, due to the strengthening of labour education and the realisation of the basic production techniques, the deviation of the divorce of primary and middle school education from production has largely been overcome. But we still lag far behind the achievements of the Old Liberated Areas in integrating education with production, and theory with practice ...". (25)

Those achievements were given national prominence only 18 months later in the Great Leap Forward. If 1950 to 1957 had been the period of the supremacy of the formal full time education system, 1958 was the year in which all the strands of the mass education and part time systems were pulled together and presented to the Chinese people.

The Great Leap Forward

The educational developments in 1958, as accurately recounted in 'People's Education', concentrated almost exclusively on the new reforms in political, labour and literacy education. The last 6 issues of the magazine paid overwhelming attention to the part time system, and references to the formal full time system are difficult to find. The 118 articles are a testament as to how quickly and how totally the educational scene had changed. So dramatic was the change that even the translation agencies selected a large number of articles from the magazine.

According to incomplete statistics, 19 provinces had established 55,361 'people run middle schools' catering for 2,680,000 students in just 2 months. (26) Primary schools had increased in even greater numbers and were to be found in almost every village. The 'agricultural middle schools' had a particularly important role to play.

"... our school based production will have as high a yield as the average yield for the local area and the subject standards in our schools will be on par with those existing in the formal full time middle schools ...". (26)

The two banner headlines in the August issue caught the mood of the time - "Discuss educational work in the Old Liberated Areas" and "Abolish superstition, liberate the mind, be bold in action and reform teaching". For a time it seemed as if the alternative system which had been worked out in Yen'an was about to sweep everything before it. The wheel, however, had only come half circle. (27) Eight years were to pass before Mao launched the Cultural Revolution, and with his accession to power a more successful attempt was made to universalise the Yen'an experience.

Chapter 13 - Notes

- (1) 21-22/10/1957 Xiang Ruoyu "Achievements in worker peasant spare time education in the past 8 years".
- (2) 7-9/9/1950 Editorial "Ideological preparation for the First National Conference on Worker Peasant Education".
- (3) 14/6/1950 Dang Xiaoqun "Introducing the Peking City Experimental Worker Peasant Short Course Middle School".
- (4) 57-59/7/1950 "Old and New".
- (5) 20-21/9/1950 Shanxi Education Department "Some experiences gained in developing workers' spare time education".
- (6) 18-19/9/1950 Sun Wenxu "Questions and answers on workers' spare time education".
- (7) 12-15/2/1951 Li Zhiyuan "Some questions concerning the cultural and educational training of worker peasant cadres".
- (8) 4-5/12/1951 Editorial "Popularise the idea of using revolutionary method to carry out 'people's education' to the fullest extent".
- (9) 48-49/1/1952 Xu Luzhen "The revolutionary method of following the 'mass line' in education".
- (10) 21-22/5/1953 Zhang Liang "There are a lot of bad cadres associated with the worker peasant short course middle schools in Chahar".
- (11) 20/5/1953 Xi Weisan "Correctly implement the policy of affiliating the worker peasant short course middle schools with higher education institutes".

- (12) SCMP 1093, pp 13-14 "Short course middle schools for workers and peasants to suspend enrolling students this year!"
- (13) 16-19/1/1953 Lin Handa "Worker peasant spare time education in the past 3 years".
- (14) The 'quick literacy method' of Qi Jianhua established, as the criteria for basic literacy, the mastery of 1500 characters.
- (15) 13-15/7/1953 Lin Handa "Some problems in worker peasant spare time education".
- (16) 23-25/10/1957 Wen Gemin "Criticise the rightist Lin Handa and discuss the mass line in worker peasant education".
- (17) 36-38/12/1955 Lao Ro "My opinion on raising teaching standards in the workers spare time schools".
- (18) 4-5/12/1955 Editorial "Government and education authorities at all levels must increase their leadership over worker and peasant spare time education".
- (19) 4-6/1/1956 Editorial "Struggle to accelerate the universalisation and elevation of education".
- (20) 13-15/10/1950 Editorial "Great victory on the ideological front".
- (21) 8-9/4/1954 Short Comment "Carry out labour education correctly".
- (22) The 5 articles on labour education were:
 - (a) 7-10/6/1954 Propaganda Department "Summary of a discussion on the participation in production activities by middle school graduates".

- (b) 11-12/6/1954 Dong Quncai "Continue spare time education with full time production involvement".
- (c) 13-14/6/1954 Ye Ming "The problem faced by school graduates in labour activity".
- (d) 15/6/1954 Information Unit "Methods for mobilising graduates to do production work".
- (e) 16-21/6/1954 Zhukov "Labour education in full time schools".
- (24) 27-28/1/1955 Shandong Education Department "The experience of undertaking labour education in our middle schools and normal colleges, and the problems which still exist".
- (25) 5-6/9/1956 Short Comment "Strengthen the integration of education with production".
- (26) 2-3/7/1958 Editorial "Actively develop and greatly strengthen 'people run' schools".
- (27) Analysis of the GLF include:
 - (a) Rewi Alley "Sandan - an adventure in creative education", Christchurch, 1959.
 - (b) Robert Barendsen "Half work half study schools in Communist China", US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1964.
 - (c) Paul Harper "Spare time education for workers in Communist China", US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1964.
 - (d) S Garrett Mc Dowell "Educational reform in China as a readjusting country", 'Asian Survey', March 1971.
 - (e) Abe Munemitsu "Spare time education in Communist China", China Quarterly no. 8.
 - (f) Donald Munro "Maxims and realities of China's educational policy - the half work half study model", 'Asian Survey', 1967, No 4.

Part 4 - "The Advanced Educational Experience
of the Soviet Union" (AEEOSU)

Chapters 14 and 15

Chapter 14 - The Soviet Perspective

Introduction

To the interested observer the bibliographical holdings of 'People's Education' in the Soviet Union and the 'People's Democracies' as listed in Appendix 1 are bound to arouse astonishment. They simply cannot be accurate. And, in addition, surely some of the Soviet educationalists active in China in the 1950s amassed copies of the magazine to form their own private collection.

One should be equally skeptical of the commonly held view that the 'advanced educational experience of the Soviet Union' dominated educational development in the 1950s. It did not. Certainly it was influential in the higher sector but the lower down the educational activity one goes the less influence it had.

Ironically enough a superficial appraisal of the magazine's contents could delude the reader. For almost the entire duration of the series each issue contained a substantial Soviet presence. (1) Two hundred and eighty five articles totalling 1086 pages dealt with the Soviet experience in all its aspects. (2) About 100 Soviet authors and a slightly greater number of Chinese contributed to the debate. (3) Indicative of the importance of the former are the size of their articles; on average articles written by Soviet educationalists were twice as long as those of their Chinese counterparts (101 Soviets contributed 744 pages, 109 Chinese articles totalled only 342 pages). Included in the ranks of both groups were some of the most prominent educationalists of the day ; the famed Soviet pedagogists Pushkin and Kairov, the Minister of Education Tupelova, Zhang Jian, Zheng Jinwu, Zhen Zenggu etc.

With the exception of the articles devoted to 'political education' in its broadest sense no other specific area of educational activity

received such concentrated attention in the magazine.

To deal with such a mass of information a tightly structured examination is required. In the first instance the 'Soviet perspective' will be debated - this will account both for the views expressed by Soviet authors in the magazine on aspects of their own educational system and for their views on its applicability to China. In the second instance the 'Chinese perspective' will examine the Chinese reaction to the Soviet model; it will detail the Chinese response to the Soviet educational system in practice and try to assess its influence in China.

RMJY, Soviet authors and Soviet education

The volume of information contained in 'People's Education' concerning the structure and content of Soviet education, as relayed to Chinese readers by Soviet educationalists, is important in its own right as a detailed study of Soviet educational development.

The variety of that information is noteworthy in itself. Items appeared from Soviet publications such as 'Pravda', 'Soviet Education' 'Teacher's News' and 'Philosophical Problems'. (4) Four directives from the Soviet Ministry of Education were reprinted and the early issues discussed the educational approaches of both Lenin and Krupskaya. (5) (6)

Stalin's death was given massive coverage in the April 1953 issue and his anniversary was celebrated in a eulogistic editorial entitled "Study Stalin's Educational Directives". (7)

"... Stalin saw education as an important engine of social change. He laid great stress on the training of cadres and skilled technical personnel to aid the industrialisation process ... he saw the basic objective of higher education as the training of different specialists with a Marxist-Leninist outlook who were totally devoted to the motherland ... this is in accord with our theory of the General Line ...".

Reviews of Soviet textbooks also received considerable attention. A mixture of Soviet and Chinese contributors reviewed the following books:

"Educational Principles" by Ganchalov.

"Soviet Children's Education".

"Psychology" by Debulov.

"Modern Russian History".

"Ordinary Natural Geography" by Bulavkin.

"Review of Literary Education in Soviet Schools".

"Soviet Teacher's General Psychology".

"School Management".

"Teaching Leadership in Schools".

"History of Education" by Shabayeva.

"Education" by Shebeliev.

"The 5 Makarenko Books".

"The Form Teacher" by Putiliev.

"Extracts from translated Soviet educational directives".

Soviet authors, in the early issues of the magazine, were concerned with matters of educational theory and with ideology. Professor Ganchalov was the first to criticise the influence of pragmatism and his specific attack was repeated in 2 lengthy articles by Melivili at the end of 1951. (8) (9) In the first 8 months the importance of teaching Marxism Leninism properly, the role of the family in the education process and the patriotic duty of primary school teachers and university lecturers were all dealt with. Throughout the campaign against American-subsidised educational institutions the Soviet contribution was constant and critical. (10) A similar fillip was given to the ideological remoulding campaign in 1952. The 19th Congress of the CPSU received attention in the July, August and October issues in 1953 but the 20th Congress received only one reference in the July 1956 issue.

The majority of the articles on the Soviet educational system penned by Soviet authors were designed to explain its workings to the Chinese readership.

The Soviets were as reluctant as the Chinese to deal with pre school provision. What is interesting is that the first article on the primary school system had to wait for the April 1951 issue - the 45th article on the Soviet experience. (11) Eleven months were to elapse before Soviet secondary education was examined. (12) The next 2 years saw only 3 further articles, one on the marking scheme used in

primary and middle schools and two on middle technical schools, and, with the exception of the 2 articles dealing with chemistry and maths teaching in middle schools which appeared in October 1954, the few articles which followed on pre university provision continued to deal with the structure and organisation of the middle technical schools. (13) (14)

The early impact of Soviet influence on Chinese education was heralded by the contributions of the Soviet educationalist Archayev. In June 1950 his article "Questions concerning Teaching and Research Units in Soviet Higher Institutes" was published and then, in July, his June speech to the First All China Higher Education Work Conference was reprinted. (15) Somewhat surprisingly, given the general consensus that the AEEOSU had a massive impact on higher education in China, only 7 articles by Soviet authors explaining the workings of higher education in Russia followed, and none appeared after November 1954. (16)

Their advice to Chinese teachers was profuse. Some 22 articles, by far the largest single contribution, dealt with Soviet teaching experience. Teacher training provision was examined in detail with the relationship of normal colleges and their affiliated middle schools coming in for particularly close scrutiny. Techniques designed to encourage better class participation and classroom control were examined as were the various devices used in the Soviet Union to provide further and in-service training to practising teachers. Sokolov, the Principal of the Leningrad Physical Education Normal College, wrote of his work in July 1951; Popovsky, a member of

the Leningrad Teachers' Further Education College contributed in August 1956 and Tsankov, a Fellow of the Soviet College of Pedagogy had his concluding speech to a recent Conference on Psychology for Teachers summarised in November 1952. (17) Several of this group of articles were devoted to explaining Soviet assessment techniques in general, and the '5 grade' marking scheme in particular and one middle school teacher, Mubarova, wrote at length on her glorious service to the motherland. (18)

Where students were discussed, important practical matters, such as the students' personal hygiene, the organisation of the youth leagues and the proper techniques to use in essay writing were dealt with. Two coherent themes emerged; the importance of school discipline and the problems associated with the overburdening of students.

(19) (20)

What is especially interesting to this researcher are the contributions made by Soviet authors to the debate on labour education and literacy.

Labour education

The appearance of 5 articles in the 3 consecutive months, April, May and June 1954 was not coincidental, as reference to Appendix 6 will show. In the light of the directives on labour education just produced by the New Democratic Youth League and by the Propaganda Department, previous Soviet experience had much to offer China's educational workers. A good example of the 'no nonsense' style favoured by Soviet authors can be found in the May 1954 article by Kasiysky entitled "Organise middle school visits to industry". (21)

"... teaching students to unite theory and practise is one of the most important objectives of our middle school system. From our own experiences, organised middle school visits to industry

are an important method of involving students in the production process ... these visits establish firmly in their young minds, the relationship between scientific and technical knowledge, and the production process, they establish links between the students and the workers and they bring them into contact with outstanding engineers, scientists and designers ... the visits bring the students into contact with the world of work, a world they will soon enter and they assist in the students' political development by enabling them to more fully appreciate the inter-relationship of political theory and economic practice ...".

The author left his Chinese readers in no doubt about the importance of such visits. Teachers had to be committed to the new approach - Soviet teachers carefully selected the places to be visited, they spent a lot of time giving their students plenty of background information and they strove to ensure that everyone had some job to do in the production process. The effects of these visits was cumulative and their regularity demanded attention to detail and proper planning. Kasiysky listed some of the facilities which Soviet teachers had visited with great success : construction sites, transportation units (railway sheds and yards, stations, airports, tram depots, garages), agricultural enterprises (tractor stations, collective farms etc), public utilities such as fire stations, laundries, sewage and water works, power stations, scientific research institutes, laboratories in hospitals and universities, industrial exhibitions and museums and local government departments .

"... it is clear to us that these organised middle school visits to industry play a very important part in both the education of our children and in their political development. Any educational system which ignores this approach is seriously weakened ... ".

Literacy

Of the 3 articles which appeared in 1950 on the Soviet experience in the literacy and adult education fields, the September article by Archayev offered crucial definitions to the readership. (22)

"... in the Soviet Union we have 3 different types of literacy terms: those who can barely read or write and cannot use their fingers to count, those who are basically literate - they can read and write a little but they still cannot express themselves clearly - and the literate ... In China we might list these 3 categories as follows: illiterates are those people who have not attained the primary two standards, those who have basic literacy have achieved a standard somewhere between primary two and primary six levels, while the literates have attained a primary school graduates level ...".

Archayev summarised the Soviet experience in dealing with the problem of illiteracy eradication. The first to be involved in the movement were the workers in the big cities. Later rural areas with dense populations took part. In the beginning the main recipients were in the 14-30 age group with older people being involved later on.

"... I believe that China should adopt our approach. Start on a local, not a national scale and concentrate on young people and factory workers in the urban areas ...".

In his speech to the First National Educational Work Conference in May 1950, which was reprinted in the June edition of 'People's Education', Velikovsky gave a detailed account of Soviet experience in the fields of adult education and teacher training. (23) He was not as insistent as Archayev on the validity of the Soviet educational model for China.

"... I hope that the Russian experiences which I am about to convey to you will not be uncritically accepted; they may be of some guidance and support to you but they cannot be transposed completely ...".

Nevertheless, the comparison between both countries at the time of Liberation was strong. After 1917 the most pressing educational problem faced by the new Soviet government was the eradication of

illiteracy. The illiteracy rate for European Russian males was 64%, for women it was 87% and in the countryside the situation was even worse. In the fulfilment of Lenin's call that every citizen between the ages of 18 to 50 should have the right to be able to read in Russian or in their own national language a crucial role had been played by the Pan Russian Anti Illiteracy Campaign Committee. It had supervised the production and distribution of tens of thousands of printed pamphlets for use in the literacy drive, the contents of which were related to the everyday lives and needs of the people, such as keeping records or writing letters. The message was reinforced by the twice-monthly magazine 'Eradicating Illiteracy' which contained short simple stories on current affairs and politics. At night throughout the country many thousands of large and small groups of illiterates met in homes, schools and halls. By 1933, 90% of Soviet citizens had fulfilled Lenin's wish. It was only with the establishment of an almost universal primary school system in 1941 however, that the remaining hard core of illiterates began to decline.

"... all these various provisions were very successful because the students were keen and had the right political attitude. Furthermore, the careful division of studying and working time and the use of the correct type of materials did much to secure the success of the literacy movement ...".

The articles previously referred to were intent on explaining - and in a few cases promoting - the Soviet educational system to the magazine's readership. But what do we know of the activities of the Soviet experts in China? As yet no competent account of the work done by Soviet experts in China in the 1950s exists. (24) The snippets of work which have been done rest squarely on the laudable efforts of the translation agencies, and give only a hint of the influence exerted by the 1000 or so Russian personnel active in Chinese educational circles in the 1950s. (25)

The arrival in October 1950, for example, of Tupelova, the Vice Minister of Education, might have been expected to catch the attention of the secondary sources. It did not. He did, however, write an article for 'People's Education'. (26)

"... looking back I am reminded of what I saw during my stay in China in October 1949 as a member of the Soviet Cultural Delegation. My memory of that visit will never fade from my mind. Everyone was jubilant, and the effects of the revolution on people's lives were everywhere to be seen: industry was being revived, land reform had begun and the new government was shown in great concern for the people's education ...".

Referring to the role expected of the intellectuals in new China, Tupelova firmly stated his belief in the important part they could play.

"... from the very beginning they have displayed the potential willingness to help in the construction of new China and in striving for a peaceful world ... My dear comrades, please accept my salutations. Long live the Communist Party of China and its great leader, Chairman Mao.

Long live our great leader, Stalin".

His was just one of many visits by Soviet educationalists and delegations. And sometimes 'People's Education' reprinted the insights these visitors had gained into the workings of the Chinese educational system.

In January 1955, for example, the Soviet pedagogist Molnikov, editor of the authoritative 'Primary School Teachers Handbook' wrote about his impressions gathered during a recent visit. (27) He had deliberately chosen only the best primary schools to visit so that he could more accurately judge how far primary school education had advanced in China. (28) And he had not just spoken to the school leaders but had sat in on classes as well. One young biology teacher won special praise. Molnikov had sat in on her lesson dealing with the growth and development of young shoots;

it was so well prepared, delivered and illustrated that he had understood all of the vital points, even though he could not understand Chinese. : He had spent a period with the teacher and her class working outside school, tending the school allotment, feeding the rabbits and watching the children working in the chicken coup.

"... this unification of theory and practise is the basic prerequisite to good teaching ... I think that the experience of this good teacher, together with the priceless contribution which China's 4,000 to 5,000 other distinguished teachers have to offer should be distilled and propagated for the use of all primary school teachers in your country ...".

Molnikov expressed his sympathy for the plight faced by many primary school teachers. The Government simply didn't have enough money to provide the necessary buildings or resources. But temporary arrangements could be used as an interim measure and steps could be taken right away to improve teaching methods.

"... the Ministry of Education should establish a national education research unit to enquire into existing teaching methods, to revise existing textbooks and to compile new ones ... education departments at every level should, together with normal colleges and distinguished teachers, conclude and propagate valuable experience. Conferences of model teachers should be convened and normal colleges should keep close contact with their graduates so as to gain constant feedback about the practical situation ... from now on 'Renmin Jiaoyu' should not just publish general theoretical essays, it should also emphasise the suitability of various teaching materials ...".

This Soviet expert was particularly scathing on what he considered to be the erroneous desire of Chinese teachers to "plough through academic theory". In none of the schools which he had visited were the pupils required to participate in labour or production activities.

Molnikov's article was the exception rather than the rule for many of the remaining contributions were concerned with higher education. An important clutch of 3 articles appeared in the March and April 1955 issues, all penned by Filatov. (29) He had been a member of the Inspection Group organised by the Ministry of Higher Education which had visited Huadong Normal University from the 23rd November to the 29th December 1954. This Group had been charged with investigating the state of affairs in Huadong and in 3 other normal colleges. In particular they were asked to scrutinise the work being done by both the administration and the teaching research group, the teaching methods and the political education courses being taught. His 2 talks to Huadong members of staff were hard hitting and critical of existing practises.

"... I think the present administrative system is seriously at fault, for example, there is no clear division between administrative duties. Each cadre is responsible for the running of several specialities in all their activities and this naturally creates problems; it hinders overall planning and makes it difficult to hold one person accountable for mistakes. The solution is simple; one cadre should be responsible for each of the main functions of the University, administration, research and teaching ... In the University the speciality or department is the basic administrative and teaching unit. If these duties are carried out effectively then the head of each department should be able to give the lead in matters concerning the syllabus, teaching methods and exams; he should lead the research work, establish the correct guidelines for the students ideological education and he should be responsible for organising the teachers and the research group attached to his specialisation ...".

In any study of the importance of the Soviet experts in China 2 men in particular stand high above the others. The influence of both Kairov and Pushkin was so wide that it defies categorisation. Yet they each made their own special impact on the Chinese scene.

Ivan Kairov

Quantitatively Kairov's presence in the magazine was by far the more substantial. As far as we know the President of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR only visited China once, in 1950.

"Sino Soviet Friendship Association Chairman Liu Shao chi received recently from the Educational Minister Kairov a set of teaching equipment and visual teaching materials used in Soviet middle schools. Chairman Liu has presented the gift to the middle school of Peking Normal University and a solemn ceremony was held on the 12th May 1950 at which Soviet ambassador Roschin attended ...". (30)

No other Soviet expert could match the scale of his contributions to 'Renmin Jiaoyu' - he wrote 14 articles totalling 72 pages, and another 12 articles comprising 27 pages analysed his work.

Only 1 Chinese contributor, Zhang Jian could equal his effort.

The majority of Kairov's own articles concerned developments in Soviet education. Practical problems were examined: the importance of regular school inspection, the need for school discipline, the Soviet experience in setting up Pedagogical Research Institutes and the improving of the quality of education in the full time schools. (31)

While Kairov only referred once in his titles to his famous "Pedagogy", all of the 12 articles about him involved an analysis of this influential book in one way or another. In 1951, 4 articles by Zheng Shih claimed an increased understanding of the educational process after reading its first chapter, while items in the 1952 issues testified to the complete translation of the work by Gao Jingzhai. This work was obviously flawed since it was criticised in 'People's Education' for bastardising Kairov's approach and in March 1953 a second translation of "Pedagogy" appeared. (32)

Kairov's influence was manifest in another way. In his "Pedagogy" he had said "... Comansky opposed the ruling principles of the social system of his times and his experiences constitute the most valuable lesson in education ...". In the May 1957 issue 2 articles examined the importance of this 17th Century Czech educationalist so much admired by Kairov. (33)

Pushkin

Ironically enough Kairov's sole appearance in the translation services established a link with his fellow Soviet pedagogist Pushkin; - they were both members of the visiting delegation. Unlike Kairov, however, Pushkin actually stayed in China for a while, from 1952 to 1953 he lectured at Peking Normal University.

'People's Education' marked his departure on the 18th September 1953 with 2 articles outlining his approach to history and geography teaching in the middle school, and thereafter his views were carefully examined and propagated in its columns. (34) Professor Pushkin only wrote 1 article for the magazine while in China, but it was of great importance since it was the authoritative statement on the objectives of Peking Normal University. (35) This article had national significance since the University was the largest of all the teaching colleges and was the national model to follow.

Pushkin first of all criticised teachers for not working hard enough.

"... teachers must work harder and they should not be afraid to exercise their own initiative. Anything which weakens their enthusiasm, especially the harbouring of negative attitudes such as 'I am too tired' or 'I've worked hard enough today', should be vigorously dealt with ...".

Referring to the work of the teaching research group, the professor offered the stinging rejoinder that if they could not complete their work during the daytime then they should work during the night. A manifestation of this laziness was the inability of many Chinese teachers to unify theory and practise.

"... a common complaint made to me by students is that, on graduation, they feel they have learnt little which can be of use to them in the outside world ... normal colleges must take immediate steps to rectify this intolerable situation. In some of the colleges I have visited the lecturers don't even liaise with their affiliated middle schools ...".

A third major criticism of the Chinese teaching profession was that their lessons were boring. Because they had not tried to establish a friendly learning atmosphere - which required hard work on their part - they had succumbed to the evils of bureaucratism, formalism and dogmatism: "... some of the lessons I attended were so boring that I don't know how the students could bear it ...".

All of the problems, according to Pushkin, had arisen because of the very low level of political awareness possessed by the great majority of the teachers.

"... there are basically 2 main groups of teachers; there are the old teachers who have worked most of their lives in old China and now require to undergo extensive ideological remoulding, and there are the young teachers who only have a superficial and theoretical knowledge of socialism ...".

The job of Peking Normal University was to tackle and solve these problems. It had to accumulate work and experience of a high standard, refine it and then disseminate the information as widely as possible.

"... we must never hoard our experiences as is the practise in capitalist countries. We must do all in our power to ensure that teachers contribute in as practical a way as possible to the construction of new China ...".

In maintaining a close liaison with her sister colleges throughout the country, Soviet procedure should be observed: the University should send trained personnel to those institutions requiring help, representatives from the various colleges should meet together regularly to discuss their experiences, (though the meetings should last no more than 3 to 5 days)and the University should require all the normal schools and colleges in China to submit regular reports so that progress could be monitored.

In the work of improving teachers standards, the teaching research group had a vital role to play.

"... these research groups must constantly scrutinise the work being done by teachers and educational officials so that they can root out those who are undisciplined, unprincipled or incompetent ... they must prepare educational plans concerned with the syllabus, organisation and teaching programmes for the following year and they should strive to improve the professional and political standards of all teachers ...".

To avoid any possibility of ambiguity or doubt in the reader's minds Pushkin listed 10 activities specific to the work of the teaching research groups. They are responsible for:

- allocating teachers to do specific tasks
- defining the aims of educational research projects
- striving to improve teachers' professional standards
- inspecting and supervising educational workers
- promoting political education among both staff and students
- providing support for individual teachers
- maintaining close contact with other groups
- exploring ways in which normal education could more closely integrate theory with practice
- publishing magazines and journals
- concluding and propagating the work of the units.

Although Professor Pushkin followed up his ideas with 3 articles early in 1954, all of the essays written on him concerned his attitude to the language issue. (36) He was as critical of language teachers as he had earlier been of the teaching profession in general. In an article entitled "Professor Pushkin speaks on language teaching" he was highly critical of the formal and rigid approach used by many teachers. (37) They had taken the model book 'Red Scarf' and mechanically transposed its recommended procedures onto all of their work. He identified too the confusion which existed in teachers' minds on the correct division between literature and language teaching - many favoured the former and neglected the latter; others ignored the teachers guide which accompanied the set text books and taught only those essays and articles which they liked.

In a sense it is relatively easy to quantify the influence of the Soviet Union on Chinese education in the 1950s. We can calculate the number of articles in RMJY written by Soviet experts like Kairov and Pushkin, we can assess the number of experts active in China and examine the editorials in papers such as 'People's Daily'. It is a totally different matter to try and assess the quality and the impact which the AEEOSU made. Some indication, however, can be gained by examining the Chinese response to the educational advice offered by their Soviet colleagues.

Chapter 14 - Notes

- (1) Appendix 10 contains a graphical account of the 'Soviet presence relative to the total number of pages in each issue. The percentage breakdown on a year by year basis is also given.
- (2) Appendix 11 provides a more detailed analysis of the 1086 pages.
- (3) Appendix 12 lists as many of the Soviet names as I could find, together with the characters on which I based their transliteration (with the help of James White).
- (4) 34-35/1/1953 'Pravda' "Improve the people's educational work".
21-22/6/1955 'Pravda' "Popularise evening universities and correspondence education".
26-32/8/1950 'Soviet Education' "The criticism and self criticism of the supporters of Burhvikov".
33-35/8/1950 'Soviet Education' "Discussion on several lessons learned from Professor Ganchalov's book 'Education Principles'".
43-46/8/1952 'Soviet Education' "Strengthen self discipline".
31-32/12/1954 'Teacher's News' "The power of the teacher's collective leadership".
50-51/7/1955 'Teacher's News' "Student regulations".
21-25/2/1955 'Philosophical Problems' "On some philosophical questions relating to the study of psychology".
- (5) The 4 Directives were:
9-12/9/1953 "On strengthening school discipline".
41/1/1954 "Order to prohibit students from being overburdened with work".

16-20/2/1955 "Programme of the teaching scheme and the syllabus taught in primary schools, seven year schools and secondary schools in the academic year 1954-1955".

20-26/11/1955 "The new teaching scheme, teaching programme, textbooks and methods used in primary schools, seven year schools, and secondary schools in the academic year 1955-1956".

(6) 28-32/7/1950 Novikov "Krupskaya discusses the formation of the communist internationalist outlook through the teaching process".

29-34/10/1950 Mikandeliev "Krupskaya on work done outside the school".

24/4/1951 "'On people's education' - a short extract from Lenin's diary".

(7) 5-6/3/1954.

(8) 38-43/5/1950 Ganchalov "A criticism of education based on pragmatism and experimentation".

(9) 37-45/12/1951 Melivili "The reactionary philosophy of imperialism - pragmatism Part 1".

39-44/1/1952 Melivili "The reactionary philosophy of imperialism - pragmatism Part 2".

(10) 42-45/12/1950 Lovstin "The fascist American university educational system".

50-53/1/1951 Nussenbaum "The anti scientific and reactionary nature of American secondary education".

(11) 35-43/4/1951 Karpova "Primary Education in the Soviet Union".

(12) 23-24/3/1952 Talabkin "The structure of Soviet middle technical schools".

35-40/3/1952 Novikov "The work plan for Soviet primary and middle schools".

- (13) 40-46/5/1953 Talabkin "An examination of the work done by primary and middle school students using the '5 grade' marking system as the criteria".

27-33/11/1952 "The teaching scheme in Soviet middle technical schools".

36-44/1/1953 Skutkin "Several problems in middle technical schools".

- (14) 61-63/10/1954 Kalitkin "Speech on maths teaching in middle schools".

65-66/10/1954 Tsvetikov "Speech on chemistry teaching in middle schools".

- (15) 34-36/6/1950, 25-27/7/1950.

- (16) Three of the articles examined the workings of specific institutions - Alma Ata in July 1951 (42-43), Moscow University in December 1952 (54-55), The Soviet Academy of Science in November 1954 (24-29), - 2 were concerned with correspondence courses (28/3/1953)(36/12/1953), 1 gave details of political education courses (17-23/9/1951) while the last, by the noted Soviet adviser Fomin, gave details of reform being enacted in Soviet higher education (10-11/9/1952).

- (17) 44-46/7/1951, 38-39/8/1956, 34-36/11/1952.

- (18) 35-39/7/1956, Mubarova "My work as a class teacher".

- (19) 16-21/9/1953 Sukhomlinsky "Methods used to train students in exercising self discipline".
- 15-17/5/1954 Tukhachev "The significance of nurturing the discipline of hard work in Soviet schools".
- (20) 46-48/1/1954 Popov "On the phenomenon of too much homework which puts the student under stress".
- 49-51/1/1954 Sukhomlinsky "How to solve the problem of giving the students too much homework".
- (21) 12-14/5/1954.
- The other 4 articles were:
- (a) 46-47/4/1954 Putilev "Develop the students' communist attitude towards labour and public property".
- (b) 48-50/4/1954 Lyubimova "How to train students to prepare for their future work".
- (c) 10-11/5/1954 Fatalova "The importance of student participation in agricultural production".
- (d) 16-21/6/1954 Zhukov "Labour education in general schools".
- (22) 10-13/9/1950 Archayev "Answer the questions raised about the eradication of illiteracy and the development of worker peasant education".
- (23) 37-39/6/1950 Velikovsky "Adult education and teacher training in the Soviet Union".
- (24) An assortment of works of various quality exists which includes:
- (a) Klochko "Soviet scientist in China", Hollis and Carter, London 1964.
- (b) Zagoria "Sino Soviet conflict 1956/1961", Oxford UP 1962.
- (c) Bigelow "Some comparative reflections on Soviet and Chinese higher education", Comparative Education Review, Feb 1961.

- (d) Fraser "Sino Soviet educational cooperation" from "Governmental Policy and International Education", New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1965.
- (25) Throughout the 1950s a smattering of interesting information on the activities of the Soviet experts appeared. Some insight into the value of their particular contributions may be gained by examining Appendix 13 .
- (26) 16/10/1950 Tupelova "Long live the friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union".
- (27) 23-26/1/1955 Molnikov "Opinions gained from a visit to China and my appraisal of the work being done there".
- (28) These were primary schools affiliated to the normal universities.
- (29) (a) 19-21/3/1955 Filatov "Speech to a meeting of Huadong Normal University Teachers, 8th December 1954".
- (b) 22-25/3/1955 Filatov "Speech at a seminar in Huadong Normal University, 2nd December 1954".
- (c) 14-21/4/1955 Filatov "Report given in answer to questions on teaching methods raised at Huadong Normal University".
- (30) SQMP 104, p 22. This is the only reference to Kairov which appears in the translation agencies reports 1950 to 1958.
- (31) 24-25/5/1954 Kairov "The main tasks of school inspection".
- 59-61/1/1956 Kairov "Reinforcing self discipline in schools".
- 4-7/2/1957 Kairov "The Soviet experience in setting up Pedagogical Research Institutes".
- 4-9/3/1953 Kairov "On the problems of improving the quality of education in Soviet full time schools".

- (32) (a) 27-28/5/1952 Ma Jixiung "Some serious mistakes in Gao Jingzhai's translation of 'Pedagogy'".
- (b) 55-56/3/1953 Zhen Xia "A brief introduction to the second translation of Kairov's 'Pedagogy'".
- (33) 36-38/5/1957 Fu Rengan "Some of the important educational ideas propagated by Comansky".
- 39-40/5/1957 Jaworska "Comansky - democrat, patriot , humanist".
- (34) 16-18/8/1951 Wang Junheng "Professor Pushkin's approach to geography teaching in middle schools".
- 19-21/8/1953 Lu Min "Professor Pushkin's approach to history teaching in middle schools".
- (35) 8-13/10/1952 Pushkin "The objectives of Peking Normal University and the work of the teaching research group".
- (36) Puskin's 3 articles were:
- (a) 30-32/1/1954 "Talk on work content and instruction methods".
- (b) 8-10/2/1954 "How can a normal college draft its working programme for the session?".
- (c) 52-55/2/1954 "In order to study well the student must be able to work on his own".
- (37) 35-36/10/1953 by Ye Zhanqin.

Chapter 15 - The Chinese response

In statistical terms the Soviet contribution to RMJY was immense. The degree to which the educational system, in all its facets, was receptive to the guidance on offer is altogether more difficult to determine. The general assessment to date is that the Soviet model was most influential in the higher educational sector. But this generalisation doesn't mean that Soviet influence was manifest in equal measure in all higher institutes on a national scale. It also neatly sidesteps the problem of trying to evaluate the Soviet impact further down, in the primary and middle schools and in the literacy and spare time programmes.

A variety of techniques can be used to gauge the Chinese response.

Firstly, we can examine the 'visible' way in which China's educational workers reacted to the Soviet influence by analysing the contents of RMJY, the public events which surrounded the Soviet presence, the delegations sent to study the Soviet educational system, the translation of Soviet teaching materials and the student/teacher interchange. (A)

Secondly, we can examine the justification used by the Chinese authorities in their adaptation of the Soviet experience and the more obvious manifestations of this approach - the 'learn from Russia' units and the spread of the Russian language. (B)

Thirdly, we can analyse their critical response to the implementation of the Soviet model in China. (C)

(A)

Compared with the massive Soviet presence, very few articles about the Soviet educational system written by Chinese authors appeared in 'People's Education'. The topics which were dealt with were of a

practical and informative nature, such as the workings of the '5 grade' marking system. (1) In February 1951 an important article by Zheng Jinwu related the experiences he had had during a visit to the Soviet Ministry of Education from the 4th to 8th September 1950. (2) The Chinese delegation had met with the Deputy Minister of Education Jimalin and 2 of his senior officials and had discussed the whole range of Soviet higher educational activity. Their Soviet hosts had explained the size, course content and administrative structure of the 3 different types of Soviet higher institutes - 33 general universities, 75 technical universities and 768 specialist institutes and schools - and had laid great stress on the importance of senior middle school students participating in production. The system of student assessment and student grants was examined and Zheng concluded his article with a study of the arduous requirements made of Soviet PhD students - a world wide phenomenon apparently.

Five years were to pass before a similarly detailed report gave information about the minutiae of the Soviet primary and middle school system. And, as with the 1950 visit, the delegation involved, although substantial in size and fully referred to in the pages of RMJY, does not seem to have been picked up by any other source, including the translation services. (3) Invited by the Ministry of Education, the delegation spent 2 months in the Soviet Union (from the 9th October to 18th December 1955) making a series of inspection tours which covered Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tibilitsi and New Siberia. During their stay they listened to 18 reports on the workings of the Soviet system, attended more than 30 talks, visited 25 primary and middle schools, sat in on classes for a total of more than 90 hours and met on more than 150 occasions with headmasters, teachers and

students. (4) A wealth of information had been obtained and it was collated under 4 main headings: technical education, teaching practice, teacher training and school administration and leadership. On the instructions of the Chinese Ministry of Education all the members of the delegation spent January 1956 touring the country presenting their reports in primary in middle schools in the hope that:"... the different local education departments and teachers will fully recognise the great significance of the study trip and earnestly listen to the delegates report ...". (5)

There were 2 main objectives to the delegation's visit - to selectively learn from the educational experience of the Soviet Union with regard to their full time general, technical and normal schools, and to further promote the friendly ties which already existed between the Chinese teachers and their Soviet counterparts. The March editorial which introduced the whole series of reports offered a succinct resume of the justification for the delegations' visits. (5)

"... ever since the establishment of the People's Republic of China our educational workers, led by the Chinese Communist Party, have implemented the policy of 'learning the advanced Soviet educational experience'. A large part of our undoubted progress to date is the result of this learning. For several years now, through those Soviet experts who have come to our country and from Soviet educational publications, we have learned all aspects of Soviet experience in the fields of educational theory, administration, teaching material and course content ... this is the first time that we have organised a teachers inspection tour of the Soviet Union to study Soviet conditions at first hand ... Since their time was limited the delegation proceeded selectively in accordance with those most pressing needs in our primary and middle school sectors : general technical education, the quality of teachers, normal education and administration and leadership ".

I General technical education

Defining general technical education as giving students the ability to "... recognise, on both the theoretical and practical levels, all the stages of production ...", the editorial admitted that primary and middle schools had neglected the latter aspect. To rectify the situation not only was a completely new course on the basic laws of modern production required, but also the technical and practical element in all the existing courses had to be strengthened. The new course would have to include a basic knowledge of mechanics and of technological change and an understanding of the ways in which production was organised. The acquisition of production technique would involve statistical and experimental work, physical labour in the factories and farms and practice in the installation of machinery. In the Soviet Union the implementation of this approach had necessitated substantial reforms; the general school syllabus had to be completely revamped so that the teachers could more closely relate their teaching to the new requirements, a new subject dealing with technology was introduced and small factories within schools sprang up to encourage both production and experimental work.

The delegation had been particularly impressed with the work being done in the Ukraine. In order to prepare the students for the production front the Ukrainian authorities had laid great stress on vocational training in both their primary and middle schools. The use of production specialists in the classroom, the participation of students in intensive and compulsory extra-curricular labour activities and the lengthening of the schooling period to 10 years were all utilised to equip all senior middle school graduates with the skills of an intermediate technologist. Admittedly opinion even within the Soviet Union was divided about the experiment, but Zhen Zenggu welcomed their pioneering efforts, which highlighted the existing inadequacies in China.

"... after studying the contents and the spirit of general technical education we now fully realise how much, in our own primary and middle schools, we have only taught our students to recognise certain natural and social laws; Soviet schools teach their students to recognise the basic laws of production as well. If we are to implement this system great changes in our own primary and middle schools will be required ...". (4)

The March editorial stated the same point just as emphatically.

"... our previous understanding of general technical education was comparatively abstract and naive ... the thorough study of its theory and practice as applied in the Soviet Union and as relayed by the delegations' reports will enable us to conquer the conservative attitude, which maintains that we do not yet have the necessary conditions for its realisation. It will also help us combat the other approach which encourages technical specialisation at too early a stage and thus neglects the importance of the general and systematic scientific education which is the necessary foundation for all general technical education ... The implementation of general technical education in the USSR has come a long way. Now, just as we are beginning to implement it ourselves, if we take the Soviet experience to heart we must surely make fewer mistakes and walk a straighter road".

II Teachers

In his report, Zhen Zenggu expressed deep approval for the industry and commitment of the Soviet teachers he had met. He explained their success in the following ways. Firstly they prepared their lessons thoroughly, secondly they stressed all the key points in their lessons so that the students at least had a grasp of the basics, thirdly they emphasised the importance of pupils learning to think for themselves through their own observations and fourthly they reiterated the need for constant and rigorous revision.

"... the Soviet teachers lectures are strongly systematic and logically thought out. They are able, through questioning and experiments, to inspire their students to analyse problems for themselves and to reach their own conclusions ...". (4)

Acidly commenting on the formal and dull teaching approaches of Chinese teachers, the March editorial had this to say.

"... at first sight it might seem that we had long ago assimilated these praiseworthy features of the Soviet system. But it is one thing to have learned these principles from books; it is quite another to correctly, systematically and continually apply this approach in each and every classroom situation. In practice, not only are there many teachers who are unable to apply these principles but there are also a large number who do not even agree that it is in fact correct and relevant for them to do so...".

In the Soviet Union a factor of decisive importance in maintaining the commitment and industry of the teachers was the role of head-teachers. An important aspect of their job was the constant inspection of the teachers under their control. They were responsible for giving the teachers specific instructions about what they should teach and the standards they were required to attain. They were expected to sit in on lessons and to give reports at staffroom meetings on the performance of individual teachers.

"... only a serious study of the various reports of the delegation can help us overcome the emptiness of our own teaching methods manifest in rote learning, the disparity between theory and practice and our students' inability to consolidate knowledge. The headmasters and teachers in our primary and middle schools must intensively study the work done by their Soviet counterparts and they must seriously examine the teaching going on in their own schools and classrooms ...". (5)

III Teacher training

High teaching standards in Russia were maintained by an excellent teacher training programme, reinforced by constant in-service training. Because teachers were held in high regard normal colleges could choose from a large pool of well qualified middle school graduates.

Every 5 years practising teachers had to undergo short refresher courses and while teaching they had to attend tutorials every couple of months.

"... in our country the task of teacher training and raising the standards of practising teachers is an enormous one; moreover, the scale and quality of our normal education has lagged far behind our educational requirement and, as far as in service training is concerned, our provision is almost non existant ...". (5)

IV Administration and leadership

A great advantage of the Soviet approach was the element of control and accountability it had over teachers at every level.

"... in the local education departments the most important officials are the school inspectors. During our visit to the offices of the Leningrad Education Department, 6 of its 7 inspectors were out visiting schools and the 7th, though present, was too busy writing up his reports to see us ...". (5)

Soviet inspectors and headmasters were assisted in their monitoring tasks by the in service provision. Normal colleges, in liaison with area teaching committees and individual school teaching committees, regularly assessed teaching methods and teacher competency. College lecturers regularly visited schools, sat in on classes and helped teachers with their difficulties.

And all the time the work of both the lecturers and the teachers was being assessed by the Inspectorate. At every level, from the Soviet Ministry of Education down to the local education department there was a hierarchy of inspectors, each lower level being subordinate to the next higher level.

"...the outstanding feature of this system is the guaranteed penetration of the grassroots by the very highest levels, in this way leading educational cadres are all the time fully aware of the existing situation in the schools and they are thus able to avoid the twin evils of dogmatism and bureaucratism ...".(4)

Both the April and May 1956 issues were dominated by the reports of the various members of the delegation. The March editorial gave promise of even greater cooperation in the future.

"... all our primary and middle school teachers should now pay attention. We have issued an invitation for Soviet teachers to visit us and we are looking forward to seeing them soon. We must strive to welcome our Soviet colleagues with news of our latest results and successes obtained from applying the advanced Soviet experience ...".

The Russian delegation visited from the 18th April to the 25th May and toured educational facilities in Peking, Shanghai, Hangzhou and Guangzhou. Again the visit was not picked up by any other source.

"... during their stay the delegation propagated a fuller understanding of the advanced Soviet experience to their Chinese friends. They compiled many reports on important educational issues relating to school administration, teaching methods, the publication of new educational materials and the organisation of pedagogical research ... in the near future our magazine will publish all of these reports, so that our readers can for themselves become acquainted with the valuable experiences we have already gained ...". (6)

While 'People's Education' gave due attention to the importance of these delegations, interestingly enough it was noticeably reticent in dealing with the activities of one organisation designed to foster emulation of the Soviet Union, an organisation whose activities attracted substantial attention from the translation services - the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. No article heading included the 'SSFA' in its title; the only 'visible' reference which appeared concerned the November 1952 editorial, "Advance one step further in learning the advanced Soviet experience", written to mark Sino-Soviet month.(7) According to this editorial, opposition to the imitation of the advanced Soviet experience in the field of teaching methods, pedagogy and school

organisation was evidence of the continued and substantial bourgeois influence which still invaded the minds of Chinese educational workers. Three main areas where the Soviet lead could be taken were specified.

Firstly, an imitation of the Soviet model would place the educational system firmly at the service of the masses of workers and peasants. Secondly, Soviet teaching materials could be used in China to great effect: "... Soviet specialists possess a wide knowledge and experience of compiling textbooks and materials for every level. On the one hand we are inexperienced in the field while on the other we do require, in our primary and middle schools and in our universities, teaching and learning materials of very high academic standards. What we have to do, therefore, is to use the Soviet teaching materials as models and, taking into account the actual situation in our country, rewrite our own textbooks ...". Thirdly, we have to unite theory and practice.

'Renmin Jiaoyu' did not contain much information about the suitability of Soviet teaching materials. Occasionally references would be made in an article to their applicability but no specific or coordinated series of articles examined the nature of the Soviet contribution in this important area. (8) The magazine did, however, mark other important developments in Sino Soviet educational relations. In November 1954, for example, it included 2 articles to mark the opening in Peking in October of the Exhibition of the Economic and Cultural Achievements of the Soviet Union. (9) According to the editorial, in following the advanced Soviet lead, Chinese teachers should pay attention to 2 matters of pressing concern. In the general revision of materials which the Ministry of Education was just about to undertake, Soviet teaching materials would be used as the guide and teachers were urged to submit their reactions to this

proposal quickly. Also, they were enjoined to follow the Soviet lead which stressed the importance of political education in schools.

"... although our Soviet comrades had their revolution more than 30 years ago they still insist on strengthening their students political knowledge: they lay constant stress on the importance of discipline, labour education, collective effort and patriotism. We should be alarmed at the present time because our own students most definitely lack self discipline and a proper attitude towards labour and they cannot, in any favourable way, be compared with their Soviet peers ...".

(B)

The previous work in this section and the relevant Appendices testify to the quantity of the work produced and to the quality of the people committed to propagating the advanced Soviet educational experience. There is no doubt that the authorities eagerly accepted whatever help was given. A short comment of December 1952 reflected this feeling when it urged further encouragement of all those who were trying to master the advanced Soviet experience. (10).

"... we should reward these committed educationalists in a variety of ways ... and we should publicise their experiences. Magazines like 'People's Education' and local and national newspapers should publish reports on those schools and teachers which have successfully used Soviet teaching methods. Conferences and forums should also be held at which model teachers can give the benefit of their advice to other educational workers ...".

Students were not exempt from the emulation campaign. In March 1954 Chinese students were urged to follow the glorious example of their Soviet counterparts and go into the border regions and virgin areas to work. (11)

"... just recently, in order to increase the amount of land available for cultivation, the Soviet Government invited its people to enter into pioneering work in the East and South East. In only

a few days more than 25,000 young students applied to participate ... although developments in our programmes of political education are undeniable, we have failed to pay proper attention to labour education: too many of our teachers still advise their students to proceed on to further education ... It is no surprise, therefore, that a large number of our primary and middle school graduates still despise labour and the labouring people ... our young people should follow the glorious example of Russian youth; they should spearhead the attempt to open up our underdeveloped regions and thus bring prosperity to the whole country ...".

Two devices in particular were used to help propagate Soviet influence. Firstly, the teaching of Russian expanded massively and it was dealt with both in the magazine and in the translation services. (12) Secondly, the work of the 'Learn from Russia' units which were attached to some education departments, in the Luxun Dairen area in particular, were given prominence in the columns of 'Renmin Jiaoyu' and these haven't been referred to elsewhere. (13) The North East seems to have been particularly receptive to the Soviet message. The Harbin Technical Institute was a model of specialisation in higher education and we know that in August 1954 the Ministry of Higher Education called a conference at the Dairen Technical College specifically to discuss the most effective ways of applying the Soviet pedagogical approach in China. (14)

Early attempts in the magazine to propagate the Soviet approach laid a heavy emphasis on the long period of transition and the large amount of work that was required.

"... the elimination of illiteracy in China will be both difficult and long term. In the Soviet Union 30 years of very hard work were necessary. We should follow the Soviet lead and work patiently and tirelessly to ensure that our people are taught not only to read and write but to possess the correct political approach as well ". (15)

In order to justify the halt to primary and middle school development which took place in the 1950s Minister of Education Zhang Xiruo, addressing the NPC in July 1955 said:

"... cultural and educational activities can only progress on the foundation of expanded production. In the Soviet Union, for a long period after the October Revolution, educational spending was curtailed so that all the nation's strength could be devoted to the task of socialist construction ...". (16)

References to Soviet historical experience frequently appear in the magazine. And for good reason. Educational workers were reminded not to expect too much too soon; of necessity educational development was a long term affair which could only be harmed by over hasty activities on the one hand, and too passive and conservative an attitude from teachers on the other. The May 1954 editorial is a good example of the way in which Soviet historical experience was used to convince Chinese teachers of the need for change and its necessarily long gestation period. (17)

"... the realisation of educational opportunities depends both on the demand and on the resources and facilities available. If production does not increase substantially in our country then we will not be able to universalise primary education or to expand middle school provision ... it took the Soviet Union more than 20 years to establish a nationally effective system of primary schooling and even longer than that for middle schools to be set up in most rural areas. Their progress was built squarely on an increase in production; in 1932 for example, the production figures were 300% greater than the 1913 figures ... our country will proceed on the same road and it will obviously take us a long time before we begin to achieve comparable results. It will be impossible for the next few years to expand educational opportunities to the extent that all primary and middle school graduates will be able to proceed on to further education. And even when we universalise middle schooling we will still require large numbers of graduates to go directly to the production front ...".

This reference to the AEEOSU therefore provided the Chinese with a criteria against which they could measure their own advance. A study of Soviet educational development could provide both information on tried and tested methods set in the proper time scale. In the transition period in China, as in the Soviet Union, education would have to respond as best it could without relying on massive state financing. A study of Soviet experience also helped combat the bourgeois inclinations still evident in the attitudes and habits of so many teachers.

"...after Liberation, because we did not have any ready plans to transform our old capitalist, bourgeois education system into a socialist education system, we have been saddled with the continued presence of many of the old corrupt ideas ... the continuation of the old bourgeois ideology manifests itself most forcefully in the continued opposition within educational circles at all levels to the implementation of revolutionary methods and to the assimilation of the advanced Soviet educational experience ...". (18)

The study of the Soviet educational experience, with its continued emphasis on the long term nature of things would help contain the frustration and over expectation of many teachers dissatisfaction with both the spread and quality of existing educational provision. Great advances would be made, but it would take time.

"... we must not think that all the problems we face are unique. they have all been faced by Soviet educationalists - and conquered; we must benefit from their long term experience ...". (6)

(C)

In assessing the Chinese reaction to the influence of the Soviet model, 2 points of view are generally propounded. Firstly, there are those who argue that Chinese educational workers, especially in the higher levels, blindly followed the Soviet lead and paid little attention to the actual conditions prevailing. Secondly there are those

who believe that where the effects of the implementation of the model were criticised those involved were 'bourgeois rightists'. Both viewpoints contain elements of truth. With its emphasis on specialisation the Soviet model, as propagated in China particularly through institutes like the Chinese People's University, did make a substantial impact. (19) The majority of Soviet experts were active in the higher sphere, and all of the students sent abroad for post graduate study and further education were, by the very nature of their training, higher students. And it is true to say that during the political campaigns of 1951/1952, and of 1956/1957, the effect of the Soviet model in China was vociferously criticised by academics later accused of rightism.

As the evidence offered in the columns of the magazine indicates, the proper analysis of the situation lies somewhere between the two views. Chinese educationalists were from the earliest days aware of the need to select items of value from the Soviet experience and apply them with due care and consideration to the situation existing in China. This awareness of the problem was reinforced by the willingness of the magazine and its contributors to criticise the 'dogmatism' all too evident at times in the way in which educational workers were applying the Soviet model at the local level. At the lower levels the problem was summed up in the March 1956 editorial. (5)

"... for some years now we have obtained good results from learning and applying the advanced Soviet experience and, generally speaking, most primary and middle school teachers have benefited from this approach. The main problem we face in our present situation, however, is that of mechanically implementing the Soviet experience in our schools without paying due regard to the general situation, or the particular problem faced at the local level ...

to avoid repeating such mistakes our teachers must fully digest the Soviet teachers' experiences; they must become imbued with the Soviet spirit and they should fully digest the delegation reports extracting those items of real importance, and correctly applying them to the context of the prevailing situation in their schools and classes ...".

A similarly critical view was taken in that July's editorial. (6)

"... although a long time ago we overcame the problem you now face, teachers should avoid the mistaken belief that all Soviet experience is good for China. You should not accept the total applicability of all soviet experience in such an uncritical manner...!"

The dangers inherent in the teachers' uncritical acceptance and blanket implementation of Soviet measures were perceived very early on by the City of Dairen Education Department. (20)

"... in all aspects of our learning from the Soviet Union we should be creative and not mechanistic. We must apply their lessons on the basis of the actual situation which exists in our country. We should also realise that we cannot integrate Soviet theory with Chinese practise overnight ...".

According to local reports, Dairen schools had implemented the 'five linked' method of teaching in too vigorous and formal a way. By rigidly sticking to the preordained order of things - organise teaching, review and restudy, teaching new lessons, revise, prepare lessons - teachers had become boring, lessons were dull and students health and enthusiasm was beginning to suffer under the crushing weight of all the work they had to do.

At the higher level the problems encountered in following the Soviet example were fully discussed by Zhang Jian in February 1955. (21)

Zhang was fulsome in his praise for the lead given to higher institutes. Soviet development had stressed the key areas which required attention : the twinning of subject expertise with political compet-

ence, the integration of theory and practice, of mental and manual work, the importance of the leading role of the teachers, the necessity for students to be able to work on their own, and the strong control exercised by the CP over all of the activities of the higher institutes. But serious mistakes had been committed. Many teachers had dogmatically implemented the advanced Soviet experience without paying due regard to national and local considerations. Too many higher teachers were prepared to accept all the advice given to them by Soviet experts and they used Soviet teaching materials without taking the interests or abilities of their students into account. At the other extreme some teachers over stressed the importance of the national and local situation and did not attempt to apply the Russian example to their work.

Selective use of the experiences on offer was the key to success. China was different and certain indigenous factors had to be taken into account. In the Soviet Union, for example, they had increased student numbers rapidly by opening more institutes. But in China this was not necessary. Most of her existing institutions had been underutilised and could easily cope with a substantial increase. China too could not afford the 5, 6 or 7 years taken in the Soviet Union to train higher and post graduate students. Four years study was the absolute maximum. In matters of ideological reform too, the Chinese approach was different. The CPC, unlike the CPSU had spent a considerable period of active revolution before it had achieved control of the country. It therefore had its own identifiable approach to the problem of dealing with the intellectuals.

Some of the same points were raised shortly afterwards in a September 1956 article, based on the results of a Chinese teachers' delegation to East Germany.⁽²²⁾ The report on the visit by Xiao Jingruo dealt with 3 main

themes: the implementation of the mass line in education, the integration of theory and practice and the raising of educational standards. To this list, the short comment which introduced the report added a fourth - the problem of learning from international advanced experience and of marrying it up with the Chinese practical situation. The dogmatic way in which the advanced Soviet experience had been implemented in China was a complete negation of Chairman Mao's call to integrate it with the real conditions existing. The different conditions should be reflected in the syllabus, teaching methods and course content used in schools and colleges at every level. Yet even Chinese written biology textbooks dealt with Russian and not Chinese earthworms, botany books dealt with Soviet pears and not Chinese peanuts, geography books concentrated on Siberia and neglected to deal with the problems of China's own border regions.

An indication of the importance attached by Western sources to the criticism of the Soviet model in China during the anti rightist campaign, is the fact that 2 important articles in the 'Renmin Jiaoyu' were captured by the translation services. (23) An important omission on their part was the criticism of Zhen Yousong, Deputy Head of the Education Department of Peking Normal University. (24) Using the invitation offered by the opportunity to let "100 flowers bloom" he had, on the 30th April, delivered a lecture to the staff of the university entitled "Dogmatism and bureaucratism in education". The substance of Zhen's attack was that the Soviet practice was of too temporary a nature to be of much use to China, that the pedagogical approach advocated by Kairov was totally unsuited to China's needs and that the Soviet Union paid little heed to the obvious and harmful

effects which her approach was having when mechanically adopted by the Chinese.

Zhen Yousong's attack was too bitter and general a response. He was criticised and dismissed. But the message he conveyed would have struck a quiet note of response in the minds of many of China's educational workers. Both the old school who owed allegiance to the old ways and the radicals dissatisfied with the slow and rigid pace of development, were uneasy about the effects of the Soviet model. For the latter, the debunking of the AEEOSU during the Great Leap Forward was the first sizable step to the implementation of the Yen'an experience on a national scale. For the former, the situation could only get worse and worse.

Chapter 15 - Notes

- (1) 41-48/8/1950 Ge Tienmin "Introducing the Soviet '5 grade' marking system".
- (2) 24-28/2/1951 Zheng Jinwu "Introduction to Soviet higher education".
- (3) One of the members of the delegation, Zhang Lianfeng wrote an article in "Primary School Teachers Bulletin" entitled "The Soviet Teachers I Have Seen". This was picked up and translated by Gordon White in 'Chinese Education' Winter 1979-1980.
- (4) 9-22/4/1956 Zhen Zenggu "General report on our educational visit to the Soviet Union".
- (5) 4-5/3/1956 Editorial "Seriously study the Report of the Primary and Middle School Teachers Delegation to the Soviet Union and diligently study the advanced Soviet experience".
- (6) 14/7/1956 Short Comment "We must seriously study the reports of the Soviet educational delegation".
- (7) 4-5/11/1952.
- (8) A substantial amount of work was going on in this field, however, work which the translation services were particularly keen to publicise. Headings such as "The 1953 Plan of translation of Soviet teaching materials overfulfilled by 29.6%" (SCMP 749 p14) catch the eye. It is important to note that in May 1952 the Ministry of Education set up its own Translation Unit while in January 1956 the 'Journal of Educational Translation', published by the People's Educational Publishing House, first appeared "... to introduce the latest Soviet essays on educational science and the advanced experience of Soviet

teachers ...". (CB 387 p17).

- (9) (a) 5-6/11/1954 Editorial "Thoroughly understand Soviet internationalism , proceed one step further in learning the advanced Soviet educational experience".
(b) 45-48/11/1954 Lian Feng "The brilliant example set by a great socialist country".
- (10) 23/12/1952 Short Comment "Encourage those educationalists who are trying to master the advanced Soviet educational experience".
- (11) 7/3/1954 Editorial "Educate our new generation using Soviet youth as the model ".
- (12) See especially the following secondary items.
 - (a) SCMP 114, p 13 "Establishment of Russian language schools and classes in China".
 - (b) SCMP 504 pp 29-31 "Preliminary experiences gained in Qinghua University in the rapid method for reading Russian technical publications".
 - (c) SCMP 647 pp 33-34 "Ministry of Higher Education calls 2nd National Conference on Teaching of the Russian Language".
 - (d) SCMP 1268 p 15 "Conference to examine and map out pedagogical outlines for Russian Language Institutes opens".
- (13) (a) 53-58/11/1954 Luxun Dairen Education Department, 'Learn from Russia' Unit "How Soviet chemistry teachers guide their students in a systematic and unified way".
(b) 54-58/1/1956 "The experience of Luxun 1st Middle School in teaching 'The Constitution'".

(c) 46-50/3/1956 "History teaching experience in Luxun 1st Middle School".

- (14) SCMP 885, p9, Occasionally secondary sources would pick up vital pieces of information not dealt with. In April 1953, for example, classes to introduce Soviet experience were opened by the Ministry of Education in Peking. Taught by Soviet experts, the initial classes were attended by more than 1200 people comprising representatives from both Ministries and the Peking City Education Department, and leading primary and middle school officials.
- (15) 9-11/1/1951 Editorial "The second year in the construction of the people's educational system.
- (16) 12-14/9/1955 "Speech to the second session of the First National People's Congress".
- (17) 5-6/5/1954 Editorial "Emphatically guide school leavers to participate in industrial production".
- (18) 4-5/11/1952 Editorial "Advance one step further in learning the advanced Soviet experience".
- (19) Both the RMJY and the translated sources contain a substantial amount of information about the Chinese People's University.
- (20) 42-47/10/1950 City of Dairen Education Department "Overcome the problem of formalism when learning from the Soviet Union".
- (21) 4/9/1956 Short Comment "A problem to which attention should be paid".

- (22) 47-51/9/1956 Xiao Jingruo "Three points to understand when examining the educational work done in the German Democratic Republic".
- (23) (a) 16-18/8/1954 Zhang Jian "Are the achievements of Soviet experience still not essential for us to study ?".
(ECMM 105 pp 8-15).
- (b) 11-13/10/1957 Zhen Xuanshan "The great achievements in higher normal education in the past 8 years cannot be denied" (ECMM 135 pp 30-36).
- (24) 30-31/10/1957 Gu Mingyuan "Refute Zhen Yousong's slanders of Marxist Leninist education".

PART 5 - To discuss problems

Chapter 16

Chapter 16 - To discuss problems

Bearing in mind the high problematic content of many of the articles already referred to it might seem **strange** that the magazine should have, as a stated objective, the 'discussion of problems'. The problem solving nature of much of its contents testifies to the infusion of this objective into many of the other themes already studied. But it is still possible to examine aspects of the work of 'Renmin Jiaoyu' specifically devoted to the discussion of problems.

Various issues, for example, included blocked articles under an appropriate banner headline. Thus there were sections dealing with the following topics:

- "Discussion on the problems faced in the development of a comprehensive education system". (1)
- "Discussion on the problems relating to 'all round development'". (2)
- "Problems arising from the use of the '2 part' system in middle schools". (3)

These sections were, of course, in addition to the section on "Problems in teaching" already referred to in Chapter 8. A specific section entitled "Discussion of Problems" appeared in the magazine in the mid 1950s dealing with items of current concern. The September 1954 articles, for example, dealt with the following areas.

(4)

36 Yan Mo, "The nature of the State's political power is the deciding factor in determining the nature of education".

37 Wang Yiding, "The nature of our transitional educational system as determined by political and economic factors".

38 Dong Nian, "The role of ideology in our new educational system".

39 Niu Ziruo, "Education in our 'new democracy' should be both 'new' and 'democratic'".

40 Wang Tie, "The relationship between new democratic education and socialist education".

Usually this section devoted itself to one particular cause of concern. Thus both the January and March 1955 sections dealt with language teaching materials , the August 1956 issue examined the attitude of Zhang Lingguang to the policy of 'all round education and the importance of textbooks such as the 'New China Dictionary', while the psychology texts available to normal school teachers was discussed in February 1955. (5)

In the course of this thesis many of the articles contained in the 'Problems' sections have been referred to. It is appropriate, therefore, that a brief analysis be made of various articles both within and outwith these sections which were devoted to the study of specific problems and have not been referred to before.

One article which demands our attention appeared in the June 1957 issue entitled "Teachers discuss the internal conflicts and contradictions in their educational work". (6) It reported on the debate which had taken place at a recently convened forum of Peking middle school teachers and is important because of the specific and local details it gives us. The areas of concern were very wide.

Ren Qunyi, a teacher at Peking's 13th Middle School, complained about the lack of liaison between middle schools and higher institutes. It was possible, for example, for a student at his school to get excellent grades in the literature classes but fail first year university because the courses there placed a much greater emphasis on classical texts. The inappropriateness of the middle school curriculum was also commented on by Yang Zhenxu of Peking's 39th Middle School.

Neither those pupils destined for the production front or those selected for university were adequately prepared by their middle school training. The problem was the result of the lack of attention paid to political and labour education on the one hand and the inexperience of teachers on the other. In Peking's 5th Middle School, for example, teacher Wang Daqi reported to the forum that two thirds of the staff had been recruited after 1953, and that of the 18 science teachers only 5 had been trained above senior middle school level. In the school the teachers' job had been further complicated by the inability of many of their pupils to understand the '5 grade' marking system. A return to the old 100% assessment grading would help improve the situation.

The Ministry of Education was not only at fault in so blindly following the Soviet model in this respect but it was also guilty of being inconsistent and impractical in its directives. The requirement to be more practical in the school situation did not take account of the conditions existing in many schools - in Wang's school, for example, there was no spare time for extra curricular activities such as stripping a car engine in the science class; and even if there had been time, no one in the school had sufficient knowledge to do it.

Unnecessary confusion had been caused by the vacillating attitude of Peking City Education Department towards the role of political education classes in the schools. In Peking's 2nd Girls Middle School, history teacher Ai Qipin commented angrily on the 1954 decisions to consolidate and improve the quality of education. These decisions had resulted in school headmasters terminating the teaching of political education in their schools. Since that time

and until recent decisions to reintroduce political education classes, the behaviour of the pupils had declined dramatically. Frequently the girls at the school were caught stealing (even from the teachers) and members of the Youth Brigades in the school had become so arrogant that they were openly disrespectful of their teachers. The leader of Ai's school had done nothing to rectify the situation. Only once in her 7 years in the school had the headmaster visited her class. The school was in fact run by a small clique of teachers, usually members of the Party, who did not consult the majority of the teachers about the decisions they took. A similar complaint was made by Jung Zhou, a teacher in Peking's 35th Middle School. The 6 senior staff in his school never did any teaching.

In other aspects too the CP had had a bad influence on the school. Graduates asked to stay on to teach at the school were invariably members of the Party and they were prone to tell their old teachers what to do. The requirement made of history teachers to include a study of the liberation movement in 3 other Asian countries was too time consuming and resulted in the neglect of the proper study of China's own history. History teachers' reference books and student texts were not suitable either; they were straight translations of Soviet materials, many characters appeared upside down and in the wrong order and the language level employed was often too difficult for both pupils and teachers.

According to Dong Zhenbo, a physics teacher in Peking's 3rd Middle School, the Education Department had failed to properly assess the educational needs of the local area. His school had previously been a temple and it was so unsuited to its present task that the 2,000

students could only be accommodated by using the '2 session' system. Not only had Peking City Education Department squandered its money on projects such as a new museum, but it would not requisition a nearby large building, which was largely underused, for the school.

A particular problem raised by Zhan Ximin concerned the lack of attention paid to physical education in Peking's middle schools. In his own school, Peking's 65th Middle School, one of the PE teachers was 53 years old and her students frequently had to be disciplined for laughing at her attempts to do the exercises. The City Education Department never referred to the importance of physical training in its directives and not one of Peking's model teachers was a PE teacher.

In addition, articles occasionally appeared which dealt with important issues not necessarily examined in detail consistently throughout the decade. The high drop out rate amongst middle school students was a case in point. The problem of this waste of resources was substantial. In the 5 months from August to December 1951, for example, about 320,000 middle school students had dropped out of their courses. (7) In Hunan Province alone 80,000 of the original 140,000 middle school students had left school. Such a dramatic drop out rate had an adverse effect on university recruitment and, for the academic year 1951 to 1952 entrance requirements had to be lowered so that the quota of 150,000 students for higher institutions could be met. Zhang Jian suggested several ways in which this difficult problem might be tackled. Vigorous propaganda from the Government, Party, the appropriate school authorities and the teachers could encourage some of the students to return. Teams of students and teachers could visit the villages and rural areas,

and half work/half study provision could be extended. Such methods had lately been tried in several areas and with some success : more than 50% of the youngsters recruited into middle schools were either drop outs or from the rural areas.

An attendant problem also received irregular attention in the magazine. According to a 1953 article the system of the unified distribution of graduates was riddled with bureaucratic inefficiency leading to student frustration and the waste of valuable resources.

(8) Often graduates were sent to jobs for which they had no training. Many graduates had given little thought to their future job prospects and were unwilling to accept postings especially if the job involved was in the border region. Frequently graduates received a hostile reception from the people amongst whom they were sent to work. Change in the system was required.

"... (but) this year it is too late to change the method of job distribution. We will have to continue to implement the existing principle that 'students should be placed in those jobs most vital to the nation's progress and which suit their qualifications'. ... there are, however, several things we can do to improve the situation ...". (8)

An important and urgent task was to carry out political education among the student body. Once they had grasped the crucial role which their skills would play in the country's development they would react more positively to their job assignments. Such work had been carried out in the previous year at Qinghua University and only 2 out of the 670 graduates expressed any misgivings about their placements.

Teachers were required to be constantly in tune with their students' thinking.

"... from my own experience I have come to the following conclusions about the political level of most students. They care more for academic success than they do for their families, most would prefer to work in the larger cities and in the big mining and industrial enterprises than in the smaller towns and rural areas, most would prefer to do administrative rather than productive jobs and the majority would choose to be research students and assistant lecturers rather than middle school teachers ...". (8)

Only through maintaining the correct relationship could teachers guide their students into differentiating right from wrong. The students had to be encouraged to willingly accept the jobs allocated to them. They should not be disdainful of the masses among whom they worked and they should remember that if they persisted in their wrongful attitudes they would be forcefully reminded of the adage applicable in pre Liberation times - 'graduate and be unemployed'. No longer did talented young people have to fear unemployment. They should glory in their duty to help the country by participating in productive work.

"... we must constantly remind our young people of their past history and of the great struggle and sacrifice which had to be endured so that their future would be secure and fulfilling ... our graduates might believe that the present system of job allocation demands an unnecessary sacrifice of them, but after studying the conditions of old China they will surely come to realise that their sufferings are petty when compared with the old ways ...". (8)

One important collection of articles dealt with a problem given substantial publicity in the magazine but not hitherto referred to in any detail viz. students' health.

Problems of student health

The first article pinpointing the problems associated with student health appeared early on in October 1950. (9) Essentially this was a catalogue of the adverse effects on student health caused by too much work outside school. It listed many examples of the bad situation. The students of Hubei Normal College, for instance, who had helped in local agricultural work missed 3 valuable weeks of study time and some were taken ill with exhaustion; in another Hubei institution, this time an unnamed middle school, the students had been involved in so much extra curricular activity (24 different tasks in 6 weeks) that, in one term, they only had time to attend 2 history lessons. According to the author this emphasis was both unnecessary and harmful to the development of new China. The students' political levels were now acceptable and schools should now give priority to their teaching duties.

An inspection of Peking City's primary schools the previous month had shown that 83% of its 58,000 pupils suffered from some type of malaise caused by: their lack of nutrition, their neglect of hygiene and their heavy academic and extra curricular workload. (10)

The issue received national prominence in 1951 with Mao's spring proclamation to the Ministry of Education "health must come first, study second", and with the promulgation on the 6th August of the GAC Decision 'On the improvement of the health conditions of students in all schools'. (11) Both events were marked by the magazine's September editorial. (12) It dealt with how the main recommendations of the Directive might best be implemented. These included: the red-

uction of the students' academic and extra curricular workload, the improvement of the hygiene and school meals system, the allocation of a part of every school's budget to improve their students health and renewed stress on the involvement of pupils in physical exercise and social activities.

Firstly, the editorial called on all teachers at every level to firmly refute bourgeois attitudes manifest in such expressions as "... 'without more money we cannot hope to improve on our present situation', 'it is bourgeois to be concerned with health and hygiene matters' and 'the masses shouldn't bother about hygiene' ...". Headmasters in particular were urged to tackle these problems amongst their staffs. In the past they had avoided raising the problems for fear of the adverse reactions which might be forthcoming from the teachers.

Secondly, teachers were encouraged to adopt any approach which increased their students' academic standards without damaging their health. The old schools had stressed study to the virtual exclusion of the students' physical and mental well being. This belief in the dominance of study still persisted. In 1950 when the Ministry of Education had tried to simplify the syllabi for primary and middle schools, it had encountered substantial opposition from teachers who demanded that the amount of teaching time available should not be reduced. These new regulations had set strict time allocations for extra curricular activities in schools which would not have a detrimental effect on academic standards.

The stipulated requirements were not effectively implemented, however, and in the years which followed articles continued to appear criticising the adverse effect excessive study and extra curricular activities were having on students' health. In a related issue, the June 1954 magazine examined the high accident rate in many of China's schools; the collapse of school buildings, the electrocution and drowning of students and the large number of injuries taking place during physical education classes. (13) Apart from teacher negligence an important cause of these problems was the mass of old school buildings which had been inherited from the Nationalist regime. Many were in need of urgent repair or demolition. Schools were encouraged to set up safety committees forthwith to minimise the more obvious risks.

The issue received intensive treatment again in the columns of 'People's Education' in 1955 after the announcement, on the 4th March, of the Ministry of Education's Directive on the solution to the problem of overburdening students in higher technical colleges. (14) Marked by an editorial in the April issue, the problems of students' overwork and bad health were firmly attributed to the manic desire of educational workers to cram as much information as possible into their students. (15) As well as forcing students to attend 60 or 70 hours of lectures a week, the teachers lectured at tremendous speed, assigned too much difficult homework, emphasised academic study to the detriment of the students' participation in political education and current affairs, and paid scant regard to the declining standard of their students' health. Many teachers still clung to the mistaken belief that given the shortage of adequate resources and facilities the overburdening of students was inevitable if they were to be trained to the necessary high level. To combat this and other erroneous view-

points attention had to be paid to the following issues:

- in learning from Russia, account has to be taken of the existing local situation.
- the task of raising educational quality should proceed at a moderate pace.
- the principle of 'all round development' should be reasserted.
- students should be encouraged to work on their own to a far greater extent.

In the month that followed, several articles appeared explaining in detail the situation prevailing in specific schools and advocating the integration of physical training in schools with the militia and civil defence commitment required of the youngsters. (16)

In Liaoxi Province severe measures had been taken to tackle the problem. (17) A conference on the subject had been held which was attended by a large number of teachers and headmasters. Teams to monitor the student's academic and physical performance were to be established in all middle schools, and both foreign language classes and all extra curricular activities were to be halted. To reduce the demands made of teachers, red tape within schools was to be minimised, and the number of meetings they had to attend was to be scaled down. A renewed emphasis was also to be given to the role of physical education for students; the Soviet system of drill and exercise was to be the model. A local doctor had compiled a plan to help improve hygiene and sanitation in schools; it included instruction on how to catch mice, how to ensure that the school kitchens were clean and simple measures designed to prevent the spread of disease. Managers of food supplies in schools were to be particularly carefully scrutinised for corrupt practises. Competitions between schools were to be held with prizes given to the schools which had done most to

improve the physical wellbeing of their pupils. Another novel suggestion was that students spend the 10 minute break between classes doing physical exercises.

A year later Dai Xuren, in his observations on the problems of setting educational goals, had this to say on the schools he had visited: (18)

"... in many schools the students' workload is far too heavy. It is not uncommon for many students to have to spend their entire weekends doing homework. In many classes, although the age range may vary from 11 to 18 year old students, the teachers do not adjust their approach to meet the needs of their individual pupils. They still apply the same teaching method to each; a teaching method which consists mainly of their rigid adherence to prescribed texts whose contents must be reproduced exactly if students are to pass their exams ...".

The detrimental effects of overwork on students' motivation and health were compounded, according to the author, by the mistaken views of most teachers as to what constituted a 'model' student.

"... a mistake I have often come across in many schools is that teachers regard, as their 'model' students, the most obedient, the most ready to carry out their production assignments and the most willing to return to school to continue their studies after hours. They encourage their students to accept their orders unquestioningly and react strongly against any whom they regard as being critical in any way ...".

In a survey conducted in Peking's 35th Middle School by headmaster Zhu Dan, the staff were almost evenly split over the issue of overwork ;

fifteen felt that the pressure should be reduced, while the other nineteen argued that educational quality could only be maintained and improved if their students continued to do the work set out for them. (19) In the maintenance of this quality the teachers were

agreed that more attention had to be paid to the role of investigation and inspection. And it is to the problems associated with this activity - problems which we have already touched on - that we now turn.

Problems of investigation

"In the past 3 years, since 1949, our educational work has been marked by recovery in most fields and substantial development in a few others. Now, in order to further unify and improve our work it is necessary to strengthen our national, statistical and investigational activities ...". (20)

According to this 1952 editorial many education departments throughout the country had been lax in returning the comprehensive and accurate sets of statistics required of them by the Ministry of Education. And in the reports which had been completed more than one third contained substantial inaccuracies and areas of doubt. As a result of this it was plain that little check could be kept by the centre on the local effectiveness of national directives. Clearly some areas had achieved their quota number of students but standards varied significantly from area to area and medium and long term planning had become impossible.

To remedy the situation departments at all levels were urged to establish statistical units and investigation groups which should be required to compile and publish reports on educational activities. To facilitate this process, the Ministry of Education had drafted a standard statistical return form which should be used by everyone, and had made available to all concerned materials of a model investigation into the activities of a Peking school.

"... using the information acquired by the new methods we will (a) be able to better understand the extent to which manpower and facilities are utilised efficiently at the school level ...

(b) be able to formulate plans relating to future expenditure, staffing and school building requirements ...

(c) be able to assess more accurately the quality of teaching in schools at every level ...". (20)

In Jiangxi Province scant attention had been paid to the matter and it was only in 1954 that the provincial education department began to systematise its investigatory procedures.(21) During the academic year 1954 - 1955 the Department's cadres had conducted 273 investigations into the activities of more than 80 primary and middle schools. A special unit had been established within the Department to deal with everyday administrative matters, and this liberated many cadres for outside work. And, in order to reduce their workload, organisational changes in Nanzhang city, which placed all the middle schools there under the control of the City's Education Department, meant that the cadres could concentrate their efforts in other areas.

To properly prepare for their role some officials were sent to Jiangsu Province, while others went to the North East to study techniques. To supplement the investigation teams headmasters and other senior school staffs were sometimes invited to participate. Previous attempts by the Department to conduct investigations had proved largely meaningless; cadres visited schools for a very short period, and they had only attended a few lessons and interviewed selected staff. But now, the new system was much more rigorous. Some cadres had spent up to 3 months regularly visiting schools, sitting in on lessons and questioning all members of staff before they were satisfied they had enough information to file their investigation report.

Cadres were expected to pay particular importance to the state of affairs in 3 crucial areas: the extent to which the school concerned had fulfilled its targets, the degree to which the students were

still influenced by bourgeois ideology and the effectiveness of the teachers.

A year later the issue was deemed to be sufficiently important to warrant an editorial in the magazine. (22) In spite of all the propaganda to the contrary too many senior personnel in the education departments were still unwilling to go down to the schools to see the existing situation for themselves. Even in those areas where some sort of investigation procedure had emerged, the resulting information tended to be presented at conferences for further discussion rather than being concluded and propagated to help schools improve on the quality of education they provided. Too many areas were using the shortage of trained inspectors as an excuse to avoid thorough and ongoing investigational work. In Xian the problem had been solved by taking exemplary practising teachers and reallocating them to schools where they both taught and conducted an investigation at the same time.

The problems referred to in this section only reinforce the notion of the conflict and change, characteristic of the developments in the 1950s, which have been studied previously and in greater detail. In this instance the problems concerned the quality of education on offer. This specific issue was of great concern to teachers and was a favourite topic for debate in their letters to the editors.

Chapter 16 - Notes

- (1) 43-49/8/1955.
- (2) 7-23/9/1956 Various similar sections followed in later issues.
- (3) 31-34/9/1954.
- (4) 36-41/9/1954 "Discussion of Problems".
- (5) 48-56/1/1956.
50-59/3/1956.
46-52/8/1956.
44-53/2/1955.
- (6) 6-13/6/1957.
- (7) 6/1/1952 Zhang Jian "Mobilise those youths who have left school to return".
- (8) 6-8/7/1953 Lian Feng "The problems which exist with the job allocation system for university graduates".
- (9) 17-18/10/1950 Qian Huan "Extra curricular activity should not be overstressed".
- (10) 9-10/4/1951 Editorial "Educate the new younger generation".
- (11) Full text see "Chinese Education" Spring 1970.
- (12) 5-6/9/1951 Editorial "Correctly implement the decisions taken to improve students' health".
- (13) 55/6/1954 Short Comment "Improve health and safety education in schools".
- (14) 5-11/4/1955.

- (15) 11-13/4/1955 Editorial "Realise and implement the directives concerned with the abnormal work load endured by students in higher technical colleges".

- (16) 21-23/9/1955 Su Jingcun "How to improve the provision of both physical training and extra curricular labour activities in middle schools through using the book "Physical Labour and Military Defence" as the focal point".

- (17) 24-25/9/1955 Liaoxi Education Department "Forge ahead with the job of improving students' health and hygiene, and the quality of education".

- (18) 7-9/11/1956 Dai Xuren "My opinion and observations from investigating the problem of educational objectives".

- (19) 24-25/2/1957 Zhu Dan "We must pay attention to both the students' workload and the quality of education when considering educational objectives".

- (20) 5/8/1952 Editorial "Strengthen the nation's educational investigation and statistical work".

- (21) 7-8/10/1955 Jiangxi Education Department "Develop educational investigation work".

- (22) 4/12/1956 Editorial "Enforcing more rigid school inspection and supervision is the most effective way of improving the job of support and guidance undertaken by education departments".

PART 6 - QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

CHAPTER 17

Chapter 17 - Questions and Answers

With the exception of the 1958 issues of the magazine, the section on 'questions and answers' came at the end of almost every monthly appearance of 'Renmin Jiaoyu'. This continuity reflected the desire of the editors to both allow their readers a forum in which to air their views and, at the same time, to provide them with information, support and guidance in areas of doubt and concern.

The selectivity exercised is interesting on 2 counts. On the one hand it enables us to assess those areas which the educational workers themselves specified as requiring further attention and clarification. On the other hand it provides us with an insight into the editorial priorities of the time. The prime function of this section was to deal with the problems faced by practising teachers. No item was too trivial to consider. And it is this attention to detail which is the most interesting feature of this section, a variety amply reflected in the February and April 1951 issues. (1)

February 1951

- 48: "What preparatory work is required in language teaching in middle school?".
- 49: "Is there any difference between adults and young people in their retentive abilities? How can we increase the memory's power?".
- 50: "Why do children steal?".
- 50: "'Literacy, Basic Literacy, Illiteracy, Youth, Middle Age, Old Age; how can these be defined?".
- 50: "How can we calculate the illiteracy rate?".
- 51: "Is the Government neglecting normal colleges?. Why hasn't their syllabus been determined?".
- 52: "Why must normal college graduates participate in production before being allowed to progress to further education?".
- 53: "Should the unions be responsible for running factory spare time schools?".

54: "What is the function of a seminar?".

55: "How is a thermometer properly used?".

April 1951

58: "Besides subordinating the role of teachers, what other defects does 'learning by doing' have?".

58: "Since both the extremes of Dewey and the 'injection method' have been rejected, what teaching methodology should we use?".

59: "Are there any useful grammatical reference books for teachers?".

59: "How can we overcome the problem of overstressing the sciences and neglecting the arts?".

60: "How can we make the normal college students teaching practice more effective?".

61: "In what ways can schools assist normal college students?".

62: "How does the teaching system of the Chinese People's University operate?".

63: "By what criteria can we spot 'imperialist elements'?".

The issues which arose therefore were both practical and theoretical, national and local. They allowed the magazine to truly reach out to practising teachers and assist them. After the opening of the campaign against Wu Xun, therefore, the April 1951 issue referred to above (p 58) dealt with the proper teaching approach to be used. The 'injection method' (memorisation without understanding) was not acceptable, and Dewey's approach could simply not be tolerated. That did not mean, however, that the memorisation of facts, properties, laws and principles was not important. On the contrary, teachers should encourage their students' retentive powers. In the classroom they were advised to implement the following order of things.

Firstly, they should inspect any homework which had been given out. Secondly, they should fully explain the title of the day's lesson and refer to any new materials which were being used. Then, at the end of the lesson, they should reinforce the basic points. Lastly, they should carefully explain the homework exercise.

In reply to the second question on page 59, the editors agreed that the overemphasis placed on science was a common feature in many middle schools. There were reasons why students spent more than 80% of their time on science;

the pre Liberation characteristic of exaggerating the importance of science in schools still persisted, science teachers normally gave out too much work in the mistaken belief that the more work their students covered then the more they would learn and the practical nature of the work itself was time consuming.

"... of course we must stress science but if we are to achieve a general development we must also pay attention to all other areas of pupil activity. Even scientists and engineers have to have a certain level of political awareness and be able to communicate effectively ...".

The editors believed that the problem could be solved if teachers strictly followed their syllabus. The teaching methods for arts classes could be improved and the courses made more interesting and attractive, particularly for those who had no special subject preference. It was important that the teachers advised their students carefully in this respect and did not allow them to over-specialise.

In general, the questions which were asked fell into 2 broad categories; those on teaching methods and the resolution of classroom and school problems, and those which dealt with the important national issues of the day.

In the practical realm, discipline procedures were frequently referred to. While a question in July 1951 (p 40) enquired about the corrective measures used in Soviet schools and about the morality of using 'standing punishment', a February 1954 answer

(p 61) frowned on the use of sarcasm by teachers. The same issue (p 64) advised teachers to reduce the amount of extra curricular activities required of their students as a means of improving school discipline and 8 months later rules for classroom discipline were expounded. (74/10/1954) Another favourite topic of immediate concern to many teachers involved physical training and hygiene. The frequency of student accidents during drill periods was discussed in the October 1954 journal (p 73) and in May 1955 (p 63) the question: "How can we assess a student's performance in the middle schools physical education class?" appeared. Immediately preceeding (p 62) was the question: "Should school cleaning be done by the students themselves and ought different schools be allowed to challenge one another in hygiene competitions?". Not surprisingly, clarification on the correct teaching procedures to be employed were often sought by practising teachers. The proper way of note giving and the merits of the single and blocked period system were examined in the April 1954 issue (pp 64 and 61), while the June 1955 magazine dealt with history teaching in middle schools.

In dealing with national issues the section was often called upon to explain the context of educational policy and to advise on its correct implementation. A September 1954 item (p 64) enquired about the possible conflict between the participation in production of senior primary and junior middle school graduates, and the instructions relating to the worker peasant schools. An enquiry in April 1955 (p 65) asked for clarification on the rules governing graduation for middle school students who had done well in exams but had caused discipline problems in their classes. The great political campaigns were covered. Occasionally a note of dissent was allowed to appear. The August 1951 issue, for example, contained an interesting item (p 52) entitled: "Wu Xun was only slightly in error - is his spirit of stoicism not to be commended?".

One response in that issue is worthy of a detailed examination not only because it dealt with a thorny question of direct and pressing concern to many teachers but also because it illustrated the format used by the editors when they addressed a particular problem: "How do we treat and appraise those educationalists trained in the old society?". (2)

"Many of our readers have written to us enquiring about the proper attitude which they should adopt towards those intellectuals trained in the old society. They say '... because you have extensively criticised the old system does that mean that it has no value at all? ... A lot of old intellectuals are now working in our new society. Since they are products of an old and outdated educational system should we deny and reject them ?...' ... In attempting to find the answers to these very difficult questions we have to understand that the value and influence of education is very great. When the Guomindang were in power many educationalists strove to serve them ... but it is equally true to say that many opposed the reactionaries and supported the revolution. ...We must not therefore criticise and denigrate all those people who were trained by, and who worked for the old education system ... although we must criticise all those who had direct and intimate contact with the Guomindang regime, we should also realise that in the old society when intellectuals wanted a job they almost invariably had to be associated with the reactionaries in some form or another. And since most of them spent their time wholly on academic work we cannot now regard them as having done harm to the people ...We must also remember that there are not all that many intellectuals in China at the present time ... In Russia, many teachers who taught in Tsarist times are still teaching today. We should therefore regard those teachers who have many years of teaching experience as assets to our country and treat them with respect ...".

The 20 issues of 'People's Education' which appeared between January 1952 and August 1953 all contained a 'Question and Answer' section.

A study of the 80 items which appeared during this period enables us to both ascertain the general categories which received attention and the specific points of detail thrown up.

Since the general themes dealt with the preoccupations of primary and middle school teachers it is not surprising to find only 2 items enquiring about aspects of the Soviet educational experience. The first in February 1952 asked about the teaching methods employed in Soviet Universities, while the second, in the following month, sought clarification on the structure of Soviet middle schools. Naturally enough the 2 most important themes dealt with the teachers and their students.

The teachers

Nineteen of the contributions dealt with teaching methods. Teachers wanted to know about the part which small discussion groups had to play in primary schools (January 1952), about the role they were expected to fulfil in the implementation of the new revolutionary teaching methods (March 1952) and about the differences between 'formalism' in education and formal education. Practical problems, familiar to teachers everywhere, were dealt with. An April 1952 contributor asked about the difficulties faced in teaching composite classes, while in May 1953 teachers were given guidance on how best to conduct the process of asking questions in class so as to encourage a positive response. Textbooks and materials were scrutinised - was the current evaluation of Confucius in senior primary school textbooks correct (January 1953) and were there any suitable teachers reference books on psychology (March 1953)?

An almost equivalent number (17) dealt with the teachers' concern in matters of school organisation, administrative procedures and their own working conditions. The factors influencing the salary of primary school teachers were analysed in August 1952, while the following article dealt with the problems arising when teachers accepted gifts from the public. The role of headmasters was examined both with regard to the appointment and promotion procedures and also to their relationship with bodies whose responsibilities touched on their schools activities, such as the local youth brigades and Party branch (November 1952). Areas of doubt in official policy were dealt with. Several items appeared in the July 1952 issue seeking to clarify the confusion surrounding the 'Draft for the Temporary Regulations for Primary and Middle Schools' which had appeared in March, while the October edition examined the teacher training aspects of the universities and normal schools and colleges.

The political role of the teacher was also dealt with. The correct attitude which teachers were expected to take in the '3 anti' movement was elaborated in April 1952, while the following issue dealt with the question: "Why must peoples' teachers be Marxist Leninists?". An important article 2 months earlier had given guidance on the question: "Is there a contradiction between the leading role of the teachers and the implementation of the mass line in education?" (3)

"No, there is no contradiction. If our teachers are to carry out their leading duties efficiently and effectively they must possess a good teaching method allied with a high level of political consciousness. In their teaching they must follow the mass line. This means that they must be fully acquainted with the students practical situation and with their living conditions. They must try to understand their students' ideas and attitudes so that they

can effectively arouse the young peoples' interest and enthusiasm. They should give extra tuition and individual help to those of their students who face difficulties in attaining the necessary standards ... the implementation of the mass line in education, therefore, should stimulate the students' enthusiasm and help the teachers to do their jobs more effectively ...".

The students

The bulk of these contributions were concerned with matters of student indiscipline and classroom control. The merits of expelling students guilty of serious offences were discussed (January 1952), the problem of thefts from school was examined (July 1952), while the pros and cons of corporal punishment were debated (December 1952). Manual labour was suggested as a punishment for unruly students in November 1952, and a May 1952 item explored the possibility of lowering the marks of students who were either disruptives or habitual truants. The issue of rewarding good, well behaved students aroused comment in May 1952.

The difference in enrolment standards for middle schools throughout the country was discussed (August 1952), the suitability of objective tests for Chinese schools was questioned (June 1953) and the streaming of students according to academic performance aroused differing reactions (August 1953). One teacher sceptical of the standards of the worker peasant short course middle schools, asked about the sort of jobs its graduates could expect to obtain (January 1953). A student, writing in the June 1953 issue, enquired about the relationship between 'new democratic' and 'socialist' education, while another teacher (June 1952) sought information about the extent to which proletarian ideology could be said to have assumed the leading role in schools.

A third section of contributions, loosely defined as dealing with matters of educational theory, totalled 16 items. Teachers sought guidance on a vast range of issues - the natures and relative importance of teaching and learning (October 1952), the class nature of logic (July 1952), the psychological and emotional development of children and the problems associated with adolescence (March 1953). These were only some of the areas which drew comment.

Chapter 17 - Notes

(1) (a) 48-56/2/ 1951 "Questions and Answers".

(b) 58-63/4/ 1951 "Questions and Answers".

(2) 48/8/1951.

(3) 41/3/1952.

PART 7 - READERS' LETTERS

CHAPTER 18

Chapter 18 - Readers' Letters

As reference to Appendix 3 will show, the section of the magazine devoted to 'Readers' Letters' also appeared on a regular basis. Like the 'Questions and Answers' section it too dealt with the problems raised by practising teachers, problems which were of an identical nature and were concerned with the great, and the small, issues of the day.

The ideological campaign of 1952, drew a strong response, with readers urging the Tianjin University teachers in particular to combat their bourgeois ideology and hasten their ideological remoulding. (1) In March 1952 the editors, on an unusual occasion, offered comment on a reader's letter which they did not publish. (2) Jiang Xinyuan, a student of Anhui University, had publically criticised his professor for harbouring bourgeois Western attitudes. In retaliation some of his teachers threatened to exclude Jiang from their classes and the University officials hinted darkly that, if he persisted in his complaints, they would investigate his class background and political credentials. Depressed, Jiang had written to the editors of 'People's Education'. They, through the columns, criticised the staff concerned in the University, urged them to participate in 'self criticism' as part of their ideological remoulding, demanded that an investigation be conducted into the affairs of the professor concerned and warned that they would keep a close eye on Jiang's progress to ensure that no further victimisation took place.

This personalisation of the issues raised was an interesting feature of the 'Readers' Letters' section. The 3 issues, October to December

1955, contained 6 letters which criticised the activities of specific teachers and schools, while a 7th commented on the action taken against those who were responsible for an electrocution incident in a Shenyang normal school. The punishment meted out to leading cadres in a junior middle school in Shanxi was examined in January 1955 while the same issue also included a lengthy letter, again from a Shanxi junior middle school teacher, complaining about the chaotic conditions which he and his colleagues had to endure. Teachers were not slow to complain about their working conditions, and a recurring cause of complaint was the amount of time required of them for political study.

"... most teachers are too busy as it is just trying to do their normal job, but now we have another burden - we are required to attend political study classes after school ... This means that we have don't have enough time to read or to prepare our lessons adequately, we don't even have enough time to relax ... even the test we have to sit is ludicrous. During a recent political exam, sat by about 80 teachers in my area, in spite of the fact that it was made very easy the average mark was less than 30%... if teachers are required to sustain this pressure regularly, then their enthusiasm will wane and their teaching will suffer ...".(3)

'Errant' practises of a more recognisable kind were dealt with in 4 open letters in the January 1954 issue.

- 62: "Shanyang 1st Middle school has taken reasonable steps to resolve its problems and Guo Beiqi has donated his extra wages to the local militia".
- 63: "Xuning Middle School, Yunnan should correct some of the bad assessment procedures it employs".
- 63: "Headmaster Lung Linxia should correct his attitudes and ensure that the teachers in his school have a proper educational training".
- 64: "Expose the evil behaviour of teacher Liu Qianfu in Yu County Middle School, Henan".

An interesting account of the problems facing one particular institute appeared in a reader's letter in 1953. (4) Penned by Lu Jinguo on behalf of his fellow students, it described the situation existing in the River Wei Special Institute, Shandong. According to Lu, conditions were little better than those existing in many middle technical schools: there were no laboratories, the library was very small and what books there were could only be borrowed by members of staff, and the staff themselves were largely untrained in the problems of water conservancy engineering. All this was galling to senior middle school graduates like himself who had already received a year's special training about the problems of the river (the Huanghe) before commencing further studies at the Institute. What made the situation particularly onerous was that many of the students were finding it difficult to live within their grants which were only paid at the rates given to middle school students. Few of the students had any savings, some had families to support and all found it difficult, if not impossible, to buy the expensive textbooks and equipment they required.

"... how can we study properly in these circumstances? How can we become specialists so that we may serve our country? For the sake of the people and our nation these problems have to be dealt with immediately ...".

Occasionally a letter would appear highlighting cases of good teachers or examining worthy achievements. Thus the March 1954 issue congratulated the Zhengzhou 6th Junior Middle School for improving its insulation which thus afforded the students greater protection against the winter cold. As with the "Questions and Answers" section few readers' letters commented on the advanced educational experience of the Soviet Union. The tone of those which did appear was usually

uncritical - "I am moved by an article written by Professor Pushkin"
(61/1/1953) An exception was the contribution to the February 1953
issue which was stinging in its remarks on the ease with which many
teachers unquestioningly accepted the Soviet way of doing things. (5)

"... many teachers who practise the new Soviet methods do so in
only a formal fashion; they do not enter into the spirit or nature
of the new tasks ... in combating 'formalism', leadership in
schools has a crucial role to play. They must strengthen their
own study so as to help their staffs solve teaching problems and
they should conclude and disseminate the resulting experience...".

Chapter 18 - Notes

(1) See in particular:

(a) 57/4/1952 "Tianjin University must up root the ideology of the compradore bourgeoisie".

(b) 52/6/1952 "I hope all of the lecturers in Tianjin University can hasten their ideological remoulding".

(2) 47/3/1952.

(3) 50/4/1953 A letter written by a Chengdu middle school teacher.

(4) 62/5/1953.

(5) 63/2/1953.

Conclusion

My life has been dominated by 'People's Education' for a time now greater than the actual span of its publication period in the 1950s.

(1) And the original driving force which spurred me on to a detailed study of its innards 10 years ago still has great credibility. Educational developments in the 1950s have been largely neglected by academic researchers and, even where conflict and change have been analysed, too rigid an approach has been adopted and the Chinese perspective has not been given sufficient weight. (2) Whatever the quality of this modern history thesis it at least attempts to get inside the system and view events from the viewpoint of those most intimately involved.

The flexible methodology employed has been deliberately based on a readily available Chinese source and in assessing the extent to which the 7 objectives of the magazine were achieved an attempt has been made not to employ the generalisations and glib cliches found elsewhere. (3) Within each area of activity and debate, a whole variety of competing and sometimes conflicting forces were at work which defy neat categorisation and summation.

The temptation to examine the first decade in the perspective offered by the developments post 1966 has also been resisted. My main purpose in writing the thesis has been to move the debate back to the 1950s by more fully explaining the developments which took place.

An indication of the way in which researchers on contemporary China might exploit the information contained in 'Renmin Jiaoyu' and detailed to an extent in this text can be found in the context of the document "The Chronology of the 2 Road Struggle on the Educational Front in the Past 17 Years" which appeared on the 6th May 1967. (4)

A critique of the struggle waged between Mao and Liu Shaoqi it detailed 5 main criticisms of educational development in the 1950s.

Firstly it charged that the educational line taken by the authorities in the period "completely negated" Chairman Mao's approach. This allegation draws attention to the almost complete disregard of Mao's educational approach and the almost pathetic progress made in areas crucial to his philosophy, such as health, labour and political education.

Such issues seem to conflict directly with the magazine's objective, as stated in May 1950 by Liu Shi to "... study and propagate Chairman Mao's educational policy ...". But, as we have seen from our study, little direct attention was paid to Mao's approach. Certainly no concerted attempt to summarise and propagate his educational experiences appeared in RMJY and, as the magazine itself only too frankly admitted on many occasions, developments in the other 3 crucial areas were painfully slow.

Secondly, reinforcing the above charge is the claim that the legacy of the Old Liberated Areas was virtually ignored. Though this once again conflicts directly with the stated aim of the magazine to "... summarise and propagate the experience of the Old Liberated areas ..." little in fact did appear in its columns to explain the experiences of Yen'an and Kangda to the readership.

Thirdly, the "Chronology" declared that "... the old educational system remained largely intact ..." The claim implicit here is that many attitudes and practices, characteristic of the old education system, remained strong in new China and actively and effectively prevented the universalisation and politicisation of education along Maoist lines. The manifestations of this continued domination were many and

varied: the persistence of elitism in education characterised by a desire for further education and an arrogance towards physical labour and the labouring people, the perceived conflict between quality and quantity, the continued reliance on large numbers of intellectuals who were antagonistic to the new system, the location of educational centres primarily in the urban and coastal areas and the virtual neglect of mass educational provision as indicated by the continuing high illiteracy rate and the poor spread of primary school provision in the hinterland.

All of these areas were discussed in the magazine and have been attended to in this thesis. Further work does of course require to be done, but whatever additional sources are used the magazine can hopefully now no longer be ignored to the extent that it has been in the past.

Fourthly, most of the important educationalists of the time were accused of being "bourgeois revisionists" and followers of Liu. Yet all the major figures of the time wrote extensively for the magazine. Any work which attempted to assess the contribution of key educational decision makers such as Qian Junjui, Ma Xulun, Zhang Jian, Yang Xiufeng et al without examining their contributions in 'Renmin Jiaoyu' would be seriously weakened. Yet, as a large information resource, their articles have been largely neglected.

Fifthly, the educational establishments under the influence of Liu Shaoqi were accused of "advocating all out Sovietisation". Liu Shaoqi stipulated the importance of learning the Soviet experience and the magazine certainly contained a massive amount of information on the Soviet educational system. Its impact however, was not total or evenly spread, and the Chinese themselves were well aware of the problems which could arise from the mechanical implementation of the Soviet model. The "Chronology" criticised Ivan Kairov by name and

specifically referred to the 'Renmin Jiaoyu' on 3 separate occasions.

Mao's inaugural message was cited and criticism was made of 2 of the magazine's early editorials. (5)

"... The editorial of August 1st 1951 also regards student participation in political activities as a deviation and as a 'chaotic phenomenon', thus opposing political commandership ... On March 1st 1953 'People's Education' published an editorial entitled 'Teaching work is the central task which overrides all'. It charged participation in social activities by students as being a 'chaotic phenomenon', thereby restricting the students from taking part in social study ...".

As the main propaganda outlet for the Liuist dominated Ministries of Education and Higher Education, 'People's Education' was implicitly charged with blocking the radicalisation of the system and encouraging the implementation of bourgeois and reactionary policies.

Just as the "Chronology" characterised the educational approach of one era, so the restoration of 'People's Education' in 1977 indicated a reaction against the excesses of the Cultural Revolutionary period, 1966 to 1976. Many of the leading educational figures active in the 1950s have been rehabilitated and the articles which are now appearing again have a familiar ring to anyone with even a superficial knowledge of the first decade.

"... rapid economic development can only be accomplished by people with the right skills and knowledge for the job. Not only are top scientists, engineers and researchers essential but large numbers of skilled workers and technicians are of vital importance. However, technical, agricultural and other training is but a tiny component of middle school education. In 1977 only 5% of all middle school students were enrolled in vocational schools. The rest study in junior and senior middle schools.

Compounding the problem is the emphasis on preparing for college entrance exams. Although about 4 million students have graduated from general senior middle schools each year since the examinations

were restored in 1977, less than 300,000 were admitted to institutions of higher learning annually.

As a result more than 90% of senior middle school graduates entered the labour market directly without the necessary professional knowledge or job skills ...". (6)

Equally, contemporary comment is refreshingly frank about educational failures. The recently conducted census revealed the scale of their problems. Although 599 out of every 100,000 Chinese had obtained a university education "... we still lag far behind the developed countries. Many countries' experiences prove that without an adequate number of people with higher education a nation cannot update its science and technology nor can it go about its production and management creatively, thus making it extremely difficult to realise modernisation ...". (7)

At the other end of the scale 235 million aged 12 and over were still illiterate and semi-illiterate. Although the percentage of people involved had dropped from 38.1% in the 1964 census to 23.5% in the 1982 census "... the absolute number is only 27 million fewer. By contrast 2% (or less) of the population of developed countries is semi-illiterate or illiterate ...". (7)

So the wheel comes full circle. Probably there is someone beavering away analysing the substantial numbers of the new issues of 'People's Education' which have appeared in the last 7 years. My good wishes I heartily extend to them.

Conclusion - Notes

- (1) 'People's Education' reappeared in 1977 and is still being published every month. These issues are not referred to in this thesis.
- (2) Refer Appendix 13 for a list of those articles in 'Renmin Jiaoyu' which have been completely translated by other agencies.
- (3) CB 387, p 17.
- (4) This article from the magazine 'Jiaoyu Geming' is translated in full in 'Chinese Education', Vol 1 no 1, Spring 1968 pp 3-58.
- (5) (a) 6-7/8/1951 Editorial "Overcome the chaotic phenomenon in the schools' educational work".

(b) 4-5/3/1953 Editorial "Teaching work is the central task which overrides all".
- (6) "Tailoring education to fit China" by Wen Xiajie, Beijing Review Oct 18th 1982 p 23.
- (7) "How to interpret the Census Communique" by Hou Wenruo, Beijing Review, November 29th 1982 p 13.

APPENDIX 1

EUROPEAN HOLDINGS OF RENMIN JIAOYU

As listed in the Bibliography of Chinese Newspapers and Periodicals in European Libraries (London, Contemporary China Institute, Cambridge University Press, 1975).

1 Czechoslovakia

Prague Ceskoslovenská Akademie Ved. Orientální Ústav Lu
Sünova Knihovna, Praha 1, Malá Strana, Lazenska 4

1950, 1:1,4 2:1,2
1951, 2:3-6 3:1-4
1952, 5-9
1953, 1956 (1-12)
1957, 1-10
1958, 4-7, 9

2 West Germany

Berlin Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ostasiat-
ische Abteilung 1, Berlin 30, Reichspietschufer
72/76, Postfach 59

1950, 1-8
1951, 1-12
1952, 1-10
1953, 1956 (1-12)
1957, 1-10
1958, 4-6

3 Hamburg Institut Für Asienkunde, 2 Hamburg 13, Rothenbaumch-
aussee 32

1950, 1-8
1951, 1-12
1952, 1-3, 7-12 (M)
1954, 1956 (1-12) (M)
1957, 1-10 (M)
1958, 4-9 (M)

4 East Germany

Berlin DeutscheStaatsbibliothek , Asien - Afrika Abteilung,
108 Berlin, Unter Den Linden 8

1954, 1956 (1-12)

1957, 1-10

5 France

Paris Centre Du Documentation Sur L'Extrême Orient (Ecole
Practique Des Hautes Etudes VIe Section) 54 Boulevard
Raspail, Paris 6.

1957, 5-10

1958, 4-9

6 Great Britain

London British Museum, Dept of Oriental Manuscripts and
Printed Books, Great Russell St London WC1B 3DG.

1950, 1:1-4

1951, 1, 2, 3, 5

1952, 8, 10-12

1953, 1-8

1954, 5-12

1955, 1-5, 7-10, 12

1956, 4, 8, 9, 11, 12

1957, 3-10

1958, 4-9

7 Durham

Durham University Library, Oriental Section, Elvet
Hill, Durham DH1.

1957, 1

8 Edinburgh

Edinburgh University Library, George Square,
Edinburgh EH8 9LJ

1950, 1:1,6

1951, 2:4,6

1952, 8, 11, 12

1953, 1-8
1954, 11
1955, 2, 3, 8, 9
1956, 4, 11, 12
1957, 1-8
1958, 5

9 Leeds Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2
9JT.

1950, 1951 (Complete) (M)
1952, 8+ (1-12, M)
1952, 1-3, 7, 8, + (1-12,M)
1954, 7 + (1-12,M)
1955, 9, 11 + (1-12,M)
1956, (1-12, M)
1957, 7-9, + (1-10, M)
1958m (4-9, M)

10 London School of Oriental and African Studies, Malet St.
London WC1E 7HP

1950-1951, 1:2, 5 3:3-5 4:1,2 + (1:-3:4:1, 2 M)
1952, 1, 3, 6, 8, 10 + (1-3, 5, 7-12 M)
1953, 1-8 + (1-12, M)
1954, 11 + (1-12, M)
1955, 1-7, 9-12 + (1-12, M)
1956, 3, 4, 6-8, 11 + (1-12, M)
1957, 3-10 + (1-10, M)
1958, 5-7, 9 + (4-9, M)

11 Netherlands

Leiden Sinologisch Institut, Binnenvestgracht 4, Leiden
Has the same holdings as the Hamburg Institute Für
Asienkunde (M)

12 Soviet Union

Leningrad Bibloteka Akademii Nauk SSSR, Otdel Literaturny Stran
Azii I Afriki

- 1952, 7-12
1953, 1957 (1-12)
1958, 1-16 (?)
- 13 Leningrad Gousudarstvennaya Publichnaya Bibliotheka, Otel
Literatury Stran Azii I Afriki

1950-1951, 2:1, 3 3:-4:
1952-1957, (1-12)
1958, 4-9
- 14 Leningrad Leningradskii Otdel Instituta Vostokovedeniya,
Akademii Nauk SSSR

1952-1955 (1-12)
- 15 Moscow Bibliotheka Inostranoi Literatury, Ulyanovskaya 1

1950
1951, 2:6, 3:1-4
1952, 1957, (1-12)
1958, 4-9
- 16 Moscow Kitaiskii Bibliotheka

1950-1956, (Complete)
1957, 1-9
1958, 5-9

1959, 11-12 (?)
1960, 1-6 (?)

(?) = I have not been able to check the accuracy of this source.

M = microfilm holding of RMJY

Note: Some sources subdivide the years 1950-1951 into volumes
1-4

MAY - OCTOBER 1950 = Vol. 1 (Nos. 1-6)

NOVEMBER 1950 - APRIL 1951 = Vol. 2 (Nos. 1-6)

MAY 1951 - OCTOBER 1951 = Vol. 3 (Nos 1-6)

NOVEMBER 1951 - DECEMBER 1951 = Vol. 4 (Nos 1-2).

UNITED STATES HOLDINGS OF RENMIN JIAOYU

As Listed in Library of Congress Titles 1950-1970, D/K (New York & London, Bowler Co., 1973).

- 1 University of Southern California
(1950-1954) - (1957-1958) L.P.M.
- 2 Hoover Institution on War Revolution and Peace
(1950) L^{*}.P.M.
- 3 Yale University
(1950) L^{*}.P.M.
- 4 University of California, Berkeley
(1957) L^{*}.P.M.
- 5 Library of Congress
(1950) P.M.
- 6 University of Chicago
(1950-1954) L.
- 7 Harvard University
(1955-1958) P.M.
- 8 Cornell University
(1950-1958) L^{*}.P.M.
- 9 Columbia University
(1950-1951) L^{*}.P.M.
- 10 Far Eastern Library, Washington
(1950-1958) L.P.M.

L = library lends RMJY

L^{*} = restricted lending of RMJY

P = library can furnish photocopies of RMJY

M = library can furnish microfilms of RMJY

APPENDIX 2

National education magazines up and down the country as of the 8th June, 1951. List compiled by the Information Unit of 'People's Education' (58-59/7/1951). With the exception of RMJY, these were 46 magazines in all.

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| 4 by major administrative areas | (numbers 1 to 4) |
| 26 by provinces | (numbers 5 to 30) |
| 11 by cities | (numbers 31 to 41) |
| 2 by special districts | (numbers 42 to 43) |
| 1 by university | (number 44) |
| 1 by private concern | (number 45) |
| 1 special magazine | (number 46) |

Also included are the British holdings (references in brackets)

(abbreviations: CUL = Cambridge University Library,

SOAS = School of Oriental and African Studies,

BM = British Museum).

1 東北教育

"North East Education"

(CUL=I, SOAS II(6) III(6) IV(2))

2 新教育

"New Education" belongs to the
South Eastern Administrative Area.
(SOAS I(1,5-6).

3 西北教育通訊

"North West Educational Report".

4 教與學

"Teach and Learn" belongs to
Inner Mongolian Administrative
Area.

5 河北教育

"Hebei Education" (BM 15).

6 文教月報

"Culture and Education Monthly"
belongs to Shanxi Province

7 察哈爾教育

"Chahar Education" (SOAS 1951 (4)).

8 綏遠文教

"Suiyuan Culture and Education"
belongs to Ningxia.

9 平原教育

"Pingyuan Education"

10 遼東教育

"Liaodong Education"

11 遼西教育

"Liaoxi Education"

12 文教工作

"Cultural and Educational Work"
belongs to Jilin Province.

13 松江教育

"Xinjiang Education"

14 黑龍江教育

"Heilongjiang Education"
(SOAS 1956 (6)
1957 (7 and 11)

15 熱河教育

"Reiho Education"

16 山東教育

"Shandong Education"

(SOAS 1949 (12)

1950 (1-2, 6, 9-10)

17 農村文教

"Village Culture and Education"

belongs to Shandong Province.

18 蘇北教育

"North Jiangsu Education".

19 蘇南文教月刊

"South Jiangsu Culture and Education"

20 皖北文教

"North Anhui Culture and Education"

21 文教通訊

"Culture and education report"

belongs to Henan Province.

22 湖北文教

"Hebei Culture and Education"

23 教育工作

"Educational Work"

belongs to Jiangxi Province

(SOAS 1956 (1-2, 5-13-16-17, 19-20)

1957 (6)

24 湖南教師

"Hunan Schoolteacher"

25 廣東教育與文化

"Guangdong Culture and Education"

(SOAS 1950 (25)

1951 (5)

1952 (3)

26 廣西文教

"Guangxi Culture and Education"

27 青海文教

"Qinghai Culture and Education"

28 貴州教育

"Guizhou Education"

(SOAS 1956 (5, 8, 10, 12)

1957 (6-7)

1958 (1)

29 雲南文教
30 川南文教

"Yunnan Culture and Education"

"South Sichuan Culture and Education"

31 教師月報

"Teacher's Monthly" (Peking)

32 天津教育

"Tianjin Education"

33 唐山教育

"Tangshan Education"

34 文教通訊

"Culture and Education Report"
(Luda City).

35 教學研究

"Research in Teaching and Learning" (Harbin) (Leeds 1950(III,5-(17)).

36 文教生活

"Cultural and Educational Life"
(Shenyang)

37 教育報道

"Education Report" (Hangzhou)

38 濟南教師

"Xinan Teachers"

39 新教師

"New Teachers" (Hanfeng ?)

40 桂林文教

"Guilin Culture and Education"

41 重慶教育

"Chongqing Education"

42 新小學

"New Primary School"

43 洛陽教育通訊

"Loyang Education Report"

44 學習生活

"Learning Life"
(North East Normal University)

45 新兒童教育

"New Children's Education"
(Shanghai)

46

歷史教學

"History Teacher" (Tianjin)

(Edinburgh 1956 (7-12)

1957 (1-6)

Leeds 1955 (9)

SOAS 1951 (1-3,5-6,9-12)

1952 (1-7,9-11)

1953 (7-12)

1954 (1-3, 7-12)

1955 (1-12)

1956 (1) - 1959 (12)

etc.

APPENDIX 3

CHART 1

| | ELUCIDATE STATE'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY | STUDY EDUCATIONAL THEORIES | CIRCULATE EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE | AEEOSU | DISCUSS PROBLEMS | QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS | READERS LETTERS |
|---|---|----------------------------------|--|---------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| 1950 | 47=135 | 4= 24 | 58=175 | 30=135 | 12= 26 | 7= 16 | |
| 1951 | 67=133 | 47= 81 | 106=238 | 31=131 | 32= 51 | 12= 58 | 3= 6 |
| 1952 | 54=122 | 21= 54 | 86=236 | 26=103 | 39= 87 | 12= 36 | 9=14 |
| 1953 | 45= 95 | 5= 13 | 155=346 | 27= 97 | 85=152 | 10= 26 | 10=28 |
| 1954 | 89=224 | 2= 6 | 123=309 | 21= 72 | 55=124 | 8= 20 | 9=14 |
| 1955 | 57=139 | 30=110 | 84=218 | 20=106 | 54=141 | 8= 22 | 11=19 |
| 1956 | 41= 99 | 31= 72 | 105=342 | 15= 57 | 48=112 | 9= 13 | 7=16 |
| 1957 | 36=108 | 9=27 | 107=264 | 10=30 | 59=163 | 3= 3 | 6=17 |
| 1958 | 24= 54 | | 69=148 | | 28= 36 | | 1= 1 |
| <u>TOTAL</u> | 460=1109 | 149=387 | 893=2276 | 180=731 | 412=892 | 69=194 | 56=115 |
| (..... 2094 articles = 5395 pages.....) | | | | | | 309 pages | |

APPENDIX 4

Chart 2

| | GENERAL ISSUES (A) | POLITICAL EDUCATION (B) | PRE- SCHOOL EDUCATION (C) | PRIMARY EDUCATION (D) | MIDDLE SCHOOL EDUCATION (E) | HIGHER EDUCATION (F) | WORKER PEASANT EDUCATION (G) | HEALTH ISSUES (H) | LABOUR EDUCATION (I) | TEACHER TRAINING (J) | LITERACY (K) | AEEOSU (L) | BOURGEOIS EDUCATION -ALIST'S (M) | MAO (N) | OLD LIBERATED AREAS (O) |
|-------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|---------------|---|------------|----------------------------------|
| 1950 | 24= 60 | 20= 48 | | 10= 33 | 6= 47 | 13= 32 | 19= 40 | 2= 5 | | 14= 40 | 5= 11 | 22=113 | 5= 26 | 2= 5 | 4= 18 |
| 1951 | 60=128 | 30= 61 | | 8= 17 | 6= 14 | 37= 85 | 28= 53 | 5= 9 | | 16= 31 | 7= 18 | 31=140 | 46= 80 | 7= 15 | 1= 4 |
| 1952 | 44= 78 | 38= 93 | 2= 3 | 19= 74 | 11= 26 | 16= 51 | 12= 28 | 3= 8 | 2= 5 | 14= 30 | 12= 35 | 33=120 | 18= 44 | 2= 3 | 3= 10 |
| 1953 | 78=131 | 38= 70 | 3= 7 | 10= 37 | 42= 77 | 29= 80 | 15= 30 | 9= 18 | | 56=127 | 2= 4 | 29=102 | 4= 10 | 2= 3 | 1= 4 |
| 1954 | 79=149 | 36= 75 | 1= 2 | 6= 18 | 23= 68 | 25= 78 | 4= 16 | 16= 29 | 22= 52 | 61=152 | 1= 1 | 24= 74 | 2= 6 | | |
| 1955 | 54=131 | 40= 85 | | 2= 12 | 20= 54 | 13= 43 | 12= 31 | 12= 29 | 13= 31 | 29= 78 | 8= 18 | 20=105 | 20= 80 | 1= 8 | |
| 1956 | 88=192 | 16= 49 | | 6= 19 | 18= 49 | | 8= 12 | 8= 17 | 23= 76 | 28= 77 | 10= 27 | 31=166 | 1= 6 | 1= 2 | |
| 1957 | 57=135 | 37=107 | | 5= 14 | 23= 70 | 6= 14 | 5= 11 | 10= 26 | 16= 47 | 42=106 | 1= 4 | 11= 39 | 5= 18 | 1= 2 | |
| 1958 | 21= 41 | 34= 83 | | | 2= 7 | 1= 1 | 3= 7 | 2= 3 | 46= 75 | 1= 3 | 4= 11 | 1= 1 | | | 3= 3 |
| TOTAL | 505=1045 | 289=671 | 6= 12 | 66=224 | 151=412 | 140=384 | 106=237 | 67=144 | 122=286 | 261=644 | 50=129 | 202=860 | 101=270 | 16= 38 | 12= 39 |

(.....2094 articles.....totalling 5395 pages.....)

Breakdown of RMJY

I. The total number of pages in RMJY is 6105.

II. In Charts 1 and 2, there are 2094 articles totalling 5395 written pages.

Once the 309 written pages devoted to answering questions and publishing readers' letters are taken into account, the final figure is 2094 articles and 5704 written pages.

III. AEEOSU

In total 285 articles totalling 1086 pages dealt specifically with the 'Advanced Educational Experience of the Soviet Union'.

In Chart (1) 180 articles totalling 731 pages appeared.

In Chart (2) 202 articles totalling 860 pages appeared.

The reason for the apparent difference lies in the different requirements inherent within each approach.

The full breakdown of the chronology and quantity of the Soviet input can be seen in Appendix 10.

APPENDIX 5

Who's who in Chinese Education in the 1950s

Biographical details obtained from a variety of different sources with important information being provided by:

- (a) "Who's who in Communist China", Volumes 1 and 2, Union Research Institute, (URI), Hong Kong, 1969.
- (b) "Biographic Dictionary of Chinese Communism, 1921-1965", Volumes 1 and 2, Donald W Klein and Anne B Clark, Harvard University Press, 1971.

Dong Quncaï

Lin Feng

Lin Handa

Lin Liru

,Liu Shi

Ma Xulun

Qian Junjui

Shi Weisan

Wei Que

Wu Yenyin

Xu Deli

Yang Xiufeng

Ye Shengdao

Zeng Zhaolun

Zhang Jian

Zhang Xiruo

Zhen Xuanshan

Zhou Jianren

DONG QUNCAI

Biography

- Deputy Director, Department of Education, North East Administrative Committee, April - November 1949.
- Deputy Director, Department of Education, North East Peoples' Government, April 1950 - November 1952.
- Vice Minister of Education, November 1952 - April 1965.
- Member of I Committee for Reform of Chinese Written Language, December 1954.
- II Committee for Popularisation of Common Spoken Language, February 1956.
- Vice Chairman, All China Association for Elimination of Illiteracy, March 1956.
- etc (URI p 654).

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 19-24/6/1950 "Reform our middle school Chinese language teaching methods".
- (2) 14-16/1/1951 "Some experience in popularising 'current affairs' education".
- (3) 12-17/8/1951 "Stress 'all round development' - improve the students health".
- (4) 29-32/10/1951 "My knowledge of 'Life Education' and Dao Xingzhi".
- (5) 17-23/1/1954 "General Report on the National Higher Education Conference".
- (6) 11-12/6/1954 "Continue spare time education with full time production activity".
- (7) 12-16/8/1954 "Strive for the complete success of socialism".
- (8) 29-33/9/1955 "Summary Report on the First National Conference on Peasant Spare Time Education".
- (9) 11-15/4/1958 "2 major reforms in mass education".

LIN FENG

Biography

- Director, Second Staff Office, Ministry of Education, September 1954-1959.

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 7-9/9/1955 "Speech to Second Session of the First National Peoples Congress".

LIN HANDA

Biography

- Director, Social Education Department, Ministry of Education, December 1950.
- Vice Chairman, Central Commission for Elimination of Illiteracy, November 1952.
- Vice Minister of Education, November 1954 - January 1959.
- etc (URI p 424-425).

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 35-38/9/1950 "To know one is to know all".
- (2) 27/7/1951 "Why we should still criticise Wu Xun today".
- (3) 8-13/5/1952 "Introducing the teaching experience of the peasant short literacy course of Gao Beidian".
- (4) 6-9/11/1952 "Introducing the experience of the short literacy course in Xiyugou, Muxin County, Shanxi".
- (5) 16-19/1/1953 "Worker peasant spare time education in the past three years".
- (6) 25-28/3/1956 "Proceed with the discussions of the romanisation of Chinese and actively suggest improvements".
- (7) 13-15/7/1957 "Some problems in worker peasant spare time education".
- ((8) 23-25/10/1957 "Argue against the rightist element Lin Handa and discuss the mass line in education".(An article by Wen Gemin.)

LIN LIRU

Biography

- Director, Department of Middle School Education, Ministry of Education, December 1949-1950.
- President, Peking Normal College, 1950 - November 1952.
- Director, Department of General Education, Ministry of Education, October 1952.
- Vice Minister of Education, November 1952 - June 1964.
- etc (URI p 426).

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 26-29/5/1950 "Two problems in middle school education".
- (2) 21/7/1951 "Three talks on Wu Xun".
- (3) 5-6/2/1953 "Serve economic construction and promote the development of education".
- (4) 10/8/1955 "Lessons that educationalists must learn from the Hu Feng Incident".
- (5) 16-19/4/1958 "New society, new directives".

LIU SHI

Biography

- very active in education in the Old Liberated Areas (1937-1948).
- Director, Education Bureau, Peking Municipal People's Government, February - October 1949.
- Director, Inspection Department, Ministry of Education, December 1949.
- Director, Normal Education Department, Ministry of Education, July 1952.
- Vice Minister of Education, November 1952 - September 1959.
- etc (URI p 460).

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 7-9/5/1950 "Struggle for the construction of a new Chinese people's education - preface to the first issue".
- (2) 6-7/6/1950 "Celebrating the First International Children's Festival".
- (3) 13-15/8/1950 "On the trend of 'study for study's sake'".
- (4) 14/12/1951 "On the work of criticism".
- (5) 6/2/1952 "Brief discussion on the incorrect thoughts of Sun Mingxun".
- (6) 24-29/1/1954 "Synopsis of the Report on Teaching Reform in Higher Normal Colleges".
- (7) 11-18/3/1955 "Report on inspection of four normal colleges".

MA XULUN

Biography

- very active in Chinese educational affairs, 1901-1949.
- leading non-party educational figure.

- Vice Chairman, Culture and Education Committee, GAC, October 1949 - September 1954.
- Minister of Education, October 1949 - November 1952.
- Minister of Higher Education, November 1952 - September 1954.
- etc (URI p 501/502).

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 7/5/1950 "We educationalists must always serve the people wholeheartedly according to the new educational system in order to build an independent, democratic, peaceful, united and strong China".
- (2) 11-13/7/1950 "Opening speech to the First National Conference on Higher Education".
- (3) 15-16/7/1950 "Closing speech to the First National Conference on Higher Education".
- (4) 12-13/1/1951 "Report on the First National Conference on Worker Peasant Education".
- (5) 5-6/2/1951 "Opening speech at the Conference for the Disposal of Foreign Subsidised Higher Education Institutes".
- (6) 17/7/1951 "Criticising my past praise of Wu Xun".
- (7) 23/8/1951 "Opening speech to the First National Intermediate Technological Education Conference".
- (8) 9-10/10/1951 "Opening speech to the First National Conference on Primary and Normal Education".
- (9) 9-10/8/1952 "Opening speech to the National Conference of Deans of Agricultural Colleges".
- (10) 4-5/10/1952 "Achievements of Chinese education in the past three years".
- (11) 4/1/1953 "Speed up learning and be ready to undertake the new mission of constructing a prosperous nation".
- (12) 12-14/4/1953 "The objectives and direction of higher education".
- (13) 7/8/1954 "Our most pressing task is to seriously study and rally behind the new Constitution".
- (14) 15/10/1954 "Speech on higher education to the First National People's Congress"
- (15) 18-19/10/1954 "Higher education in new China in the past five years".

QIAN JUNJUI

Biography

- important academic and journalist before 1949.
- Vice Minister of Education, October 1949 - November 1952.
- Member, Culture and Education Committee, GAC, October 1949.
- Secretary, SSFA, October 1949 - December 1954.
- Vice Minister of Culture, November 1954 - September 1963.
- etc (URI p 144-145).

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 10-16/5/1950 "General policies for present educational construction Part 1".
- (2) 8-11/6/1950 "General policies for present educational construction Part 2".
- (3) 8-14/12/1950 "Unite and struggle to realise the directives concerning new higher education and train high level manpower for the country".
- (4) 9-11/3/1951 "Concentrate on eradicating the influence of the American Imperialists cultural invasion".
- (5) 12-16/5/1951 "Struggle to raise the cultural standard of the workers and peasants to satisfy the cultural requirements of the worker peasant cadres".
- (6) 5-11/7/1951 "Thoroughly learn and apply the educational thoughts of Mao Zedong".
- (7) 7-13/9/1951 "What do we learn from discussing the question of Wu Xun?".
- (8) 6-8/11/1951 "Realise the new education system using revolutionary spirit".
- (9) 6-7/12/1951 "Key points in the reform of higher education".

SHI WEISAN

Biography

- Deputy Director of the Department of Middle School Education, Ministry of Education , 1957.

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 50/9/1950 "Conditions in Worker Peasant Short Course Middle Schools all over the country".

- (2) 24-25/5/1951 "How to administer the enrolment programme for Worker Peasant Short Course Middle Schools".
- (3) 36-37/7/1951 "Concerning the entrance exam for Worker Peasant Short Course Middle Schools".
- (4) 25-28/1/1953 "Middle school education in the past three years".
- (5) 20/5/1953 "Correctly carry out the task of affiliating the Worker Peasant Short Course Middle Schools with higher educational institutes".
- (6) 4/8/1957 "Strengthen the participation of primary and middle school graduates in production".

WEI QUE

Biography

- active in Chinese educational circles before 1949.
- Member, Culture and Education Committee, GAC, October 1949 - October 1954.
- Vice Minister of Education, October 1949 - September 1959.
- Vice Chairman, Committee for Reform of Chinese Written Language, February 1952 - December 1954.
- Chief, Cultural and Educational Delegation to visit East European countries 1953.
- etc (URI p 708/709).

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 17-20/5/1950 "What is education?".
- (2) 18/7/1951 "What we should know about Wu Xun".
- (3) 26-28/3/1955 "Language reform and character simplification".
- (4) 23-25/3/1956 "Brief talk on the romanisation of the Chinese language".
- (5) 20-22/4/1958 "Extend the romanisation of Chinese language in order to create the necessary conditions for popularising education".

WU YENYIN

Biography

- Director, Primary Education Department, Ministry of Education, October 1949.

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 37-41/12/1950 "The truth about Phillipino education under US hegemony".
- (2) 21/7/1951 "Those who have lived according to the 'spirit of Wu Xun' should strive for liberation".
- (3) 4-16/12/1952 "Experiences gathered from the first two years of implementing the five year primary school system in Peking".
- (4) 54-58/11/1953 "Criticisms and suggestions from various areas concerning the first volume of the Temporary Language Book for Primary Schools".
- (5) 48-53/1/1955 "My views on primary school language teaching materials".
- (6) 11-12/8/1955 "Strengthen vigilance, beat the enemy (Hu Feng)".

XU DELI

Biography

- Mao's 'teacher'.
- long and distinguished history of educational activity before 1949, especially in communist held areas 1930-1949.
- Member, Culture and Education Committee, GAC, October 1949-1954.
- Member, Association for Reforming Chinese Written Language, October 1949.
- etc (URI p 277/279).

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 17-19/7/1950 "On citizens public morals - part 1".
- (2) 7-8/8/1950 "On citizens public morals - part 2".
- (3) 22-23/9/1950 "On citizens public morals - part 3".
- (4) 21-23/2/1951 "Teaching methods in different subjects - part 1".
- (5) 12-13/3/1951 "Teaching methods in different subjects - part 2".
- (6) 25-27/4/1951 "Teaching methods in different subjects - part 3".
- (7) 19/5/1951 "Teaching methods in different subjects - part 4".
- (8) 17/7/1951 "The debate over the 'Biography of Wu Xun' is a serious political question".
- (9) 9-10/7/1057 "How we should study".

- (10) 8-10/4/1958 " ... answers several questions relating to the educational programme".

YANG XIUFENG

Biography

- active in the Old Liberated Areas.
- Vice Minister of Higher Education, November 1952 - September 1954.
- Minister of Higher Education, September 1954 - February 1958.
- etc (URI p 748/749).

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 9/9/1954 "Speech to the First National People's Congress".
- (2) 10-11/9/1955 "Speech to the Second Session of the First National People's Congress".

YE SHENGDAO

Biography

- active in educational circles before 1949.
- Vice Minister of Education, 1954.
- Member, Committee for Popularising Common Spoken Language, February 1956.
- etc (URI p 770/771).

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 27-33/8/1955 "The problems involved in dividing language and literature teaching".

ZENG ZHAOLUN

Biography

- active in educational circles before 1949.
- Council Member, Sino Soviet Friendship Association, 1949.
- Director, Department of Higher Education, Ministry of Education, December 1950.
- Dean, Peking University, December 1950.
- Vice Minister of Education, January 1951 - November 1952.
- Vice Minister of Higher Education, June 1953 - October 1957.

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 6-9/9/1952 "The question of setting up "specialisations" in higher education institutes".
- (2) 11-15/1/1953 "Improvements in higher education in the last three years".
- (3) 20-22/10/1954 "Teaching reform in higher institutes goes forward".

ZHANG JIAN

Biography

- Deputy Director of the Planning Department, Ministry of Higher Education, 1957.

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 62-65/5/1950 "Improvements in the 9th Primary School, Peking".
- (2) 20/10/1950 "There must be full preparation for a lesson".
- (3) 13/6/1951 "Obtain patriotic teaching materials from magazines and books".
- (4) 28/7/1951 "The so called ' 3 anti's and 4 pro's'".
- (5) 11/8/1951 "Learn from the success of senior primary school graduates further education endeavours in the North East".
- (6) 30-34/11/1951 "Re-examine the life and work of Dao Xingzhi".
- (7) 6/1/1952 "Mobilise those youths who have left school to return".
- (8) 34-36/10/1952 "Some questions that should be noted in drafting the new educational system".
- (9) 40-41/2/1953 "Ensure that teachers have adequate subject teaching time".
- (10) 15-16/4/1953 "While working, strictly adhere to the Five Year Plan".
- (11) 31-32/5/1953 "A brief discussion on the educational principles of Dao Xingzhi".
- (12) 9-10/7/1953 "We should offer more assistance to intending middle school graduates in their intentions towards future study".

- (13) 29-31/9/1953 "Short comment on the questions concerning ideological leadership in the teaching reforms underway in higher institutes".
- (14) 13-15/10/1953 "Schools should be thrifty".
- (15) 20-22/2/1954 "Short comment on the raising of teaching standards in higher institutes".
- (16) 12-15/2/1955 "Problems and achievements encountered by higher institutes in learning the advanced Soviet educational experience".
- (17) 23-25/6/1955 "Criticise Dewey's pragmatic school of education".
- (18) 20-22/10/1955 "Struggle for the completion of the cadre educational programme stipulated in the First Five Year Plan".
- (19) 6-9/2/1956 "Actively develop spare time higher education".
- (20) 21-23/9/1956 "My opinion on the question of the all round educational development of the individual".
- (21) 10-12/11/1956 "We should not put forward the theory of 'teaching according to the student's individual ability' as one of our educational objectives".
- (22) 16-18/10/1957 "Is higher education in China progressing on the right track?".

ZHANG XIRUO

Biography

- active in educational circles before 1949.
- Council Member, Sino Soviet Friendship Association, October 1949.
- Minister of Education, November 1952 - February 1958.
- Vice Chairman, Central Committee for Popularisation of Standard Spoken Chinese, February 1956.
- Vice Chairman, All China Association for the Elimination of Illiteracy, March 1956.
- Vice Chairman, Committee for Planning the Romanisation of the Chinese Language, March 1956.
- etc. (URI p. 25/26).

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 5/1/1953 "Try out best to educate the new younger generation for the sake of our country".
- (2) 5-7/12/1953 "School leaders must strengthen the position of political education in schools".
- (3) 13-16/1/1954 "Report on the present condition and the future direction and tasks of higher normal education".
- (4) 16-17/10/1954 "Speech on general education to the First National People's Congress".
- (5) 8-9/8/1955 "Raise consciousness and strengthen vigilance in the struggle to eradicate all hidden counter revolutionary elements".
- (6) 12-14/9/1955 "Speech to the Second Session of the First National People's Congress".
- (7) 15/9/1955 "Vigorously lead and support young peoples' out of school activities in the scientific, technical and industrial fields".
- (8) 12-15/12/1955 "Mandarin with Peking dialect should be popularised".
- (9) 7-8/1/1956 "Plan comprehensively and rely on the masses to eradicate illiteracy among both young people and adults".
- (10) 8-11/7/1956 "Report on the present condition and problems in the national education system".
- (11) 4-6/4/1957 "On the problem of employment or further education for primary and middle school graduates".

ZHEN XUANSAN

Biography

- important academic before 1949.
- Member of the Culture and Education Committee, GAC, 1949.

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 21-22/1/1952 "Some insights and self examination based on my criticism of 'Life Education'".
- (2) 19-20/7/1952 "The assignment of a 'people's teacher' is both an honourable and important job".
- (3) 13/8/1955 "Arm ourselves vigorously in order to carry out intensive struggle".

- (4) 8-9/9/1956 "In order to understand 'all round development' correctly we must pay attention to the theory of 'teaching according to the individuals' ability'".
- (5) 11-13/10/1957 "The great achievements of higher normal education in the past eight years cannot be denied".

ZHOU JIANREN

Biography

- Vice Minister of Higher Education, October 1954 - February 1958.

RMJY Contributions

- (1) 20-21/7/1950 "A short appraisal of the educational materials and teaching methodologies used in teaching biology".
- (2) 10-11/2/1951 "Biology and patriotism".

APPENDIX 6

Chronology of Educational Events 1950-1958

Directives

* Copy of Directive in RMJY and also available from translated sources.

** Copy only available in RMJY and not in translated sources as far as I can ascertain. (in total 43 directives in RMJY of which 19 were not picked up elsewhere i e ** 19).

Notifications

* Copy of Notification in RMJY and also available from translated sources.

** Copy only available in RMJY and not in translated sources as far as I can ascertain. (in total 38 notifications in RMJY of which 33 were not picked up elsewhere i e ** 33)

Those notifications which did appear elsewhere
5-6/9/1954, 12-13/9/1954, 34-36/10/1954, 48-49/7/1955,
53-55/6/1956.

OCTOBER 1949

Events

- 1st - Peoples Republic of China established.
- 5th - Sino Soviet Friendship Association (SSFA) established - first delegation sent to the Soviet Union.
- 16th - Peking University Joint Committee of Faculty and Staff Members to Direct Political Education established.
 - Ministry of Education established.
 - Union of Educational Workers established.
 - GAC, Culture and Education Committee (CEC) established.

NOVEMBER 1949

Events

- 1st - Chinese Academy of Science (CAS) established.

DECEMBER 1949

Events

23rd/

- 31st - First All China Educational Work Conference, first session.

Directives

- 5th - Directive concerning the development of winter study in 1950.
- 16th - Ministry of Education plan for the establishment of the Chinese People's University.

JANUARY 1950

FEBRUARY 1950

Events

4th/

- 15th - Ministry of Education and the Labour Unions establish training classes for teachers in spare time schools in Tainjin.
- 14th - Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance signed.

MARCH 1950

Directives

12th - Ministry of Education Directive on the continuation of educational work in disaster areas.

APRIL 1950

MAY 1950

Events

- People's Education (RMJY) appears.

1st - Marriage Law.

8th - Ministry of Education and Labour Union's establish training classes for teachers in spare time schools in Peking.

- First All China Educational Work Conference concluded.

- All cadres in administrative and judicial government departments go to suburban areas in Peking to take part in land reform.

Directives

13th - North East China People's Government Directive on higher educational work.

****** - Ministry of Education, First Office, Middle School Section - Notification of draft of the simplified scientific syllabus for middle schools (66-70/5/1950) - Part 1.

JUNE 1950

Events

1st/

9th - All China Higher Educational Work Conference - first session.

17th - Guo Moruo speaks on culture and education at the second session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. (CPPC)

- first experimental worker peasant short course middle school opens in Peking.

Directives

- 1st - General Administrative Council (GAC) Directive on developing after work education for workers.
- 22nd - GAC Directive on placement of this year's summer graduates from public and private higher institutes throughout the country.
- **** - Ministry of Education, First Office, Middle School Section
- Notification of draft of the simplified scientific syllabus for middle schools (59-69/6/1950) - Part 2.

JULY 1950

Directives

- 1st - Provisional Ministry of Education regulations on application for people's scholarships by new students in higher institutes in West China in 1950.
- 5th - Decision on textbooks to be used in primary and middle schools from Autumn 1950.
- 22nd - Directive on strengthening cooperation between Education Departments and Youth and Children's Brigades.
- 28th - I) Decision concerning the leadership relations in higher
* education institutes (67/9/1950)
- II) Decision on reforming the syllabuses in higher education institutes (68/9/1950).
- III) Temporary rules for higher education institutes (69/9/1950).
- IV) Temporary rules for specialist colleges (70/9/1950).
- V) Temporary control procedure for private higher education institutes (71/9/1950).
- **** - Ministry of Education, First Office, Middle School Section -
Notification of draft of the simplified scientific syllabus for middle schools (66-76/7/1950) - Part 3.

Editorials

- 9-10/ "Achievements of the National Conference on Higher Education 7/1950 ion.

AUGUST 1950

Events

1st - First National Health Conference.

- Chinese Association for the Dissemination of Scientific and Technical Knowledge established.

Editorials

5-6/8/1950 "The revolutionary educationalist - Dao Xingzhi".

SEPTEMBER 1950

Events

1st - Chinese People's University established.

20th/

29th - First National Conference on Worker Peasant Education.

Editorials

7-9/9/1950 "Ideological preparation for the National Conference on Worker Peasant Education".

OCTOBER 1950

Editorials

13-15/10/1950 "Great victory on the ideological front".

NOVEMBER 1950

Editorials

9/11/1950 "Develop the 'Aid Korea, resist the US' political education movement".

10-11/11/1950 "Strengthen the education of worker peasant cadres".

DECEMBER 1950

Events

17th - Armed Forces Propaganda, Educational and Cultural Work Conference.

Directives

- 8th - Ministry of Education Directive on the successful completion of enrolment in military schools.
- 14th - Regulations for the formation and organisation of workers
* spare time education committees at various levels (67/1/1951).
- 14th - Regulations for the formation and organisation of peasant
* spare time education (68/1/1951)
- 25th - Measures governing enrolment in army medical schools.

Editorials

- 5-7/12/1950 "Continue to popularise 'Aid Korea, resist the US' political education in school".

JANUARY 1951

Events

- 16-22nd - Conference for the Disposal of Foreign subsidised Higher Institutes.
- 23-26th - Ministry of Education Conference to examine progress of reform in college curricula.

Directives

- ★★ - Directive on organising worker peasant schools.
- ★★ - Directive on raising the cultural and educational standards of worker and peasant cadres.

Editorials

- 9-11/1/1951 "Second year in the construction of the people's educational system".

FEBRUARY 1951

Events

- Feb-June - Ministry of Education holds a number of conferences to examine the progress of college curricula reform.

Directives

- ** - Terms of the Directives on how to deal with US subsidised cultural, educational, charitable and religious institutes (68/2/1951).
- ** - Report on the Directives on how to deal with US subsidised cultural, educational, charitable and religious institutes (69/2/1951)
- ** - Registration rules concerning US subsidised private higher institutes (70/2/1951).
- ** - How to carry out registration methods for US subsidised private higher institutes (70/2/1951).
- ** - Ministry of Education Notification: Opening of Conference on Foreign Subsidised Higher Education Institutes in Peking (64/2/1951).

MARCH 1951

Events

19-31st - National Conference on Middle School Education.

Directives

- *1st - Ministry of Education Directive on transforming winter schools into regular village schools (71/4/1951).

Editorials

5-6/3/1951 "Prepare seriously for the opening of the First National Middle School Education Conference".

APRIL 1951

Events

- 15-25th - First National Conference of Trade Unions representing cultural and educational workers.
- criticism of Wu Xun.

Directives

- ** - Temporary regulations on worker peasant crash course middle schools (72/4/1951).

- **** - Temporary plan for the implementation of the worker peasant crash course middle schools.
- **** - Ministry of Education Notification: Opening of the First National Middle School Education Conference (34/4/1951).

Editorials

9-10/4/1951 "Educate the younger generation - greeting to the First National Primary School Education Conference".

MAY 1951

Directives

- **** - Temporary administrative policy on workers spare time education (71-73/5/1951).

Editorials

9/5/1951 "Remould oneself seriously in order to better serve the working people".

19-11/5/1951 "Our main task is to edit this magazine well".

JUNE 1951

Directives

- 4th - Ministry of Education Directive calling on all educational workers to take up the ideological struggle using their criticism of Wu Xun as the base.
- 24th - GAC decision on enrolment of students in military cadre schools.
- 25th - Ministry of Education instruction on completion of recruitment plans for military cadre schools.

Editorials

5-7/6/1951 "Study 'On Practice'".

8/6/1951 " Promote the discussion of 'The biography of Wu Xun' and 'Down with the spirit of Wu Xun'".

JULY 1951

Events

20-26th - First All China Students Congress.

Directives

13th - GAC Decision on improvement of health conditions of students in all schools.

AUGUST 1951

Events

20-31st - Pedagogical Conference of Higher Institutes.

27 Aug - 2 Sept - Third National Conference of Educational Workers.

27 Aug - 10 Sept - First National Primary and Normal Education Conference.

- First National Intermediate Technological Education Conference.

Directives

6th - Administrative order on healthier life for students.

10th - GAC Decision on reforming the school system (53-54/11/1951).
*

** - Ministry of Education Notification: Decision on changes in the publishing of permanent national education journals (5/8/1951).

Editorials

6-7/8/1951 "The study of 'On Practice' must be integrated with the practical situation".

8/8/1951 "Overcome the chaotic phenomenon evident in the educational work of schools at all levels".

SEPTEMBER 1951

Events

18-25th - National Conference on Middle Level Health Education.

20-28th - First National Conference on Education for the National Minorities.

22-30th - First Cultural Administrative Conference of the North West.

29th - Ideological Remoulding Campaign starts after Zhou Enlai's speech to the intellectuals.

- more than 3,000 Tianjin and Peking teachers ordered to undertake 4 months of reformative study.

Directives

****** - Ministry of Education Notification on measures to improve students' health in schools at all levels (57/9/1951).

Editorials

5-6/9/1951 "Correctly implement the decision taken to improve students' health".

OCTOBER 1951

Events

1st - Implementation of the new education system promulgated.

Editorials

5-6/10/1951 "The great meaning in reforming the school system and the fundamental spirit of the new educational system".

7-8/10/1951 "Develop primary education steadily and train a million people's teachers".

NOVEMBER 1951

3-9th - Conference of Deans of Engineering Colleges.

20-29th - First National Conference on Worker Peasant Short Course Middle Schools.

Directives

***11th-** Ministry of Education directive on strengthening the teaching of politics and current affairs in winter schools (21/12/1951)

15th - Directive on rectification and development of 'people run' primary schools.

30th - GAC approves the plan for the readjustment of technical colleges.

Editorials

4-5/11/1951 "People's teachers must become Marxists".

DECEMBER 1951

Events

9th - Symposium on 'reformism' at Peking University.

26th - GAC decides to establish a research Committee for the Reform of the Chinese Language.

- Criticism of Hu Shih begins.

Editorials

4-5/12/1951 "Popularise the idea of using revolutionary methods to carry out people's education to its fullest extent".

JANUARY 1952

31 Jan - 2 Feb - East China Study Conference of Higher Education Circles.

- "Three Anti" campaign begins.

Directives

6th - Decision of the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee to launch study campaign for ideological remoulding.

Editorials

4-5/1/1952 "The fundamental objectives of the nation's education work in 1952".

FEBRUARY 1952

Directives

****** - Ministry of Education Notification; Extracts from the final report of the First National Conference on Worker Peasant Short Course Middle Schools (11-14/2/1952).

Editorials

4-5/2/1952 "Thoroughly carry out anti corruption, anti waste and anti bureaucratic education".

MARCH 1952

Directives

18th - Draft of temporary regulations for middle schools.

18th - Draft of temporary regulations for primary schools.

APRIL 1952

Directives

*10th- GAC Directive on the reform and development of middle technical schools (54-55/5/1952).

16th - Plan for readjustment of technical colleges in China promulgated.

Editorials

4/4/1952 "Popularise propaganda education concerning anti bacteriological warfare".

5/4/1952 "Teachers in higher institutes should thoroughly remould their ideology through the 'Three Anti Movement'".

MAY 1952

Events

- crash literacy course of Qi Jianhua receives national publicity.

Directives

30th - GAC and People's Revolutionary Military Council dispatch cadres in government organs and military units to study in higher institutes.

** - Directive abolishing corporal punishment in schools at all levels (56-57/5/1952).

- ** - Ministry of Education, Translation Department - 'Primary Schools and Normal Education in The Soviet Union' (34-44/5/1952).

JUNE 1952

Events

- reorganisation of higher institutes begins, and continues until October.
- establishment of a committee for the state direction of graduates into employment.

Directives

- 12th - Ministry of Education Regulations governing the enrolment of new students into Higher Institutes in the summer of 1952.
- 18th - GAC Directive on "several questions concerning the reallocation of jobs for graduates of higher institutes".

Editorials

- 4/6/1952 "Commemorate the International Children's Festival of June 1st".

JULY 1952

Events

- 4th -11th - National Conference of Deans of Agricultural Colleges.

Directives

- 8th - GAC Directive on readjustment of standards of people's scholarships.
- 17th - Ministry of Education Directive on 1952 Plan for training state construction cadres.
- 22nd - Ministry of Education Notification to affiliate worker peasant short course middle schools to higher institutes.

Editorials

- 4-5/7/1952 "Strive for the ideological leadership of the proletariat in schools at all levels".

AUGUST 1952

Events

2nd - 10th - National Administrative Conference on Primary and Middle Schools.

Directives

3rd - GAC Directive on employment problems facing graduates.

Editorials

4/8/1952 "The deep concern for the students and people's teachers in new China".

5/8/1952 "Strengthen the nation's educational investigation and statistical work".

SEPTEMBER 1952

23rd - 27th - National Anti Illiteracy Forum.

- September to October, teachers in Peking and Tianjin plunge into a campaign to learn Russian.

Editorials

4/9/1952 "Strive for the establishment of a systematic programme of teachers' further training".

OCTOBER 1952

Events

13th - 19th - Fourth Plenary Session of the National Committee of Educational Trade Unions.

- Ideological remoulding campaign concluded.

Directives

****** - Ministry of Education Notification: Comparing pre and post Liberation student numbers (6-7/10/1952).

NOVEMBER 1952

Events

15th - Ministry of Higher Education established (Zhang Xiruo Minister of Higher Education, Ma Xulun - Minister of Education).

22nd - Soviet experts speak at China People's University forum.

- Sino Soviet Friendship Month.

- many educational figures dismissed.

Directives

15th - Ministry of Education halts establishment of further numbers of 'people run' schools.

- promulgation of decision to affiliate worker peasant short course middle schools to higher institutes.

** - Ministry of Education, Primary School Department Notification: The progress made by Peking City with its 5 year primary school system (50-52/11/1952).

Editorials

4-5/11/1952 "Advance one step further in learning the advanced Soviet educational experience".

DECEMBER 1952

JANUARY 1953

Events

13th - 24th - GAC Conference of Chairmen of Regional Committees of the Culture and Education Committee to discuss work plans for 1953.

Editorials

7/1/1953 "Welcome the economic development of our country and improve the quality and quantity of our educational work".

FEBRUARY 1953

Events

10th - Conference for Heads of Higher Institutions of North China.

20th - 26th - North China Regional Cultural and Educational Work Conference.

21st - 26th - Third Pedagogical Research Conference on problems of the short course system.

- campaign against bureaucratism launched.
- February to May, Ministry of Higher Education sets up an Office of Inspection and sends out 4 investigation teams.

Editorials

9/2/1953 "Learn from the distinguished personality of the martyr Xi Xinmin".

16-21/2/1953 "'Life Education" and 'New Democratic Education' are in fundamental conflict with one another".

MARCH 1953

Editorials

4-5/3/1953 "Teaching is the school's most important task".

APRIL 1953

Events

- Ministry of Higher Education revises pedagogical programmes for maths, physics, dynamics, chemistry, geometry and technical drawing.

Editorials

10/4/1953 "March on the road which Comrade Stalin has mapped out".

MAY 1953

Directives

*29th- GAC Directive on revision of leadership relations in higher institutes (66-70/11/1953).

Editorials

4/5/1953 "Strengthen worker and peasant cadres education".

5/5/1953 "We must not underestimate the importance of marking".

JUNE 1953

Events

- Second National Educational Workers Conference.

Directives

- * - Directive on teaching methods for middle schools (67/8/1953).

Editorials

4-5/6/1953 "Oppose the practices of using corporal punishment and other illegal disciplinary methods in schools".

JULY 1953

3rd - Second Session of the All China Russian Language Teaching Work Conference.

7th - Ministry of Higher Education sets up a National Enrolment Committee for higher institutes.

15th July - 3rd August - Administrative Conference on Higher Technical Institutes.

31st July -14th August - First National Geological Conference.

Directives

- ** - Ministry of Education Notification: Answers to questions concerning English teaching in middle schools (44-45/7/1953).

AUGUST 1953

Events

31st August - 13th September - Pedagogical Research Conference.

Editorials

4-5/8/1953 "Teaching competition should be completely abolished".

SEPTEMBER 1953

10th - 23rd - National Conference of Comprehensive Universities.

23rd - 27th - Conference on Higher Technical Colleges.

28th Sept - 13th Oct - First National Conference of Higher Normal Education.

Directives

- ** - Ministry of Education Notification: Further details on teaching methods in middle schools (67-70/9/1953).

Editorials

4-5/9/1953 "Strengthen discipline in schools".

OCTOBER 1953

Directives

7th - North West Executive Committee Directive on winter schools in 1953.

* - Directive on strengthening physical education in schools (5-7/12/1953).

Editorials

4-5/10/1953 "Improving the leadership of the headmaster is the key to correct organisation in schools.

NOVEMBER 1953

Events

2nd - National Youth and Children's Conference opens.

Directives

21st - Directive of North China Bureau on strengthening general education work in the rural Party branches.

*26th- GAC Directive on improving and developing higher normal education (5/1/1954).

*26th- GAC Directive on the reorganisation of primary school education (6-8/1/1954).

Editorials

7-8/11/1953 "Thoroughly and urgently investigate the educational work being done in schools".

DECEMBER 1953

Directives

- Directive on strengthening cultural and educational work for cadres.

- GAC decision on 5 year primary schools.

- Ministry of Education and Literacy Work Committee Directive on winter school work in 1953.

Editorials

4/12/1953 "Study and realise the Main Line in the transition period".

JANUARY 1954

Events

14th - 27th - National Middle School Education Conference.

Editorials

9/1/1954 "Achieve the 2 directives - on reforming the primary and higher normal systems".

FEBRUARY 1954

MARCH 1954

12th - 23rd - National Cultural and Educational Work Conference.

Directives

★★ - Directive on development of student's health (66-69/3/1954).

Editorials

5-6/3/1954 "Study Stalin's educational directives".

7/3/1954 "Educate our new generation using Soviet youth as the model".

APRIL 1954

1st - 22nd - National Higher Financial and Economic Conference.

12th - 21st - Forum to discuss pedagogical experiences of Chinese People's University.

Directives

★8th - GAC Directive on improvement and development of middle school education (63-65/8/1954)

21st - Ministry of Education announces draft pedagogical plan for normal colleges.

22nd - New Democratic Youth League directive organising senior primary school and junior middle school graduates to participate in production.

****** - Ministry of Higher Education, Higher Normal Section, Notification: Several problems requiring clarification in the draft pedagogical plan for normal colleges (10-12/4/1954).

MAY 1954

Events

8th - National Conference on Political and Legal Education closed.

Directives

15th - Ministries of Education and Higher Education Directive on changes in leadership of worker peasant short course middle schools.

18th - Ministries of Education and Higher Education announce measures for enrolment of new students in Higher Institutes in the summer.

22nd - Propaganda Department on participation of senior primary school and junior middle school graduates in production.

25th - Ministries of Education and Higher Education on student recruiting work for worker peasant short course middle schools.

- Ministry of Education Directive selecting primary school teachers and normal school graduates to take the normal college entrance exam.

Editorials

5-6/5/1954 "Emphatically guide school leavers to participate in industrial production".

JUNE 1954

Events

17th - National Administrative Conference on specialised Middle Schools.

Directives

- 4th - Ministries of Education and Higher Education Directive on enrolment of middle school students in 1954.
- *19th- Ministry of Education Directive on establishment, development and reorganisation of normal schools (70-73/8/1954).
- 20th - Ministry of Education Directive on operation of classes for training of primary school teachers by rotation.
- 23rd - Decision concerning the enhancement of the quality and quantity of primary and middle schools in Peking.

Editorials

- 5-6/6/1954 "One step further in improving political education in Departments of Education".

JULY 1954

Events

- 25th July - 21st August - National Comprehensive University Pedagogical Research Conference.
- 29th July - 5th August - National Higher Medical Conference.

Directives

- 27th - Ministry of Higher Education Notice to all higher institutes to improve student discipline and increase safety measures.
- ★★ - Ministry of Education Notification: Draft guidelines for the development of middle school education (16/7/1954).

Editorials

- 14-15/7/1954 "Give full support to learning, discussing and rallying support for the new draft Constitution".

AUGUST 1954

Events

- 6th - First National Conference on Spare Time Culture and Education for Peasants.

11th - 24th - Conference at Dairen College of Technology on pedagogy for higher technical colleges.

Directives

7th - Regulations governing labour service for reform.

****** - Directive on peasant cultural and educational activities during their free time.

Editorials

5-6/8/1954 "Follow the example of Peking's education policy which raised the quality of primary and middle school education".

SEPTEMBER 1954

Events

20th - Constitution adopted.

Directives

***9th** - Ministry of Education circular demanding elevation of pedagogical quality in primary and middle schools (5-6/9/1954).

***26th** - GAC Directive on improving the running of the middle schools (65-66/11/1954).

****** - Ministry of Higher Education, Higher Normal Department, Notification: several points to note in the draft 'Training Scheme for Normal Colleges' (8-10/9/1954).

****** - Ministry of Higher Education, Higher Normal Department Notification: Explanatory note on the teaching methods to be used in the crash courses for middle school teachers (11/9/1954).

***** - Ministry of Education, Middle School Teachers Training Department, Notification: Raise and improve the quality of primary and middle school teachers and strengthen the rotational training of primary teachers (12-13/9/1954).

OCTOBER 1954

29th Oct - 12th Nov - Second National Higher Agricultural and Forestry Education Conference.

- Soviet cultural and education exhibition in Peking.

Directives

*23rd- Ministry of Education Directive to resolutely carry out educational work in the disaster areas (30/11/1954).

****** - Ministry of Higher Education, Higher Normal Department, Notification: Achievements in higher normal education in the past 5 years (25-27/10/1954).

****** - Ministry of Education, Middle School Teachers Training Department, Notification: Middle school teachers training in the past 5 years (28-30/10/1954).

****** - Ministry of Education Notification: National educational progress in the last 5 years (31-33/10/1954).

- Ministry of Education Notification: The development in the number of students, their different subjects and schools as compared with the pre Liberation situation (34-36/10/1954).

Editorials

13-14/10/1954 "Realise the spirit of the Constitution in our educational work".

NOVEMBER 1954

Directives

****** - Ministry of Education, Worker Peasant Short Course Middle School Department, Notification: Achievements in short course middle schools in the past 5 years (34-35/11/1954).

Editorials

5-6/11/1954 "Thoroughly understand Soviet internationalism. Proceed one step further in learning the advanced Soviet educational experience".

DECEMBER 1954

Events

- Second National SSFA Conference.

Directives

13th - Ministry of Higher Education Directive on strengthening health work and improving the health of students and teachers.

JANUARY 1955

Events

- campaign against Hu Shih begins.

Directives

- **** - Ministry of Education Notification approving Comrade Huang Xiaozeng's Report on the Hebei Education Department (10/1/1955).

Editorials

- 5-7/11/1055 "The central objective of our educational work from now on is to actively and steadily improve educational quality".

FEBRUARY 1955

Events

- 22nd Feb - 7th March - National Conference on Worker Peasant Short Course Middle Schools.
- Second conference on Adult Education: first session.

Directives

- 10th - Ministry of Education Directive on primary school pupil regulations.

MARCH 1955

- campaign against Hu Feng begins.

Directives

- *4th - Ministry of Education Directive on the solution to the problem of overburdening students in higher technical schools (5-11/4/1955).
- **** - Ministry of Higher Education Notification on Liu Shih's report of his investigation of 4 normal colleges (10/3/1955).

Editorials

- 5-7/3/1955 "How to strengthen ideological education".
- 31-33/3/1955 "Some explanations on teaching the 'Basic Knowledge of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China'".

APRIL 1955

Editorials

11-12/4/1955 "Realise and implement the directives concerned with the abnormal work load endured by students in higher technical colleges".

MAY 1955

Events

19th May - 10th June - National Cultural Educational Work Conference.

- criticism of Liang Xuming begins.

Directives

17th - Ministry of Higher Education Directive on the cessation of enrolment of students in worker peasant short course middle schools.

****** - Directive for middle and normal schools to utilise old textbooks in the first terms of the academic year 1955-1956 (65-66/5/1955).

****** - Ministry of Education and New Democratic Youth League Notification on developing tree planting activities among primary and middle school students (7/5/1955).

Editorials

5-6/5/1955 "The great meaning in criticising idealism".

JUNE 1955

Directives

5th - State Council Directive on intensified spare time cultural education for peasants.

6th - State Council Directive on elimination of rural illiteracy.

8th - Ministries of Education and Higher Education Directive on enrolment of new students into higher institutes.

10th - Ministry of Education Directive on enrolment of new students into middle and normal schools.

17th - Ministries of Education and Higher Education and the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League: notice to all higher institutes on fraternisation between youths, students and army men.

18th - Ministry of Education Rules for the conduct of primary and middle school pupils.

JULY 1955

Events

- 16th All China Students Congress.
- drive to improve the quality and quantity of teachers.

Directives

- * - Ministry of Education Directive on implementing rules of conduct for middle school students (46-47/7/1955).
- * - Ministry of Education, Middle School Department, Notification: Explanatory notes on the content of the regulations for Primary and middle school students (48-49/7/1955).
- ** - Ministry of Education Notification: The middle school teaching timetable for the school year 1955-1956 (65-66/7/1955).

Editorials

41/7/1955 "Eradicate Hu Feng's counter revolutionary elements and influence in the schools".

AUGUST 1955

Directives

- 5th - Temporary Regulations concerning post graduates from the Chinese Academy of Science.
- 22nd - Ministry of Higher Education notice on the requirements of people's scholarships.
- State Council circular condemns establishment of special schools for cadres children.

- ★★ - Directive on reducing the work load of primary and middle school students (20-21/8/1955).

Editorials

4-5/8/1955 "Strive for the achievement of the educational targets of the first Five Year Plan".

6-7/8/1955 "Professions and Politics".

SEPTEMBER 1955

Events

4th - Institute of Educational Administration opens.

Directives

2nd - Ministry of Education Directive on the teaching plans for primary schools.

- ★★ - Directive on improving physical education work in primary and middle schools (19-20/9/1955).

Editorials

5-6/9/1955 "We must strengthen patriotic education in the schools so as to combat spies and counter revolutionaries".

OCTOBER 1955

Events

15th - 23rd - National Written Language Reform Conference.

Editorials

4/10/1955 "Raise our educational standards even further beyond our present level of achievement".

5-6/10/1955 "What type of essays do the editors want?".

NOVEMBER 1955

Events

- language modernisation and simplification promulgated.

Directives

- ★13th- Ministry of Education Directive strengthening spare time study for middle school teachers (7/12/1955).

Editorials

12-14/11/1955 "We should earnestly study the report and decisions on agricultural collectivisation".

DECEMBER 1955

Events

12th - 30th - Planning Symposium for Heads of Education Departments.

19th - 28th - National Conference on Spare Time Education for Workers and Employees.

Directives

5th - Central Committee of New Democratic Youth League Resolution to wipe out rural illiteracy in 7 years.

★30th-Ministries of Education and Higher Education Regulation on the formation of student associations in middle schools (64-66/3/1956).

★★ - Directive on popularising the use of simplified characters in schools at all levels (8/12/1955).

★★ - Directive on popularising the use of putonghua in schools at all levels (9-10/12/1955).

Editorials

4-5/12/1955 "Government education authorities at all levels must strengthen their leadership over worker peasant spare time education".

JANUARY 1956

Events

14th - 20th - Conference on the Problems of Intellectuals.

- Twelve Year Plan for Normal Education laid down.

Directives

28th - State Council Directive on simplification of Chinese characters.

Editorials

4-6/1/1956 "Struggle to accelerate the universalisation and elevation of education".

FEBRUARY 1956

Events

- campaign to universalise basic educational opportunities.

Directives

1st - Ministry of Education and the New Democratic Youth League Directive on temporary schools for unemployed senior middle school students.

- ** - Directive for middle, normal and short course middle schools to utilise old textbooks in the second term of the academic year 1955-1956 (66-67/2/1956).

MARCH 1956

19th - National Committee on College Enrolment established.

23rd - ? - Second National Conference on Higher Normal Education.

Directives

30th - CPC Central Committee and the State Council's Joint Decision on the elimination of illiteracy.

- ** - Directive on popularising the use of putonghua (21-22/3/1956).

- ** - Ministry of Education Notification: Decisions on the report of the delegation to the Soviet Union taken at the 40th Meeting of the Ministry of Education (6/3/1956).

Editorials

4-5/3/1956 "Seriously study the report of the primary and middle school teachers' delegation to the Soviet Union and diligently study the advanced Soviet experience".

APRIL 1956

Directives

3rd - State Council Directive on ways to ensure fulfilment of the student enrolment plan for higher institutes.

- **** - Ministry of Education and New Democratic Youth League Notification: General report on the National Children's Exhibition of Scientific, Technical and Industrial Culture (59-60/4/1956).

Editorials

6-8/4/1956 "Enthusiastically carry out our educational tasks and vigorously implement the decision to eliminate illiteracy".

MAY 1956

2nd - Mao "Let all flowers bloom, let 100 schools of thought contend".

26th - Meeting of leading intellectuals in Peking (Lu Dingyi).

Directives

4th - Ministry of Education Notification of improvement of quality in senior middle schools.

- **** - Ministry of Education Notification: Middle school language lessons should henceforth be divided into language and literature - and new textbooks should be used (64/5/1956).

Editorials

4-6/5/1956 "Overcome problems and welcome assignments".

JUNE 1956

Events

- Conference of Directors of Propaganda of Cultural and Education Departments of Provincial and Municipal Party Committees.

Directives

- *** - Ministry of Education, Middle School Teachers Department, Notification: Opinions on implementing the teaching scheme for normal colleges (53-55/6/1956).

Editorials

4-6/6/1956 "How to realise the spirit of National Advanced Producers Delegates Conference in the educational field".

JULY 1956

Events

20th July - 1st August - Conference on Pedagogical Outlines for Law Departments.

Directives

21st - Ministry of Education Notice - "let teachers work in the same place as their husbands or wives".

- Ministry of Higher Education announces first ever enrolment for post graduate degrees.

- Ministry of Higher Education revises literature and history teaching outlines in higher institutes.

****** - Ministry of Education Notification: Vigorously implement normal college regulations (12-13/7/1956).

Editorials

4-7/7/1956 "Brief comment on the "One Hundred Schools of Thought Contending" in education".

AUGUST 1956

Events

? - 17th August - Summer Symposium for Heads of Higher Institutes concludes.

Directives

****** - Ministry of Education, Middle School Teachers Department Notification: Explanatory Notes concerning the teaching scheme for middle school teachers in the school year 1956-1957 (27-28/8/1956)

Editorials

4-7/8/1956 "Some principles for compiling middle school history textbooks".

15-16/8/1956 "On reforming and improving language teaching".

SEPTEMBER 1956

Directives

1st - Ministry of Education and Educational Workers Trade Union
Joint Notice on the outstanding workers movement.

Editorials

7/9/1956 "What is the crux of the argument ?".

OCTOBER 1956

Events

22nd - Ministry of Higher Education Forum on work assignments for
college graduates.

Editorials

6-8/10/1956 "Strive to arm ourselves with the ideology of Marxism-
Leninism".

NOVEMBER 1956

Editorials

4-6/11/1956 "We must succeed in the task of uniting the people".

DECEMBER 1956

Events

5th - 14th - Conference of Library Workers.

Editorials

4/12/1956 "Enforcing more rigid school inspection and supervision
is the most effective way of improving the job of support
and guidance undertaken by the education departments".

JANUARY 1957

? - 21st January - Conference to revise model pedagogical plans
for technical institutes concluded.

Directives

30th - Ministry of Education Notification on graduating exams in middle schools.

- Ministry of Education Notification on strengthening ideological and political education in middle schools.
- Ministry of Education Regulations on work and organisation of middle school seminars.

Editorials

4-6/1/1957 "Problems in this year's educational work which demand our attention".

FEBRUARY 1957

Directives

8th.- Ministry of Education Notification of addition of the new subject "Common Knowledge of Agricultural Production" to the primary school syllabus.

- Ministry of Education Notification urging all schools to re-organise, consolidate and elevate the standard of spare time education on offer.
- Ministry of Education Notification guiding graduates from primary and middle schools.

MARCH 1957

Events

18th - 28th - Third National Educational Administrative Conference.

Directives

30th - Ministries of Education and Higher Education and the New Democratic Youth League issue Joint Notification in the ideological requirements of college applicants.

- Ministry of Higher Education publishes its Guide to Higher Institutes.

APRIL 1957

Events

2nd - National Student Enrolment Committee for Higher Education
Institutes established.

30th - Rectification Movement launched.

Directives

17th - Ministry of Education Notification on student curricula in
middle and normal schools.

24th - Ministry of Higher Education provisions for the enrolment of
new higher students in 1957.

MAY 1957

Events

- furore at Peking University.

Editorials

4-5/5/1957 "An alarm bell in education".

JUNE 1957

Events

- 'combine study and labour' campaign launched.

Directives

8th - Ministry of Education Directive establishing ideology classes
in middle and normal schools.

Editorials

4-5/6/1957 "Strongly and effectively take steps to solve the contra-
dictions in our educational objectives".

JULY 1957

Events

15th - start of unified entrance exam for higher institutes.

Directives

- Ministry of Education revises the primary school timetable.

Editorials

- 4-6/7/1957 "How to hold our heads high in the storm".
- 7-8/7/1957 "Recognise the difference between right and wrong and defeat the rightist clique".

AUGUST 1957

Events

- 8th - Hanyang Incident.

Directives

- 8th - CPC Central Committee Directive on socialist education for peasants.
- 9th - Ministry of Higher Education announces Four Year Post Graduate Courses.

SEPTEMBER 1957

Events

- 11th - Study Conference for Teachers of Political Theory.

Editorials

- 4-5/9/1957 "Seriously study and realise Chairman Mao's educational directives".
- 6-7/9/1957 "We must strengthen socialist education in middle schools".

OCTOBER 1957

Events

- intellectuals sent out into the countryside.

Directives

- 25th - Regulations relating to certain problems in correspondance and spare time normal schools

30th - Notification on cultural and educational work for peasants during the winter and spring.

NOVEMBER 1957

Events

- No RMJY.

DECEMBER 1957

Events

- No RMJY.

Directives

- 17th - Ministries of Education and Higher Education on establishment of socialist education courses in all higher institutes.
- 31st - Ministry of Higher Education Directive on implementing with thoroughness the line of building up the nation and running schools with industry and thrift.

JANUARY 1958

Events

- No RMJY

Directives

- 19th - Guangxi Education Department's Notification on participation of middle school students and teachers in physical labour.
- 27th - Decision of the Young Communist League to encourage part time work and study among students.

FEBRUARY 1958

Events

- No RMJY.
- Ministry of Higher Education abolished.
- drive to establish 'people run' schools.

Directives

4th - Ministry of Education Notification in support of the decision of the Young Communist League on work study.

MARCH 1958

Events

- No RMJY.

7th - Ministry of Education Conference on Socialist Lessons for Middle Schools.

- drive for nationwide elimination of illiteracy.

- drive for popularisation and elevation of education.

Directives

15th - Ministry of Education Directive on participation of college students in manual labour.

16th - Ministry of Education Notification to all primary, middle and normal schools to commence teaching the phonetic alphabet.

APRIL 1958

Events

20th - First commune established in Hunan.

- National Educational Work Conference.

- National Conference of Deans of Nationalities Institutes.

- '2 Road' terminology appears.

Directives etc

** - Ministry of Transport, Education Department, Notification: The Xian Motor Car and Manufacturing School is on the way to self sufficiency (29-31/4/1958).

** - Ministry of Agriculture, Middle School Education Conference, Notification: The teachers and students of Laizu Agricultural Middle School work in the big lecture room of agriculture (32-33/4/1958).

Editorials

6/4/1958 "Hasten the 'great leap forward' in education".

MAY 1958

Directives

★★ - Ministry of Education Notification: Achievements of the
Fourth National Educational Work Conference (20/5/1958).

JUNE 1958

Directives

8th - Ministry of Education establishes ideology classes in middle
and normal schools.

Editorials

2-3/6/1958 "Who should assume leadership - the Party or the experts?".

4/6/1958 "Learn from the experiences of the two villages, Xiaomiao
and Sizhanggeng.

JULY 1958

Editorials

2-3/7/1958 "Actively develop and greatly strengthen 'people run'
schools".

4-6/7/1958 "By integrating educational work, study and apply Dialect-
ical Materialism".

AUGUST 1958

Directives

29th - "Establishment of People's Communes in Rural Areas".

Editorials

2-3/8/1958 "Study and thoroughly apply the Mass Line".

SEPTEMBER 1958

Events

- last issue of RMJY.

Directives

- 9th - CPC and State Council Joint Directive "Education must serve proletarian politics and combine education with labour".
- 12th - Ministry of Education Announcement on enrolment of post graduates into a four year course by higher institutes.
- 19th - Directive on 'part work-part study'.

Editorials

- 1-2/9/1958 "A year of great change in educational work".

OCTOBER 1958

NOVEMBER 1958

Events

- 1st - Conference on the Development of Worker's Education.
- 1st - Exhibition on education combined with productive labour.

DECEMBER 1958

Events

- 2nd - National Conference on Traditional Medicine.
- 10th - Wuhan Resolution.
- 22nd Dec - 4th Jan - National Conference on Scientific and Technical work.

APPENDIX 7

RMJY reprints of other paper's articles

The RMJY editorial board were confident enough of their own influence and authority not to have to reprint, parrot fashion, articles or items dealing with education from other authoritative sources on a regular basis.

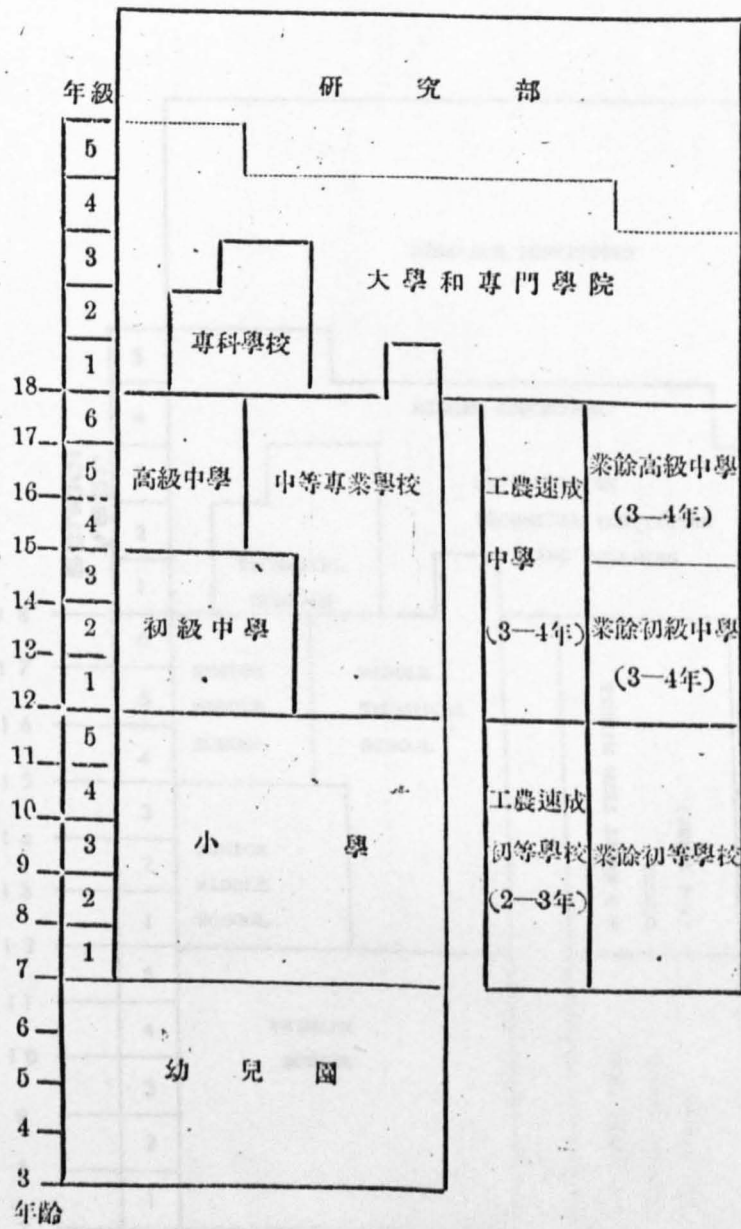
On important occasions nationally publicised documents were reproduced. Thus, on the death of Stalin, the April 1953 issue reprinted Mao's "Message of Mourning" and "The Greatest Friendship" while in October 1954 it published the full text of the new Constitution. Occasionally - and only very occasionally - articles from the 'Renmin Ribao' and 'Guangming Ribao' were reprinted. A full list of 'what the other papers said in RMJY' appears below. Where the information is available the date of their original press appearance is given in brackets at the end of the article heading.

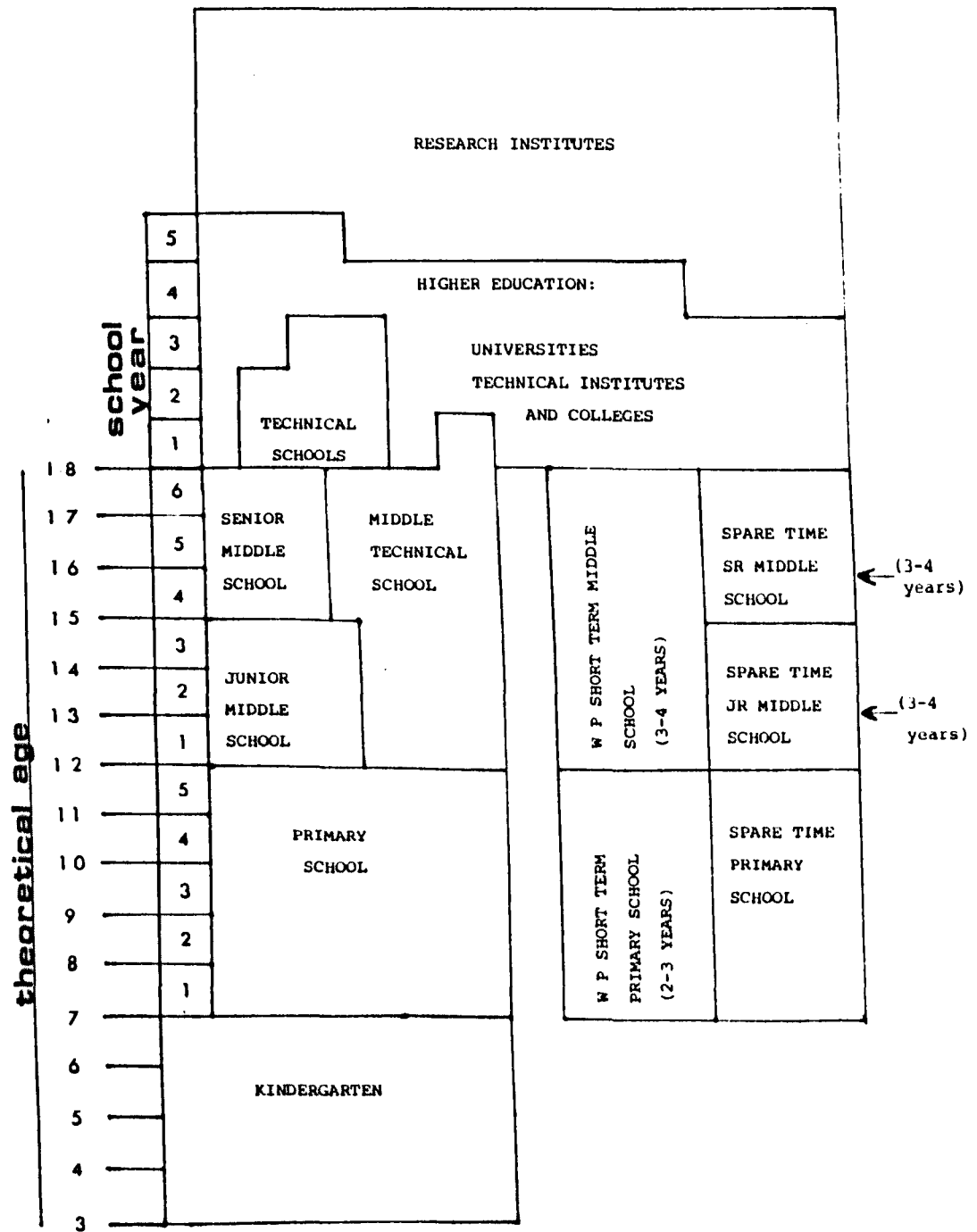
- (1) 53-54/2/1952 "Criticise the incorrect thoughts of Sun Mingxun" taken from the 'Xinhua Daily', Zhongqing.
- (2) 55/2/1952 "Criticise the thoughts of Sun Mingxun so as to eradicate the influence of 'The spirit of Wu Xun'", taken from the 'Xinghua Daily'.
- (3) 4/11/1953 "We should pay attention to the education of the Higher Teachers" from 'Renmin Ribao'.
- (4) 5-6/11/1953 "Realise the decisions made by the Conference on Higher Teachers Education" from 'Guangming Ribao'.
- (5) 4/7/1955 "Preface to Materials on the Hu Feng Counter revolutionary Clique" from 'Renmin Ribao', (15/6/1955).
- (6) 11-25/7/1955 "Second group of materials on the Hu Feng Counter-revolutionary Clique" from 'Renmin Ribao'.
- (7) 26-39/7/1955 "Third group of materials on the Hu Feng Counter-revolutionary Clique" from 'Renmin Ribao'.
- (8) 40/7/1955 "We should all learn from the 'Hu Feng Incident'", from 'Renmin Ribao', (10/6/1955).
- (9) 15-16/11/1955 "Strive to promote the reform of Chinese characters, the popularisation of Mandarin and the standardisation of the Chinese spoken language" from 'Renmin Ribao', (26/10/1955).

- (10) 32-34/11/1955 "The Gong Pinmei Counterrevolutionary bloc is the enemy of all young people", from 'Guangming Ribao'.

APPENDIX 8

The national education system of the PRC - 1952 (54/11/1951)





APPENDIX 9

Comparative table of student enrollment before and after Liberation (31/10/1954)

| | <u>Highest Pre- Liberation Record</u> | <u>1949/50</u> | <u>1950/51</u> | <u>Number of students enrolled</u> | | |
|---|---|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | | | | <u>1951/52</u> | <u>1952/53</u> | <u>1953/54</u> |
| <u>Institutes of Higher Learning</u> | <u>155,036</u> | <u>117,133</u> | <u>138,731</u> | <u>155,570</u> | <u>194,378</u> | <u>216,765</u> |
| Research Students | 424 | 629 | 1,261 | 2,168 | 3,520 | 4,249 |
| Regular and Special Courses - | 154,612 | 116,504 | 137,470 | 153,402 | 190,858 | 212,516 |
| Including: Engineering | 27,555 | 30,320 | 38,462 | 48,517 | 66,583 | 80,089 |
| Normal Education | 20,818 | 12,039 | 13,312 | 18,225 | 32,108 | 39,958 |
| Medicine | 11,849 | 15,234 | 17,414 | 21,356 | 24,206 | 29,025 |
| <u>Middle Schools</u> | <u>1,878,523</u> | <u>1,267,809</u> | <u>1,566,540</u> | <u>1,964,071</u> | <u>3,145,866</u> | <u>3,628,264</u> |
| Specialised Middle Schools | 137,040 | 77,095 | 97,823 | 162,940 | 290,446 | 299,994 |
| Normal Middle Schools | 245,609 | 151,750 | 159,363 | 219,787 | 344,128 | 369,178 |
| Middle Schools | 1,495,874 | 1,038,964 | 1,304,907 | 1,568,084 | 2,490,910 | 2,931,168 |
| Senior Middle Schools | 317,853 | 207,156 | 237,950 | 184,393 | 260,433 | 359,532 |
| Junior Middle Schools | 1,178,021 | 831,808 | 1,066,957 | 1,383,691 | 2,230,477 | 2,571,636 |
| Short Course Middle Schools for Workers and Peasants | - | - | 4,447 | 13,260 | 20,382 | 27,924 |
| <u>Primary Schools</u> | <u>23,683,492</u> | <u>24,391,033</u> | <u>28,923,988</u> | <u>43,154,440</u> | <u>49,766,114</u> | <u>51,504,312</u> |
| <u>Kindergarten</u> | <u>130,213</u> | - | <u>140,325</u> | <u>381,816</u> | <u>436,927</u> | <u>424,965</u> |

APPENDIX 10

'Renmin Jiaoyu' and the Soviet contribution

Overleaf is a graphical account of the direct total number of articles which appeared in the magazine. Of the 6,105 total number of pages (A), 1,086 were on the 'advanced educational experience of the Soviet Union' (B) subdivided as follows:

In 1950, 148 of the 567 pages were on the AEEOSU (26%).

In 1951, 155 of the 760 pages were on the AEEOSU (20%).

In 1952, 164 of the 701 pages were on the AEEOSU (23%).

In 1953, 130 of the 796 pages were on the AEEOSU (16%).

In 1954, 126 of the 814 pages were on the AEEOSU (15%).

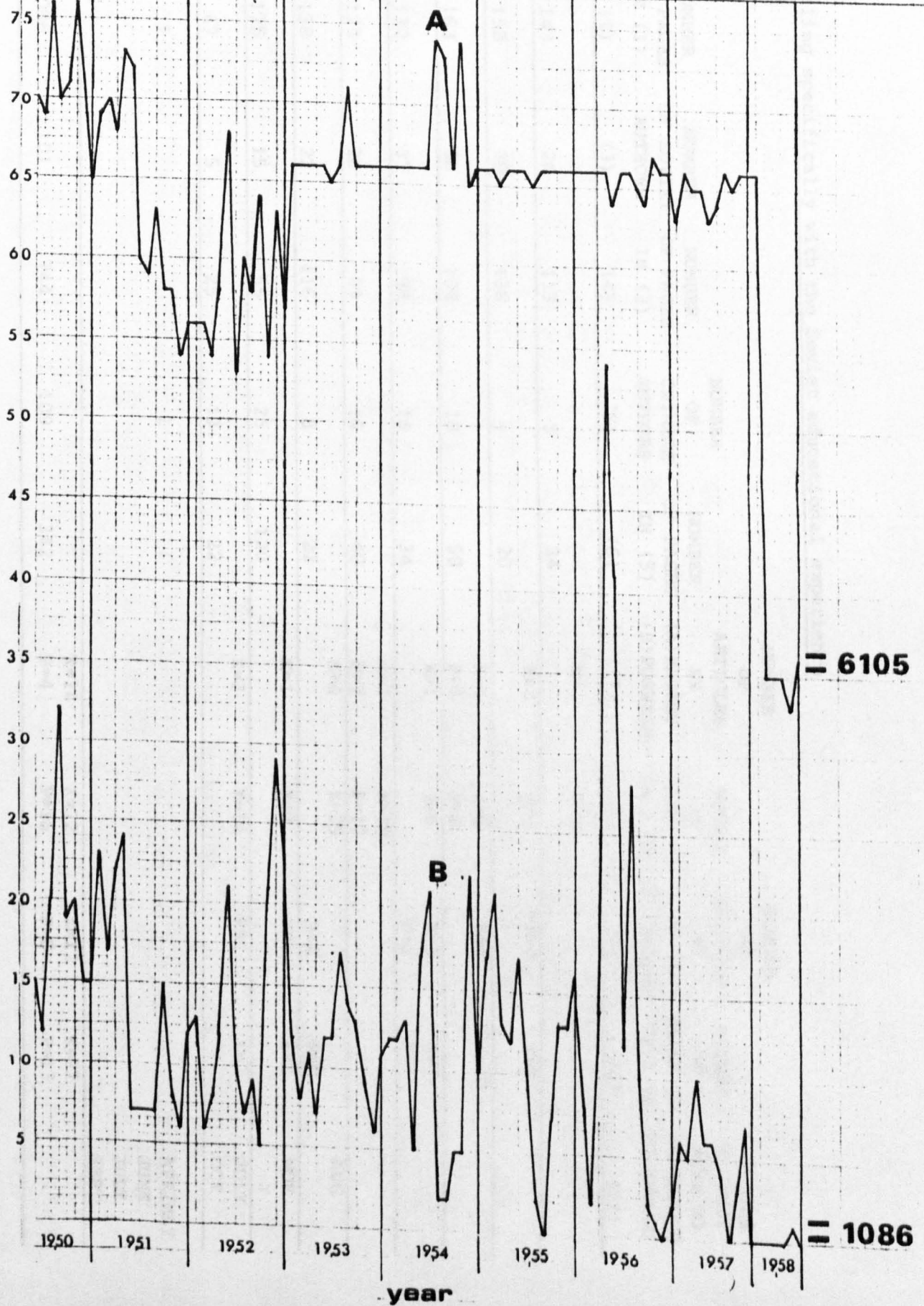
In 1955, 141 of the 790 pages were on the AEEOSU (18%).

In 1956, 174 of the 788 pages were on the AEEOSU (22%).

In 1957, 47 of the 649 pages were on the AEEOSU (7%).

In 1958, 1 of the 240 pages was on the AEEOSU (0.4%).

pages



APPENDIX 11

Analysis of articles dealing specifically with the Soviet educational experience

| CHART | | | | | | NUMBER OF ARTICLES BY (A) KAIROV (B) PUSHKIN | | NUMBER OF ARTICLES ON (A) KAIROV (B) PUSHKIN | | MONTHS IN RMJY WITH NO REFERENCE TO AEEOSU | |
|-------|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---|--|---|-------------|--|--|
| | NUMBER OF ARTICLES ON AEEOSU (1) | NUMBER OF PAGES IN (1) (2) | NUMBER OF SOVIET AUTHORS (3) | NUMBER OF PAGES IN (3) (4) | NUMBER OF CHINESE AUTHORS (5) | NUMBER OF PAGES IN (5) (6) | NUMBER OF PAGES IN 7A & 7B (8) | NUMBER OF PAGES IN 9A & 9B (10) | | | |
| 1950 | 31 | 143 | 26 | 119 | 5 | 24 | K=1 K=2 | | | | |
| 1951 | 36 | 158 | 29 | 138 | 7 | 20 | K=1 K=6 | K=3 K=8 | | | |
| 1952 | 44 | 163 | 36 | 104 | 18 | 59 | K=1 P=1 | K=6 P=6 | K=4 K=10 | | |
| 1953 | 46 | 132 | 37 | 98 | 16 | 34 | K=1 K=6 | K=3 P=2 | K=5 P=6 | | |
| 1954 | 41 | 129 | 26 | 89 | 16 | 40 | K=2 P=3 | K=10 P=10 | | | |
| 1955 | 30 | 138 | 22 | 116 | 8 | 22 | K=4 K=25 | | | AUG | |
| 1956 | 37 | 175 | 15 | 55 | 25 | 120 | K=1 K=3 | K=1 K=2 | | NOV | |
| 1957 | 19 | 47 | 5 | 25 | 13 | 22 | K=3 K=14 | K=1 K=2 | | JULY OCT | |
| 1958 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | | APR/MAY JUNE JULY SEPT | |
| TOTAL | 285 | 1086 | 101 | 744 | 109 | 342 | K=14 P=4 | K=72 P=16 | K=12 P=6 | K=27 P=13 | |

399

APPENDIX 12

Eighty nine named Soviet authors contributed articles to RMJY (NB list does not include Lenin or the 11 Soviet authors who wrote but were unnamed).

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abramov | 阿 | 柳 | 白 | 林 | 斯 | 卡 | 雅 |
| Anastazeva | 安 | 羅 | 斯 | 汀 | | | |
| Anteleyanov | 安 | 魯 | 達 | | | | |
| Antelosov | 安 | 魯 | 達 | 比 | 莫 | 娃 | |
| Antilenko | 安 | 魯 | 達 | 比 | 莫 | 娃 | |
| Archayev | 阿 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Archin | 阿 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Arhlov | 阿 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Astayev | 阿 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Balash | 巴 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Baranov | 巴 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Batkina | 巴 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Borisov | 波 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Borisova | 包 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Chumakov | 楚 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Danilov | 達 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Duhievskaya | 多 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Dykhov | 多 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Fatalova | 費 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Filatov | 費 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Filipov | 菲 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Fumin | 福 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Ganchalov | 岡 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Gelina | 戈 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Gukhnov | 古 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Ikulov | 依 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Kaftanov | 卡 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Kairov | 凱 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Kalitkin | 加 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Karpova | 卡 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Kasiysky | 卡 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Kazantzev | 卡 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Kolina | 卡 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Korpakova | 卡 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Kulova | 庫 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Liepalinskaya | 柳 | 白 | 林 | 斯 | 卡 | 雅 | |
| Loustin | 羅 | 斯 | 汀 | | | | |
| Luta | 魯 | 達 | | | | | |
| Lyubimova | 魯 | 達 | 比 | 莫 | 娃 | | |
| Makarenko | 馬 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Maliyenko | 馬 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Malyshev | 馬 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Markoshviji | 馬 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Melivili | 梅 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Mikandeliev | 米 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Milikov | 米 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Mitinsky | 米 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Moiseev | 莫 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Molnikov | 莫 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Mortovskaya | 莫 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Mubarova | 木 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Naumov | 納 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Niskin | 尼 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Novikov | 諾 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Nussenbaum | 努 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Osipov | 奧 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Petrushevsky | 彼 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Petukhov | 普 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Pigulina | 波 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Popov | 波 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Popovsky | 波 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Prokoviev | 普 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Pushkin | 普 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Putilev | 包 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Putiliev | 包 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Samarin | 沙 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Shakalov | 舒 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Shkorni | 舒 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Simantovsky | 斯 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |
| Skutkin | 斯 | 里 | 延 | 科 | | | |

| | |
|--------------|--------|
| Soboliev | 索波列夫 |
| Sokolov | 索柯洛夫 |
| Sukhalkov | 蘇赫柯夫 |
| Sukhomlinsky | 蘇赫姆林斯基 |
| Talabkin | 大拉巴金 |
| Teplitskaya | 傑普利茨卡婭 |
| Tsankov | 臧桑夫 |
| Tsvetikov | 茨維特柯夫 |
| Tuanlov | 敦洛夫 |

| | |
|-------------|--------|
| Tukhachev | 圖哈切夫 |
| Tunsky | 圖斯基 |
| Tupelova | 圖普洛娃 |
| Ussursky | 烏斯爾斯基 |
| Vasilyev | 瓦西里也夫 |
| Vasilyeva | 瓦西里也娃 |
| Velikovskiy | 魏利科夫斯基 |
| Volkovsky | 沃爾可夫斯基 |
| Zhukov | 朱可夫 |

APPENDIX 13

What follows is a list of all the articles in 'Renmin Jiaoyu' which have been completely translated by other agencies. There is, of course, a considerably greater list of sources which refer only to snippets of items published in the magazine, but this has not been appended because it would be of limited value.

An important part of my research has been the collection of relevant items from virtually the entire collection of SCMP and its sister publications in the 1950s. I have extremely long lists of valuable extracts relating to all the areas of educational activity as detailed in Appendix 4. They are simply too lengthy to reproduce here, but appropriate lists can be obtained from me on request.

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- 67/9/1950 "Decision concerning the leadership relations in higher education institutes" Fraser S E, "Chinese education - records of the First Decade", Vanderbilt UP 1965, pp 92-94.
- 68/9/1950 "Decision on reforming the syllabus in higher education institutes", Fraser pp 95-97.
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- 70/9/1950 "Temporary rules for specialist colleges" 'Chinese Education' Summer 1969.
- 71/9/1950 "Temporary control procedure for private higher educational institutes", 'Chinese Education', Fall 1969.
- 9/11/1950 Editorial "Develop the 'aid Korea, resist the US' political education movement" SCMP 7, pp 7-8.
- 12-13/1/1951 Ma Xulun "Report to the First National Conference on Worker Peasant Education", CB 74 pp 1-3.
- 67/1/1951 "Regulations for the formation and organisation of workers' spare time education committees at various levels" 'Chinese Education' Fall 1969.
- 68/1/1951 "Regulations for the formation and organisation of peasants' spare time education", 'Chinese Education', Fall 1969.
- 11/11/1951 "Teachers in higher education institutes in Peking and Tianjin develop the ideological remoulding movement" CB 169 pp 9-10.
- 53-54/11/1951 "Directive on the reform of the educational system" SCMP 192 pp 13-17.
- 15-18/12/1951 Pan Kaipen "Discussion of several questions concerning the educational thoughts of Dao Xingzhi" 'Chinese Education', Winter 1974-1975.
- 21/12/1951 "Ministry of Education directive on strengthening the teaching of politics and current affairs in winter schools", SCMP 214 pp 22-23.

- 9-12/1/1952 Zhang Zonglin "The beginnings of reform in higher technical education", SCMP 349, pp 40-43.
- 15-20/4/1952 Ji Di "Report on the display of the anti waste campaign in Peking's higher institutes", SCMP 293, pp 14-19.
- 54-55/5/1952 "GAC Directive on the reform and development of middle technical schools", SCMP 313, pp 10-12.
- 4-5/10/1952 Ma Xulun "Achievements of Chinese People's Education in the past 3 years", CB 220, pp 11-12/SCMP 425, pp 33-34.
- 11-15/1/1953 Zeng Zhaolun "Improvements in higher education in the past 3 years". CB 238, pp 1-11.
- 4-5/3/1953 Editorial "Teaching is the school's most important task", 'Chinese Education', Winter 1979-1980.
- 6/4/1953 Mao "Message of mourning on Stalin's death", CB 304, p 4,
- 8-9/4/1953 Mao "The greatest friendship", CB 304, pp 1-3.
- 12-14/4/1953 Ma Xulun "The aims and objectives of higher education", SCMP 576, pp 23-27.
- 4-5/8/1953 Editorial "Teaching competition should be completely abolished", SCMP 653, pp 18-21.
- 4/11/1953 People's Daily Editorial "We should pay greater attention to the education of the higher teachers", SCMP 705, pp 14-16.
- 5-6/11/1953 Guangming Daily Editorial "Realise the decisions made by the Conference on Higher Teachers Education", SCMP 705, pp 11-14.
- 5/1/1954 "GAC Directive on improving and developing higher normal education", SCMP 729, pp 16-19.
- 6-8/1/1954 "GAC Directive on the reorganisation of primary school education", SCMP 729, pp 19-24.
- 43-45/1/1954 Peking 4th Middle School "Factors which have led to the students being overburdened with work and some suggestions on how the problem can be tackled", SCMP 721, pp 25-28.
- 38/7/1954 Qi Nan "What does the 'Tang Ying' affair tell us?", SCMP 917, pp 30-32.

- 39-40/7/1954 Hai Feng "The danger posed by Qen Fangwen's bourgeois educational ideology", SCMP 917, pp 32-34.
- 17-19/8/1954 "Decision of the Central Committee on Peking's proposed policy of raising the quality of education", SCMP 849, pp 32-35.
- 70-73/8/1954 "Ministry of Education directive on the establishment, development and reorganisation of normal schools", SCMP 796, pp 29-31, SCMP 844, pp 33-35.
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- 16-17/10/1954 Zhang Xiruo "Speech on general education to the first NPC", SCMP 929, pp 9-11.
- 7-8/11/1954 Guo Moruo "Speech to first NPC", SCMP 929, pp 7-8.
- 9/11/1954 Yang Xiufeng "Speech to first NPC", SCMP 929, pp 14-16.
- 10-11/11/1954 Ma Yinqu "Speech to first NPC", SCMP 929, pp 16-19.
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- 5/7/1955 "People's Daily on the Hu Feng Incident", SCMP 1063, pp 22-23.
- 11-25/7/1955 "Second group of materials on the Hu Feng clique", SCMP 1063, pp 23-27.
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- 40/7/1955 People's Daily Editorial of 10th June, "We should all learn from the Hu Feng Incident", SCMP 1070, pp 14-15.
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- 48-49/7/1955 "Ministry of Education notification on the explanatory notes on the content of the regulations for primary and middle school students", ECMM 3, pp 22-26.
- 6-7/8/1955 Editorial "Professions and politics", 'Chinese Education', Winter 1979-1980.
- 5-6/9/1955 Editorial "We must strengthen patriotic education in the schools so as to combat spies and counter revolutionaries", ECMM 13, pp 14-17.

- 7-9/9/1955 Lin Feng "Speech to second session of first NPC", CB 351, pp 1-7.
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- 12-14/9/1955 Zhang Xiruo "Speech to second session of first NPC", CB 351, pp 8-12.
- 15/9/1955 Zhang Xiruo "Vigorously lead and support young peoples out of school activities in the scientific, technical and industrial fields", ECMM 24, pp 36-37.
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- 20-22/10/1955 Zhang Jian "Struggle for the completion of the cadre training programme in the first 5 Year Plan", ECMM 27, pp 35-40.
- 4-11/11/1955 Mao "On the question of agricultural collectivisation", Foreign Language Press pamphlet.
- 15-16/11/1955 People's Daily Editorial "Strive to promote the reform of Chinese characters, the popularisation of Mandarin and the standardisation of the Chinese spoken language", SCMP 1164, pp 16-18.
- 19/11/1955 "Schools at all levels must economise their food consumption", ECMM 20, pp 39-40.
- 7/12/1955 "Ministry of Education directive strengthening spare time study for middle school teachers", SCMP 1179, p 15.
- 12-15/12/1955 Zhang Xiruo "Mandarin with Peking dialect should be popularised", ECMM 27, pp 10-16.
- 4-5/2/1956 Mao "Foreword to "The Upsurge of Socialism in China's countryside", Foreign Language Press pamphlet.
- 64-66/3/1956 "Ministries of Education and Higher Education regulations on the formation of student associations in middle schools", SCMP 1215, pp 21-24.
- 4-5/4/1956 "Decision of the State Council and the Central Committee to eradicate illiteracy", SCMP 1266, pp 3-7.
- 53-55/6/1956 "Ministry of Education notification on implementing the teaching scheme for normal colleges", SCMP 1311, pp 7-9.

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- 16-18/8/1957 Zhang Jian "Are the achievements of the Soviet experience not essential for us to study?", ECMM 105, pp 8-15.
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- 6-10/10/1957 Zhang Jian "Is China's higher education progressing on the right track?", ECMM 113, pp 4-14.
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- 11-15/4/1958 Dong Quncai "Two major reform measures in general education", ECMM 141, pp 14-22.
- 16-19/4/1958 Lin Liru "New society, new directives" ECMM 136, pp 1-7.
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