CHAPTER 3

The Spirit of Modern China: Life Stories of Influential Educators

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Since[1] I began my studies of Comparative Education, more than twenty years ago, I have often been asked to explain what exactly this field of study is. Inevitably, the answer tends to get tied up in sociological terminology—the study of education across several societies or cultures, the understanding of education's relation to social change, the investigation of learning and schooling in different societal contexts, the solving of problems in education through comparative investigation and reflection … While I have greatly enjoyed reading philosophy and history over my years in the field, I have always somehow felt Comparative Education was, first and foremost, a macro-sociology of education. As sociologists probe the patterns of interaction between the educational and social, or the political and cultural systems in one society, comparativists link two or several societies in a search for patterns of explanation.

As sociology has moved from uni-dimensional positivist assumptions about structure and interaction in describing and explaining societal systems to experimentation with ethnomethodology, critical theory and narrative, an increasingly rich array of methodologies has been available to the comparativist. Personally, I have been attracted in recent years to narrative approaches to the study of education, and have come to appreciate the efforts of sociologists to bring the lives of individuals back into the structures and interactions they have theorized about. Goodson and Walker (1991, 139) provide an overview of this development in sociology of education in England, in what they describe as a project "of reconceptualising educational research so as to assure that 'the teacher's voice' is heard, heard loudly and heard articulately." Clandinin and Connelly (2000) demonstrate through illustration and example what it means to think narratively and do narrative inquiry, exploring the conflicts that arise at the boundaries with formalistic theoretical inquiry on one side, and with

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reductionist inquiry within the "grand narrative" of educational science at the other.

The rich potential of personal narrative for illuminating educational processes across cultures is evident in Mary Catherine Bateson's *Peripheral Visions*, where the author's personal experience of learning and teaching in Israel, Iran and the Philippines is drawn upon to illuminate basic learning processes in these distinctive cultures and societies, and their similarities and differences with learning within the American context. The artistry with which this volume ties together profound insights into human development through one life lived with intense awareness and meticulous attention to detail is a powerful lesson for comparative educators. (Bateson 1994)

My own personal experience as a comparativist has been intensely focused on deepening layers of understanding of a society and educational complex very different from my own, that of mainland China. In studying Chinese education, both comparative education and history were essential elements from the beginning. One could not hope to understand contemporary patterns or structures of education and their wider societal or cultural links without reading a great deal of history and without coming to terms with the profound impacts made by a number of external educational and cultural influences over the 20th century. Major educational borrowings came from Japan, the United States, France, Germany and Britain, as well as from the Soviet Union. In addition, many fascinating minor sets of influences can be found from countries such as Denmark, Canada, Italy and New Zealand.

On one level, whole systems and sets of structures were introduced, beginning with the first modern educational system modeled after Japan in 1902–3 and culminating in the total restructuring of education in the Soviet image between 1952 and 1955. On another level, individual institutions were consciously shaped to emulate preferred models from specific countries, through particular sets of relationships, such as Cai Yuanpei's admiration of the University of Berlin, and Liang Shuming's interest in emulating the ideas of the progressive Danish educator, N.S.F. Grundtvig.

My research and writing has spanned the whole century, with a number of collaborative efforts that were seen as essential to take in the range of issues and levels calling out for consideration. (Hayhoe 1984, 1992, Hayhoe and Bastid 1987, Peterson, Hayhoe and Lu 2001). However, I think what has fascinated me most has been the destiny of particular institutions, especially higher institutions, which combined values and patterns from other cultures with those of China's own rich history of educational development. I have regarded these institutions almost as personalities, and have enjoyed collecting many institutional histories that have been written in the period since 1978. This was

a result of new freedoms from the constraints of a uniform system, which enabled them to re-establish identities that went back before the imposition of the Soviet model in 1952.

While it was important to identify and analyze broad patterns of educational and societal change over the century, it was valuable also to see how particular institutions conformed to these patterns or held out against them. It was helpful to draw on the sociological literature of education and social change, modernization, revolutionary transformation, imperialism and dependency, while also noting elements in the Chinese context that did not conform to these broad sets of theoretical explanation. In *China's Universities 1895–1995: A Century of Cultural Conflict* (Hayhoe 1996), I tried to link the momentous changes in China's higher education over the century with broader world trends, while at the same time developing an explanation that owed its main tenets to core values of Chinese philosophy and culture. Both the universal and the particular were integral to China's experience of change.

My own personal understanding developed through broad reading and observation, through intimate involvement with a certain number of institutions that I got to know well, and finally through long term and trusting relationships with some of the scholars whose lives had been dedicated to building up their own institutions and writing the literature which nourished the younger generation of teachers and scholars in education. Up till the present, I have written very little about these individuals, focusing rather upon the macro patterns of change in the major periods of the century and the differing experiences and destinies of important institutions which seemed to me to embody some of the core cultural conflicts that fascinated me: Peking University, Fudan University, Tongji University, Wuhan University, People's University, and many others.

In this paper, I wish to turn to six individuals, each associated with a university in a different part of the country, and each distinguished for their long-term service to their institution and to the field of education or higher education more generally. It might have seemed more logical to begin one's research with individuals, then move to institutions, and finally to broad patterns. However, there were good reasons to wait until relations of cooperation and mutual respect had been built up over nearly two decades before inviting some of the scholars I most respected to share their inner thoughts and views of a lifetime's experience through difficult and tumultuous times. In writing on "Biography and Society," Bertaux makes the point that "what is really at stake is the relationship between the sociologist and the people who make his work

possible by accepting to be interviewed on their life experience" (1981, 9). I am deeply aware of the honor that has been accorded to me by the six scholars, giving their time and sharing their innermost thoughts.

In 1992, one of my doctoral students was able to carry out a survey of 1216 college students, under the auspices of a major project of cooperation between Canada and China in doctoral training. The survey took place in three locations, the major east coast city of Nanjing, former national capital during the Nationalist era; the central city of Xi'an, cultural center and capital during the Han and Tang dynasties; and the hinterland city of Lanzhou, in the province of Gansu. Survey questions focused on students' career goals and interests, and collated data about the educational level of both their parents and grandparents. One of the striking findings was the degree and rapidity of social change in terms of educational opportunity in all three cities, but most notably in the hinterland. About 52% of students in Nanjing had grandfathers who had been peasants, while the figure for Xi'an was 63% and for Lanzhou it was 64%. Of students' mothers, 33% in Nanjing, 45% in Xi'an and 53% in Lanzhou were peasants. Of their fathers, 20% in Nanjing, 25% in Xi'an and 38% in Lanzhou were peasants (Moody 1995).

To a large extent, those who built China's modern educational system and wrote the texts that explained it to the younger generation were individuals who had found a way from rural impoverishment and ignorance into the new opportunities provided by the modernizing educational system in the early 20th century. Most of the scholars whose stories will be told in this paper fit this picture, with three having fathers with very low levels of education and employment, and two having grandfathers who lived in rural poverty. Only one came from a family with several generations of a relatively privileged cultural background.

The choice of six life stories for this first effort to introduce biography into the study of Chinese education is obviously linked to my own personal network of connections in China. Each of the six are persons I have known for close to a decade, and with whom relations of mutual respect and cooperation have developed over time. There is thus the essential basis of trust necessary for the sharing of a life, and, equally, elements of my own life story emerged as our pathways crossed. Each has made distinguished contributions to educational thought and development in their own right, and each has been associated, for the most of their lifetime, with a major university in a different city and region of the country. While the focus is on their own lives, some attention will also be given to their affiliated universities and regions, thus bringing a comparative dimension in terms of institutions and regions.

One of the most difficult questions has been where to begin, and how to organize the life story material. My decision was to start with a brief picture of each scholar's present standing in each of the six institutions, so that the reader will get some sense of why it may be worthwhile to hear their life stories. From there the paper turns to childhood and the influence of family and schooling in the period before 1949. Then each scholar's career under socialism from 1949 to 1978 is described, along with their assessment of how education was influenced by the major movements that shaped China's development over this period. The final section deals with the perspectives they developed in the period after 1978, when Deng Xiaoping's reforms provided conditions for an opening up to "modernization, the world and the future." For each of them, this was a time when they were finally given space for rich professional contributions to China's development.

1 An Introduction to the Scholars, Their Institutions and Regions

1.1 *Li Bingde and Northwest Normal University*

Professor Li Bingde, the oldest of the six scholars, has been associated, since 1952, with Northwest Normal University in Lanzhou, Gansu, an important city in the Northwest region of China that encompasses three provinces and two autonomous regions. Northwest Normal University was founded in 1939, when Beijing Normal University escaped from the Japanese occupation of Beijing and moved to the Northwest for the whole period of the Sino-Japanese and Second World Wars. In 1952, under the Soviet style reorganization of the whole higher education system, it was made the major national level normal university for the whole Northwest region. In 1958, however, its name was changed to Gansu Normal College and it was placed under Gansu province. Later Shaanxi Normal University in Xi'an took up the role of the leading normal university under the national ministry of education for the Northwest region.

In spite of the ups and downs of the institution, Professor Li Bingde still holds the only center for doctoral training in education for the whole region; since the early 1980s he has guided the training of numerous master's and doctoral students in education. His doctoral graduates hold important positions in Beijing and Shanghai, as well as in the Northwest and Southwest of China. The first Tibetan to get a doctoral degree in education in China is among his graduates, and he has been responsible for numerous minority students at the master's level in education.

Li has authored a number of national level textbooks that have had a wide influence, including *Research Methodology in Educational Science* (1986) and

The Theory of Teaching and Learning (1991) In 1987, Shanghai Intellectual Press published an anthology on "Problems in the strategy of socialist economic and scientific development" which included an article by Li Bingde on educational strategies along with articles by the scientist Qian Weichang and the anthropologist Fei Xiaotong on other dimensions of China's development. Li thus stands alongside the most distinguished of an older generation of intellectuals. Li's family of four daughters and one son has been honored by the province as an "education family." Two daughters are university professors and have spent much of their careers teaching biology and chemistry in universities in Lanzhou. His son is a professor of engineering, formerly vice president of the Lanzhou Railway College, then vice commissioner for education in Gansu province, and most recently was elected vice governor of the province.

At eighty-eight years old, Professor Li is the most revered figure in education in the Northwest region. He continues to teach and guide the research work of graduate students, as well as taking a lively interest in educational developments in rural schools in the area. While Northwest Normal University is a provincial level institution, and thus not in the same league as such national level institutions as Lanzhou University, it plays a crucially important role in training teachers for the province and the region, and has a nationally funded center for the training of minority teachers for the Northwest region.[2]

One small vignette which may give readers a sense of the person can be sketched from a conversation he held with me in Toronto in October of 1992, when he had come to speak at a major conference we had organized on "Knowledge Across Cultures,"[3] and to confer over our joint program for training doctoral students in China and Canada that allowed twelve Canadian doctoral students to do research in six universities in China and twenty-two Chinese doctoral and postdoctoral students to do research in Canada. Four young faculty members from Northwest Normal participated in the program, and two continue to teach at the university, while the other two have moved to Beijing and Guangdong respectively. During the conference, Professor Li challenged me to plan for a new project of collaborative research to follow the completion of this project in 1995. When I replied that I hoped to take sabbatical leave and have some time for rest and personal research after the completion of this arduous six-year effort, he looked at me and said, "I have

2 During a visit to Lanzhou, I held two lengthy interviews with Professor Li Bingde, on May 8 and 12, 1998. Professor Li later read the manuscript, and made some factual corrections.

3 The conference papers, including a plenary address by Li Bingde, were published in both English and Chinese in *Knowledge Across Cultures: Universities East and West* [*Dongxifang daxue yu wenhua*] (Hayhoe et al. 1993).

never taken a sabbatical in the whole of my scholarly career!" Enough said. From that moment I began planning a second major project of collaboration that ran from 1996 to 2001!

1.2 *Zhu Jiusi and the Huazhong University of Science and Technology*

From the far Northwest, we move to Wuhan, the dominant city of the Central South region of China that encompasses six provinces and stretches from Henan province in the north, down to Guangdong province and Hainan island in the south. Wuhan is located at a strategic point between hinterland and coast on the Yangtze River, and through it runs the major railway line from Guangzhou, in the south, to Beijing and the Northeast. When the Central South region was created as a major administrative region in 1950, it was decided to locate a large number of national universities in this city, serving the whole nation and the region in the specialists they trained. The Huazhong Institute of Technology was newly created in 1953, at the time of the nationwide restructuring of higher education along Soviet lines, on the basis of engineering departments brought together from five older institutions in the region, including Wuhan University, Hunan University, Nanchang University in Jiangxi province, Guangxi University and South China engineering college in Guangzhou.

It was a fairly specialized institution, focusing on four areas of engineering which were important for socialist construction, including mechanical engineering, diesel and auto engineering, electrical engineering and power engineering. Although it was located in an important industrial center and placed under the administration of the Ministry of Higher Education, giving it a relatively high status within the overall higher education system, this alone could not account for its remarkable development into a leading university of science and technology, and also a leading comprehensive university, in the late seventies and early eighties. When the Ministry of Education decided to create a small number of schools of graduate study in 1982, four years after Deng Xiaoping launched the movement for modernization, opening up and reform in 1978, Huazhong University of Science and Technology (HUST) was one of only twenty-two universities nationwide deemed to have the academic standing and maturity to establish a school of graduate studies. In subsequent years, it was often placed in the top ten to fifteen universities in nationwide evaluative listings for its excellence in research.

One of the key reasons for this remarkable achievement lies with a visionary administrator and scholar who held important leadership positions at HUST from its founding in 1953, until his retirement in 1984, Professor Zhu Jiusi. First appointed vice chairman of its preparatory committee in 1952, he was made

vice president in 1955, vice party secretary in 1956, party secretary in 1961, and party secretary and president from 1972 to 1984. Finding time for deep reflection on the past and future in a lacuna of time created by the Cultural Revolution, when most academic staff and students had been sent down for physical labor in the countryside, he developed a compelling vision for an institution that would give research equal importance with teaching, that would draw in the best talent that could be found throughout the nation, and that would become more and more comprehensive in its curricular offerings, bringing basic science, humanities and social sciences in to broaden its specialist orientation towards the applied sciences. As a result, this university gained tremendous respect nationally, and Zhu's policy advice and writings on higher education, including two edited books and many journal articles, had a definitive influence on national higher education policy in the reform period. In 1996, HUST's Higher Education Institute was given the right to establish a doctoral program in higher education administration.

In my own research on Chinese higher education and its burgeoning new developments in the early eighties, I quickly became aware of the important research being done by HUST's Institute of Higher Education Research, and the widespread influence of its scholarly journal on higher education. While I had heard Professor Zhu speak, in the autumn of 1988, at a meeting on higher education reform held at Nanjing University, my first opportunity for a personal meeting with him came in the spring of 1992, when I was engaged in a collaborative research project with members of HUST's Institute of Higher Education. I asked if he could give me his inside view of how HUST had achieved its standing as a nationally leading university, and what were the most important elements in the overall reform of higher education in China after 1978. Professor Zhu agreed to share his thoughts on this subject, and a time was set aside for our meeting. Once this was known to colleagues in the Institute of Higher Education, I was asked if I would mind of some of them also sat in on the interview, in order to hear his account.

The original plan had been for a meeting of about two hours, but this was extended into three meetings on subsequent days, lasting well over two hours each. In addition to myself, about 15 members of the Institute sat enthralled, listening intently as Professor Zhu shared the thinking that had inspired him to set HUST on a new direction in the early 1970s, and that had resulted in it becoming a beacon for fundamental reforms in higher education throughout China after 1978.[4] This was one of those moments when I suddenly got a deep

4 The content of this talk was later published under the title "Lishi de huigu" ("A retrospect of history") (Zhu 1992, 1–12).

insight into patterns of change that had interested me for a long time. The openness which Zhu Jiusi demonstrated over those hours, in sharing both his life experience and his deep thoughts and feelings, was a gift to be treasured, and an inspiration for this present project of linking up the life experience of China's influential educators, with the educational thought and practice of contemporary China.[5]

1.3 *Pan Maoyuan and Xiamen University*

From the city of Wuhan and the Central South, we move to the East China region, and the city of Xiamen in the south of Fujian province, opposite to the island of Taiwan. This region is made up of the prosperous east coast provinces of Shandong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Fujian, as well as the poorer inland provinces of Anhui and Jiangxi, and has been in the forefront of change during the period since 1978. Xiamen was designated one of four special economic zones in 1984, and given certain advantages in terms of foreign investment and development along with fourteen other coastal cities. The intellectual and economic center of the region is Shanghai, where a large number of major national universities are found, and the cities of Nanjing, Jinan, and Hangzhou are also important centers for higher education. The geographical location of Xiamen, in the southernmost part of the region and a twenty-two-hour train ride from Shanghai, has made it somewhat isolated in spite of its prosperity.

Xiamen University was founded in 1921 as a private university, funded by a Fujian native who had become a successful businessman in Southeast Asia and who wanted to help his own community—Mr. Chen Jiagen. It has a spectacular location, along the seafront, facing Taiwan, and its historical buildings reflect the generosity of the donor. In 1937, it became a national university supported by the Nationalist government, and soon thereafter had to move to Zhangting in Fujian province to escape the Japanese invasion. In 1946 it moved back to Xiamen. The fact that it was selected as one of two universities to become national comprehensive universities in the south eastern part of China under the Soviet model in 1952 indicates the high intellectual standing it had achieved over the years (the other being Zhongshan University in Guangzhou). In spite of his adherence to radicalism and revolutionary transformation, Mao Zedong invited Mr. Chen Jiagen back in the 1950s, in order to gain further support for the university and for a number of secondary schools in the region.

5 Details of Professor Zhu's childhood and growing up in the period before 1949 were shared in an interview held on November 18, 1999. Professor Zhu subsequently reviewed this manuscript, and made some factual corrections to the text in September of 2000.

Pan Maoyuan, the third of the scholars profiled in this essay, has been associated with Xiamen University throughout his career.[6] A graduate of its education faculty in 1945, and a lecturer there at the time of the revolution of 1949, he was asked by the president to stay on at a time when the whole education faculty was moved to Fujian Normal University. He was charged with the task of preparing education courses for science students in some specialties, so that they could become future teachers. He was also invited to preside over a total rethinking and re-development of the higher curriculum.

Beginning in 1956, Pan put forward the view that higher education required a set of theories distinctive from primary and secondary education, the field in which he had had his professional development. He got the idea of establishing China's first institute for higher education research. He now presides over this institute, which has master's and doctoral students from many different regions of China, and has produced an extensive scholarly literature that leads the field in China. Altogether he has graduated sixteen doctoral students and about eighty master's students, almost all of whom are working in various parts of China.

When I visited the university in December of 1997, in order to give some lectures and to carry out an extensive interview with Professor Pan, I was fortunate to be invited to the "salon" he holds every Saturday evening, in his house high up on a hill within the Xiamen University campus. His large and spartan study, on the second floor of the house, was lined with bookcases, and furnished with a sofa and extra chairs brought in for the occasion. About twelve graduate students from different regions of China, including Xiangtan University in a rural part of Hunan, Yantai Normal College in Shandong, and Hebei University two hours south of Beijing, had gathered for an exciting evening of debate and discussion. The focus on this particular evening was on an article written by one of the graduate students that critically attacked a sociological perspective on education put forth by a leading scholar in Nanjing because its premises totally excluded the functions of higher education as a field. This student was preparing a response to the published comments made by the Nanjing scholar on the critique. Hours passed in passionate and lively arguments put forward by various students, with an occasional interjection by Professor Pan, bringing everyone back to the core issue that had started the evening's event.

6 Most of the information here was collected in two lengthy interviews with Professor Pan Maoyuan, in Xiamen, December 6 and 8, 1997. Professor Pan later read the manuscript and made corrections to it.

1.4 *Xie Xide and Fudan University*

From Xiamen, we move to Shanghai and Fudan University, one of China's most prestigious comprehensive universities and the leading institution of the East China region. Founded in 1905 by a patriotic Chinese scholar in protest over French domination in the Catholic University, Zhendan or L'Aurore, Fudan developed as a private university up to 1941, when it was made a national university by the Nationalist government. Its leadership of the May 4th Movement in the Shanghai educational community gave it a high profile for patriotism and political activism and its teaching programs tended to be highly relevant to Shanghai's commercial and business needs during the 1920s and 1930s. It was less well known for high standards of scholarship in the pre-1949 period, but was designated a leading national comprehensive university by the new Communist government in 1950. Some of the best departments of basic sciences and humanities from other universities in the region, such as that of the famous Zhejiang University in Hangzhou, and also those of former missionary universities, such as St. Johns and Hu Jiang, were moved there.

In 1978, a distinguished physicist at Fudan University, Xie Xide, was appointed vice president with a particular responsibility for the university's burgeoning international relationships. From 1980 to 1982, I had the privilege of serving as a foreign expert under her leadership, a period which I treasure as a turning point in my own intellectual life. In 1983, she was made the first woman president of a major comprehensive university in China, a position she held until 1988. During those years Fudan broadened its programs far beyond the patterns left from the Soviet period, including the development of a school of management, a school of life sciences and a school of economics. Xie Xide emerged as a leading spokesperson for the intellectual community, both within China through her service on the Party Central Committee and internationally through her leadership of a number of major World Bank projects responsible for upgrading Chinese higher education in collaboration with major institutions in the West.

In 1992, we invited her to give a keynote address at an international conference on "Knowledge Across Cultures: Universities East and West" at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto, and she graciously agreed to come and speak on historical developments in Chinese higher education at our opening session. Two or three months before the conference, after all detailed arrangements had been made, she discovered that a once in five-year Party Congress would be held in Beijing close to the same date, and hesitated over whether she would be able to come after all. As it turned out, her status with colleagues in the Party was such that she was able to miss several important preparatory sessions in order to keep her promise to give our keynote

lecture, and then fly from Toronto to Beijing just in time to play her role in the Congress itself. Two years later, in June of 1994, she came to Canada once again, this time to receive an honorary doctorate from McMaster University in Hamilton, where her outstanding achievements as a leading scientific figure were recognized.[7] The Chinese intellectual community and many international friends and colleagues felt a deep sense of loss when Xie Xide passed away from breast cancer in February of 2000, a disease she had fought bravely since its first onslaught in the dark days of the Cultural Revolution.

1.5 *Wang Yongquan and Peking University*

Our fourth institution, Peking University, reigns over the rest of Chinese higher education from its beautiful campus in the Northwest suburb of the capital Beijing, with its Nameless Lake and the classical Chinese architecture erected by culturally sensitive American missionaries in the 1920s and 1930s for Yanjing University. Founded in 1898 as the Imperial University, Peking University succeeded in combining some of the best features of German and French traditions with Chinese progressive scholarship under its distinguished chancellor, Cai Yuanpei, between 1917 and 1923. The May 4th Movement of 1919, which electrified and forever transformed cultural, educational and intellectual life in China, started there. No other institution has had its destiny intertwined with that of the country to such a degree.

Under the Soviet influences of the early fifties, Peking University was made the sole and supreme comprehensive university in the capital, and in many ways reflected Cai's German-influenced vision for the university as a center of pure arts and sciences. Its faculty of education was moved to the Beijing Normal University, while engineering, medicine and agriculture were also moved to other institutions.

In the mid-1980s, Professor Wang Yongquan, then Provost of Beida, as the university is also known, and the fourth scholar who will be profiled in this paper, established an Institute for Higher Education Research which became the second center for doctoral and master's degree study in higher education after that of Xiamen University. Its affiliation with China's leading institution has meant the capacity to attract some of the brightest and best students from the whole nation to study in this Institute and enabled it to play a leading

7 Interviews were held with Professor Xie Xide on October 16 and 17, 1998, in Shanghai, and an earlier draft of this paper was sent to her in September of 1999 for her review. It is not known whether or not she found the opportunity to read the draft before her untimely death of cancer in March of 2000. However, the author has read a biography (Wang 1993) she approved, and found corroboration for most of the details she shared in the two interviews there. The biography was also helpful for minor corrections to this text.

role in higher education research. A physicist and radio engineer by training, Professor Wang's whole professional life has been intertwined with the life of this leading university.[8]

In May of 1998, Peking University celebrated its 100th anniversary, with a series of commemorative events that brought back 60,000 graduates, and attracted presidents of more than 100 universities from all over the world. The foremost ceremony was held in the Great Hall of the People, where 10,000 people gathered in the presence of President Jiang Zemin, Premier Zhu Rongji, and all of the nation's top leaders, who showed their respect in this way for this premier intellectual institution and its role in the strategy of "Education and Science to revitalize the nation." A university presidents' seminar was organized by members of the Higher Education Research Institute, and overall responsibility for all of the commemorative events lay with the executive vice president, Min Weifang, a former Director of the Research Institute and a former graduate student of Wang Yongquan. In the informal seminar for visitors from Hong Kong held at the Institute on May 4th, Professor Wang presided as a serene director emeritus, confident that this research institute was now well established and able to carry forward the Beida spirit of scholarship in its work on higher education.

1.6 *Lu Jie and Nanjing Normal University*

Professor Lu Jie, the youngest of the six scholars profiled in this paper, was born in 1930, one year after Wang Yongquan. Her whole career has passed at Nanjing Normal University in Nanjing, a provincial level university for teacher education that is one of the few to have a national reputation for excellence in education and other fields in basic arts and sciences. One of the reasons for this is its strong historical foundation. As the premier educational institution in Jiangsu province, a province renowned from the early part of the 20th century for the progressive thinkers in education which it spawned and its many experiments in progressive education, it drew together some of the best scholars in China. The first president after 1949 was Chen Heqin, China's most renowned scholar in early childhood education. Chen had studied with John Dewey at Columbia University and returned to China in the 1920s. In the early 1980s, Lu Jie was the first female professor to be formally recognized as qualified to recruit and supervise doctoral students in education (*bodao*).

8 An interview was held with Professor Wang Yongquan on May 3, 1998.

She has a pre-eminent professional standing in the field and has brought much honor to Nanjing Normal University.[9]

The university is located on the campus of the former American missionary institution, Jinling Women's College, and its graceful Chinese style buildings, yellow in color, grouped around a lovely quiet central yard, remind one of the heritage of China's own scholarly and artistic sensitivities. In 1996, Lu Jie convened an international conference on Chinese culture and education, attracting scholars of Chinese background from around the world, and focusing on the special contribution Chinese thought and culture can make to contemporary education. The papers from this conference have recently been published, and provide a rich repository of ideas that have relevance beyond the borders of "Greater China" (Lu 1999). In a sense they reveal a China that has finally "come of age" after more than a century of trauma, and is able to make its own unique contributions to the international world of education.

Lu Jie herself has been a leader in the field of moral education, and has made substantial contributions to thought and theory around rural educational development, an aspect of education that has tended to be neglected yet is crucially important, given that eighty percent of the children of China's schools live in rural areas. A sociologist by training, she has devoted her whole life to both the theory and practice of education, and to the development of Nanjing Normal University.

This first section of this paper has provided a brief introduction to each of the scholars, their institution and their region. In every case their individual destiny was closely linked to that of their institution, a pattern that is common in China over the latter half of the twentieth century. In the next section I turn to their early lives, hoping to illuminate the early experiences in the family, in school, and in a turbulent and changing social context that shaped their educational ideas, and contributed to their development into educators of influence. How did they integrate early learning experiences, in regions and circumstances that differed greatly for each of them, in such a way as to be able to make a difference in the institutions they led, and in the teaching, research and writing they undertook?

9 Two interviews were held with Professor Lu Jie on October 14 and 15, 1998. She was subsequently given a copy of the first draft of this paper, and made some minor factual corrections.

2 Early Lives: Family and Schooling

The oldest of the six scholars, Li Bingde, was born in 1912, the year after the 1911 Revolution, while the second, Zhu Jiusi, was born four years later in 1916. The third, Pan Maoyuan, was born in 1920, the year after the May Fourth Movement of 1919, and the fourth, Xie Xide was born one year later in 1921. The fifth, Wang Yongquan, was born in 1929, the year after the Nationalist government was established in Nanjing and the sixth, Lu Jie, was born one year later in 1930.

Each of these three periods represented an important turning point for education in China's modern history. In the years after the 1911 Revolution, efforts were made to establish republican forms of education, and move away from the Japanese influences that had dominated the period from 1900 to 1911. The early twenties, after the May 4th movement, saw strong interest in progressive ideas in education, and considerable American influence, with the visit of John Dewey and other American educators, and the return of many young Chinese scholars who had studied in the United States. However, political disunity and economic problems stood in the way of effective educational development. The period after 1928 saw a renewal of effort to develop a national system of education, with considerable influence from Europe and the League of Nations Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, but this was disrupted by Japanese hostility beginning in the early 1930s.

In the accounts of the early life and education of each of the six scholars that follow, we will see how they were affected by the educational conditions and spirit of the time, and the ways in which family and school influences shaped their early years.

2.1 *Li Bingde: Growing Up in Henan, 1912–1949*

Li Bingde was the eldest of four in a very poor family in the city of Luoyang, Henan province. His father had no land, no established profession and no house, but managed to eke out a living with part time jobs doing accounts on the abacus. He had studied for a few years in a traditional *sishu*, or private school, and loved to read so much that when he had to go out to work at an early age, he put all his books together in one place, and cried because he could not continue to study. He was therefore greatly concerned that his children should have an education. Li's mother came from a peasant family and was illiterate, but a very good person, kind and warm.

Li started primary school in 1919, the year of the May 4th movement. He went to a traditional private school, a *sishu*, which cost three dollars at the end of a year. Before long this private school became a government primary

school, and from there he went on to a government lower secondary school in Luoyang. Henan was a part of the country that was greatly disturbed by fighting among warlords during the 1920s, and Li remembers poor teaching constantly interrupted by outbreaks of fighting among warlords. When school could not open, Li studied at home with his father, reading the Four Books of the Confucian canon, as well as the Book of Odes and the Book of History. His father was often out of work so was able to make up for what the school could not offer, at home.

After three years of lower secondary school, Li was eager to go on to upper secondary, but there were no schools at that level in Luoyang. In neighboring Kaifeng, however, there was an excellent upper secondary school attached to Henan University, and he was able to gain entry to that school through passing examinations against stiff competition. The fees were twelve dollars a year and there were also costs of food and lodging, 59 Chinese yuan for a term, as well as travel, with the train ride from Luoyang costing over 3 yuan each way. In addition to worrying about his own expenses, Li had three younger brothers, all as eager to study as himself, and he felt responsible to take care of them.

This problem was quickly solved when he found a job teaching English in a private secondary school for 12 yuan a month, as well as doing individual tutoring. With these earnings, he was able to cover his own expenses and help his brothers study. In upper secondary school he chose to study humanities, purely by chance, as he did not understand the difference between humanities (*wen*) and science (*li*), when he was asked which entry examination he preferred to take. He was warned on entry to the school that if he failed two subjects or more, he would be kicked out, so he studied extremely hard. His English teacher, an American-born Chinese who could speak a little Ningpo dialect, but did not speak Mandarin and thus did all of his teaching in English, inspired him to work very hard in that subject. He also did extremely well in math, and passed all subjects. On entering university, after two years in upper secondary, he decided to choose English as his major field, and education as his minor field. He felt that he could study literature and history on his own. After one year in university, he decided to change to education as his major field and take English as a minor field. He felt very strongly the need to have a profession, as well as an area of specialist knowledge; also he felt that he would never be as good at English as native speakers.

In the years at Henan University, both in the upper secondary preparatory school and at the tertiary level, he was inspired by some excellent teachers. Generally, American returned Chinese scholars dominated. He had vivid memories of Tai Shuangchiu, who had returned with a PhD from Columbia University and had worked under John Dewey. Not long after returning, Tai

had changed from Western clothes to traditional Chinese clothes, emulating his friend Tao Xingzhi, and in his impassioned lectures on educational reform to save the country he made use of newspaper articles and contemporary events for illustration. Often the tears flowed down, as he lectured on "a way out for China through education." These passionate lectures were decisive for Li Bingde, in shaping his decision to make education his lifelong pursuit.

On graduation from Henan University in 1934, Li had such good marks that he applied to the provincial education bureau for a job as principal of a provincial secondary school. He soon discovered that such positions only went to those with high-level connections. Instead he took up a position as a rural primary school principal in a lower primary school three miles from Kaifeng, that was part of an experimental district managed by one of his professors, Li Lianfang, who was following the ideas of the Belgian educator, Decroly. He thought it would be a very simple job, but he found it to be extremely demanding, preparing the teachers and materials for an experimental approach that was to have primary school children master Chinese reading and mathematics in two and a half years, rather than the normal four years. This was the beginning of a life-long interest in educational experimentation for Li, and the results achieved in this experimental school attracted considerable interest from scholars such as Jiang Wenyu, Meng Xiancheng and Huang Yanpei, who visited. Huang wrote an influential article in *Dongfang Zazhi* describing the experiment.

After two years working in this rural experimental school, Li saw an advertisement in the intellectual newspaper, *Dagong Bao*, which caught his eye. The Rockefeller foundation was offering five scholarship places for graduate study at Yanjing University in Beijing. There were also parallel programs in medicine at Union (Xiehe) Medical College, in economics at Nankai University and in agriculture at Jinling University in Nanjing. It was a five-year program in all, with two years of study for a master's degree, followed by a year in the United States, then two years to work in the famous Ding Xian experimental site run by James Yan Yangchu.

Li was thrilled to have a scholarship of 600 dollars, plus 300 dollars in travel money, which enabled him to live well and support his younger brothers. He completed all his course work in 1936 and 1937, then used the travel money to visit as many experimental educational sites as possible. He started with Liang Shuming's rural education site in Zouping County, Shandong, then went to Ding Xian in Hebei and Tao Xingzhi's Xiao Zhuang School in Nanjing. From there he continued south to Guangzhou, Guangxi and finally Hong Kong. At this point the Japanese invasion disturbed all of his plans—it was impossible to return to Beijing.

In observing and reflecting on these different cases of rural experimental work in education, Li felt that Liang Shuming's efforts were entirely based on traditional Chinese ideas, Yan Yangchu's were drawn from his work in France and from Western thinking, while Tao Xingzhi was most successful in integrating Western and Chinese ideas. Li felt that all three were linking their educational work with broader political change, and there was genuine educational value in what they were doing, in contrast to the empty talk of many of the American returned Chinese scholars teaching at Henan University.

After a summer of travel, Li returned to Henan and found a job in the provincial teacher training school, from 1937 to 1941, training primary school teachers. When that institution had to close due to the Sino-Japanese War, he took up a position as inspector for the provincial education bureau in Hubei for 8 months, and then was appointed associate professor at Henan University. Although this meant a significant drop in salary from 380 to 260 Chinese yuan a month, he took it with alacrity, as he had always wanted to teach in the university. From 1941 to 1945, Henan University operated in a remote rural village in Song county, two days' travel through difficult countryside from Luoyang, and Li took his whole family there with him. His fourth child and only son was born in a tiny hamlet during a difficult journey, as the university had to move even farther inland to escape Japanese incursions.

As soon as the war was over, the university moved back to its campus in Kaifeng, and Li's eye was once more caught by a new opportunity. The Nationalist ministry of education in Nanjing was offering 100 full scholarship places for study abroad, and another 1,000 places for self-funded study abroad. He was successful in getting a full scholarship to go to Switzerland, while two of the three brothers he had helped through school secured places to USA, under other scholarships. All three were to return and make distinguished contributions to education, medicine and science in China.

In Switzerland, Li went first to the University of Lausanne, where he attended a range of lectures, and once a week was able to hear a major lecture by Jean Piaget, who came over from Geneva once a week to teach. During his year in Lausanne he lived with a local family, and took the opportunity of visiting local schools. In 1948 he went to the University of Paris for 4 months, and then returned to the University of Geneva, where Piaget was dean of the Institute Jean Jacques Rousseau. The major attraction for him was vice dean Dottren, who was a specialist in educational experimentation, the field of his greatest interest. Yet he felt the opportunity to attend lectures by Piaget over a two-year period introduced another dimension to his understanding of educational psychology, which had been dominated by American scholarship such as the ideas of Thorndike and Gates up to this time.

Before returning to China in 1949, he went Paris once again, then visited England, the Netherlands, Belgium and Italy, pursuing his interest in learning patterns and educational experimentation. He arrived back in China just days after the formal establishment of the People's Republic, in early October of 1949.

2.2 *Zhu Jiusi: Growing Up in Jiangsu and Joining the Revolution 1916–1949*

Zhu Jiusi was born in 1916, five years after the 1911 revolution, in the city of Yangzhou in southern Jiangsu province, a city with strong cultural traditions in a province known for its leadership in progressive education. Because of its location at the point where the imperial canal crossed the Yangzi River, it had been relatively well developed economically since the Tang dynasty. Zhu's father was a small businessman who had started out as an apprentice in a shop and who was later able to open his own small shop selling clothing. His mother could recognize some Chinese characters and was familiar with traditional stories, but was unable to read Chinese texts for comprehension. He was the youngest of a family of four, with an older sister and two older brothers, one of whom died at the age of 18. His father and surviving brother had the greatest influence on his early educational experiences.

As was common at the time, he had his early education in a traditional private school or *sishu*, where he memorized the Four Books of the Confucian canon, but never had any discussion or explanation of their content. The effect of memorization was to store this ancient wisdom in his mind for future reference and reflection. Later he felt the influences of Confucian thought in his development were considerable, due to this early experience of studying the classics. By contrast he had little exposure to Buddhism beyond finding Buddhist temples a pleasant location for play as a child, and even less to Daoism. Even in his phase of traditional education, neither Buddhist nor Daoist texts had played a role.

When he reached the age of ten, in 1926, Zhu's father decided to put him into a modern primary school. Every summer one of his cousins, the son of his mother's sister, used to return to Yangzhou and visit the family. This young man was studying at the famous Qinghua preparatory school, getting ready to go for higher studies in the United States, where he went in 1927. It was he who persuaded the elder Zhu to send his youngest son to a modern primary school. At the same time, father decided to give his son a new name, drawn from the Analects (*Lunyu*), the first of the Four Books in the Confucian canon. *Si jiu* means simply to think about (*si*) nine things (*jiu*), and these nine things, enumerated in the Analects, include listening carefully, observing carefully

and seven other recommendations for good conduct which Zhu can no longer remember. Somehow this new name signaled a new beginning in his life. Because he had already learned some English, and mathematics, in the last year in the *sishu*, he was able to enter the first year of upper primary school, and graduate within two years, not needing to attend the four years of lower primary schooling.

On graduation from primary school in 1928, Zhu entered Yangzhou Secondary School, one of only three secondary schools in Yangzhou at the time. It was his own choice to study there, and he remarked how his family gave him complete freedom in the choice of which school he would attend, and which subjects he would study, much greater freedom than he feels most young people experience today in China, where parental choice plays a very strong role in young people's education. His six years at Yangzhou Secondary School turned out to be extremely important, laying a foundation in knowledge and academic orientation which had a profound influence on his thinking later, as a university leader and administrator.

The principal of Yangzhou Secondary School at the time had a master's degree from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and was a member of the Nationalist Party, a connection that enabled him to get high-level government support for the school. At the same time he never attempted to influence his students politically, but focused on academic excellence. He recruited teachers from all over the province, in order to get the very best, and put a strong emphasis on the effective learning of English by all students. For this purpose he regularly had an English newspaper, published in Shanghai, the *Dalu bao*, posted on the bulletin board where all students could read it. The leading English teacher was a graduate of Yanjing University in Beijing, an American missionary university known for its high standards in English. Equal emphasis was put on humanities and science in the school, and a special building was built to house science laboratories that made possible a strong emphasis on experimentation in the learning of science. The school also had an excellent library. Every year more than 100 students graduated, and most furthered their studies in the best universities in China. Yangzhou Secondary School had a nationwide reputation for excellence and was often regarded as the southern counterpart of the famous Nankai Secondary School in Tianjin. Nevertheless, because the school was funded by the provincial government, fees were low and Zhu's family was able to support him throughout the six years.

When he graduated from secondary school, however, his father felt it was impossible to provide the support that would be needed for him to undertake university studies. Rather, he contacted a relative who was head of the

chemistry department at Zhejiang University (Zheda) in nearby Hangzhou, and arranged a clerical position for him at Zheda, where he could earn 20 yuan a month, and gain some experience of life in a university environment. The year was 1935, and the psychologist Guo Renyuan was president at the time. However, Guo had been so harsh and unreasonable in suppressing student activism that Chiang Kai-shek felt it best to replace him and appointed Zhu Kezheng to the presidency of Zheda later that year. Zhu Kezheng was an excellent choice, a distinguished scientist who had been recruited to the Academica Sinica by Cai Yuanpei some years earlier, he proved a dedicated university leader, insisting on greater financial support from the government and autonomy over all academic appointments as conditions of his acceptance of the presidency. In the years of the Sino-Japanese War, Zheda had to move to four different locations, but Zhu Kezheng had a powerful vision that enabled it to develop a remarkable degree of academic excellence under the most turbulent of wartime conditions.

Zhu felt his year working in a modest position at Zheda gave him much food for thought. He was extremely grateful to his remaining older brother for persuading his father, one year later in 1936, to support him in undertaking university studies. His father suggested that he go to the National Central University of Politics in Nanjing, just six hours away by boat on the imperial canal and the Yangzi River, but Zhu was determined to make a different choice, as he did not want to live in the national capital under the regime of Chiang Kai-shek. Once again, he was extremely grateful to his family for allowing him to make his own personal choice of Wuhan University, also an excellent national university, and enroll in its program in philosophy and education, with a minor in English.

Altogether, Zhu was to spend three terms as a student of Wuhan University. During the first year, he had five courses in education and philosophy, covering philosophical concepts, moral reasoning, educational psychology and educational principles. Only one of these courses, philosophical concepts, was intellectually challenging, and he still remembers the teacher, Fan Shoukang, using dialectical materialism in an effective way. The others were dull and poorly taught, simply a regurgitation of ideas from English language textbooks imported from abroad. By contrast, the teachers and courses taught in the foreign languages department were of higher quality, and this influenced Zhu to change to English as his major in the second year. He still remembers several excellent courses taken that year, including one in phonetics taught by Li Rumian, the content of which remains helpful to him now, sixty years later!

Overshadowing the experiences of his first year at university was a deep sense of national destiny that Zhu felt had occupied his mind ever since the

September 18th incident of 1931, when Japan began its incursions into Chinese territory. In his view, young people in China today are not able to grasp the influence that this incident, and the subsequent escalation of Japanese aggression, had on youth of his time. In his upper secondary years, he had done a lot of reading of literature and social theory that affected his thinking about university study, and his decision to avoid Nanjing at all costs. He became more and more aware of the activism of progressive students while working at Zhejiang University and was frustrated that he could not participate, since he did not enjoy the status of a student. Finally, as a student at Wuhan University, he was able to take positive action.

This is how it came about. In a basic course in Chinese literature taught by a very conservative lecturer during his first year, he had been criticized for progressive ideas expressed in an essay he submitted. The lecturer denigrated what he had written as a kind of "proletarian eight-legged essay" (*puluo bagu*). Deeply discouraged by these comments, Zhu showed the returned essay to a fellow classmate, who immediately introduced him to a group of about 40 progressive students who met secretly to discuss national affairs and what they could do to save their country. While this underground group had no formal connection to the Communist Party at the time, it did have links to progressive student groups throughout the country. One year later, in October of 1937, Zhu decided to join the Communist Party. The most important reason for his decision was the impact of the Japanese invasion on his thoughts and feelings. He felt only the Communist Party could give hope for China's future.

In November of 1937, Zhu received the last letter his brother was able to send him, a letter that enclosed 70 yuan from the family, and let him know that the Japanese had already entered Shanghai, and were expected in Nanjing and Yangzhou before long. There was a strong sense of impending disaster in the letter, yet his brother urged him to continue his studies, and follow the university inland when it was forced to move. From the moment he received this letter, Zhu was no longer able to concentrate on his studies. He made up his mind to apply to go to Yan'an, along with the other two students who had joined the Party, a decision he was required to keep secret, and could not communicate to his family. While he guessed his father and brother would not approve of his decision, he nevertheless felt a sense of their support and understanding.

In reflecting on the subsequent years, from 1937 to 1949, Zhu feels he was extremely fortunate to survive the difficult conditions of the Anti-Japanese and the Civil Wars. He always keeps in mind the many close friends and comrades who lost their lives over those years. He reached Yan'an in December of 1937 and spent a year there, first as a student of the Anti-Japanese Resistance University (*Kangri junzheng daxue*), known as Kangda, for six months, graduating in June

of 1938, then as teacher of political education at Kangda for three months, and subsequently as counselor (*zhidao yuan*) in another section of the university. In December 1938, the decision was made that Kangda should establish two branch campuses in other bases behind enemy lines. The first was set up in the southeast of Shanxi province, and the other in Jin Cha Ji, a mountainous area of Hebei province, northeast of the City of Taiyuan and northwest of Shi Jia Zhuang. Zhu remembers the moment when Luo Ruqing, vice president of Kangda, read out the list of names of who would go to which place, and he was assigned to Jin Cha Ji. One went where one was told, with no discussion.

From 1939 to 1945, Zhu lived in this remote region in the mountains. For the first three years, he continued to teach in Kangda, giving courses on the history of the Chinese revolution and the history of social development to large groups of students, who sat on the ground in the village square—there was no building large enough for classes. Nor were there any books available for study purposes—all teaching materials had to be prepared from memory and experience. In 1942, Zhu was given a new assignment as a head of publicity in an area near the famous Ding County, where Yan Yangzhu had done so much literacy work, and thus where the cultural level of the peasants was quite high. In that year, he also finally felt able to write to his brother and ask for news of his family. He told them he was now a rural primary school teacher in Hebei, and he received word back that both parents had died that year.

In January of 1946, after the defeat of Japan, Zhu was appointed deputy editor of the daily *Qunzhong ribao*, and moved to Rehe. He had been invited to take up this role by Li Rui, editor in chief of the newspaper, who got permission from his superior in the army for his release. The following year, Li Rui sent him to Harbin to buy some materials for publishing, and there he met his future wife who followed him back to Rehe in the spring of 1947. They were married in January of 1948.

The People's Liberation Army reached Beijing in February of 1949, and Zhu had been appointed editor-in-chief of the Tianjin Daily (*Tianjin ribao*) under the direction of the Tianjin city Party committee from January to May of 1949. Subsequently he was sent to Changsha, first as vice editor-in-chief, and subsequently as editor-in-chief of the Hunan Daily newspaper, working under the provincial party committee from August of 1949 till December of 1952. During these years in journalism his role was mainly to ensure the dissemination of accurate information and political directives from the party, and there were relatively few opportunities to write analytic pieces himself. Nevertheless, he felt these years greatly broadened his perspective, causing him to reflect deeply on political, economic, cultural, military and agricultural concerns ranging from local to national and international arenas. From December of 1952 till

May of 1953, he was appointed the first vice head of the Hunan Education Department.

In May of 1953, he was informed of the decision that he should be transferred to Wuhan, where the newly established administration of the Central South region wished him to take up a leadership role in establishing the Huazhong Institute of Technology, along with Zha Qian, the first president. The Head of the Publicity Department for the region was familiar with his work and felt he would be suitable for this role. Again, there was no discussion of this new appointment and it was a matter of Party discipline for him to accept. But it was an opportunity he greatly welcomed.

So we leave Zhu Jiusi at this point, the only one of our six scholars who had lived and worked in Yan'an and other liberated areas before 1949, having a strong academic foundation, rich revolutionary experience and a significant career in higher education, journalism and publicity work. All of these varied experiences were to contribute to his efforts to build a university of distinction that would have a nation-wide influence, in the years from 1953 to 1984.

2.3 *Pan Maoyuan: Growing Up in Southeast China 1920–1949*

Pan Maoyuan was born in Shantou, a city on the northeast coast of Guangdong province, near Fujian, in 1920. His family was extremely poor, having neither land nor profession, similar to the family of Li Bingde. Only three of the ten children born to his parents survived to grow up, and the family at first could not afford to send him to school. He was taught to read by an older brother and his father, then, at age eight he was put into the third grade of a local primary school. The main content of the curriculum was traditional classical texts, beginning with the *Three Character Classic* (*Sanzi jing*). On finishing primary school, there was no possibility of further education and he was kept at home to help his father grind rice and make rice flour and cakes.

Fortunately, one of his teachers had noted his flair for writing and intervened at this juncture to help him get into lower secondary study in a Confucian school in Shantou, with an exemption from normal fees. He remembers that his teacher in this school had a *juren* qualification from the traditional civil service examination system. After completing lower secondary school at age fifteen, he was asked to teach in a primary school for some months, and this experience gave him a sense of how significant a teacher's work could be, also of how much he would have to learn if he wished to pursue teaching as a profession. He decided to enter an upper secondary school for training primary school teachers, Haibin Normal Secondary School in Shantou. He managed to pay the fees and support himself through teaching evening classes. On graduation he started teaching in a rural primary school. From 1937 to 1939,

he threw himself into primary school teaching with great enthusiasm, but also found himself increasingly drawn to the Anti-Japanese War effort. He helped with organization and propaganda work and had connections with the underground work of the Communist party.

By 1940, he was drawn to further educational study, and decided to take the entry examinations for Xiamen University. It took him over a week of difficult travel through mountains to reach the university's new location, inland in Fujian near Jiangxi, where he took the examinations but failed to gain entry. Instead, he found his way into a provincial government program for primary school teachers of Chinese, and followed further studies there for a year. His background had been Chinese literature, and he had published numerous stories and articles. However, he knew the study of education was his greatest interest. A year later he applied again to Xiamen University and this time was accepted into its department of education.

In spite of the difficulties of the war years, he found the years of study from 1941 to 1945 to be wonderfully stimulating. Most of the professors were American returned Chinese scholars, and the chair of the department, Li Peiyou, had translated a number of Dewey's works into Chinese. Professor Chen Jingpan was on the faculty, a scholar who was later to spend many years at Beijing Normal University. In order to support himself while studying, Pan taught part-time, first in a primary school, later in a secondary school. During his fourth year of study at university, he was head of the teaching affairs section in the county middle school. He thus had constant opportunities to put everything he was learning into practice.

Pan felt that Dewey's educational ideas were very progressive and these years of study prepared him extremely well for his career in education. After he graduated in 1945, he taught briefly in county schools in Jiangxi. Xiamen University had meanwhile moved back to Xiamen and in 1946 he was invited by the president and the head of the education department to become principal of its attached primary school, while also working as a teaching assistant in the university's college of education. He found Tao Xingzhi's books most helpful in running the school and also made use of them in his teaching at the university. In this he concurred with Li Bingde, who felt Tao's ideas and writings best fitted China's education needs. Neither Pan nor Li ever met Tao in person.

We will leave Pan Maoyuan at this point, twenty-nine years old, a budding scholar of education, primary school principal and activist, ready for a whole new phase of his career at the time of the successful Communist Revolution of 1949.

2.4 *Xie Xide: Growing Up in Privileged Educational Circles 1920–1947*

Xie Xide was born just one year later than Pan Maoyuan, and they were destined to be students together at Xiamen University during the Japanese occupation of China. From every other perspective, however, her early years passed in a totally different environment than the impoverished and difficult situation in which Pan grew up. Her father had studied in the United States for many years, and held a master's degree from Columbia University and a PhD from the University of Chicago in Physics. She was born in 1921, and spent the first four years of her life at her mother's side in Xiamen, where her mother was a student of Xiamen University. Her mother died in 1925, and two years later her father returned from the United States and took her to Beijing, where he took up a teaching position at Yanjing University (the same institution where Li Bingde spent a year in graduate studies in 1936–37). Her father remarried, this time to a Yanjing graduate, and had three sons, her half-brothers growing up within the same family with whom she was very close.

It was a life of remarkable privilege, given the difficult times China was going through; a sheltered life in which she had the best possible educational opportunities. She attended the attached primary school of Yanjing University, and had many of her lessons taught in English, and gained, as well, a good foundation in Chinese. On completion of primary school, she was enrolled in the famous Bridgeman Academy, an exclusive private school for girls run by Christian missionaries, one of the oldest and best known of its kind. Both the teaching of English, and of science and mathematics, were at a very high standard.

In addition to these excellent school experiences, she received constant support and encouragement from her father and stepmother. Her father was very traditional in his family values, in spite of the many years in the United States, and very much wanted his children to conform to his own patterns and bring honor to the family through their studies. He was thus very pleased when she chose to study physics, and prepared her from an early age to pursue advanced studies abroad. He also upheld her as an example to three younger brothers, all of whom pursued careers in various fields of engineering. While he was open-minded as a scholar and professor of physics, in many ways he retained the role of a Confucian father. He took an interest only in his children's studies, not wishing them to "waste time" on extra-curricular activities, and was determined that they should stay away from student activism or any direct political involvement in the nation's affairs. While Xie Xide pleased him with her academic choices, and successes, as she grew up, her life decisions diverged from the patterns he had laid down. One of the reasons for her independence of

spirit may have lain in her educational experiences, and she felt her secondary education in a series of excellent girls' schools was particularly important.

When the Japanese invaded Beijing in 1937, Xie Xide was sixteen years old and only part way through her secondary education in the Bridgeman Academy. Along with her family, she had to escape Beijing, and she followed her father first to Wuhan, then to Changsha. For six months, she studied at St. Hilda's, a missionary school for girls in Wuchang, then subsequently completed her secondary education in the Fuxing Secondary School, a school for girls attached to the Yale in China missionary college in Changsha. She thus experienced three different missionary schools for girls, and she felt this gave her tremendous confidence in her own ability to make independent decisions and choices, also to prepare for a professional career as a woman. For her, the most crucial phase was upper secondary education, a period when girls tend to be overshadowed by the sudden rapid development of boys as they seek to overtake the girls in their classes in co-educational schools. In a girls' school, this is the period when a strong sense of self-confidence and preparedness for leadership is developed, she explained.

In 1938, when she graduated from secondary school at the age of 17, her father moved to Xiamen, and took up a teaching position at Xiamen University. She followed the family there, and for four years she had to rest at home, in order to recover from a severe attack of tuberculosis in the hip-joint, something that was to leave her slightly handicapped throughout her life. During this period of convalescence, the Japanese invasion reached southeast China, and Xiamen University had to move inland to Zhangting, a small town near the border of Jiangxi province, which was a secondary base for the Chinese Communist Party, their major base being in nearby Ruijin. It was a remote mountainous area, difficult to reach for the invading Japanese troops.

In 1942, Xie was able to begin her university studies in physics within the department of math and physics. There were only about six students majoring in physics, and they all shared one textbook borrowed from their professor. Conditions were extremely difficult but they did have electricity in the classrooms up to a certain hour in the evening, after which they studied by kerosene lamps. Pan Maoyuan was studying one year ahead of her, in the department of education, and she knew him and his wife well.

Generally the students at Xiamen University in those years were of very high standard, being students who fled there from excellent universities in Zhejiang, Jiangsu and Hubei when these areas fell under Japanese control. There was a very active student movement, with many students supporting the underground activities of the Communist Party. She was fully aware of this, but strongly influenced by her father's desire that she keep out of politics. She also

refused to join any of the activities organized by the Nationalist Party's Youth organization on campus, the San Ching Tuan.

In 1946, Xie graduated from Xiamen University, while it was still in Zhangting, but was preparing to move back to Xiamen, where a new class of students was being recruited. With the help of her father's connections in the academic community she was able to obtain a position as teaching assistant in physics and math at Hu Jiang University in Shanghai, a missionary university affiliated with American Baptists, and there she prepared for the period of study abroad that had been a part of her career plans from an early age. She was successful in gaining a scholarship at Smith College, where she spent two years doing her master's degree, and from there she went to Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where she was able to complete her PhD in physics in a brief two and a half years, with a focus on semiconductors. On completion of the degree she stayed for another six months in order to do collaborative research with a group working in the area of solid-state physics.

As Xie moved through this important phase of her development as a scientist, differences of view with her father became more and more acute. He moved to the Philippines in 1946, where he taught at the Oriental University in Manila and later moved to Taiwan when he was unable to gain satisfactory residential status in the Philippines. From her high school days, she had a boyfriend who was also an excellent science student, and who went on to study at Yanjing University in Beijing and then followed it to Chengdu where it was combined with West China Union University during the Sino-Japanese War, graduating there in 1943. He got to know Dr. Joseph Needham, and had an opportunity to work with him in a collaborative scientific research center Needham had established, then gained a Sino-British scholarship to study chemistry at Cambridge University in 1946. Her father claimed to believe that marriage should be a matter of free choice, but in the case of his own children, it was a different matter. He did not approve of her boyfriend, and was only persuaded to give his permission to their engagement in 1946, when he learned of the scholarship to Cambridge and association with Dr. Joseph Needham!

A second and much greater conflict arose with her father over her decision to return to China, after completing the PhD at MIT. He wrote her many letters, begging her to stay in the United States, but she and her fiancé were determined to return to China. They had been corresponding between the two "Cambridges" for some years, and it was difficult for her to leave the United States for China in the Cold War atmosphere that existed. She was, however, able to get permission to visit England, with the help of Dr. Needham, and she and her fiancé were married in an Anglican church near Cambridge, whose vicar was known as a "red priest" for his socialist sympathies. Within

a few months, the two returned to China on the Guangzhou Hao, arriving in Shanghai in 1952.

The decision to return to China, in spite of all the uncertainties and difficulties of the period, was never a matter of struggle or self-questioning, but somehow a natural choice. Both she and her husband wished to contribute the scientific expertise they had gained in the world's most prestigious universities to the development of their own country. It was only later, in 1956, that each separately made application to join the Chinese Communist Party, and discovered they had been accepted on the same day. The decision was linked to patriotism and a deep-rooted sense of Chinese identity.

Xie's father was never able to come to terms with her decision to develop her professional career in China, and refused to acknowledge any of the letters or parcels that she sent to him after returning to China. He died in Taiwan in 1986, having sent no communication to his only daughter over the 34 years that passed since 1952. However, it was a great comfort to her, when a friend brought some of his personal possessions to her after his death, to find that all of the photos she had sent, since the time of her marriage in 1952, had been kept by him over the years. He was a determined, even stubborn person, a Christian, but most of all a scholar. That was her characterization of him, as she reflected back over the years from the autumn of 1998. When she visited Taiwan for the first time in 1997, she felt some comfort in connecting to the region where her father had spent the last twenty years of his life, and where her grandfather had first taken him at a young age, in the late 19th century.

So we leave Xie Xide at this point, a highly qualified and dedicated young physicist, settling in Shanghai with her husband in 1952, both determined to use their knowledge and skill for the betterment of their country, and full of hope for a satisfying professional future. Her background and life story had been very different from that of Li Bingde, Zhu Jiusi and Pan Maoyuan, but her ambitions and commitments converged very closely to theirs, as they prepared for long years of service respectively at Northwest Normal University, Huazhong Institute of Technology, Xiamen University and Fudan University.

2.5 *Wang Yongquan: Growing Up in Beijing and the Hinterland 1929–1949*

Wang Yongquan, the fifth scholar in our narrative, was born in 1929, to a father who had grown up in an impoverished rural family, similar to that of Li and Pan, in rural Hubei. His father's brothers were all peasants but they had saved up to send him to a good secondary school near Wuhan in Hubei province, and from there he had been successful in entering Peking University. In about 1917, his father went to France, with the famous Work Study Movement [*Qingong*

jianxue] of young people from working class families who supported their studies through labor in French factories. He studied philosophy and logic at the University of Lyons, and returned to China in 1925. Before leaving for France, he had married an illiterate young peasant woman, in a marriage arranged by the family, and had one daughter. On return, he and his wife lived in Shanghai until eight months after Wang Yongquan was born in 1929, then moved to Peking, where he taught at National Beiping University and the Université Franco-chinoise.

Wang has happy memories of his first seven years, living in an old-style courtyard house, with a mother who may have been illiterate but who was schooled enough in the Confucian virtues of politeness, sincerity and honesty to bring up her two children well and maintain a happy and harmonious marriage. His father was a strict Confucian, in spite of the many years studying Western philosophy. He emphasized the Confucian virtues of clear social hierarchy, filial piety, loyalty to ruler and country, sincerity with friends; he advocated strict demands upon oneself and a spirit of broadmindedness and forgiveness towards others. He saw Buddhism and Taoism as somewhat passive and negative, while Confucianism, in his view, showed the way to social harmony and well-being.

In 1937, when Wang was just eight years old, this peaceful family life was disrupted by the Japanese invasion and the Marco Polo bridge incident in Beijing. At this very time, Li Bingde had been cut off from his Rockefeller scholarship at Yanjing University, Zhu Jiusi had made his momentous decision to leave university and go to Yan'an, Pan Maoyuan had just started teaching in a rural primary school in Fujian, and Xie Xide was in her last year of secondary school. For eight-year-old Wang it meant the end of formal schooling for several years. His father hurried away from Beijing in order to avoid being pressed into service in a Japanese-controlled higher institution and the parting instruction to the children's mother was that the children were not to go to schools that were in Japanese hands.

For several years, Wang studied under his older sister at home, while waiting for the chance to rejoin his father. Father went from Wuhan to Guilin, to Kunming, where Wang and his sister and their mother joined him. He studied for one year in the secondary school attached to the Sino-French University, which had moved to Kunming along with Peking University, Qinghua and Nankai, the three that formed Southwest Associated University. In 1940, his father moved to Chongqing to teach at Sichuan University, and he studied at its attached secondary school. In both of these schools the teachers were associate professors in the university who gave some of their time to teaching in the secondary school. His memory was of excellent teaching, particularly

in English, Chinese and mathematics. Some of his mathematics and science texts were in English, and he remembers one English teacher who had perfect mastery of the language and who introduced a whole culture, along with the language. He particularly remembers that teacher introducing Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata, and singing while teaching.

However, the school of life was in the end even more important, he felt. His mother took ill in Chongqing, and he stayed at home to do the shopping, cooking, washing and all household chores while his father crossed the river every day to go to his work at the university. His mother died in 1941, when he was only twelve years old. In retrospect that year was one of the most important in his education, as he had to be totally independent, and he gained the sense that there was nothing he could not do, given the way he had managed in these very difficult circumstances.

The following year Wang's father moved to Northwest United University in Shaanxi province near Hanzhong. Southwest United in Kunming had a philosophy department dominated by the returned group, and he was more comfortable with those influenced by European philosophy who had congregated at Northwest United University. In 1943 he married a professor of mathematics from Sichuan University, and Wang found her to be a wonderful stepmother. Wang particularly loved Chinese language and literature, and wanted to study in a classical academy or *shuyuan* after completing secondary education. However, his stepmother insisted that he learn something practical that would enable him to earn a livelihood, and keep his interest in Chinese literature as a hobby, something to be taken up in his spare time. As a result he took the examinations for Qinghua University in Beijing, and was accepted into the physics department in 1946, graduating in 1950. He lived on the Qinghua campus, and by this time his parents had also returned to live in Beijing and his father was teaching at Beida.

Wang had been educated to obey and be loyal to his family in the true Confucian spirit. He feels he had never been a rebel in any sense of the word. His family influence was more important than schooling in his overall development, and he kept a diary that was read by his parents, from time to time. Out of respect to his father, he did not join the Communist Party during his student years on the Qinghua campus, but studied hard and only attended some of the major demonstrations. He has particularly vivid memories of the debates that went on in December of 1948, just two months before Beijing was liberated by the Communist Party, over whether the Soviet Union was an imperialist or a socialist country. The conclusion of Qinghua students, at that crucial time, was that it was imperialist, but the question remained an open one and it was quite acceptable for some to maintain the other position. This student debate had

been organized by the underground Communist Party group at Qinghua, and the difference between this even-handed approach in 1948, and the later insistence that everyone adopt the "correct" line was a striking one, in Wang's view.

When the People's Liberation Army liberated Beijing in February of 1949, Wang was in his last year at Qinghua University, about to graduate in physics. His father and stepmother had also returned to Beijing to teach in universities there. He was about to transfer the absolute loyalty to family that he had learned from his father, and that he saw as part of the Confucian value system, to the Communist Party that was now taking charge of China's future.

2.6 *Lu Jie: Growing Up in Shanghai, 1930–1949*

Lu Jie was born in Shanghai in 1930 to a family that was seen as privileged at the time, but that had overcome many odds to reach that position. Her grandfather grew up in rural Sichuan province, in the county town of Langzhong, twelve hours drive and many more hours by foot from the capital of Chengdu. A small businessman working under difficult circumstances, he had only one son, Lu Jie's father, who was left an orphan at an early age. Lu's father was able to study in Christian mission schools, and was such a good student that the missionaries wanted to train him for church leadership. He preferred medicine, but finally settled for education as his chosen field. During the First World War, along with other impoverished students from rural Sichuan he was able to go to France under the work-study movement which Wang Yongquan's father also joined. Working as a translator, he was able to save money for his further education. He returned to China right after the war, and with further help from the church, as well as his own savings, he was able to go to Columbia University for an MA program under John Dewey in education and psychology. During his years at Columbia he became good friends with both Chen Heqin and Tao Xingzhi.

Returning to China in 1922, he taught briefly at Zhejiang University in Hangzhou, and then settled at the private Da Xia University in Shanghai, where he was to spend his whole career, up to 1949. The beautiful campus of this university, in a western suburb of Shanghai, was given to the newly established East China Normal University in the early 1950s. It has since become one of China's leading institutions in education. Her father built his own house very near the campus in 1923, taking out a loan from the bank to pay the mortgage. The room in this large house that she remembers with great poignancy was the library, full of the many books that were his greatest delight.

Lu Jie's mother was also a very important influence in her life, and she came from a background quite different from that of her husband. Hers was a well-established Shanghai family that owned land and was very prosperous. She was

educated at St. Mary's School, a girls' school associated with the prestigious St. Johns University. Her parents planned to choose a husband for her, but she refused, remaining single until her late twenties, and pursuing a career as a private teacher. When she elected to marry a person from outside Shanghai (*waidi ren*), who had neither money nor land, the family was strongly opposed. They finally gave in, due to her new husband's professional standing as a university professor. Lu Jie felt that her mother's independence of mind and choice, which was quite unusual for a woman of her time, was an important element in her own development.

Family education was extremely important, and Lu Jie remembers her parents as being strict and putting great emphasis on the education of their three children—an eldest daughter, born in 1923, a son, Lu Ping, born in 1927, and Lu Jie, born in 1930. Their parents made it clear that they had the highest expectations of their education and they should study hard and improve themselves. While they held to traditional Confucian values in terms of respect for elders and family discipline, they were unusual in giving the three children absolute freedom over their career decisions, and other life choices. Her father's theories of education were strongly influenced by John Dewey, and this, together with her mother's independence of spirit, resulted in a remarkably liberal household for the times.

Lu Jie's early years were very happy ones, growing up in her father's large house and going to a progressive kindergarten on the university campus. She remembers starting to write characters with her mother's help at age 3, learning more during her year at kindergarten, then being sent to primary school at age five, along with other children of professors at the University, in one of the progressive schools founded by the Shanghai Municipal Council. Chen Heqin was principal of this school.

The Japanese invasion of Shanghai in 1937, when Lu Jie was just seven years old, shattered this idyllic childhood world. Her father's home was destroyed by the Japanese and the whole family had to take refuge in a tiny apartment within the international concession. Her father's beloved books were scattered in the homes of various friends and relatives, and never again was he able to have the luxury of his own personal study and library. Lu Jie noted how her brother, Lu Ping, who became famous as the Director of the Hong Kong Macao Office during the years leading up to Hong Kong's reunification with China in 1997, never accumulated a personal collection of books. This was because of the trauma associated with his father's loss in these early years.

During the Japanese occupation of Shanghai, her father elected to stay in Shanghai, while the university relocated to Guiyang, and to take responsibility for a school affiliated with Da Xia University that continued to function in

Shanghai. He was trusted with this task, she felt, because of the fact that he had been known as strongly committed to his profession, and totally non-political. It was a very difficult task, and she remembers vividly the day in which her father received a threatening letter from the Japanese authorities, demanding that he join other "Hanjian" (traitors to the Han) in cooperating with Wang Jingwei, the Japanese puppet governor. He immediately fled to Guiyang, waiting until he was sure their attention had been deflected from the Da Xia school, then returned to Shanghai.

The family remained in Shanghai throughout the war years, and Lu Jie was sent to a girls' Catholic school associated with L'Aurore (*Zhendan*), a French catholic university. The strict discipline of the nuns presented quite a contrast to her primary education in the progressive school run by Chen Heqin, but her parents felt this would be beneficial to her. The principal of the school, Yu Chingtang, was a famous educator, and there were numerous other Chinese teachers as well as the European nuns. Overall, she felt the influence of the church was a very positive one, with the sisters showing real care for the students, having tremendous patience and never getting angry.

During these years in secondary school, she saw the brutality of the Japanese and the various incidents of national protest, although she was too young to participate. She remembers seeing Japanese soldiers on horseback, attacking civilians in the streets. She also remembers how the school itself became a kind of internment camp for nuns from all different parts of the city after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the American entry into the war. At one point, the Japanese insisted that their language should be taught to students, and they sent a man to give them Japanese lessons. Within one week, he gave up because the students hated the lessons and refused to learn.

These years were very important for her in developing a strong sense of "*minzu*" or national identity. When the war was over, she remembers the celebration and relief, and joined with others in celebrating Chiang Kai-shek as a hero. However, it soon became evident that there was very little real change, and China remained weak and vulnerable. Supposedly one of the five powers that had won the war, along with Britain, France, the USA and the Soviet Union, it actually faced worsening conditions of poverty and economic collapse. She remembers how much she hated seeing the American soldiers in Shanghai after the war, and how bitter were the feelings aroused by the infamous case of a Chinese student being raped by an American soldier.

In 1947, two years after the end of the war, Lu Jie completed secondary school. There had never been any question in her mind that she would pursue higher education, but where would she go for her studies? Her brother had chosen agriculture at St. John's University and her sister had studied chemistry

at Da Xia University, both in Shanghai. She decided that she would like to leave Shanghai and be more independent of the family, so chose Jinling Women's College in Nanjing, where she started studies in chemistry in 1947. Her father was happy with the decision, and greatly respected the then president, Wu Yifang, a female scholar with a PhD in biology from the USA. After a short period of study in chemistry, she found the subject bitter and dry (*kuzao*) and decided to go into the sociology department in her second year, choosing its program in child welfare as her focus. With all the suffering of the war, she felt drawn to work with children, and hoped some day she might be able to run an orphanage.

When she wrote to her father to let him know her decision to change her field of study from chemistry to education, he was delighted. He wrote her a four-page letter explaining how happy he was to have one of his children freely choose to enter the same field he had chosen. It was important to him that his children have complete freedom of choice, but his lengthy exposition of the meaning and value of education in this letter showed how much the decision meant to him. After two years of study at Jinling Women's college, Lu Jie took ill with tuberculosis and had to rest for two years, returning in 1952 to what had become the education department of Nanjing Normal University, and graduating in 1953.

The years of the Sino-Japanese War, the Second World War and the Civil War were extremely difficult ones for the family. Her father worried constantly about the dangers faced by his children who were becoming more and more politically involved. He also agonized over his own future, finally deciding to move to Hong Kong in 1949.

Lu Jie felt there were three great influences that shaped her life: family, school and the political situation China faced throughout her teenage years. Due to this third factor she believed that both she and her brother, Lu Ping, reached political maturity very early, and felt a deep sense of the need to sacrifice themselves for the country (*ziwo xisheng*). Her father did his very best to persuade them both to take the opportunities available for study abroad. He actually secured a scholarship for her brother at Stanford University, and asked her to fill in forms to apply for study in the United States. However, both resolutely refused these opportunities. Many, particularly friends and schoolmates who did go abroad, and lived very different lives, have asked her whether she now regrets this decision. Her reply is that it was a very rational decision, given the situation of the times, not an emotional one, and that she has reaffirmed the choice as one based on sound reasoning throughout her life, in spite of the many unanticipated difficulties that came after 1949.

Her parents' latter years were not easy, given the life choices made by their children. While living in Hong Kong and briefly in Taiwan during the early fifties, they missed their children so much as to decide to return to China in 1958, only to find their oldest daughter had already died. With the coming of the Cultural Revolution, their son was sent to the countryside in Henan and they followed, living in terrible circumstances. Lu's father died in 1977, and her mother in 1978, having spent her final years with her daughter in Nanjing. In the forty years since they had lost their home in Shanghai, they had never been able to recapture the life of professional commitment and family solidarity that had been their dream in the early twenties.

Lu Jie herself graduated from Nanjing Normal University at the age of 23 in 1953, and was asked by the university to join the staff as a political instructor. Having joined the Communist underground in the late forties, she was one of the few with the necessary combination of political and academic qualifications for the task. Her husband was also a committed Communist Party member, and held a leadership position in the university as head of the Department of Political Science. Both of them believed that China was now at last on the right track, free of war, independent, led by a political party committed to economic development and social justice. In their modest roles within a newly established provincial university, they could finally contribute in ways that would make a difference to their beloved China.

3 Careers under Socialism, 1949–1978

At this point we reach a new phase of each life story, and go forward to see how each of these six educators experienced and understood the first three decades under Communist rule. Li Bingde was thirty-seven years old, with a solid track record as associate professor of education at Henan University, a graduate qualification in education from Yanjing University and two years of research and study in Europe behind him. Zhu Jiusi was thirty-three years old, with solid academic credentials from an excellent secondary school and undergraduate studies at Wuhan University, and even more important, with thirteen years of experience as a revolutionary intellectual in higher education leadership, teaching and journalism. Pan Maoyuan was twenty-nine years old, held a degree in education from Xiamen University and had had considerable experience in both primary and secondary school teaching. At the time of the Liberation, he was principal of Xiamen University's attached primary school and an assistant lecturer in the college of education. Xie Xide was twenty-eight

years old, working on her doctorate at MIT, and already determined to return to China on its completion. Wang Yongquan was twenty years old, about to graduate in physics from one of China's most famous universities, Qinghua, and was looking forward to his first job. Lu Jie was nineteen years old, suffering an interruption in her undergraduate studies, due to tuberculosis, but determined to continue her studies as soon as possible, and contribute her youth and energy to the new China.

All six of them had been deeply influenced by traditional Chinese thought and philosophy, mainly the Confucian canon, both through their families and through some aspects of their early schooling. They had also been exposed to American educational ideas, particularly Deweyan pragmatism, as interpreted by American-returned Chinese teachers, and to a lesser extent to European influences. Li Bingde and Xie Xide were the only two who experienced an extended period abroad as part of their intellectual and professional formation. Zhu Jiusi was the only one who had had a deep exposure to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, in both its theoretical and practical aspects.

For all six scholars, the victory of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, and the decision of China's new leaders to lean towards the Soviet Union, and adopt its model of socialist construction, was a crucial turning point in their lives. The major part of their professional careers was to pass under a new order, and it was this that framed the development of their educational ideas. In this next section we will listen to their accounts of the first three decades of Communist rule.

3.1 *Li Bingde: Pioneer of the Northwest*

Li Bingde never considered any alternative but to return to China from Europe in 1949, to be reunited with the wife and five children he had left behind, and to contribute to building a new China under socialism. Fourteen other Chinese scholars on government fellowships in France, Sweden, Denmark and other parts of Europe returned, while many others chose to wait and to see what would happen.

As soon as he returned, only a month or two after the formal inauguration of the new regime, he sought guidance from the new ministry of education in Beijing, and was placed at Huabei University, one of the institutions set up by the Communist Party during the revolutionary struggle. It was renamed People's University in 1950, and was to play a very important role as the arbiter and guide of socialist orthodoxy for the new regime. All those who had studied humanities or social sciences abroad were expected to undertake this study, while those who had studied science or medicine, such as his two brothers returning from the USA, were not given the same requirement.

The study of Marxism-Leninism was entirely new for Li, but he was happy to take it up, and confident that China would now be peaceful, with the end of both the civil war and the Anti-Japanese War. There was a large group of others with him, some very young, others much older, including old professors such as Tai Shuangchiu who had taught him at Henan University and high-level officials of the Nationalist regime. In June of 1950, nine months after his return, the work of job assignment began, and it was done in a sudden and somewhat arbitrary way. He was staying in the Northwest corner of Beijing, not far from the Summer Palace, and had gone into the city one day to meet the provost of Fu Jen University, who wanted to discuss the possibility of him becoming a professor there. On return to his residence the next day, he was informed by the Ministry of Education that his future position had been decided and he should get his luggage ready for departure after lunch. A group of eleven scholars, all returned from Europe or USA, were hosted for lunch by the Ministry of Education and then told their fate after lunch: eight who had returned from USA were sent to the Northeast region, while three who had returned from USA, France and Switzerland, one in fine arts and two in education, were to go to the Northwest. They would first travel to Xi'an, where the Northwest regional education bureau was, and then would be assigned to a higher institution. The other scholar of education, Zhu Bo, had come originally from the southwestern province of Yunnan. The authorities in Xi'an decided to keep Zhu in Xi'an, at the newly established Shaanxi Normal University, and to send Li to Lanzhou, to Northwest Normal University, as they believed that since he came from Henan he would find it easier to adapt to the far Northwest. The scholar of fine arts was sent to Lanzhou University.

He arrived at Lanzhou for the first time in June of 1950, and his wife and five children joined him towards the end of 1950, after she had spent a period of study at Huabei University. He was appointed full professor and provost immediately. In 1957, he was accused of being a rightist and removed from all positions of responsibility. His salary was reduced by two levels, from 283 yuan to 208 yuan, but he was still allowed to teach and keep his professorial title. In 1959, the rightist appellation was removed.

In 1966, during the Cultural Revolution, he was again attacked and this time his punishment was to be sent to teach in the university's attached primary school. For him, no assignment could have been more welcome and he put tremendous energy and interest into the preparation of teaching materials for Chinese and mathematics. This experience was somehow a return to his early years of experimentation in the classroom.

He remembers the 1950s as a period when Soviet ideas reigned supreme and all that he had learned previously, especially that associated with USA,

was criticized. It was a kind of total about face in education, with one set of ideas, particularly the theories of the Russian educator, Kairov, dominating all discourse. For him, it was a striking contrast to the Nationalist period, when there had been lively debates among different groups in education, and many competing viewpoints had been tolerated. No Soviet experts were posted to Northwest Normal University, but several did visit, in the company of an official from the Ministry of Education. They inspected all that was going on, and gave their views on what was correct or incorrect in what they observed.

The rejection of the Soviet model in 1958 and the early sixties was equally abrupt and left Li feeling a sense of crisis, as one more set of foreign ideas was withdrawn before it could take root in Chinese soil. In his view there had been no resolution between two extreme positions—one of affirming Chinese thought and culture as the basis (*ti*) and external inputs as mere techniques (*yong*) that could serve it, and the other of seeing external theories—first capitalism, then socialism—as the only means of saving China. The deep problem which he felt awaited resolution after 1978, with the end of the Cultural Revolution and the beginning of the Deng Xiaoping era, was how to integrate Western and Chinese ideas and build a deep-level educational structure suited to a modern China.

In 1979, Li Bingde was accepted into the Communist Party, and from 1980 to 1983, he was president of Northwest Normal University. During those years he made great efforts to strengthen its professional and academic profile and help it to establish mutually beneficial relations with universities in the USA and Europe. However, it was in the years after his retirement from the presidency at age seventy-one that his most important contributions were made—in a series of scholarly works and textbooks which led the field of pedagogy and educational research, and in the master's and doctoral students he trained for the region and the whole country.

3.2 *Zhu Jiusi and the Development of Higher Education under Socialism*

For Zhu Jiusi, the success of the Communist revolution in 1949 represented the culmination of intense collective efforts by members of the Chinese Communist party and the People's Liberation Army to create conditions for a new China, free from the corruption of the Nationalist period and the humiliation of Japanese and Western incursions. Tears still come to his eyes, fifty years later, as he remembers many close friends and comrades who gave their lives for the success of the revolution, and wonders why it was that his life was spared and he had so many years to serve his country. In dialectical materialist terms, he regards this as a matter of random chance (*ouran*) rather than something predetermined by historical process (*biran*).

When he was informed by his superiors of the decision for him to leave his position in the Department of Education of Hunan province, move to Wuhan and take up leadership responsibility for a newly established institute of technology, he welcomed the opportunity. He moved to Wuhan in June of 1953, in order to take part in planning for the new institute, which was officially opened in October of that year. By 1955, Zhu was vice president of the institute, and in 1956 he was made vice party secretary. In 1961 he became party secretary, and from 1972 to 1984 he served as party secretary and president. He was thus in a position to have a defining influence on the development of this institution, and on higher education in China more generally.

Generally, Zhu felt the adoption of the Soviet model in the restructuring of 1952–3 was a positive move, as it made possible a concerted effort to train higher-level specialists to serve all different sectors of the newly established socialist economy. Excellent private universities of the pre-1949 period, including most of the Christian missionary institutions, were recognized by being integrated into restructured institutions, which held an important role in the new system, while poorer ones did not deserve to survive in any case. However, some elements of the Soviet model were applied in too doctrinaire and rigid a way, Zhu felt, when he reflected on the situation during the later years of the Cultural Revolution decade. This had resulted in the weakening of some of the great public universities of the Nationalist period, including Peking University, Qinghua University, and Wuhan and Zhejiang universities, among others. Both Qinghua and Zhejiang universities were designated polytechnic universities, with all of their distinguished scholars and departments in the basic sciences and humanities moved to other institutions, stripping them of a very significant part of their earlier heritage. Peking University and Wuhan University were designated comprehensive universities under the Soviet model, but this excluded professional fields such as education, medicine, agriculture and engineering, which were moved to other institutions. In retrospect, Zhu felt this created more loss than gain, and we can see from his efforts to develop the Huazhong Institute of Technology how these concerns affected his thinking from a fairly early period.

The first years of development involved establishing a new campus on a pleasant site in a fairly distant suburb of Wuchang, one of the three sister cities, along with Hankou and Hanyang that make up Wuhan. It was a challenging task to create a new identity, with teachers and students being transferred there from five other institutions in different cities and regions. By 1956, the new institution was well established, and had already begun to dream of reaching international standards in certain fields over the subsequent decade. With the Great Leap Forward's emphasis on rapid industrialization, there was

considerable expansion of programs, from four departments with eight programs to eight departments with 37 programs. While Zhu himself felt there were serious mistakes in the exaggerated efforts to move ahead quickly over this time, he also felt important lessons were learned.

For him, it provided the first opportunity to introduce two concepts that later became core to his higher education thinking. One was the integration of research into the work of the university, contrasting with the Soviet model which made universities centers mainly for teaching, and consigned most research to the institutes of an academy of science. The second was an emphasis on integrating applied and basic sciences in the work of the university. Many of the new programs introduced in 1958 at the Huazhong Institute of Technology were in basic fields such as mathematics, physics and chemistry, all of which were seen as a vital foundation for the specialist engineering programs. Zhu greatly regretted the fact that these new programs were closed down again in 1961, at a time of retrenchment, when the Sixty Articles for Higher Education determined an academically conservative approach to higher education development.

Overall, Zhu felt that the period from 1958–1960 represented a kind of "breaking the mold" (*tupuo*) of the Soviet model that had been copied with far too little reflection and adaptation to the Chinese context. He noted Mao's speech of 1956 on the "Ten Great Relationships," where the last of the relationships was that between China and foreign countries. Here Mao expressed his wish for mutually beneficial relations with all other peoples and countries in order to learn from their strengths, but stressed the importance of making critical analysis of what was learned, avoiding mechanical or holistic borrowing, and rejecting shortcomings and mistakes. Mao had added that this approach should also be adopted in relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and criticized the mechanical way in which Soviet patterns had been copied in the early fifties.[10] Zhu noted how these points had been added to Mao's speech when it was published in 1978, and that they were an important reference point in terms of the problems left by the Soviet model.

However, Zhu's most profound thinking on the form of higher education that would be most suited to socialist China took place during the disruption of the Cultural Revolution. In November of 1969, all of the university staff had been forced to move down to the countryside as part of the Cultural Revolution movement to learn from the peasants. In the atmosphere of the time, they feared there was no future for universities in China, but Mao's 1968 statement that "universities would still be needed, especially colleges of science and

10 Zhu Jiusi, "Lishi de huigu," *Gaodeng jiaoyu yanjiu*, No. 4 (1992): p. 4.

engineering …" gave them some hope. Zhu himself moved back to the campus in 1970, one year before the other staff, and during that year he had time for a great deal of thinking. The campus was largely deserted, except for a factory that had moved in and taken over several buildings, and a few research workers under his supervision. All of his books had been moved during the critical attacks launched against him by Red Guards, so once again, as in his teaching years in the liberated areas, he had to depend on experience and memory. He was encouraged by the fact that the Army leader heading the Mao Zedong thought propaganda group responsible for the campus, Liu Kunshan, had a respect for knowledge and would support new ideas for the development of the college.

Two important aspects of his experience in pre-1949 China were germane to the initiatives he took to transform the college and prepare it to become a leading university in the period before Deng Xiaoping declared China's opening up to modernization, the world, and the future. The most important was his memory of six years at Yangzhou Secondary School, as described earlier. The second was his appreciation of several of the great university presidents of the Nationalist era, including Cai Yuanpei at Beida, Zhu Kezheng at Zheda and Zhang Bailing, president of Nankai University and one of the leaders of the Southwest United University (Lianda) in Kunming during the anti-Japanese War.

His reflections on the academic excellence of his secondary school made him aware that people were the most important asset of any academic institution. He remembered how Yangzhou's principal had searched the whole province to bring the best teachers to his school. In this spirit, and with the political standing and support he had at Huazhong University of Science and Technology, he was able to attract about 600 academics from all parts of China to HUST over the years from 1974 to 1983, during a time when many other universities were still paralyzed by the difficult conditions in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution. In addition to bringing in new people, Zhu also instituted a program to provide all existing academic staff, especially those recruited during the years of academic disruption, with special classes in English and mathematics. This was to strengthen their ability to draw on international sources of information, and to do quantitatively based research. In this too he was inspired by the importance that had been given to English in his secondary school. A further aspect of his effort to develop people was the early restoration of the system of academic titles, and promotion opportunities that would encourage excellence.

He also remembered the excellent laboratories, in their own specialist building, and the remarkable library the principal at Yangzhou Secondary

had developed. This inspired early efforts to build up laboratories, acquire vital equipment and develop library resources at HUST, at a time when such resources were very difficult to get and required intense effort on the part of the college's leadership.

From his memory of the famous presidents of the Nationalist period, he reflected on the importance of research being an integral part of the life of a university, closely linked to teaching, and possibly even leading the teaching program. In order to create conditions for this, he took several steps. In 1971, the first national education meeting after the Cultural Revolution was held in Beijing. It was called by the Education and Science Group established by the State Council, and he was one of 10 people from Hubei province who were sent to participate. During the three months he stayed in Beijing for the meeting, he took the opportunity to make linkages with various national ministries, including the Ministry of Mechanical Industry (*Jijie bu*), and the Ministry of Electronics Industry (*Dianzi gongye bu*). He found there was a real need for research and also for new programs in related areas. As a result, he obtained funding commitments from these ministries for research they needed, and established 10 new programs in areas such as lasers and electronics. He was delighted to find, on his return to Wuhan, that Liu Kunshan, the Army leader in charge of the campus, was fully supportive of these initiatives.

Another important step he took at this early period to establish strong research support was the creation of two journals of research information. One reported on international developments in science and technology, the *Guowai keji tongbao*, making the latest information available in Chinese. The other was a journal of translations, the *Keji yibao*, which selected important works in foreign languages relating to science and technology for translation. Both involved intensive effort by a group of senior staff who often had to travel to major libraries to search out the information.

These efforts to recruit excellent staff and support the continuous development of existing academic staff, and to secure research funding and disseminate research information from international sources put Zhu's institution far ahead of many others over this period. When Deng Xiaoping came to power in 1977 and started the movement of reform and opening up, a space was finally created for Zhu's vision to have a national impact. The one element of that vision which he had been able to do little about before 1978 had been his hope for a much more comprehensive approach to knowledge in the university. This was inspired by both his secondary experience and the memories he had of institutions such as Zhejiang University and Wuhan University before Liberation. It was to be confirmed by the impressions of a visit to USA

and Japan in 1979. In this early period all he could do was note the potential of many of the new academic staff he had attracted, and create fundamental conditions for developments that would only become possible in the 1980s.

Zhu's powerful vision for a reformed university and his capacity to lay the foundations for the fulfillment of that vision in a difficult period after the Cultural Revolution may have been linked to the unique combination of political, academic and cultural experiences of his earlier life. As a student, he had made a clear choice, at great personal cost, to join the Party and serve the revolution. This gave him a respected standing in socialist China, and the confidence to think and act clearly and decisively when many others associated with higher education were paralyzed by the political movements of the time. As a revolutionary who had taught for many years in one of the Party's major institutions of higher education, he knew both the possibilities and the limitations of the "Yan'an model" upheld during the Cultural Revolution. He was able to draw upon his earlier experience with mainstream academic institutions of the Nationalist era to envision a form of Chinese university that could combine the best features of both. While Communist thought and dialectical materialist philosophy was the predominant factor in his thinking, he had an open mind to all forms of academic knowledge, and his moral integrity and deep commitment to his country had roots also in his early exposure to Confucian teachings.

3.3 *Pan Maoyuan and the Development of a New Field of Research in Education*

For Pan Maoyuan, the Communist revolution represented a new beginning that opened up a clear direction for his life as an educator. He was invited to remain as a member of staff responsible for teaching affairs at Xiamen University, and in 1951, a year after Li Bingde had moved to Lanzhou, he was sent to People's University to study education. In the group studying education were a small number of graduate students of education, like himself, and a much larger group of cadres or officials, who had sub-degree qualifications and were being prepared as educational administrators for the new regime. In his class of graduate students were several scholars who were later to become famous at Beijing Normal University, including Huang Ji in educational philosophy, Wang Cesan and Wang Tianyi in education and Zhang Zhiguang in psychology.

After six months at People's University, the reorganization of colleges and departments was completed and the education program was moved from People's to Beijing Normal University, where he was to spend the second half of

his study period. He can still remember the names of the four Russian scholars who taught Marxism-Leninism, political economy and educational theory, but all of the Russian language he learned has since been forgotten.

He was impressed by the thoroughness and attention to academic quality that characterized the Soviet approach to education. He felt American educational ideas had been lively and flexible, but were somehow a poor fit after Liberation, when the system itself was rigid and controlled. By contrast, Soviet patterns were regular and orderly, and served to set high standards for China's higher education, especially in fields such as engineering and natural sciences which were crucial to socialist construction. During the first five-year plan, Pan felt that the Soviet model served China extremely well, forming experts that were greatly needed, and raising educational and professional standards dramatically. Later they may have become somewhat rigid and inflexible, in his view, hardening into forms that did not adapt to changing needs.

After one year in Beijing, Pan was called back to Xiamen University by President Wang Yanan, who asked him to help in writing the new teaching plans in all subjects for the university. His official position was section chief (*kezhang*) with the teaching affairs office (*jiaowuchu*). This gave him familiarity with the exacting demands and standards of the Soviet curricula, which were the model for curricular reform in all subjects.

In 1954, the education faculty of Xiamen University faced the reorganization of colleges and departments (*yuanxi tiaozheng*), which had started in Beijing in 1952, and fanned out to each of the six major regions. The Soviet model had dictated that comprehensive universities should have only arts and sciences, no faculty of education, nor other professional areas such as medicine, engineering and agriculture. Thus it was decided that Xiamen University's whole faculty of education should move to Fuzhou, and become a key component of Fujian Normal College, a provincial level institution. Pan wanted very much to go with the education faculty, and to concentrate on the history of education, but the President of Xiamen University was reluctant to let him go. He knew that graduates in subjects such as biology, physics, mathematics and history might well be assigned as secondary school teachers on graduation and would need courses in educational theory, teaching methodology and education practicums. Therefore he asked Pan to stay and teach these courses.

With his dual responsibilities, teaching courses in education and developing new teaching plans for all of the tertiary courses in the sciences and humanities at Xiamen University, Pan was in an ideal position to reflect on the whole field of higher education over the 1950s. He felt that the Soviet model suited China very well, having resonance with China's tradition of a centralized and systematic approach to knowledge, with emphasis placed on foundational

understanding. While there were no Soviet experts at Xiamen University in the 1950s, partly because of its distance from the main centers of Beijing and Northeast China, there were a small number of Russian language teachers.

In 1956, at the age of 36, Pan came to a realization that was to shape his whole subsequent career. Most of what he had studied in the field of pedagogy and teaching methodology was relevant only to primary and secondary schooling, and there was a need for a whole different approach to educational thought and theory within higher education. He wrote an article concerning the necessity of studying educational theory and teaching methods in higher education institutions and published it in Xiamen University's Scholarly Forum (*Xueshu Luntan*) (Pan 1957). Subsequently he edited a book under the same title, with contributions from several colleagues working with him, and it was distributed to all comprehensive and normal universities, then formally published much later (Pan 1984). This constituted the first book on theories of higher education in modern China.

In 1956, at the 8th Congress of the Communist Party, the role of intellectuals in China's socialist development was affirmed, and the situation appeared healthy from Pan's perspective. Soon thereafter, however, Mao launched the Great Leap Forward, and in his position as provost he oversaw the educational revolution of 1958. While he agreed with the need for greater Chinese orientation in the content and approach to teaching, no one at the time knew what this really meant. The result was a highly politicized movement, in his view, in which students were involved in writing teaching outlines and doing research far beyond their capability, and labor was emphasized for its own sake, not as a way of revitalizing educational theory.

At this time there was some modification of the patterns of 1952, which had disadvantaged the southern part of the East China region, especially in terms of engineering. Part of the engineering faculty of Xiamen University had been moved to Nanjing in 1952 to help in the establishment of Nanjing Engineering College, now Dongwu University, and another part of the faculty had been integrated into Beijing Aeronautical University. This left Fujian province with no significant program in engineering. In 1958, the province decided to establish Fuzhou University, and some of their former staff were called back from Nanjing and other places to help. In the first few years Xiamen University helped by teaching the basic sciences courses. Lu Jiaxi, later famous as the president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, had been vice provost and assistant to the president at Xiamen University in the fifties, and was sent to be vice president of Fuzhou University when it was established in 1958.

While there were some positive elements in the re-balancing of higher education that took place in 1958, overall Pan felt it started China on the wrong

track, and culminated in the even more disastrous Cultural Revolution of 1966. In 1964, Pan was invited to Beijing to do research on educational theory at the Central Institute for Educational Research. He was a member of a small group that included Liu Funian of East China Normal University, Li Fang of Shenyang Normal College and several others. Their task was to write articles critical of the Soviet Union and its educational influence, however within a year the group was dissolved and he stayed on in Beijing to observe the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution as an outsider. The rebel group at Xiamen University (*Xiada Zaofanpai*) eventually called him back from Beijing but they were so busy with other matters, and many of them had gone out to "make revolutionary connections" (*chuanlian*) that he was largely left alone on return. He participated in labor, wrote daily reports to the revolutionary leading group to express his commitment (*jiaodai*), and was happy to be reunited with his family.

It was a period in which he felt deeply upset. All the achievements of the fifties were now condemned as Soviet revisionism, and there was a kind of lacuna, with nothing to fill it. Similarly, aspects of traditional Chinese thought and education, which had nurtured him in his early years of schooling, were criticized. For him it was a total reversal that seemed to make nonsense of all the efforts of the past.

Only after the death of Mao in 1976, and the establishment of a whole new direction for the country by Deng Xiaoping in 1978, was he able to pursue the dream of establishing a whole new area of research and study. In 1978 Xiamen University approved the first Higher Education Research Unit to be established in China, and in 1984, his book *The Study of Higher Education* was jointly published by Peoples Education Press and Fujian Education Press. While Zhu Jiusi might be seen as the leading figure in terms of policy and related action, for the revitalization of higher education after 1978, Pan Maoyuan was, without doubt, the leading theorizer and researcher into higher education.

3.4 *Xie Xide: the Ups and Downs of a Scientific Career under Socialism*

Xie Xide and her husband chose Shanghai as the place to develop their careers in science because it was a major intellectual center, a place where they could focus on their professional interests. Xie Xide had worked there for a year in 1946, before going to USA, and her husband was drawn to the Institute of Biochemistry and Physiology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, which was the ideal location for his work in biochemistry. They took residence on Yueyang Road, a pleasant southwestern suburb of Shanghai, near to the Institute and not far from the famous Jiaotong University, one of Chinese oldest modern universities, going back to 1896.

Although this was now socialist China, where Mao had declared that "women held up half the sky," Xie Xide's job assignment was arranged to fit around her husband's appointment to the Institute. The Institute approached Jiaotong University on her behalf, and arranged for her to work under a professor of physics there. Before she could begin, however, this professor and most members of the department of physics were moved to Fudan University in a Northeast suburb of Shanghai under the reorganization of faculties and departments which brought Chinese higher education in line with the Soviet model. Jiaotong was now to focus on engineering and applied science, while Fudan was made the major comprehensive university of the region, with departments in basic sciences and humanities. It was a suitable intellectual environment for a young physicist, but she was reminded by the vice president and Provost, Su Buqing, a distinguished mathematician who had come to Fudan from Zhejiang University, that she still had a lot to learn, in spite of the PhD from MIT. She was offered the humble position of lecturer, since she had had little teaching or research experience.

Her memories of the Russian scientists she worked under during the period of Soviet influence, up to 1958, were mixed. It was a time when all Chinese university teachers were admonished to learn from Soviet science and scholarship, but she knew from her experience at MIT that the Russians lagged behind the Americans in many areas, certainly in her own field of semiconductors. She felt uneasy with some of the new Chinese textbooks that made claims for the superiority of Soviet science, and found the Soviet experts who had been sent to China to help were largely scientists of a second level, not the best in their fields. Most troubling of all, she was aware that some of their scientific findings had been distorted by the ideologically biased ideas and claims of Lysenko, Stalin and others. None of these reservations could be openly discussed in the political atmosphere of the time.

In 1956 she was asked to go to Beijing for two years to work with a small team of Chinese scientists in solid-state physics, developing the first textbook in Chinese for the newly developing area of semiconductor physics. She was made vice head of the group, working with the famous British returned Chinese physicist, Huang Kun. The preparation of this text and related teaching material was part of a national twelve-year plan for the development of science and technology. For Xie Xide, this contribution demanded a major personal sacrifice, as her only child, a son, was five months old at the time she left Shanghai, and had to be left in her husband's care over the two-year period. The team did the work at Peking University, which had moved to the former campus of the American missionary university, Yanjing University, in 1952. This was the campus where her father had taught physics for so many years, and

where she had spent much of her childhood and early youth. This return, fifteen years later, must have been an interesting time for memory and reflection.

During these two years, she also threw herself into studies of Russian and was able to assist in the translation of two books in atomic physics from Russian to Chinese after her return to Fudan. Overall, her impression of the Soviet scientists she got to know at Peking University was that some were good, others were mediocre and yet others were quite chauvinistic. One of the Soviet professors of physics teaching at Beida was a woman, and Xie found her a very pleasant personality, not chauvinistic, but not of the highest caliber either. In her work on semiconductor physics, she was clearly aware that American research in this field was far ahead of Soviet, though it was politically necessary to give credit to Soviet achievements as far as possible.

When the Anti-Rightist Movement was launched in 1957, she was called upon to criticize others in the university community who were not seen to be supporting Mao's political directions. She felt extremely sorry to see many older professors suffer in this movement, although she herself was not severely affected. In 1958, Mao launched the Great Leap Forward, and she could see from the very beginning that there was no economic base to support the huge expansion in higher education that was attempted. One positive development that came out of this movement in Shanghai, however, was the creation of the Shanghai University of Science and Technology, closely affiliated with Institutes of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Shanghai for the purpose of training their own scientists. Overall, most of what was said about involving students and younger faculty in research within the university community was little more than rhetoric, in her view. Most of the research funding still went to the Institutes of the Academy or the research institutes affiliated with major industrial ministries.

The fifties were not an easy period, with her mixed feelings over the all-out emulation of Soviet science between 1952 and 1958, followed by the sudden decision to move away from the Soviet patterns in 1958, just after she had completed two years of study at Peking University under Soviet experts. By contrast, the first half of the 1960s were very happy and productive years for her. She felt this was the time in which she was able to make great progress in the teaching of physics, and in 1962 she was promoted to full professor, at the age of 41, just 10 years after taking up a lectureship, and six years after being appointed assistant professor in 1956. In 1961 she made her first visit to the Soviet Union, and in 1965, she went to England to participate in an international physics meeting. These were the years in which higher education developed along more of an academic than politicized trajectory, under the Sixty Articles promulgated by the Ministry of Higher Education in 1960. It was also a time when Zhou Enlai

made great efforts to re-establish diplomatic and educational relations with European countries after the disasters of the Great Leap Forward.

Xie's return from England in 1965 marked the end of this period and the opening of the Cultural Revolution, a movement in which Fudan University played a leading role. It was taken as a kind of intellectual base for the radicals around Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, many of whom were Shanghainese. Xie Xide did not wish to say much about those difficult years. She spent a great deal of time down in the countryside doing labor, with no books, no possibility of research and no teaching. The three classes recruited by Fudan in 1966, 1967 and 1968, often called the "*lao san jie*"—three old classes—were a total loss in terms of any serious scientific study, and no further students were recruited until 1971, the year before Nixon visited China. This was also a time when she had to face a major personal battle with breast cancer, which was first diagnosed in 1966, just as the Cultural Revolution was beginning. Her deep personal sense of commitment to the nation and its scientific development gave her courage to struggle hard against the disease, in spite of poor medical facilities and extremely difficult personal circumstances during the ten years of revolutionary turmoil.

When Deng Xiaoping came to power in 1978, she was 57 years old, one of the best qualified of her generation, and finally able to make the contribution to Chinese scientific and intellectual development that she had hoped to make many years earlier. In 1978, she was appointed vice president, and from 1983 to 1988 she served as president of Fudan University, one of China's best known and most influential comprehensive universities.

3.5 *Wang Yongquan and the Evolution of Peking University*

For Wang Yongquan, 20 years old at the time of the Communist Liberation, the transition was a natural and comfortable one. On graduation from Qinghua University in 1950, he was assigned a job as assistant teacher at Peking University in the Physics department. Within a short period of time he joined the Communist Youth League and then the Communist Party, and all that he had learned about loyalty and conformity to family values and traditional virtues from his parents was now transferred to the Communist Party. He describes himself as having a kind of absolutism in his thinking that encouraged unquestioning obedience and respect.

In 1958, the Physics department at Peking University was divided into four new departments, bringing in radio electronics, nuclear physics, and technical physics, in addition to the basic physics department. At age 28 he became chair of the department of radio electronics, reflecting his training in electronic engineering at Qinghua. As well as being department chair he was also Party Secretary for the department, and he made high demands on

academic staff and students both in terms of professional knowledge, and moral-political behavior. In retrospect, he felt his emphasis was on preserving unity, and ensuring conformity to Party standards; there was little room for individualism, which was seen as unhealthy at that time.

Wang felt very fortunate to have been at Beida rather than at Qinghua in 1956 and 1957, when intellectuals were encouraged to speak out critically in the Hundred Flowers Movement and this was soon followed by the Anti-Rightist Movement. Ma Yinchu, Beida's famous president, was attacked and discredited at this time, but he had been more of a figurehead than an active leader on campus. The Party Secretary for the university, Jiang Longji, was the moving spirit and he had done everything possible to protect the academic staff. He persuaded them not to go out and demonstrate publicly, with the result that far fewer Beida professors were condemned as rightists than Qinghua professors, where the academic staff had been more active. In fact several of his fellow students from Qinghua who had stayed on to teach, were labeled rightists in 1957. As a result of this movement he began to have critical thoughts for the first time, and to realize that directions given from above were not necessarily correct. Meanwhile the Party Secretary whom he admired so much, Mr. Jiang Longji, was transferred to Lanzhou University as president.

On the legacy of the Soviet influence, he felt that most intellectuals had a deep distrust of the Soviet Union in the early fifties. They remembered how the Soviet army had entered the Northeast after the defeat of Japan in 1945, and taken away a lot of valuable equipment. They also remembered student protests at the rape of Chinese women by Soviet soldiers in the Northeast. In a lively student debate at Qinghua in 1948 over whether the Soviet Union should be seen as socialist or imperialist, the side judging it to be imperialist had won.

In spite of these negative feelings, Wang felt that, in the end, the academic staff at Beida got on well with the Russian professors who were sent as experts. They quickly gained respect—the teaching material they introduced was systematic, their presentation style was clear and the content was in-depth. He had expected to be sent to the Soviet Union for further study, and had an excellent Russian teacher at Beida in preparation for this. In the end, however, he was not sent, and he gradually forgot much of what he had learned.

When the Soviet model was repudiated, first in 1958, and then more vehemently in the Cultural Revolution of 1966–67, Wang felt deeply disturbed. In spite of the rhetoric about educational revolution, he felt a sense of nihilism. There was really nothing to replace the patterns that were being repudiated, no educational principles on which to build. As department head from 1958 to 1976, through both revolutionary periods, he discovered how impossible it was to solve educational problems, without clearly established educational

principles. From 1966 to 1969, he was locked up on the Beida campus by revolutionary rebels from among the students. During that time he read a great deal of Marxist-Leninist literature, but he also read a lot of John Dewey's work, and had time for reflection on the process of education. In 1969 he was sent to Hanzhong, in southern Shanxi province, where the radio electronics department had an affiliated campus.

In 1978, he was appointed head of a newly established center for audio-visual education, and the interest in education which had grown through the turbulent experiences of cultural revolution now blossomed under new conditions. In 1982, he was appointed vice provost for the university and provost from 1984 to 1986. In this role he was involved in the total reconstruction of the university curriculum and the teaching process. In 1988, four years after Xiamen University, Peking University established a Research Institute of Higher Education, with Wang as its first Head. From this position he has been able to educate a large cohort of master's and doctoral students in the field of higher education, as well as fostering related research. China's premier university is thus able to exert significant influence in the field of education in spite of the fact that its college of education had been moved to Beijing Normal University in the reorganization of 1952.

3.6 *Lu Jie and Moral-Political Education*

Although she has never held positions of leadership such as president, vice president or provost, as have most of the other scholars profiled in this article, Lu Jie has a tremendous sense of pride in and loyalty to Nanjing Normal University. She feels it is like her own family, an institution she has given her whole life to building. She sees her work as having been not for the salary or the status, but for the sake of the health and wellbeing of her university. The sense of urgency and concern in this commitment has never lessened over the years. If anything it has grown stronger, as unanticipated disasters such as the Cultural Revolution disrupted higher education development.

In the early fifties, after the reorganization of faculties and departments (*yuanxi tiaozheng*), Nanjing Normal had every reason to be the one of the best of its kind. The normal college of National Central University, China's premier institution under the Nationalist regime, was given to Nanjing Normal, and the great progressive educator, Tao Xingzhi had been its first dean. Chen Heqin came from Zhongyang University to Nanjing Normal with the reorganization of 1952 and functioned as its president up to 1958. As a non-party member, it finally became difficult for him to exercise leadership, and he was moved to another role in 1958. Several other distinguished professors of education joined Nanjing Normal from Zhongyang University, while the Department of

Education of Jinling University, and the Department of Child Welfare of Jinling Women's University, were also placed in Nanjing Normal.

In terms of human resources, Nanjing Normal was far superior to the newly established East China Normal University in Shanghai, which had absorbed the education departments of private universities such as Da Xia, Guang Hua and Fudan, none of them having the prestige or leadership role of the Nanjing institutions in education. Subsequently, however, East China Normal University was given stronger support, as a national normal university directly under the Ministry of Education, and its location in Shanghai also gave it certain advantages. Furthermore, institutions of engineering and science tended to gain far stronger support in the early fifties under the Soviet model. Lu Jie noted with regret how the best libraries, equipment and even vehicles were given to the engineering universities in the reorganization of 1952, with inferior book collections, third rate equipment and the most derelict vehicles being given to the normal institutions.

There were many occasions when she regretted her decision to choose education as a field of study, sensing that fields such as basic sciences or engineering were much more welcomed in the early 1950s. She wished at times she had chosen engineering, like Wang Yongquan, or had stayed with her original choice of chemistry, which would have made a much more obvious and practical contribution to China's development. By contrast, education was closely linked to politics and it was often difficult to express honest views. There were times when she felt a deep sense of loss (*shiluo gan*), such as during the campaign to criticize Tao Xingzhi in 1957, when she saw the effects this had on Chen Heqin who had to step down from his role as president of Nanjing Normal at that time. Both had been close friends of her father at Columbia.

Generally, however, she felt the Soviet model was beneficial in its influences on Chinese higher education in the 1950s. Many subjects and specialties were developed that were important in China's economic development—especially in the field of engineering—and the growth from three to eight universities in Nanjing over a short period opened up opportunity to many more students and prepared much needed talent. She had the opportunity to study political theory at Fudan University for one and a half years, after her graduation in 1953, and during that time she learned some Russian and studied under Russian experts. On looking back at that period, she has tremendous respect for the Marxist classics that she read, and feels in many ways that China has not yet risen above the standard of knowledge and understanding represented in those works.

On the other hand, however, she found the teaching methods to be rather dogmatic, and the approach of the experts responsible for the course to be

directive and unbending. Outlines had to be memorized, there was no provision made for discussion of varying interpretations of the texts, and only one explanation was countenanced. It seemed as if these experts were simply repeating what others had said, rather than providing a helpful or liberating educational experience. Generally, the greatest problem with the Soviet patterns, she felt on retrospect, was that they were a closed system, unable to reform themselves over time, and not open to divergent views. One can only guess the influence of her early years in progressive educational settings on these judgments! She felt students tended to embrace the Soviet patterns with great enthusiasm, seeing them as a kind of "ideal kingdom" (*lixiang wangguo*) which would carry China forward very rapidly, while professors hesitated, since many of them had studied in Europe or North America, and found them too constraining.

Whatever their limitations, Soviet influences were profound, transforming the structure and pattern of education thoroughly from the inside out. The influence of I.A. Kairov, Minister of Education in the USSR during the fifties and editor of a textbook which was widely used in Chinese translation, was particularly important in the early fifties. After 1958, it had less influence when the Soviet model fell under criticism. She moved to the education department of Nanjing Normal only in 1960, after the high tide of interest in Kairov had subsided. However, she recognized that his approach was widely accepted because it was seen as both academic and systematic, in contrast to the many eclectic theories of education that had been introduced from the West.

The Great Leap Forward of 1958 was a reaction to the intensity of Soviet influence, in her view. Mao had ideas of his own, and did not want to be simply a follower. His idea of "walking on two legs" and utilizing both formal and informal approaches to education was unique to China and suited to the practical needs of the time. In education, two new textbooks were developed which became as widely influential as the work of Kairov, one edited by Liu Funian of East China Normal University and one developed by a group of scholars at Nanjing Normal University. Meanwhile Zhou Yang was responsible for the development of new teaching material in the humanities. Lu Jie admitted that none of these new texts were of the highest academic quality, yet they were significant as an assertion of a Chinese approach to the various subject areas. Overall, serious problems of quality and sustainability arose from the over-rapid development, at this time, of many new higher institutions in the non-formal sector, called red-expert colleges. Also there was clearly a stronger role for the Party in higher education, and much greater political content than had been the case under the Soviet model.

With the early sixties and the publication of the Sixty Articles guiding higher education onto a more academic track, Lu Jie felt pleased to be able to take up

teaching in the field of education, and delighted with the quality of the four classes of students recruited between 1961 and 1964. Her feelings were similar to those of Xie Xide, who found these the best years for higher education in the whole period between 1950 and 1978.

The outbreak of the Cultural Revolution in 1966 was deeply disturbing to Lu Jie, as a loyal Party member and political educator. She simply could not accept the reality that the revolution could take this kind of irrational direction. At first, she described her response to the early rebel attacks and accusations as "*mamu*," somehow numb with incomprehension. She recognized that there were real problems with the leadership, especially certain cadres at the basic level who abused their power, which was one of the purported reasons for the movement. However, it turned out to be those leaders with the greatest integrity who became subject to attack, and were brought down. Her own husband, who was head of the political science department at Nanjing Normal, was labeled as part of a "black line" (*heixian*) and attacked in numerous big character posters (*dazibao*). She herself was an ordinary lecturer in the education department at this time, so was not a target of attack, but she found herself subject to criticism because of her husband.

From the beginning, she simply refused to go along with the rebel group, and their criticisms, even though this stance was to cause her much suffering. She felt her ability to stand firm was linked to the Western style education she had had. She insisted on thinking independently and had a rebel streak of her own. She had always been critical of leaders whose style and approach she considered unhealthy, and she feels she may have offended some, who took this opportunity for revenge.

She was among the first group of 108 to be sent to a remote village in Jiangsu for physical labor. She did not mind the labor at all, and was glad to clean any number of toilets, but it upset her deeply to see old professors of her father's generation subject to terrible indignities and forced to endure hard labor under bitter winter conditions. Since she spoke out when others did not, she was forced to go on innumerable parades. She absolutely refused to admit she was at fault in any way. She was considered extremely stubborn (*wangu*) by the rebel "authorities." Seven long years passed in the village, and she was unable to do any teaching or educational work.

What distressed her most of all was a particular meeting with all members of the university present, when she was accused of being part of an "international spy network," because her father had spent some time in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Another incident she remembers vividly was the demand of red guards, who were rampaging through her home, that she hand over all personal letters—she absolutely refused, as privacy was one of the basic principles in

her family and professional life. As a result, she was again severely criticized in a public meeting. Many protected themselves in these circumstances by criticizing others, but this was something she refused to do. The rebel authorities tried to make her criticize her husband openly, but again she firmly refused.

What enabled her to remain strong through this period of terror? It was probably the same quiet rationalism that had lain behind the firm decision she and her brother made to devote their lives to China in the late forties. She could see that the Party itself was deeply divided, with urban intellectuals like herself who had joined the underground in the 1940s, being attacked by those with rural backgrounds who were grouped around Mao Zedong. It was a bitter pill to be labeled a "traitor" (*pantu*), after all the sacrifices made for Party and country, but it was a pill which even China's president, Liu Shaoqi, had to swallow. She recalled one moment of comfort in these difficult years. An old cadre, whom she greatly respected, made the following brief and cryptic comment to her one day: "only you yourself have the clearest understanding of your own personal affairs" (*ziji de shiqing, ziji zui qingchu*).

When the Cultural Revolution came to an end with the arrest of the Gang of Four in 1976, Lu Jie was 46 years old. After dealing with the death of her parents in 1977 and 1978, she threw herself into the task of rebuilding Nanjing Normal University into a strong center of education to carry forward the rich progressive traditions of the region that had nurtured her over many years. In 1978, she was made head of the department of education, and some years later became head of the institute for educational research. In the years between 1978 and the mid-1980s, 30–40 students were recruited each year into the department of education, and when they began to graduate in 1982, she selected the best each year to stay on as young lecturers, and rebuild the field. Among them were two who spent time doing research in Canada under the joint project with OISE/UT—Wu Kangning, and Tan Dingliang, both now well-known younger scholars in their fields. In fact it was Wu Kangning whose article on sociology of education inspired the fierce debate among graduate students at Pan Maoyuan's Saturday night salon in Xiamen, mentioned earlier!

Lu Jie's greatest sadness over the 1980s lay in the fact that a large number of the young lecturers whom she had selected, nurtured, and sent for study abroad, never returned to build up their university and country. She noted that it still gave her great pain to speak of this point, even though ten years had passed by 1998. The gap between the choice she had made in the late forties, when China was torn by war, and the choice made by many in this new generation was difficult for her to fully comprehend.

Her main focus in the twenty years since Deng Xiaoping declared China's new orientation towards modernization, the world and the future has been

on two challenges: building up people, and rebuilding theory. She sees it as a huge challenge to develop a genuine theoretical understanding of the links between education, labor and rural life. Every year she takes students to visit rural schools and asks them to link what they are learning to the realities of these schools. She has also focused on problems of moral education, and the rebuilding of a framework for moral development in education after the devastation of the Cultural Revolution and the denigration of so-called class struggle into a series of vendettas in which vengeance over personal grievances was dignified as revolutionary ardor.

As one of a very small number of senior scholars qualified to supervise doctoral students in education she has guided a new generation of scholars at her own institution and elsewhere where she has served as external examiner. She has also published a number of influential volumes in the areas of moral education, rural education and the sociology of education.

4 Perspectives on the Period since 1978

There are certain commonalities in the narratives of these six scholars. Each was able to make a substantial and ongoing contribution to education, in spite of the difficult turns of their own lives, both before and after 1949. Each was affiliated with one institution for the most of their professional lives, in some cases having crucial leadership roles. Each also nurtured a large number of graduate students who now hold influential positions and will shape China's future. In family history and life opportunities there are clear differences among them, but these do not seem to be of fundamental import. Each had a somewhat different view of the Soviet contribution to China's educational development, ranging from relatively positive, to greater reservation. All concurred in expressing grave concern over the educational outcomes of Mao's revolutionary projects, especially the Cultural Revolution. For all of them, Deng Xiaoping's accession to power in 1978, and the modernization and open door policy he initiated, represented an important new beginning. In many ways the most productive years of their careers took place in the twenty years from 1978 to 1998. This was a time when it was finally possible to blend elements of their own cultural tradition and experience of socialism with ideas introduced from abroad, and build something that had authenticity and gave hope for the future.

4.1 *Li Bingde: Harmony as the Watchword*

For Li, Confucian morality, taught in his father's home, remains important for China, and its special feature lies in the fact that it rejects nothing, but absorbs

all things into itself. Chinese intellectuals are also greatly interested in and influenced by Buddhism and Daoism, something that is evident in their writings, in the concern for nurturing the spirit and engaging in quiet reflection. Yet Confucianism remains central, and at its heart is the practice of self-examination—three times a day, questioning one's inner integrity and the direction of one's life. In addition, Li loves to dip into the Daoist classics by Laozi and Zhuangzi, and appreciates what Buddhism has brought to China.

China's traditional strength in moral education must remain the core of the concept of "quality education" (*suzhi jiaoyu*) but at the same time it must adapt to modern socialist society, according to Li. He sees this notion of "quality education" (*suzhi jiaoyu*) as something very deep, something linked to China's national character (*guoqing*), a concept that cannot easily be translated into English. Looking back on China's modern century, Li believes that one of the greatest problems was the fact of overdependence on ideas introduced from outside.

Before 1949, Western ideas dominated the curriculum of colleges of education, and they remained largely on the surface; they did not penetrate deeply, nor have any lasting effect through educational experimentation. After 1949, Soviet or Russian ideas were introduced and emulated, but they likewise failed to take root, and the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution left China in chaos. There was always a lack of balance, a tendency to lean too far towards external solutions (*pianmian*) and, as a result, an inability to absorb what was introduced from outside.

Li chose to spend considerable time speaking about the achievements and ideas of Deng Xiaoping in the period after 1978, as he felt this was a turning point for education. Deng could see that Mao's policies had not worked, and he could see the danger of Hua Guofeng's promise to continue upholding all of Mao's theories and ideas. Deng had lived in France for some years and seen a great deal of how capitalist countries developed, as well as the experience of the Soviet Union. This was in contrast with Mao and many of the other old cadres, who knew how to fight and suffer, but had no idea how to run a country. Most important of all, Deng was able to learn from bitter experience—he knew China needed a new way forward after Mao's mistakes. He set a context, after nearly three decades, whereby Marxism and socialism could finally be seen as a way of liberating the mind and seeking practical solutions to real problems (*shishi qiushi*).

In 1978, Deng urged Chinese people to look toward modernization, the world and the future. Instead of empty rhetoric, for the first time the criteria of what constituted socialism were opened up for discussion and debate, and the emphasis moved from ideology to the importance of productive development and a visible improvement in people's lives.

Deng gave special emphasis to education, Li believes, because of its importance for the economy. From Li's perspective, however, what matters most is the development of human talent, the development of China's people to their fullest potential, and for this there needs to be a full integration of Western and Chinese culture. For forty years, the theme of education to save the country was dismissed as a futile hope of the pre-revolutionary period, but now finally it has been recognized as crucial if issues of energy, environment, population, political culture, ethnic conflict and regional distribution of economic good are to be addressed. The spirit of Li's teacher, Dewey's disciple, Dr. Tai Shuangqiu and his lectures on education as a way forward for the country, now find a new resonance, in Li's view.

4.2 *Zhu Jiusi: Saving Education*

In the most recent talk held with Zhu Jiusi in November of 1999, he quoted from the famous progressive writer Lu Xun's story, *Diary of a Madman*, saying the phrase that ends this remarkable story, "Save the Children" (*Jiujiu haizi*) should now be replaced with "Save Education" (*jiujiu jiaoyu*). Zhu's greatest concern on the eve of the new century was that the tide of market reform and commercialization was sweeping through China's universities, creating a fever for immediate commercial advantage that threatened to undermine all of the achievements of the eighties and early 1990s. In his three-day marathon interview of 1992, Zhu had ended with the comment that he hoped to see maximum freedom of speech and action in China's revitalized universities, and there were only two principles which he considered non-negotiable: public ownership as the main principle of socialism, and the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party over all other political parties in China. By the late 1990s, he could see the necessity of encouraging various forms of private higher education to meet growing social demand, but still saw the major public institutions as the cornerstone of China's higher education.

Zhu had played a crucial role in the rebuilding of higher education in China under Deng Xiaoping. In August of 1977, fifteen university professors and fifteen scholars from the Chinese Academy of Sciences met with Deng Xiaoping in order to discuss the true situation of science and education in China, in advance of the March 1978 national science meeting and the April 1978 national education meetings which set the agenda for the reform period. Probably the most important point for higher education coming out of these deliberations was the commitment to universities becoming centers of not only teaching, but both research and teaching. Zhu personally presented a paper at the national science meeting, entitled "Scientific research should be in the forefront of teaching and learning" (*Kexue yanjiu yao zou zai jiaoxue de*

qianmian), which detailed some exemplary experiences of scientific research. At this meeting only two universities were given special commendation for their research work, and one was the Huazhong University of Science and Technology.

In 1979, Zhu was part of a study tour to USA, Canada and Japan, supported by UNESCO, along with four other senior university leaders. The tour lasted two and a half months, with the largest period spent in the United States, and for Zhu it confirmed many of the convictions he had already acted upon, including the important role of research in the university. A key point for him was the observation of a world trend towards more comprehensive forms of knowledge in the university, with institutions such as MIT, Texas A & M University and the Tokyo University of Technology having moved, historically, from a specialist focus on applied sciences to comprehensive curricular coverage in their programs. This showed the limitation of the narrowly specialized patterns imposed by the Soviet model in 1952. Finally Zhu found himself in a position to do something about this for his own institution.

In 1980, he managed to persuade the ministry of education to approve a range of new programs and departments in areas such as Chinese language and literature, journalism, higher education and the laws and philosophy of science at the Huazhong Institute of Technology, putting the college on the road to becoming a fully comprehensive university. In 1982, it was given approval to establish one of the first twenty-two graduate schools throughout China, a striking recognition of the achievements in research since the early seventies and the quality of its academic staff. In 1987, it was retitled the Huazhong University of Science and Technology. Other elements in Zhu's leadership that had contributed to this remarkable achievement were the development of an excellent library holding many international titles, and the systematic acquisition of significant equipment for scientific research.

Since his retirement from the presidency in 1984, at the age of 68, Zhu Jiusi has continued a very active career in teaching, research and higher education policy, functioning as a treasured advisor to the university's Institute for Higher Education Research, and an active contributor to national debates on higher education policy. In the autumn of 1999, he was engaged in teaching a series of four courses to a new group of 19 doctoral students in higher education administration recently admitted to the Institute. The courses covered Soviet influences on Chinese higher education, Chinese intellectuals before and during the Cultural Revolution, higher education problems, and prospects for the present and future of higher education.

The richness and continuity of his life as a political activist, journalist, university leader, administrator, scholar and independent thinker can be seen in

the close links between each phase of his career and the ways in which valuable experience and penetrating observation were turned into new ideas that were able to inspire and empower others. He was always open to external influences, but the key source of the ideas he used to shape China's university development came from within China. At the core of everything he did was a concern for the quality of people teaching and researching within the university and how this could be constantly enhanced, a concern rooted in Confucian philosophy as well as in the literature of socialism and progressive thought.

4.3 *Pan Maoyuan: the Integration of Several Heritages*

In reflecting on a whole lifetime in education, Pan felt that he had benefitted greatly from all three of the ideologies most criticized during the Cultural Revolution: Chinese feudalism, American capitalism and Soviet revisionism (*feng, zi, siu*). From his early studies of Chinese classical literature, he had gained a basic moral orientation and a strong sense of Confucianism as a philosophical tradition that could adapt to every age. From all that he had learned about American pragmatism in education, he gained many useful ideas for school improvement, for more lively teaching methods, and for curricular reform. From his extensive experience with Soviet patterns in the 1950s, he had come to appreciate the value of well-structured teaching materials, unified standards across the country, and thoroughness in teaching preparation and presentation. In the end, he felt Soviet teaching materials and approaches were more suited to China's traditions of centralization in education, and the realities of China's development needs, than American patterns. This was so even though their weakness had been a tendency to become somewhat hard and inflexible.

For Pan, the period since 1978 has been the most productive in his life, and he takes great pride in the leading position of his center for higher education research, the first of only four throughout China that are able to confer doctoral degrees. The greatest challenge in contemporary higher education, he believes, is the need to emphasize students' ability and bring about reforms in teaching that give greater support to the full development of students' talent. This highlights the need for an excellent teaching force in higher education. A great deal has been done in graduate education over the recent fifteen years to provide for new blood in the teaching force.

Pan feels the focus of reform should be on teaching quality and support for the further development of university teachers, not only on changing the management structure and bringing about a redistribution of power, issues that

are closely linked to overall reforms in the political system. He believes that Chinese higher education will follow world trends more and more closely in the future. There will be an emphasis on breadth of knowledge and adaptability, and also on the overall intellectual and moral quality of graduates. He sees private higher education as important for broadening access to higher education, and he feels that the concept of lifelong education will become more and more important in China. People will recognize the need to constantly upgrade their own knowledge in order to keep abreast of the rapid changes in society.

4.4 *Xie Xide: a Vision for Science and Internationalism*

Throughout her lifetime, Xie Xide had experienced intense periods of exposure to very different ideological and cultural influences, and somehow managed to create her own balance and a deep tolerance of spirit, which enabled her to adopt the best from each period, and turn it to the service of what was her major life-long commitment—China's development into a modern scientific nation.

As a child and young person, she was exposed to the liberalism and humanitarianism of an American missionary campus and American missionary schools for girls. The importance she attached to this single-sex education has already been noted above. Overall, she felt that American missionary universities made a very positive contribution to China's development, although the scope of their influence was limited to relatively elite circles. She noted that many graduates of such well-known missionary universities as St. Johns and Hu Jiang in Shanghai, Yanjing in Beijing and Jinling in Nanjing, became senior cadres in China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs after 1949. She noted that the Nationalist leader, H.H. Kung, had refused to give the name of Yanjing to the American missionary university established in Taiwan after 1949, as he felt Yanjing University had educated too much talent for the Communist regime! It was called Donghai instead.

On Leighton Stuart, the famous president of Yanjing University who later became the American ambassador to China during the Anti-Japanese war and Civil war period, it is her unequivocal judgment that he made a great contribution to China, and that there is a need for his role as ambassador to be re-assessed. She noted how Huang Hua, one of the most famous of the Yanjing graduates who served in China's foreign ministry, invited him to Beijing at the end of the war, before he returned to USA. She felt history might have developed differently if the American government had let him go. Stuart had asked to have his ashes buried on the Yanjing campus, and almost all the approvals

had been given for this to happen during the 1980s. Unfortunately, the June 4th incident intervened, further delaying this final reconciliation.

Xie Xide's lengthy exposure to American missionary education was one element in her American heritage, the other being her years spent at Smith College and MIT. At Smith she appreciated the personal closeness with her teachers and mentors which the small size of the college allowed, while at MIT she was greatly impressed by the ways in which research and teaching were interconnected—a model she fought for throughout her career in Chinese higher education.

The second important influence in her life came with her decision to join the Chinese Communist Party and give wholehearted support to its leadership in the face of very strong opposition from her father, resulting in an estrangement that was to last until his death in 1986. This was not a blind or uncritical commitment, but a careful judgment arising from her determination to devote her professional life to China's development. The price was high, including the difficult experiences of the Great Leap Forward and the decade spent in a professional desert during the Cultural Revolution. It was a dedication she shared with a beloved husband, and the devotion of this scientific couple to one another was an inspiration to many.

The third influence, that of the Soviet Union, was one she accepted as part of her dedication to China's development, seeking to learn what she could from visiting Soviet scientists in the 1950s and adapting what was useful to the Chinese context. At the same time she remained critically aware of some of the shortcomings that others would only recognize much later.

Her vision for the future of Chinese education is that a small number of universities should attain full international status and standing and be able to give as much to the world community of science and scholarship as they may gain in their international interactions. For this to happen she feels there needs to be even greater national support for university based research, and a full integration of research and teaching in the best universities. Generally she feels Chinese higher education should be broadened, with each institution achieving a breadth of curricular range and moving beyond the narrow specialties that characterized Soviet patterns.

As a physicist rather than a specialist in education, she had little to say about Confucianism or Chinese cultural patterns, but her gentle pragmatism, tolerance, and ability to balance the several sets of influences that shaped her professional development, might be seen as indicative of the best of Confucian humanism. In many ways she had succeeded in moving far beyond the world of her father, with his unresolved inner tensions between Confucian traditionalism and Western science.

4.5 *Wang Yongquan: the Beida Spirit*

Wang Yongquan feels that his half-century spent at Peking University, China's most famous center of higher learning, has given him a unique perspective and set of experiences. What he values most about the Beida spirit is its openness, and the way in which lively debates over all kinds of topics have been able to go on. Beida has always been hard for the political leadership to manage and control. Avant-garde in embracing new ideas, its influences tend to cascade out into the wider society. At various crisis points the top leadership has tried to bring Beida to heel and make sure its members supported the dominant line, but this was never fully possible. Beida teachers and students always had an elusive quality in terms of their intellectual life. They were less unified and so less productive than Qinghua, in the direct sense of research and teaching for nation building, but by the same token they were, in some important way, a conscience to the nation.

Wang's own scholarship in higher education bears some of the marks of the Beida spirit. What he values most is the opportunity to think about new problems, and to raise new issues that relate to them, rather than focusing on the past and publishing traditional works of scholarship. Asked to write a book on the principles and philosophy of higher education, he is still hesitating to lift pen, as he knows many of his viewpoints and perspectives are likely to offend others. He recently aired views on the issue of quality (*suzhi*) in education, and found that they were not acceptable to the prevailing orthodoxy.

As he looks to the future, Wang feels that the quality of teachers is the most important issue for education, not only from the intellectual perspective, but also their affective ability and capacity to understand and connect to young people. A second concern is for an adequate emphasis on humanities as well as sciences and technology, when pressures for rapid modernization seem to give greater importance to the latter.

4.6 *Lu Jie: Developing a Chinese Theory of Pedagogy and Educational Development*

With the richness of China's cultural traditions and the wealth of experience of her huge rural population, Lu Jie is convinced that Chinese educators do not need to rely on concepts and frames of reference from the West, whether American, European or Soviet, but should be able to develop explanatory theories of their own.

Like Li Bingde, she feels that Confucianism forms a strong basis for Chinese education, and she finds herself constantly drawing upon the rich classical literature to which she was exposed in her school days. In human relations,

Confucianism emphasizes reliability and integrity. While filial piety is an important tenet that seems to draw attention to parents and the older members of society, actually children and youth are the center of Chinese family patterns. Parents will make any sacrifice for the next generation, and she herself still counsels young people having difficulty in their marriages not to seek divorce, for the sake of their children's wellbeing.

The most valuable aspect of Western educational influences in China has been the encouragement of the individual, in her view, and the nourishing of a sense of independence. She attributes her own rebellious spirit to her experience of progressive education. However, she feels this is not foreign to Chinese traditions in education. In recent years she has made the notion of "subjective consciousness" (*zhuti*) a centerpoint in a developing theory of pedagogy. Young people are not to be simply molded from without through educational experiences, but engaged in a process whereby their individual consciousness is enriched through interaction with external inputs and the ability to judge and discriminate is nurtured. What has been most detrimental in China's recent educational history has been the tendency to copy slavishly (*zhaoban*) one model or another, rather than building their own educational theories in interaction with a range of external ideas.

For the future, Lu Jie feels that China must develop its own framework, based in education, to encompass a globalization process in which human destinies and human benefits are closely linked around the world. China can no longer blame capitalism for crises that it is as closely linked to as all other countries, no matter what their political orientation. The environmental crisis and problems of economic instability, such as the Asian crisis that broke out in the autumn of 1997 are as much China's concern as that of any other country. It must carry its share of responsibility and contribute in positive ways. For the past century, nationalism has been China's most important preoccupation but now it is being drawn out of its nationalist identity into the kind of global integration that is part of globalization. The challenges of multi-media in teaching and instant global communication through the internet need to be taken up and used in a positive way by China to effect an integration into the global community that is genuinely interactive, rather than a passive accommodation to external trends.

5 Conclusion

What kind of conclusion might one hope to draw from these life stories, and how far can they give us deeper insights into Chinese education in the

twentieth century? In his book on *Time, Narrative and History*, philosopher David Carr explores the way in which narrative activity constitutes a part of action in people's lives, opening up both past and future. "To be an agent or subject of experience is to make the constant attempt to surmount time in exactly the way the story-teller does. It is the attempt to dominate the flow of events by gathering them together in the forward-backward grasp of the narrative act" (Carr 1986, 61–62).

This is true for the group, as well as the individual, and Carr concludes his study with the assertion that "action, life and historical existence are themselves structured narratively, independently of their presentation in literary form, and … this structure is practical before it is aesthetic or cognitive" (ibid., 184). Carr uses the concept of narrative to describe "our way of experiencing, of acting, and of living both as individuals and as communities." He sees it as "our way of being in and dealing with time."

In this paper, I have presented the life stories of six educators, their own personal narratives of family and early schooling, and also each phase of careers that stretched over periods of dramatic change in modern China's development, as seen through their own retrospective eyes. Each stepped onto the stage of history at a different period, two shortly after the 1911 Revolution, two in the years just after the May 4th Movement of 1919, and two in the years just after the establishment of the Nationalist regime in Nanjing in 1928. This difference in age affected the layering of their exposure to traditional Chinese, Western and Soviet influences in education. Likewise their geographical locations gave them somewhat different vantage points.

While their views on the respective value of Soviet, American and European ideas vary, all affirmed the importance of the foundation in Confucian values, nurtured through the family and early schooling. In looking to the next stage of China's development, they all emphasized the quality of human persons, both teachers and students, and found their hope for China's future lies more in the educative development of individuals than in broader structural change.

For those of us who see the study of Chinese education as more than an objective, detached process of analysis, we have much to learn from these insights of insiders into the past, present and future of China's education. We are invited to look backward and forward within their individual and group narrative, to understand the foundations in Chinese traditional thought that have given continuity and strength to lives lived through momentous and often disturbing forces of change. We are also invited to join hands with them in working toward a kind of educational synthesis that will weave the best ideas from world experience into China's own tapestry of thought and culture in a firm and abiding way.

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